The social structure of crews of British dry cargo merchant ships: a study of the organization and environment of an occupation

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THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF CREWS OF BRITISH DRY CARGO MERCHANT SHIPS: A Study of the Organization and Environment of an Occupation

by

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for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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DECLARATION:

I hereby declare that the whole of the work now being submitted as a Thesis in fulfillment of the requirements for the Ph.D. degree of the University of Durham is the result of my own investigation.

The work embodied in this Thesis has not already been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any other degree.

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12 April, 1974

ABSTRACT

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF CREWS OF BRITISH DRY CARGO MERCHANT SHIPS:
A Study of the Organization and Environment of an Occupation

This study, undertaken from 1967 to 1969, was of the crews of 28 British merchant ships. All told, 824 seafarers were interviewed, and basic sociographic data were obtained which were then applied to an analysis of the effects of the organization and social environment of seafaring as an occupation.

The theoretical basis for the study was taken from the work of Burns and Stalker (1961) and Lawrence and Lorsch (1967, 1969). The concern was with the analysis of the organizational variables of shipboard life in relation to the attitudes and expectations of the seafarers. To isolate the organizational variables, matched pairs of shipping companies were chosen by size, type of trading pattern, and ownership. Each company had also been ranked by seafarers in terms of preference as an employer, and each pair had a company that was preferred and one that was not. Six companies took part in the study.

It was found that the preferred company in each pair was relatively organismic in comparison with the other company, and that companies with moderately certain market environments were less bureaucratic than companies with very certain or very uncertain market environments. The conclusion reached was that where there was a high level of integration of organizational subsystems, seafarers had a high level of perceived job satisfaction. The major factor in this integration was the ability to innovate within the work role of the individual seafarer and thus to create a sense of self-determination of the operation of the ship by the members of the shipboard community.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The success of any piece of social research depends in large part upon the cooperation and interest of the informants. The response of the seafarers, shipping company shore personnel, trade union officials, and the officials of the British Shipping Federation and Merchant Navy Establishment, amongst others, is reflected in the length of this monograph and in the amount of data used.

I am grateful to the 824 seafarers who patiently answered questions and opened my eyes to an environment which I had already thought familiar. My thanks are also due to the 108 persons in shore establishments who helped provide data and additional information. Whilst it is necessary to preserve the confidentiality of my respondents, I would like to thank Douglas Tennant, Tom Goff, John Slater, and Eric Nevins of the M.N.A.O.A.; Jack Kinahan, Jim Slater, and John Lloyd of the N.U.S.; and A.H. Jenks and his staff at the B.S.F. All these persons made sure that I did not lose sight of reality in a flight of theoretical fancy.

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I must accept responsibility for the interpretation and analysis of the data and the use of the theoretical material in this study. It is hoped that this work will contribute to the understanding of the seafarer and to the better management of his ship.

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INTRODUCTION

> "You don't want to go wasting your time studying me or any other man here . . . .we're nothing special."[1]

This remark by the bosun of a bulk carrier was similar to many made by seafarers of all ranks and ages during the course of this study. If the seafarer considers his occupation to be a normal way of life, it is still an unusual one in the workaday world. His place of work is mobile, like the places of work of lorry drivers and railwaymen,[2] but it is also his home. Unlike these other mobile occupations, there are many workers of differing status on each merchant ship, so the mobile home and place of work also have communal characteristics.

In embarking on a sociological study of seafarers on board ship, all these factors have to be considered. Traditional studies of the workplace tend to confine themselves to the period of time spent at work[3] and do not place this within either a community, leisure, or familial context. Yet to understand the seafarer, it is necessary to introduce material from all these areas and to draw in concepts from organizational sociology, since the seafarer's workplace cannot be separated from the rest of his life on board ship. In fact, the only studies akin to a study of seafaring are those of hospitals, armies, and isolated communities.[4] The ship is similar to these other organizations in that it has been termed a "total institution" by Goffman, but whilst this is one perspective on life aboard ship, it does not fully describe the linkages between the seafarer and the community of landsmen.

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[1] Research Notebook 19, Interview with Bosun, Ship "Y."

[2] P.G. Hollowell (1968); G. Salaman (1970).

[3] T. Lupton (1963).

[4] E. Goffman (1961); V. Aubert (1969); M. Janowitz (1960).

In a study of the social structure of ships' crews, these areas of interest are important, but so is a knowledge of the seafarer. Little extant literature on the sociology of the merchant seaman was available when this study was formulated. To provide an analytical base for the research, sociographic data on seafarers and their community life afloat and ashore had to be gathered.

The second thread of the study was concerned with the consequence of an industrial organization also being a community, or loosely, a total institution. The attempt has been to articulate the role structure of the ship and to study the inter-role strains and tensions that arise in organizations with similar forms of technology, hierarchy, and social roles but with different environments in relation to their parent organization and to the market.

As will be shown in detail later, the sample chosen was of three pairs of shipping companies grouped for different size, trading patterns, and organizational structure. In addition, the companies were chosen for their position at the poles of a popular/unpopular continuum as ranked by seafarers currently serving in the Merchant Navy. The threads of the study, then, are (1) Who goes to sea? Why? and for how long? (2) What sort of organizational structure exists on a ship, and how does it affect the development of a social community? and (3) How do the first and second groups of variables relate to the concept of the contengency theory?

The Organization of the Research and an Introduction to the Merchant Navy

In 1968-69, 99,128 seafarers were registered in the United Kingdom.[5] Of these men, 43,597 were officers and apprentices, and 50,024 were ratings. The remaining 5,104 were seafarers who occupied "hotel" jobs on

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[5]The number of seafarers are compiled from British Shipping Federation and Registrar General of Shipping data by the author and are those for 31 March, 1969.

passenger liners or were medical staff. We are not concerned with this residual group of seafarers in this study because their occupational training is such that they are only transients at sea, and their work is peripheral to the task of operating a ship. In addition to these seafarers from the United Kingdom, a further 27,000 men of other nationalities are employed on British ships, primarily as ratings. The study does not include any men from this latter group.

Rochdale has estimated that the gross capital stock of the shipping industry was, in 1968, roughly equivalent to that of the iron and steel industry or to that of the paper, printing, and publishing industries.[6] In 1968, Rochdale pointed out that the investment in the shipping industry, an estimated £240 million in new ships and equipment, was 15% of the gross fixed investment by British manufacturing industries.[7] Although seafarers represented only 0.45% of the total working population of the United Kingdom in March, 1971, their importance to the national economy is much greater, since they are the key to the operation of allied industries such as ports, transport, international banking, and trade and commerce generally. The rate of investment reflects this importance, and consequently, the shipping industry has a great impact on the economy of the country.

The Merchant Navy was composed of 1,881 deep-sea ships in 1968.[8] Of these ships, 407 were tankers and 129 were passenger vessels. It was decided to limit the study to vessels engaged in the dry-cargo trades, excluding the six container ships in operation, and moreover, to limit the study to foreign-going ships. This gave a population of 1,185 ships which represented 63% of the total number of British ships and

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[6] Rochdale (1970), para. 135; Viscount Rochdale was Chairman of the Committee of Inquiry into Shipping, set up in 1967 by the Board of Trade to review the organization and structure of the British shipping industry.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Vessels over 500 G.R.T. Rochdale (1970), Table 3.2. All percentages are rounded to whole numbers.

50% of gross registered tonnage (G.R.T.). Of this sample population, 717 ships, or 60%, were cargo-liners, and 468 were general-purpose tramps or bulk carriers. The cargo-liners represented 38% of the number of ships in the total population and 29% of the G.R.T. General-purpose tramps and bulk-carriers represented 25% of the number of ships in the total population and 22% of the G.R.T.

The reasons for excluding tankers, passenger liners, and coastal vessels were three-fold. The population had to be reduced to a size that was manageable and to a population with relatively few extraneous variables. If the sample had been drawn from the whole population, it would have been difficult to control for factors such as the different technologies of tankers and passenger liners or to control for the different forms of company ownership.

Secondly, the author had served in cargo vessels for some time and had a knowledge of these vessels which simplified the interpretation of data gathered. Finally, much research was being undertaken in 1967-68 on behalf of the tanker companies by firms of management consultants and, to a lesser extent, by the Tavistock Institute for Human Relations. As tankers are a small sub-sample, it appeared that they had reached research saturation, a view confirmed by conversations with tanker officers in 1970.[9] Passenger ships were ruled out for the same reason and also because

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[9]This point was also made with respect to the dry-cargo sample by a letter concerning the research project and the research for the Rochdale Committee from a personnel manager for a cargo-liner company, dated 15 May, 1969, to the author on the completion of the project: "Not only have you boarded some of our ships, but representatives [sic] of Gallup Poll working on behalf of Lord Rochdale's Committee, Representatives of the Tavistock Institute, working on behalf of the N.M.B., have interviewed our men, we have retained a Psychologist to advise on our selecting procedures, and he also has been fairly active on our ships, and on top of this we have had the N.M.B. Ratings' Hours Enquiry and very shortly I expect the Officers' Hours Enquiry . . . quite frankly our officers and ratings have had a real bellyful of interviews and surveys and questionnaires over the last few months, and I would be very reluctant indeed to submit them to any more."

the preponderance of catering staff in the crews made them unrepresentative of the Merchant Navy as a whole.

Because of the system of signing on a vessel for one voyage at a time, seafarers in the Merchant Navy may sail on a tanker one voyage, a cargo-liner the next voyage, and then on a tramp, or passenger liner, or cargo-liner, unless they opt to stay with a company or a ship. Since the ratings do not normally stay with a company (only 28% of ratings have a Company Service Contract (C.S.C.)),[10] we can say that the sample of ratings used in the study is similar to that obtained through a random sample of the total population of British ratings.

For the officers' sample the position is slightly different in that 73% of officers have a C.S.C., and officers tend to remain with a company, as promotion is by virtue of seniority. Since the majority of dry-cargo shipping companies have little or no interest in the carriage of liquids in quantity, the lack of men from tanker companies may constitute a bias. However, on comparing the sociographic profiles of officers in the present study with officers serving on tankers, no significant difference in socioeconomic background or in attitudes can be found. The sample drawn in this study, therefore, can be considered as being representative of British seafarers.

The sample was selected for the following purposes. Before a study could be made of attitudes to work of the seafarer and the social structure of a ship, it was necessary to find out who went to sea, what his socioeconomic background was, and how long he stayed at sea. Whether different management practices played a part in shaping the

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[10] From B.S.F. and R.G.S. data; the percentages are for 31 March, 1971.

seafarer's self-image and social behaviour, and whether there was an influence by physical factors such as the voyage pattern[11] and length of time away were also essential questions.

It was decided that the sampling would be by ship, as this would provide a proportionate sampling of officers and ratings. In other words a ship was selected and the crew of that vessel formed the sample population. In order to have a statistically viable sample, it was decided that at least 25 ships would be included. The sample finally consisted of 28 ships.

The next problem was to select the ships in the sample and to balance them in terms of the needs of the overall sample. To this end it was decided to organize the companies in dry-cargo shipping by size and by principal trades. The resultant table was somewhat cumbersome, for although there are only ten large companies in the United Kingdom that share the major portion (80%) of the cargo-liner trades, some 95 shipping companies are in the dry-cargo, tramp, and bulk trades, excluding companies operating two or fewer ships in their own account. Consequently, the dry-cargo shipping companies were divided into three groups by defining and matching the characteristics of the companies by size, trade, type of run, and form of ownership. Two companies were selected from each group.

Ownership of the cargo-liner groups was in the hands of shareholders, with a management directly responsible for administering each of the group of companies, and with separate boards dealing with the subsidiaries. From these groups one subsidiary company was chosen to match with similar subsidiaries in the other groups.

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[11] By "voyage pattern" we mean the origin and destination of voyages and the routes taken; if the pattern was "regular", the ship normally operated on a schedule.

Table 1. Character of companies from which sample was selected.

Group	No. of Companies	No. of Ships	Trades	Company Characteristics
A	10	more than 30	Cargo-liners	Member company of a shipping group. Traditional trades. Member of shipping conference(s). Regular runs.
B	12	10 to 30	General-purpose tramps and bulk carriers	Between 25% and 50% of vessels on long-term charter; thus, regular runs. Balance of vessels on short-term charter; irregular runs.
C	9	less than 10	General-purpose tramps and bulk carriers	Most of vessels on short-term charter. Family firms. Irregular runs.

The medium-sized companies in Group B had composite management structures. Unlike the majority of cargo-liner groups, there was a strong family interest in the majority of these firms, but shares were also on the open market. Typically, these firms managed vessels for the account of other companies, and five of these firms built and operated ships for specific long-term charters. Unlike the cargo-liner companies' regular voyage patterns, the medium-sized companies in Group B operated a mixture of regular voyage patterns and irregular, "tramping" voyage patterns.

The small companies in Group C were typically family-owned and managed. The vessels were operated mainly on short-term charter, and consequently, there were considerable differences in voyage patterns.

In order to obtain a proportional sample of ships, at least ten ships of the tramp/bulk-carrier type and fifteen ships of the cargo-liner type were selected. Actually, there were twelve ships of the former type, sixteen of the latter, and an additional five cargo-liners with British officers and non-European crews in the sample. It was decided to choose two companies from each of the three groups and to select four ships from Group C (that is, two from each company); six ships from Group B (in the final sample, eight ships); and fifteen ships from Group A (eight ships from each company, making sixteen ships from this group in the final sample).[12]

The companies were picked by asking a random sample of seafarers to select with which company in each group they would most like to sail, and with which they would least like to sail. Fifty seafarers were invited to do this in South Shields and seventy-five in Liverpool. A high degree of agreement was found in their assessments, and the six companies selected were then contacted and asked to participate in the project.

All the companies invited to take part agreed to do so, as did the National Union of Seamen (N.U.S.) and the Merchant Navy and Airline Officers' Association (M.N.A.O.A.). We had anticipated some problems in assembling the sample, and it was gratifying that these did not arise. However, because of the prompt agreement to cooperate, the project went ahead sooner than anticipated. The pilot survey was undertaken in January, 1968, and the main survey in the summer and autumn of 1968. The only element of non-cooperation was an initial refusal to participate by the British Shipping Federation (B.S.F.). Following a

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[12]An additional five ships owned by company AX, a subsidiary of company AA with British officers and non-British crews were used in the pilot study.

second approach to the B.S.F. in March, 1968, full cooperation was secured. It should be noted that the fullest cooperation was given by all persons contacted both ashore and afloat, and this study was only possible because of this help.

Table 2. Allocation and designations of companies and ships.

Group	Company	Number of Ships in Sample
A	AA	8
	AB	8 ("Z"*)
B	BA	4
	BB	4
C	CA	2 ("Y"*)
	CB	2
Pilot Survey	X	1 ("X"*)
"	AX	5**

*Ships "X," "Y" and "Z" were vessels on which research voyages were undertaken.
**Ships with British officers and non-European crews.

The ships included in the study were selected at random from the fleets of the companies participating in the project. Where, in two cases, a vessel was on a long voyage and would not return to the U.K. or the continent during the survey period, replacements were selected at random from the fleets. Thus, the sample was stratified by company and selected at random for ships. This latter point is important because there was no possibility of a company placing a

"show" ship forward for survey purposes. It would appear that this was a weakness of the sampling of the Gallup Organization in their survey for the Rochdale Committee.[13]

The sample of 28 ships were visited at either the beginning or end of a voyage in twenty cases (ten at the beginning of the voyage, and ten on the completion of the voyage), and a questionnaire was given to all crew members. A questionnaire survey was used (see Appendix 1) which contained 59 items and took about forty minutes for a man to complete. The instruments were administered to groups of about five men at a time with the author nearby to answer questions and to note reactions to the items. There was a response rate of 81% to these questionnaires. Six cargo-liners were also visited during coasting voyages and the questionnaire administered at about mid-point in these four-week voyages. A further five ships from Company AA with British officers and non-European crews were also visited during coasting voyages and the officers interviewed.

The last two ships, a cargo-liner[14] and a bulk-carrier,[15] were used more extensively, as the author was permitted to make a voyage in each as a "working" supernumary in order to experience work as a rating in the deck, engine room, and catering departments. Several survey techniques were used on these two vessels. The questionnaires were completed during the voyage; twelve crew members on each ship kept a diary of their daily

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[13]Private communication from the training officer of a tanker company, dated 18 February, 1970: "I feel that, because of the hasty way Gallup organized the research, some of the firms were able to play a fiddle by telling them [Gallup] that the ships [with problems] would not be on schedules suitable for contacts. I know that the "____" was in port at a time when Gallup were there, and the owners had told Gallup that there wouldn't be a ship around then".

[14]Ship "Z".

[15]Ship "Y".

activities; participant-observation techniques were used; a social network analysis was carried out; and finally, informal interviews were conducted with as many crew members as possible.

The questionnaires and techniques were tested on a coastal bulk-carrier.[16] Although such vessels were excluded from the sample, the master of this ship read of the project in the Merchant Navy Journal (Spring, 1968) and telephoned the author, asking that his ship and crew be allowed to take part. This was agreed and proved extremely useful. The author made two coasting voyages on this vessel, one as an observer and one as Second Mate, and the friendly criticisms, comments, and help provided by the master and crew of this ship were invaluable.

In addition to the research on the ships, 108 interviews were conducted with persons connected with the industry in executive, administrative, or training posts (see Table 3). These interviews followed an "outline" questionnaire (see Appendix 1) and lasted between forty minutes and two hours. Again, much interest in the project and help were readily given.

The final strands of the survey were those of ascertaining the backgrounds of boys entering the Merchant Navy and an assessment of time actually spent at sea. The former set of data was collected from boys applying for entry to the Merchant Navy, and the author was allowed to sit in on applicants' interviews with B.S.F. personnel and training officers and to assess the records of apprentices joining the companies in the samples. Further data were collected during three visits to schools during career days.

The assessment of time spent at sea was much more laborious. The Registrar General of Shipping has the records of entry and leaving

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[16] Ship "X".

Table 3. Interviews carried out.

Organization	No. of Interviews	Rank of Persons
AA	15	Director (3), Personnel and Training (8), Catering, Marine and Engineer Supts. (3), R and D (1)
AB	12	Director (1), Personnel and Training (7), Marine and Engineer Supts. (4)
BA	9	Director (2), Personnel and Training (5), Marine Supts. (2)
BB	8	Director (1), Personnel and Training (3), Marine and Engineer Supts. (4)
CA	8	Director (3), Personnel and Training (3), Marine and Engineer Supts. (2)
CB	6	Director (1), Personnel and Training (3), Engineer Supt. (2)
Nautical Colleges	6	Principal (3), Lecturer (3)
National Sea Training School	12	Principal (4), Lecturer (8)
Liverpool Catering College	3	Principal (1), Lecturer (2)
National Union of Seamen	5	Asst. General Secretary (1), Research Officer (2), District Secretary (2)
M.N.A.O.A.	5	General Secretary (1), Research Officer (1), District Secretary (3)
B.S.F./M.N.E.	18	Manager (1), Training Officer (6), Regional Manager (4), Registrar (7)
Seafarers Education Service	1	Director

the sea for all ratings and officers; however, the data are dependent upon the seafarer's reporting that he is leaving to either the Mercantile Marine Office or to the Merchant Navy Establishment office in his home port. If he does not do this when he decides to go ashore, his record

of sea service continues until the M.N.B. issues a notification that the man has not reported and can be assumed to have left the sea. Depending on the pressure of work at M.N.B. offices, this notification may be issued any time three months after the man failed to report. In some cases the time elapsed may be as much as two years. For this reason the statistics for the number of seafarers gainfully employed in the shipping industry may have an error factor of between 800 and 1500 men at any one time because only 53% of seafarers report that they are leaving the sea.[17]

One of the reasons behind the failure to report is that the seafarer must surrender all his documents to the M.M.O., and he hesitates to do this on the grounds that he may wish to return to sea and will have to repeat the official, lengthy procedures again. The seafarer also finds it easy to obtain a new income-tax code number from his shore employers under the emergency-code regulations, and thus, there is no compulsion, in his view, for completing a bureaucratic procedure.

To overcome this drawback, an analysis was made of the records of seafarers who had entered the industry in 1949, 1954, 1959, and 1964, and had since left. These records were sampled from the files of the Liverpool and the South Shields M.N.B. offices, and it was possible to assess not only length of time in the shipping industry but also typical voyage patterns and career patterns. Unfortunately, since the sample was taken, a five-year rule has been imposed on "dead" files by the M.N.B., and consequently, many of the earlier files have been destroyed.

The total sample was 2,065 records (20% sample) and was divided between Liverpool and South Shields on the basis of 1,440 to 625 records,

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[17] Assessment of "failed to report" notations on records sample of men.

thereby being proportional to the number of seamen registered at each port between 1949 and 1969. In each case a 20% sample was taken on a random basis; that is, a record card was selected at random for each sample year and every fifth card abstracted.

The samples, therefore, consisted of (1) questionnaires administered to the crews of twenty-eight ships, and to the officers of five non-European crewed ships, yielding useable responses from 455 ratings and 369 officers, of whom 52 officers were from ships of the AX series; (2) the records of 2,065 seafarers who entered the industry in 1949, 1954, 1959, or 1964, and had since left; (3) research voyages on two ships; and (4) 108 interviews with non-seafaring employees of shipping companies, unions, and educational institutions.

Table 4. Summary of sample of ships' crews.

Ratings:

	Deck	Catering	Engine Room	Ships' N
Potential Sample N	288	184	120	28
Actual Sample N	243	140	72	28
Actual Sample as % of Potential Sample	84%	82%	60%	100%

Officers:

	Deck	Engineer	Other	Ships' N
Potential Sample N	179	217	66	33
Actual Sample N	158	189	22	33
Actual Sample as % of Potential Sample	86%	87%	33%	100%

CHAPTER I

THE OPERATION OF SHIPS

Introduction

A ship is many things. It is a highly complex piece of machinery, subject to the full force of the elements; a self-contained community; an efficient means of moving cargo from one part of the world to another; an investment; a means of employment; an instrument of national policy, and many more beside. Sailors are traditionally male, and ships are considered to be female, and the complex relationship between man and ship carries all the implications,weight, and doubts of a love affair. This aspect of seafaring has captured the imagination of novelists from Melville to deHartog, from Monsarrat to Roberts. This relationship also captures the imagination of young men and boys, as we shall see in Chapter IV. In our present analysis, however, we are interested in the ship as an object, primarily an economic object, and as a workplace with a structure of roles.

Economics of Ship Operation

A bulk-carrier of 15,000 tons deadweight cost £1.5 million to build in 1968.[1] Under the building subsidy scheme a shipowner could obtain rebates and allowances on the vessel which were then paid off during the course of the vessel's lifetime. The schemes offered an incentive to "buy British" and at the same time provided relatively inexpensive ships

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[1] Journal, 14/9/68, p. 5.

for the owners. Buying a ship is much like buying a house on a mortgage plan except that loans and depreciation costs must normally be liquidated within fifteen years. The more sophisticated a ship is, the narrower a band of trades she can serve economically. To use a container ship for bulk grain cargoes, for example, would be sheer lunacy at the present freight rates. To operate the 15,000-ton bulk-carrier, the owner would need to find in the region of £700 per day in earnings to break even.[2] The apportionment is shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1. Percentage breakdown of the cost of operating a 15,000-ton bulk-carrier in 1968.*

	%
Management	5
Crew costs	22
Depreciation and loan payments	20
Fuel	17
Repairs, maintenance and surveys	14
Insurance	10
Port charges	7
Other voyage costs	5

*Compiled from data given in interviews by directors of companies BB, CA, and CB.[3]

The owner of a bulk-carrier, therefore, must seek cargoes which will give him a return of at least £700 per day in order to break even over a long period. Added to his daily charges, the owner has the additional costs of waiting for cargo, steaming to a port to load the cargo, and the probable delay between discharging one cargo and locating the next. This would mean that the charge for the carriage of, say, bulk

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[2] Research Notebook 1, Interview with Director, Company CA.

[3] C. O'Loughlin (1967), especially ch. 10, and R.M. Elden (1962), p. 80, offer similar breakdowns of costs. Elden uses different headings, but if averaged out and reapportioned, there is only a slight difference (not significant at 0.01 "t" test).

grain from Buenos Aires to Hull with ten days' loading and discharging time would be a minimum of £1.60 per ton. Grain, of course, is a seasonal trade, as are the majority of the tramp and bulk-carriage trades.

A bulk-carrier of 10,000 tons may work the Europe-Great Lakes trade in the summer and early autumn, carrying cargoes of ferro-manganese ore for the blast furnaces at Detroit or Chicago and returning with grain from Port Arthur or Duluth. When the winter comes and the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes are blocked with ice, then this ship will trade between European and South American ports, carrying bulk cargoes or, if possible, she will trade only in European waters, bringing cargoes for transshipment to ports that larger bulk-carriers cannot reach.

The shipowner then has to juggle the following factors in his decisions regarding his ship: the daily cost of operating the bulk-carrier; the whereabouts of cargoes; the time of year. He must attempt to find suitable trades in which the vessel will not be damaged; for example, a vessel should not be placed on North Atlantic voyages in winter. In his calculations the cost of a crew for this type of ship is quite high and is the only cost which he can manipulate easily. Through reductions in overtime, for instance, he is able to reduce his wages bill. On a simple ship with little cargo equipment, a reduction in manpower may be possible, thus lowering his overhead by cutting back on wage costs, accommodation, and victualling costs, but his repair bill might be increased should maintenance have to be done ashore. The Board of Trade lays down minimum manning requirements for British ships, and the owner is obliged to comply with them.

The cargo-liner trades are more complex. The bulk-carrier and the tramp carry cargoes anywhere in the world, and these are of a homogeneous nature; that is, the entire cargo will be grain or iron ore. The cargo-liner, however, operates a fixed service between specified ports, transporting any cargo that is offered. On her voyage from the United Kingdom, Ship "Z", a cargo-liner, carried packages of machine tools, uncrated cars and tractors, twenty-five caravans, two hundred tons of Scotch whiskey, a similar amount of gin, a large shipment of Crown Derby and Wedgwood china, several hundred sacks of mail, and twelve hundred tons of other assorted items. These were consigned for five ports, at each of which cargo was loaded for the return to the United Kingdom. Consequently, some shipments were travelling longer distances than others, occupying different quantities of space for the same weight, and having different values per unit.

The problem here is to fix a rate that will give a return on the capital and cost of operation invested whilst taking into account all the other factors. The bulk-carrier referred to spent 240 days a year at sea, moving from one port to another with cargo. Almost the reverse is true of a cargo-liner, and port and cargo-equipment charges are much higher. Goss has calculated that the costs of operating a cargo-liner are much higher in terms of overheads than those of the bulk-carrier.[4]

Table 1.2. Percentage breakdown of the cost of operating an 8,000-ton cargo-liner in 1967.*

	%
Management	5
Crew costs	12
Depreciation and loan payments	24
Fuel	5
Maintenance, repairs and surveys	6
Insurance	10
Port charges	34
Other voyage costs	4

*Compiled from information given by directors of companies AA and AB. This assessment of costs is similar to that cited by Goss.

[4] R.O. Goss, cited in Rochdale (1970), para. 342.

The proportion allocated to human costs is relatively small, and economies in crew size, given the complexity of cargo-handling and cargo-care equipment, are also small scale. The chronic overmanning of cargo-liners in the 1940's and 1950's due to antiquated design is almost a thing of the past now, and crews have stabilized at about forty-five men, whilst the simple technology and the homogeneous cargo shipments of the tramp or bulk-carrier permit average crews of thirty-six men in the sample.

Even with the larger number of men, the crew costs of the cargo-liner are a significantly lower percentage of the total cost. The cost per day of a cargo-liner operation in 1968 was estimated to be £1,060 by a director of one of the larger cargo-liner groups.[5] Freight rates are complex and frequently illogical in that rule-of-thumb methods of "what the traffic will bear" are coupled with inducements for continued custom and surcharges for ports which experience delays. This patchwork of rates is occasionally altered, but the companies tend to adjust them on a once-and-for-all basis in terms of their costs.

To provide a hedge against undercutting by competitors and to stabilize their trading patterns, cargo-liner groups, as will be mentioned in Chapter II, join cargo- or freight-conferences. Conferences fix the freight rates between ports on the basis of distance and type of cargo. The rate fixed for a type of cargo is derived from either the cost of handling and caring for that kind of cargo which requires special handling -- for example, refrigerated cargo or small parcels of bulk liquids -- or a rate fixed on the ratio of value to weight or size with a higher rate given to the cargo with the higher ratio.[6]

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[5] Research Notebook 2, Interview with Director, Company AB.

[6] For a full discussion of freight rate policies, see C. O'Loughlin (1967), especially ch. 11; Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries (1961); Rochdale (1970), paras. 411-412.

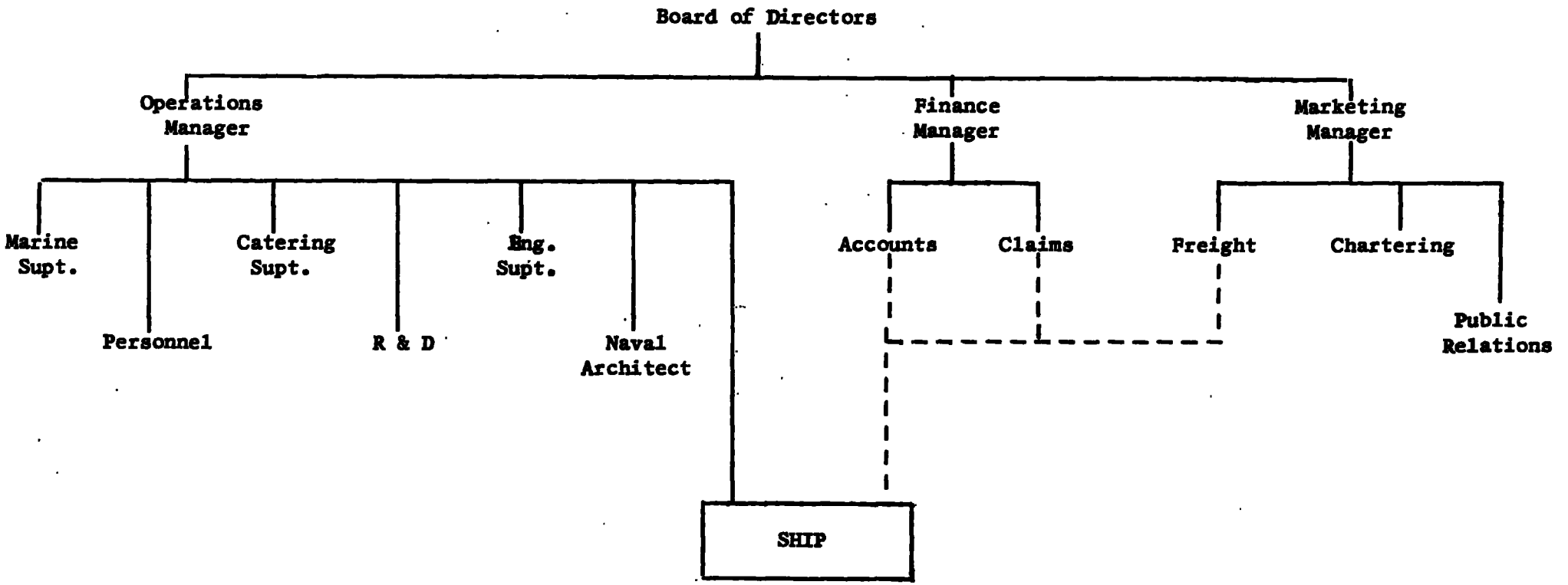
Thus, the problem is that on cargo-liners it is difficult to apportion the voyage costs to any part of the cargo carried, so voyage costs and freight rates are examined in view of the overall service. In order to maintain the flow of cargo necessary for providing service, the cargo-liner company will join with other companies to form a conference that will set economic freight rates and give discounts or rebates to regular shippers and ensure a fair distribution of cargo between what would otherwise be competitors.

The management of the ship by the crew is little affected by the considerations of the profits or losses made by the ship. In the majority of cases (62%) the officers (Sample N = 369) and ratings (Sample N = 455) interviewed had no idea of the current trading position of their company, and only one of the ratings had seen a company balance sheet. In the majority of cases, ships' officers were only told the costs of work done on the ship, if they were told anything. In fact, of senior officers (N = 21) interviewed in the sample, nearly three-quarters (74%) received no information at all from the owners concerning the trading position of the ship as a regular managerial resource. As we have seen, the cargo handled in cargo-liners is difficult to apportion to costs, and of the cargo-liners in the sample, only one was receiving all the relevant costing information as an "experiment". Amongst the bulk-carriers, five ships out of the twelve regularly received information.

The Structure of Shipping Companies

The structure of the companies involved related directly to the availability of information and thus to the efficient operation of the ship. The company structure of the small tramp and bulk-carriage firms was identical to that of the liner company within a group. (See Chart 1.1, next page.)

Chart 1.1. A simplistic chart of the organization of a typical shipping company. (In a small company, one man may combine the work of several departments of a large company.)



All shipping companies have operations, finance, and marketing "subsystems" or functional units. In the tramp company CA, for example, each of the directors controlled one of the subsystems and oversaw the work being carried out. The personnel director also handled the problems of ships' stores, and the two superintendents were equally familiar with deck or engine-room work. The size of the organization was such that spheres of influence could not be defined, and consequently, the ships reflected this approach by being organized in a relatively informal manner. They were capable of innovating when necessary at the request of the shore management, but they were also able to set in train innovations on the ship which were then transmitted to the shore staff.

As we shall see, company CA had the best employment records of the companies sampled. The cargo-liner company, AA, had the various functions listed in Chart 1.1, but like all the other cargo-liner companies, was in the process of changing its trading during the period of research and diversifying its non-liner trades. The company was organized with a strictly bureaucratic hierarchy and had formalized rules and procedures codified in the "Company's Regulations". This structure extended to the ships with explicit rules for the conduct of officers and ratings, covering all activities including the correct way to raise and lower an ensign.

Company AB was similar in many respects, and its reputation was based on its good turnout of cargo. However, when an attempt was initially made to diversify operations and reorganize company AB, the lack of informal communication between departments (or "empires" as they were known within the company) other than at the top resulted in the administration's sabotaging many of the changes. The next series of changes in 1966-67 went through smoothly in the head office but were marked by an increased turnover amongst officers and ratings because

they had not been informed other than by a mimeographed circular sent to the master of each ship. This turnover increased as the changes ashore cut across the ships' regulations which had been amended slightly.

The Structure of Ships' Crews

The structure of the ship's crew is shown in Chart 1.2, and it will be seen immediately that no man has exactly the same rank or status as another. In the lower ranks the gradations are extremely fine, and status, experience, and ability count in determining the degree of power held. The purpose behind this structure is to ensure a hierarchy of command in case of accident or illness. In case of emergency such as shipwreck, command would pass from the master through the mates and then to the chief engineer and engineer officers. Promotion to master can only be via the mates, and although the chief engineer probably has the most complex and well-qualified job on the ship, he and the other engineers are always a half-step behind their opposite numbers amongst the mates in the hierarchy.[7]

Deck Officers

Mates and master have either completed a navigating apprenticeship or have sailed for a minimum of four years as a deck rating before they take the lowest certificate of competency, that of Second Mate. Further periods of qualifying seatime as a mate are required before the First Mate's Certificate and then the Master's Certificate examinations can be taken. An average mate should take his master's certificate between the ages of 25 and 27 years; thus his training will have taken between eight

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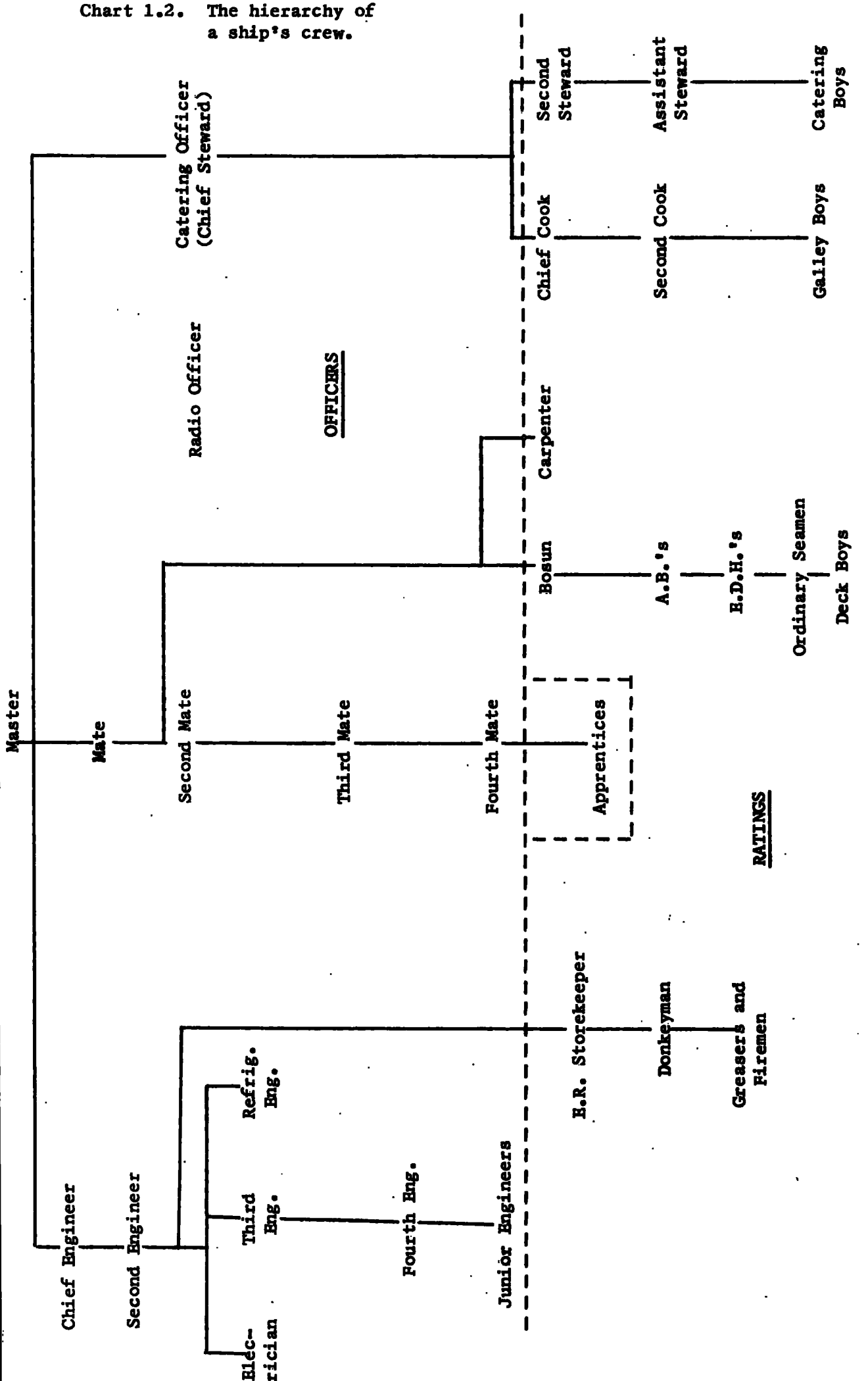
[7] S.A. Richardson (1956); V. Aubert and O. Arner (1958).

Chart 1.2. The hierarchy of a ship's crew.



and ten years to complete. A further certificate, that of Extra-Master, which is considered to be the equivalent to a degree by the Department of Education and Science, can be taken, but the certificate is not normally needed at sea unless the man wishes to take a job as a surveyor or as a lecturer in a school of navigation or is seeking to move to the management of the company ashore as a marine superintendent.

The master of a ship is literally "master under God". The Merchant Shipping Acts give him many of the legal powers reserved to a justice of the peace ashore, and under the Acts, he has the ultimate responsibility for the ship. The master is the contractual employer of the crew and is solely accountable for their safety and their actions. If, for example, oil should accidentally be discharged overboard at any time, the master is the person prosecuted if legal action is brought.

These responsibilities and powers are compatible with the days before wireless telegraphy but are, nowadays, usually encroached upon by the instructions from the shipping company, for the master is, in reality, the manager of an industrial transport undertaking that goes to sea. Like other managers the main part of his job is paperwork — that is, wages, accounts, cargo documents, and so on — and the rest of his time is spent supervising and advising his subordinates. Only in special circumstances does he take charge of work situations that are normally delegated to others.

The Mate, or Chief Officer or First Mate, is the deputy manager and head of the deck department. He is usually a watch-keeping officer in cargo ships (the 4-8 watch) and supervises the work of the other mates and seamen. Generally, he holds a Master's Certificate and is in charge of the care and maintenance of cargo equipment and the hull and superstructure as well as loading and discharging the ship's cargo. The Mate

gives the deck ratings their instructions through the Bosun and looks after their well-being. Like the master he has a great deal of paperwork, and this combined with his watch-keeping and supervisory work amounts to a working day of 13 hours on average on the cargo-liner and 11½ hours on the tramps and bulk-carriers, where the cargo work is simpler.

The Second Mate is ordinarily the man responsible for the navigating equipment and aids, and ensures that charts, etc., are prepared for each sea passage. He will usually hold at least a First Mate's Certificate, and if sailing with a large company, probably a Master's Certificate. He assists the Mate with cargo calculations, and with the help of the Third Mate, supervises the actual stowage and discharge of cargo whilst the ship is in port. At sea the Second Mate usually keeps the 12-4 watch.

The Third Mate normally keeps the 8-12 watch at sea and assists the Mate and Second Mate with their work. In addition, he is responsible for maintaining, testing, and checking all life-saving and fire equipment. By law, only a master, Mate, and Second Mate must be carried; therefore, it is generally recognized that the Third Mate keeps what would otherwise be the master's watch in a three-watch system. The Third Mate customarily has at least a Second Mate's Certificate, and if with a cargo-liner company which carries Fourth Mates, probably a First Mate's Certificate. Tramp ships and bulk-carriers rarely have more than three mates, as the cargo requirements render them unnecessary. Because of a shortage of certificated mates during the research period, Ship "B" was unable to obtain a Third Mate, so a final-year apprentice sailed as uncertificated Third Mate, and his watch-keeping was done under the active supervision of the master.

The Fourth Mate (or Extra-Third Mate) is carried by some cargo-liner companies. The purpose of having an extra mate on board is to relieve the Mate of some of his routine watch-keeping duties and to provide an

additional man to assist with loading and discharging the ship's cargo. Company AA saw the Fourth Mate as an

> . . .officer who has completed his training, but has not had any real experience of watch-keeping or of cargo work as an officer. We think that it's a good thing to have a chance to gain this experience before becoming a Third Mate with full responsibilities. It's also a useful way of training men from other companies in our methods of operation.[8]

The apprentices enter the industry from school and pursue courses leading to a Second Mate's Certificate in a variety of ways. On the ship an apprentice works as a trainee officer, undertaking tasks that in theory will provide him with practical experience of seamanship and a knowledge of the skills and duties of a mate.[9] In practice this is not usually the case. Apprentices are available for work in all manner of ways on the ship. Frequently the work they do is to supplement that of the seamen and to provide the touches of smartness traditionally required on board ship such as polishing brass.[10] Little instruction is given to them, and on only four of the twenty-eight ships in the sample was any purposive interest taken in their training by the ships' officers. The apprentice is in a no-man's land between ratings and officers. He is expected to behave like an officer but is rarely accepted as one and does menial work that the crew are often loath to do.[11]

Engineer Officers

The Chief Engineer is head of the engineering department on the ship. Except for the radio equipment, he is responsible for the maintenance and

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[8] Research Notebook 3, Interview with Director, AA Company.

[9] Rochdale (1970), para. 893; Pearson (1967), para. 21.

[10] Research Notebook 19; Cadets' Diaries Nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15.

[11] Research Notebook 3, p. 6.

operation of all the propulsion and auxiliary machinery and sometimes the radar and direction-finding equipment. The Chief Engineer will hold a First Class Certificate of Competency as an engineer in either steam or motor ships, or a combined steam/motor ship certificate. The Chief Engineer, like the master, does not usually keep watches but supervises the work of the department and will assist with major repairs.

In some companies the Chief Engineer is directly responsible to, and reports to the company through, the master. In other companies the Chief Engineer reports to the company engineer superintendent but is still responsible to the master. In two of the companies in the sample, AB and CA, the former system of control took place, while in one company, BB, the latter was the method of reporting. In other companies the former method was required, but the activities of the engineer superintendents effectively bypassed this by non-consultation with the master and by issuing instructions directly to the Chief Engineer. Again like the master, the Chief Engineer is primarily concerned with administrative tasks.

The Second Engineer is a watch-keeper on the 4-8 watch and is in charge of the day-to-day operation and maintenance of the engine room and deck machinery. He will hold a Second Class Engineer's Certificate, although in cases of shortage of qualified engineers, the Board of Trade may grant a dispensation to an unqualified engineer for a voyage. The Second Engineer of ship "Y" had such a dispensation. The major portion of the Second Engineer's time is taken up with allocating and supervising the work done by the other engineer officers and by the engine-room ratings. The Second Engineer, like the Mate, instructs the ratings, and they report back to him. The other engineer officers have little direct control over the activities of the ratings except when they are assigned to work with them on a specific task.

The Third Engineer does not usually have a Board of Trade certificate, but the major companies have said that they would like to see all Third Engineers with a Second Class Engineer's Certificate.[12] The Third Engineer keeps the 12-4 watch, and in a ship that does not carry an electrician, will undertake the responsibility for the ship's electrical equipment. The same applies to ships that do not carry a refrigeration engineer. Electricians and refrigerator engineers have approximately the same status and rank as the Third Engineer, but because of their specializations, work as day workers and are on call for any emergency that may occur outside normal working hours or for special circumstances such as docking.

The Fourth Engineer is uncertificated and keeps the 8-12 watch. He will have been at sea for at least a year before becoming a watch-keeper and will usually be promoted by the company from junior engineer.

The junior engineers carried by a ship vary in number. On all the ships in the sample there was at least one junior, and the maximum found was three. The tramp and bulk-carriers usually had one or two junior engineers whilst the cargo-liners had two or three. Their methods of working were varied. On two ships the juniors kept night watches and then turned to as day workers; on fourteen ships they were watch-keepers, and on the remaining twelve, they were day workers only. It should be noted that any or all of the engineer officers were called upon when work had to be done, and frequently in port they would all work together on major pieces of maintenance.

The majority of engineers are recruited from men who have served apprenticeships in heavy fitting or mechanical engineering in shore

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[12] Research Notebook 3, Interview with Engineer Superintendent, Company AA. Research Notebook 2, Interview with Engineer Superintendent, Company AB.

industry. In our sample, 87% of the engineers (N = 189) entered from industry in this way.[13] The remaining engineers had served their apprenticeship at sea, but unlike the navigating apprentices, had worked with the officers throughout their training on board ship. As we shall see, this latter form of training creates fewer role tensions in the engineer officer than training in the traditional way.

The Catering Department

The Catering Officer, or Chief Steward as he is known on the majority of ships, is the only officer who reaches that status solely after serving as a rating. The Chief Steward is head of the catering department and may have been either a steward or a cook as a rating. He will normally hold a ship's Cook's Certificate and may have attended catering management courses offered by the Liverpool Nautical College or the National Sea Training Schools.

The Chief Steward is responsible for catering for the entire crew and for the cleanliness of the officers' accommodation and public rooms; for the organization of ship's food, linen, and catering stores; and on many ships, for the ship's bonded stores of alcohol and tobacco. He may also run a small "slop chest" from which the seafarer can purchase items like toothpaste, razor blades, working gloves, and so forth, which may be on the company's account or on his own. The Chief Steward's role in his own department is overall supervision, including the planning of menus and the administrative paperwork. He does not usually assist with any of the work except in emergencies.

The Second Steward supervises the work of the stewards, and on cargo-ships is a working supervisor. He will work in the pantry making up the

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[13] Rochdale (1970) notes that "some 80% of engineer officers are recruited from industry; para. 912.

orders relayed by the stewards, or he may take part in the service himself. He will also assist with cleaning the accommodation. He allocates work amongst the other ratings, of whom there will probably be two assistant stewards and one or two catering boys.

An Assistant Steward does the housework and serves the meals on board ship. He will "look after" the cabins of five or six officers as well as a proportion of the public rooms and alleyways. He works mostly on his own and meets both officers and other ratings during the course of the day. His tasks take him to all parts of the ship's accommodation, and he has relatively clean work, protected from the weather. In addition to cleaning the officers' cabins, he also waits on table at mealtimes and prepares morning coffee and tea, afternoon tea, and at the time of the study, a supper tray for the night watch. This routine has changed somewhat, and the snacks are now made either by the officers themselves in specially equipped pantries or by the catering boys.

The Catering Boy does the remaining housework. If he is attached to the steward's side of the department, he will scrub and help serve meals. He will probably learn his job by being given the Chief and Second Stewards' cabins to clean and will keep the mess room scrubbed and tidy. If a Catering Boy is attached to the galley, he will work for the cook, cleaning, washing pots and pans, preparing vegetables, and other unskilled tasks that arise in the preparation of food for thrity or forty men three times a day.

The Chief Cook is thought by many to be the most important person on the ship.[14] "If the ship's got a good Doc [cook] then the crowd [sailors] are happy. But if he can't cook, then I've got problems."[15]

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[14] V. Aubert and O. Arner (1958), pp. 206-207; Pearson (1967), para. 210.

[15] Research Notebook 4, Interview with Bosun, Company BA.

He is the holder of a Board of Trade certificate in cookery, and training is provided for the certificate at the National Sea Training Schools and at some technical colleges whose courses are approved by the Board of Trade. The certificate requirements were laid down in 1906.[16] The courses are open to any catering rating with twelve months' sea experience of work in the galley and are in two parts, the second being taken after a further twelve months' sea experience as an assistant or second cook. For ratings entering the industry from shore employment, two years' experience in catering establishments is required.

The Act of 1906 stipulates that every British ship engaged in the deep-sea trades and with a gross tonnage of more than one thousand tons should carry a certificated ship's cook, so the need for the proper preparation of food on board ship has been recognized for some time. The Chief Cook must be able to bake as well as prepare three hot meals a day. His galley is usually electrically equipped with stoves, hot presses, and so on, but on some ships the stoves are still coal-fired or oil-burning. The cook's working day begins at 5:30 a.m. most of the time; he will have breaks betwen 8:30 and 10:00 a.m. and between 1:00 and 4:00 p.m., and will finish work about 6:30. If he is baking during the day, he will work through one of the rest periods or begin the day at 4:00 a.m.

On the cargo-liners, a Second Cook was carried who usually did not have the second part of his Cook's Certificate, and he understudied the cook, helping with the preparation of raw vegetables as well as with the cooking itself. If he had a Cook's Certificate, he usually baked bread and made cakes and puddings. On the tramp ships and bulk-carriers in the sample, the Second Cook was an assistant cook and often did the work of a galley boy as well.

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[16] Section 27, Merchant Shipping Act, 1906.

The Galley Boy washes all the cooking utensils, cleans the galley, prepares raw vegetables, and generally assists with the dirty work. Sometimes he works in the galley because he is not considered to have the "presence" required of a catering boy in the steward's department, where neatness, tidiness, and a good appearance are considered essential.[17] Usually, however, he is given opportunities to work in the galley or in the steward's department, and at the age of 17 or 18 decides in which he will make his career. Both branches of catering have opportunities for promotion to Chief Steward.

The Deck Ratings

The Boatswain, or Bosun, is the senior deck rating on the ship. He must hold an A.B.'s certificate, be twenty years of age or older, and have had more than four years' sea service on deck.[18] The Bosun is promoted to his rating by the company in the case of the cargo-liner firms, or the company or Mate in the other dry-cargo trades. As we shall see, the cargo-liner companies attract older men by virtue of their regular runs and, consequently, are able to provide a career structure of a limited scope. The promotion is on the basis of merit, and the Bosun assumes the role of foreman of the deck ratings; therefore, he is usually on day work.

The Bosun's Mate, or Lamptrimmer, is a rating carried on some cargo-liners who asists the Bosun and acts as storekeeper for the deck department. Only eight ships in the sample carried men of this rating, and they all belonged to company AA. Like a Bosun, the Lamptrimmer is a day

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[17] Research Notebook 2, Interview with Catering Superintendent, Company AA, and Research Notebook 4, Interview with Personnel Manager, Company BA.

[18] Board of Trade Notice M 489, para. 9 (a).

worker, and the rank affords an intermediate step on the career ladder. His industrial role is akin to that of chargehand.

An A.B., or able seaman, is the mature deck worker. He must hold an A.B.'s certificate issued by the Board of Trade and a lifeboatman's certificate, have served three years at sea, and be over the age of 21.[19] The A.B. will have served in all the junior ratings under normal circumstances and is qualified to do all the work that is done by the deck department. As a result, he can either keep watches as a helmsman or lookout, or work on deck maintenance as a day worker. Although he considers himself skilled, his everyday work is of a semi-skilled nature as much of the "sailor's work" that was customary is now done ashore and very little splicing, for instance, is done on board ship.

Considered by the Board of Trade as a mature worker, an Efficient Deck Hand (E.D.H.) is a deck rating who does not hold a lifeboatman's certificate, has insufficient seatime to qualify as an A.B., or is not old enough to qualify as an A.B. The E.D.H. is at least 18 years old and has twelve months' seatime before he sits the examination for the A.B.'s certificate.[20] After he has obtained it, he receives an adult rating's pay and is treated for the purposes of manning the ships as an A.B. by the Board of Trade. His role is similar to that of the A.B.

Junior Ordinary Seamen and Senior Ordinary Seamen are ratings who have had varying degrees of sea service.[21] A J.O.S. has spent at least nine months at sea on ship's articles and is over 16½ years of age, whilst an S.O.S. is at least 17½ years old and has been seagoing for a minimum

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[19] Statutory Instrument 1962, No. 579; Board of Trade Notice M 489, paragraph 9 (b).

[20] Board of Trade Notice M 489, paragraph 9 (c).

[21] Ibid., paras. 9 (d) and (e).

of eighteen months. These boys do not keep watches but serve as day workers. If a deck boy is carried, then they do not normally have to keep the alleyways and bathrooms clean in the crew accommodation. Their work on the ship is mainly unskilled, and they are trained by working with the A.B.'s and the E.D.H.'s.

A Deck Boy is a boy who has served at sea for less than nine months,[22] and the Peggy, as he is commonly known, does the chores of keeping the accommodation clean (but not the seamen's cabins), fetching food from the galley, and washing up in the mess room after meals. In addition, he works on deck but is not given jobs that would be done by a certificated rating until he has had some experience.

In the deck department there must be A.B.'s or E.D.H.'s, but the other ratings need not be carried. In fact, on three of the tramp ships and four of the bulk-carriers in the sample, no boy ratings or lamp-trimmers were carried. The manning for British foreign-going vessels is prescribed in Board of Trade Notice M 489, and because of the similarity of size of the cargo-liners and the tramps in the sample, their minimum crews were all a bosun and seven A.B.'s. The cargo-liners had an average deck crew of 11.8 men, whilst the tramps had an average deck crew of 8.4 men. The bulk-carriers were all between 25,000 and 40,000 tons gross, and had a minimum manning of a bosun and nine A.B.'s. The average complement was 10.4 men.

The Engine-Room Ratings

The engine-room ratings are generally recruited after they have passed their eighteenth birthday and are given a short three-week training course at the National Sea Training School at Liverpool.

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[22] Ibid., para. 9 (f).

Thereafter, little or no training is given the ratings, and theymove up a very short career ladder on merit alone. At least one-engine-room rating is on each watch, and one day worker is usually on board as well.

The rating is described by the work he does. A fireman tends the boilers on a steam ship; a greaser or wiper greases and cleans the engine on a motor ship. A donkeyman tends auxiliary boilers on ships which have them. The most common grading was that of donkey-greaser; that is, a greaser who also looked after an auxiliary boiler used for supplying steam to deck machinery, heating systems in fuel tanks, and the accommodation. The day worker might be called just that, or if there was a career structure, he might be known as the storekeeper. All the work done by engine-room ratings in the sample was semi- or unskilled, and the skilled maintenance work was carried out by the engineer officers.

One ship in the sample carried an engine-room hand who was a boy under 18 who performed unskilled work on a day-work basis and had attended a short pre-sea course at Leith Nautical College. The average complement of engine-room ratings in the sample was 4.2, and no significant difference appeared between types of ship or in the pattern of trading.

The Operating Structure of the Ship

The working structure of the ship is thus divided into departmental units and into operational and maintenance units. The latter is the division between watch-keeping and day work. The deck ratings at sea and out of confined waters do not normally keep a daytime watch on the bridge but work on deck at maintenance duties. Bridge watches for ratings are composed of lookout duties, as all the ships in the sample had automatic steering, and a rating was only placed at the wheel during very rough weather, in confined waters such as the Straits of Dover, or on entering or leaving port.

Table 1.3 (a). Operational structure of a ship's crew in the open sea (minimum manning).*

	Day	Night
Deck		
Officers	3	3
Ratings	6	6
Engine Room		
Officers	5	5
Ratings	3	3
Radio Officer**	1	1

Table 1.3(b). Maintenance structure of a ship's crew in the open sea (minimum manning).*

	Day	Night
Deck		
Officers	1	0
Ratings	2	0
Engine Room		
Officers	1	0
Ratings	1	0
Radio Officer**	1	0

*Derived from observations on ships "Y" and "Z".

**Only one radio officer is carried and his work is spread out across sixteen hours of the day of which he will work eight hours.

Because of the four time scales in use on a ship at sea and the three time scales in use in port, the working structure is fragmented to a greater degree than the structure shown in Table 1.3. Besides the day of the watch-keeper who works four hours on watch followed by eight hours free time, and the day of the day worker which is similar to that of an industrial worker ashore, there are the time scales of the catering staff and the Radio Officer, both of whom work a fragmented day (see Table 1.4).

Table 1.4. The organizational structure of a ship at sea (minimum manning): Specimen day with no overtime.

Time	Deck Dept.	Engine Room	Catering Dept.	Radio Officer	No. of Men Working+
12 noon	Second Mate 2 Watchkeepers (A.B.)* 2 Day Workers (A.B.& Bosun)	Third Engr. Jr. Engr.** Watchkeeper (D/Gr.) Day Worker	Chief Steward 2 Cooks 4 Stewards and Boys	On Watch	17
			1330	1400	
1600					9
	Mate 2 Watchkeepers (A.B.)*	Second Engr. Jr. Engr.** Watchkeeper (D/Gr.)	Chief Steward 2 Cooks 4 Stewards and Boys	On Watch	14
				1800	
2000					6
	Third Mate 2 Watchkeepers (A.B.)	Fourth Engr. Watchkeeper (D/Gr.)		On Watch	6
				2200	
midnight					5
	Second Mate 2 Watchkeepers (A.B.)	Third Engr. Jr. Engr.** Watchkeeper (D/Gr.)			6
					6
0400					
	Mate 2 Watchkeepers (A.B.)*	Second Engr. Jr. Engr.** Watchkeeper (D/Gr.)			6
			0600		
			CS, 2 Cooks, 4 Stewards and Boys		13
0800					
	Third Mate 2 Watchkeepers (A.B.)* 2 Day Workers (A.B. & Bosun)	Fourth Engr. Watchkeeper (D/Gr.) Day Worker	CS, 2 Cooks, 4 Stewards and Boys	On Watch	16
			0930		
			1100	1000	
			CS, 2 Cooks, 4 Stewards and Boys		15
noon					

*During the hours of daylight in fine weather, these watchkeepers will be engaged in maintenance work.

**On some ships in the sample, there were no watch-keeping juniors; instead the junior engineers do day work.

+Number of men working during at least half the time period.

The effect of the combination of these four time scales is to reduce the opportunities for primary groupings to evolve. This is further diminished, particularly in the engine room, by the amount of overtime worked by the crew. Given the mechanistic hierarchy of roles that we discussed earlier, major problems of coordinating the work force arise on board ship. The officers keep watch at traditional times for each rank, and mates and engineers for corresponding ranks; for example, Third Mate and Fourth Engineer in their departmental hierarchies work during the same spans. The ratings, however, switch watch-keeping periods usually at the end of the week in order to give each man an equal share of overtime and broken sleep.

We turn our attention now to the factors which affect the efficient working of the ship.

The efficient working of the ship is hindered by those systems which derive from the twenty-four-hours-a-day operation of the vessel. The supervisory and planning staff in the operating departments, the Mate, and the Second Engineer each keep an operational watch period, and consequently, their supervision of other maintenance and operations work must take place in their free time, as must all administrative work. It is impossible, for example, for the Mate to comply with Rule 29 (the "Catch-22" of seafaring) of the "Regulations for the Prevention of Collision at Sea" if he is doing any work unconnected with the safe navigation of the ship during his watch.[23] If the Mate is to complete his

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[23] "Regulations for the Prevention of Collision at Sea", S.I. - 1965-1565, H.M.S.O., Rule 29: "Nothing in these Rules shall exonerate any vessel, or the owner, master or crew thereof, from the consequences of any neglect to carry lights or signals, or of any neglect to keep a proper look out, or of the neglect of any precaution which may be required by the ordinary practice of seamen, or by the special circumstances of the case".

work load, he frequently finds it necessary to ignore the provisions of the regulation and take some of his paperwork on the bridge whilst he is on watch. This means that he does not give his full attention to the requirements of keeping a proper lookout.

The Efficient Working of the Ship

There is, then, a three-dimensional field of demands which the seafarer, particularly at the supervisor and foreman level, must take into account in every working day. These demands of the operating environment are internal, external, and uncontrollable factors of ship operations. The external are the safety regulations, outlined previously, and other government requirements for the operating of ships.[24]

Table 1.5. Factors affecting the efficient working of a ship.

Internal Factors	External Factors	Uncontrollable Factors
Multiple time scales	Government regulations	Weather
Mixture of operations and maintenance responsibilities and manpower	Company demands (including market demand)	Machinery failure
Economic needs of seafarers	Unions and Shipping Federation	Accidents
Social needs of seafarers	Dependency on shore industries for services	

This field of demands also includes those of the company, since company policy determines the way in which ships are operated:

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[24] Whilst at sea there are no safety regulations such as the Factory Acts to protect the seafarers. All the regulations are for the safety of the ship with the exception of regulations concerning lifesaving appliances.

> Frequently we have to do things that aren't safe or we would lose our jobs. For instance, the marine super. expects me to dock on the morning tide on Monday, and will have ordered pilots, tugs, and gangs for us. Now if a fog comes down or we run into a lot of rain in the Channel by law[25] I'll have to slow down, and that will make me miss the tide. The marine super. couldn't give a damn if I lose my ticket [certificate] if I don't slow down, he's only interested in not wasting money by cancelling gangs and tugs and what have you.[26]

Further constraints are placed by the unions and the British Shipping Federation, but these are oblique constraints.

The field of internal demands lies within the ship itself. Equipment has to be overhauled, and hull and machinery maintenance must be carried out if it is to operate successfully. In addition to these two fields of demands, the ship is affected by uncontrollable factors upon its crew such as the weather, machinery failure, or accidents to men or to the ship.

Frequently, the days of bad weather affecting work at sea are assumed to have passed.[27] Although the weather might affect the organization of jobs, it is argued that plenty of inside work can be undertaken. While a well-found ship has a good chance of survival in even the worst weather, losses occur regularly in spite of this.[28] Yet the greatest loss of efficiency is due to the physical strain of working on a platform which is constantly moving in any sort of sea. During the heavy weather in the research voyages, it was noted that officers and ratings were

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[25] "Regulations for the Prevention of Collision at Sea", Rules 16 and 29.

[26] Research Notebook 8, Interview with Master, Ship "Z".

[27] See, for example, the Observer, 6 April, 1969, p. 2; the Times, 5 July, 1969, p. 4.

[28] The Times, 18 January, 1969, p. 5; Evening Chronicle, 23 January, 1969, p. 1; ibid., 3 February, 1969, p. 1; Journal, 12 March, 1969, p. 3; ibid., 17 March, 1969, p. 1; the Times, 24 March, 1969, p. 4, are examples of cargo ships sunk or badly damaged in heavy weather in the first three months of 1969.

tired or irritable, and the amount of time resting or sleeping increased.[29]

Efficiency in the sense of the economical use of men and materials to achieve a given goal as quickly as possible is thus a mirage on board ship. The mechanistic system of organization can cope with the demands of the three fields outlined, but it cannot deal with them efficiently. Maintenance can be planned, but four days of bad weather or a decision by a cargo supervisor during the loading of the cargo can delay the implementation of maintenance schemes, and these are prone to be neglected. Small wonder, then, as Ramsay has documented and as we have noted with ship "Z", that seafarers tend to do the work they think will please the company's management when the ship is inspected.[30]

This situation is further compounded by the frequent turnover of crews. With the exception of those men who are on company contracts, ratings do not have a continuity of service with a ship or even a company and are contracted for on a voyage basis. Only 16% of the sample as a whole returned to a ship after one voyage, and only 7% served on a ship for a third voyage. The majority of bosuns, chief cooks, carpenters, and second stewards were on company service contracts, and are not included in the percentages above. Allowing for company service contracts, 23% of ratings returned to the ship for a second voyage, 16% for a third voyage, 9% for a fourth, and 3% for a fifth. A significant difference was evident in the returns for cargo-liners and tramps/bulk-carriers.

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[29] Research Notebooks 4, 5, 10, 11, 12.

[30] See R.A. Ramsay (1966), pp. 94-95.

Table 1.6. Percentage of ratings returning to ships for successive voyage.*

	All Ships	Cargo-Liners	Tramps/Bulk Carriers
	%	%	%
First voyage	100	100	100
Second voyage	23	36**	11**
Third voyage	16	25**	8**
Fourth voyage	9	13**	4**
Fifth or more voyages	3	3	3
N =	455	239	216

**s.d. at 0.01 level ("t" test)

*Table compiled from interview data.

Because of this constant changing of crews, there was a period of about two weeks at the beginning of the voyage during which the ratings had to learn about the ship and the functioning of its equipment.

> It's always the bloody same. We get a new crowd each voyage, and I have to work the ship with the kids [apprentices] because they [the crew] don't know where anything is or how to use it. The kids are willing but they can't do a man's job.[31]

This was particularly true of the tramps and bulk-carriers, but the cargo-liners also suffered a loss of efficiency in the early days of the voyage.

> We get a good crowd [deck ratings] together and they learn the ropes, and then we dock after three months, and the next trip the Bosun and me have to start training a new bunch. If I can keep the older men, you know give them extra overtime or good jobs to make them come back, I will.[32]

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[31] Research Notebook 2, Conversation with Bosun, Ship "Y".

[32] Research Notebook 24, Interview with Mate of cargo-liner company AB.

The main consideration, then, is to maintain the status quo on the ship. The work may possibly be pressed ahead, but on the whole, the officers' concern is to satisfy the demands previously cited and to avoid creating further tensions by innovating. It is, to quote a second mate,

> . . .bloody depressing to work for two trips with a go-ahead mate, and then have him replaced by a man who only thinks of his promotion and not the ship. Sometimes it makes you want to cry to see all that work wasted.[33]

Efficiency is also hindered by out-of-date working methods. As a ship has a working life of between fifteen and twenty-five years, a wide range of equipment and technical systems are in existence. Moreover, the smaller companies, mainly in the tramp and bulk-carriage trades, do not have the capital resources to adopt innovations that are not already well proven, so a time lag of some thirty years frequently results between the introduction of types of equipment and their wholesale adoption.

Ramsay has discussed this point and has attributed it to the conservatism of shipowners.[34] However, in this instance the conservatism reflects the availability of capital for innovation amongst smaller firms. Management patterns in the small companies' development stage are aggressive and seek to maximise returns, but the technical systems of their ships mirror the lack of capital at the time of building, since the small company is unable to command the credit facilities available to the large or medium-sized shipping companies.

> We build a new ship every three years and each time we have to decide where to obtain our money, and what we can afford to put into the ship, besides the usual questions of size and trade. Because we have to count our pennies we are at the mercy of the shipbuilder and the bank, and I fancy that our next ship [a 26,000-ton bulk-carrier] will cost more to build than the one just

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[33] Conversation with a second mate, cargo-liner company (Liverpool), March, 1970.

[34] R.A. Ramsay (1966), pp. 144-153.

> ordered by P & O although they are similar. The shipyard knows that P & O will place another 30 orders before we repeat one, and consequently we are at a disadvantage.[35]

Cranes on cargo-liners have been proven to be time- and labour-saving since the interwar years, but a major movement to utilize cranes did not come about in the Merchant Navy until the late 1950's with the "Bulimba" class of ships ordered by the British India Line. Company AA did not adopt cranes as standard fittings on its fleet of cargo-liners until 1964, whilst company AB employed them slightly earlier. The cargo derricks used before were cumbersome to handle and required constant trimming and adjustment, resulting in delays to cargo work during normal operations. This placed a heavy work load on the deck ratings, although an initial saving in building costs was achieved by the owners.

Seafarers are an international work force and are able to compare conditions of work on their own ship with those on other British ships or foreign-flag vessels. This comparison was made by the crew of ship "B", which was rigged with a pair of derricks at each hatch in the traditional way.

> We was fools to have ever sailed on a manky bastard like this one. We'd have done better to have gotten that Pacific job — all hydraulics there and the crowd don't even touch them. The Mate pushes a button and they open and close automatic.[36]

Out-of-date equipment is a major problem for the shipowner who must expend capital on installation and maintenance, for the ship's officer who manages work groups using this equipment, and for the rating's effort bargain with the owner and the officer. Out-dated machinery is relatively labour-intensive, but scales of manning are based upon automatic steering and warning devices. Although these instruments

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[35] Research Notebook 1, Interview with Director, Company CA.

[36] Research Notebook 2, Discussion with A.B.'s, Ship "Y". It should be noted, however, that older equipment gave the deck crew an opportunity to use and demonstrate their skills.

reduce the work loads somewhat, the work load of an old cargo-liner fitted with these devices is a much greater one than on a modern cargo-liner with recent equipment.

Cargo-liner companies which are larger than the average tramp company can afford to experiment with equipment, and consequently, have a lighter work load on their more modern liners than the tramp companies' modern ships. Thus, they are able to recruit and keep ratings more easily than the small companies. The regularity of their voyage patterns and the emergence of a career structure in the larger firms are also factors.

Man Management on Ships

Management techniques on cargo-liners have changed little compared to those on tankers and bulk-carriers. In situations where a steady supply of labour comes forward because of the attractions of relatively "easy" work conditions, good run, and secure prospects, the labour force has an incentive to conform to traditional patterns of management, and the company has no incentive to change them.

Such a situation existed prior to 1960. Since then, the labour force has declined below the level at which "plum" jobs are scarce, and the late 1960's found shipping companies which had prided themselves on their reputation in earlier days in the position of advertising for ratings and officers, and recruiting ratings from the Merchant Navy Establishment (M.N.E.) on a regular basis for each ship. The "easy-going" patterns of management on bulk-carriers and tramp ships attracted men to them, as did the higher overtime levels:

> Why did I sign up for this heap? Well, she's got Geordie [Tyneside] mates for one thing, and they're not snotty bastards like them London and Scouser [Liverpool] liner mates. . .her gear's simple enough so we won't be mucking about with fancy stuff, and the overtime's good on this run [Glasgow-Great Lakes-Glasgow]. . .How do I know about the overtime? Well I just bin and asked the Bosun haven't I?[37] You can't afford to sign on blind these days.

The liner companies both utilized similar working techniques of planned maintenance, but supervision was left to the Bosun. During the research voyages and visits to the ships, there was not one occasion on the cargo liners when a mate lent a hand with a task other than to summon extra seamen. On the tramps and bulk-carriers the mates worked alongside the men and took pride in being able to do a rating's work as well as the rating could.

On ship "Z", a cargo-liner, the following incident took place: The deck ratings and the author were sitting in the crew's mess room after a morning spent rigging hatch equipment and loading stores in a port. The stores had arrived at 11:00 and loading was completed at 13:30; as a result, our meal which had been left on the mess tables by the galley staff when they finished serving at 13:00 was lukewarm and congealed, and we were eating reluctantly.

The junior apprentice came into the room without knocking and said that four of us were needed immediately for cargo-watching (guarding against pilferage) in three hatches. An A.B. told the apprentice to do the job himself. About a minute later the Second Mate entered, again without knocking, and asked why no one was down a hatch. The Bosun told him that the crew had just finished the stores and were now, obviously, eating their dinner an hour-and-a-half late. He added that he could not spare men for cargo-watching that afternoon as he had to clean two

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[37] Research Notebook 8, Interview with B.D.H., Company BB.

hatches to be ready for loading next morning and more stores were arriving later than afternoon, so he suggested that the apprentice, who had had the previous day off, and the Radio Officer could watch cargo for the afternoon. After some argument the Bosun and the Second Mate went to see the Mate for a decision. The outcome was that we worked as watchmen that afternoon, the ratings refused to work overtime after 20:00 that evening, and the ship was delayed for a day because the two hatches were not cleaned and ready.[38]

This incident illustrates the ad hoc planning in which the officers engaged. Moreover, it shows the officers' expectation that the ratings would accept the same ship goals as themselves. This expectation disregarded the previous work load as well as the comfort of the seaman. It also illustrates the lack of courtesy frequently displayed to ratings. Since it is mechanistic and formal, management on a ship cannot cope with the pressure of work without placing a stress on immediate goals rather than long-term ones, and the ratings often find their work being changed and reorganized without any apparent plan.

Whilst in port ship "Y's" hatch covers were being chipped on the forward end of No. 3 hatch, a job which should have taken one-and-a-half days but actually took three to complete because the A.B.'s had to contend with moving the ship from one berth to another, handling the arrival of ship's stores on three occasions, raising and lowering derricks in nine instances, and cleaning up an oil spill on deck during bunkering which was caused when the oil company allowed too great a pressure of oil in the pipe for the tank inlet to manage, resulting in an overflow from the air vent of the feeder pipe. The last incident could not have been foreseen, but the others could, which the A.B.'s recognized. This was

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[38]Research Notebook 8.

the only occasion during the voyage when forward planning was not in evidence, and as Moreby pointed out, the effect was a breakdown in the crew's willingness to accept instructions.[39]

The seafarer feels that he is a second-class citizen.[40] The officer thinks his own work is not understood by the company, and therefore, he is underrated. The rating considers that the officer treats him as a body, not as an individual.[41] To a certain extent the hierarchical system on the ship is to blame for these dissatisfactions. Whereas every officer has an individual rank and can be identified by it, the rating is just one of a crowd, and with an average voyage pattern of two months, his name and individuality do not emerge.

The hierarchy also interferes with an awareness of the way in which the ratings live,[42] for the officers rarely enter the crew accommodation except on specific errands or inspection. Knowledge of the officers' behaviour is widespread, though, due to the free movement of stewards in and out of cabins during the working day and the use of officers' rooms as equipment stores and offices. The engineers in particular are notorious for their bad relations with ratings. Throughout the research period, engineer officers consistently spoke of greasers as "animals", and all ratings spoke of engineers as being "jumped-up fitters". Relationships with the mates were usually better because

> Every mate has to serve his time at sea -- they know what's going on and they know how to behave decently to a man. Some of them are big-headed, but the majority of them are O.K. if you handle them right.[43]

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[39] Moreby (1969), especially ch. 4.

[40] For example, see R.A. Ramsay (1966), pp. 104-113; G. Foulser (1961), pp. 65-67.

[41] Research Notebook 8, Interview with E.D.H., Company BB.

[42] R.A. Ramsay (1966), pp. 132-135.

[43] Notebook 8, Interview with Assistant Steward, Ship "Z". Also see Notebooks 3, 4, 7, 10, and 11 for similar views by other stewards, A.B.'s., and D/Gr's.

In other words the mates are socialized into their respective roles, but the engineers do not have this prior socialization. Consequently, the management of the stresses and strains in a small community is accomplished more successfully by the mates than the engineers. However, in a social hierarchy such as a ship, a bureaucracy, or an army, men are perceived as replaceable. The men at the bottom of the hierarchy are regarded as of less value within the system and are assigned appropriate cultural values, whilst those higher in the hierarchy are given values that may be excessive but are seen by the persons in the upper hierarchy as being appropriate. It is the assigning of these values which creates the problems in the relationships between the seafarers, and between the seafarers and their technology and social environment.

The seafarer's view of his role on board ship is thus determined by his craft and work experience on the one hand, and by his perceived social status on the other. An outcome of these two role determinants is frequently a "them" and "us" attitude to other seafarers on the vessel which reinforces, as we shall elaborate in Chapter IV, the stereotypes of "officer" and "rating." These stereotypes are dysfunctional in the shipboard setting.

The Seafarer and His Accommodation

The focus of much ill-feeling lies in the provision of accommodation on board ship. The industry has moved away from the problems of slums at sea discussed in the Lancet in 1936,[44] but it is noteworthy that pressure from seafarers rarely had any influence on the living conditions supplied. The literature concerning accommodation at sea largely consists of reports by medical men, and the pressure on authority exerted by such men as J.G. Wilson did much to move shipping companies, the Board of Trade, and

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[44] J.G. Wilson (1936).

international bodies such as the International Labour Organization and the World Health Organization to introduce higher standards of accommodation in 1938.

These have been revised since, and the ships in the sample had single cabins for the majority of ratings and for all the officers. The standard varied from old to new, but the ratings' accommodation tended to be cheerless, ill ventilated, and was invariably sited in areas adjacent to the engine room, the steering gear, or in an awkward angle of the hull that could not be used economically for cargo or equipment.[45] Officers' accommodation was roomier, better sited, better furnished, and much more comfortable.

Since 1938, the shipowner has been obliged by law to provide mattresses, linens, blankets, and pillows, and since 1960, has been recommended to provide wash basins and single cabins for his ratings. Each cabin is clearly marked as being "certified for the use of one seaman" or ". . .officer", or as a navigating space and must comply with the regulations concerning the amount of space necessary. The size of the cabin bears a direct relation to the status of the occupant on the ship as does the standard of furniture. Still, the rating cannot see why a Mate should have a private shower and toilet, while he has to share a shower and toilet with seven or eight other men engaged in dirty, manual work, particularly when the Mate, so far as the rating is concerned, has a white-collar, sedentary job.

> We have to work all day chipping paint and using grease, and then there is no bloody hot water because the water pump needs fixing, or the shower head's bust and you can't get clean. The cabin's all right on this ship ["Y"] and you can have your mates in for a drink and a natter, but even here the ballast pump

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[45] P.H. Fricke (1971); Journal of Commerce, 31 March, 1969, p. 1, for discussion of accommodation problems on the "Q.E. 2".

> fair vibrates to lift you off the cart [bunk]. Some ships they put you between the cargo and the boilers, right? All the cargo's stamped with "Do not stow near boilers" so they put Jack there instead. . . .The mates are all right though. Good cabins up top with wide bunks and carpets and sinks. Third Mate's got plenty of stowage for his Playboys with all those drawers and cupboards.[46]

The officers ate in a dining salon with white tablecloths and steward service whilst the ratings ate cafeteria-style or were served by the Peggy in a mess room resembling a transport cafe. This distinction reinforced the belief that the officers' food was of better quality, better cooked, or in some way different. The food is, by and large, the same but service does differ, and on ship "Z" a great deal of concern was expressed by the ratings that they were being "cheated". On ship "Y" all the dishes were prepared, so to speak, in front of the seamen; thus, comments were rarely made and, in fact, there was some laughter at the expense of the officers because the ratings came to the conclusion that by the time the food reached the dining table on the deck above, it would be cold whilst theirs was still hot. The accommodation differentials, therefore, served to point out the status differentials and reinforced the status recognition of the members of the hierarchy of the shipboard system.

Room and board are considered by all seafarers as part of their remuneration, so they derive their expectations of the company from the way in which they are housed and fed.[47] Ship "Y" was an old ship with facilities that had originally housed two men in each rating's cabin. The reduction in crew numbers meant each rating had a cabin of his own. In addition, the cook was considered by all hands to be first class, and much of the discomfort was expressed in muted grumblings. On ship "Z"

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[46] Research Notebook 3, Conversation with an A.B., Ship "Y".

[47] G. Foulser, pp. 43-44; V. Aubert and O. Arner (1958), pp. 200-210; R.A. Ramsay (1966), p. 105.

the food was also thought to be quite good, but the accommodation, although modern, was regarded as cramped and uncomfortable. As noted elsewhere,[48] the cramped housing did not allow for the development of an active social life, and in consequence, increased the social isolation of the crew member.

The difficulty that the ratings have had in articulating their likes and dislikes of accommodation, work systems, and life on board ship are a function of their use of language. Bernstein has suggested that every sub-culture has its own "public" language which describes factual objects and realities constrained by the situation.[49] As can be observed from the quotations, a well-developed idiom is used at sea with its own technical terms relating to the ship. As communication between officers and ratings is in this idiom, a constricting use of language occurs which further reinforces the reality of the situation. Where ideas and emotions cannot easily be expressed in common terms, the expression is deflected through other channels, and often the ship's cook and his products act as a safety valve. For the officers the means of expression are at the expense of the ratings and the company; both are viewed as objects to be manipulated.

Summary

In this chapter we have reviewed the various factors involved in the operation of a ship, and have discussed these in terms of three types of organizational constraints. These aspects are the various states of internal concerns with life on board; the management

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[48] P.H. Fricke (1971).

[49] B. Bernstein (1959).

of external forces by the ship's crew; and factors over which they have no control. As we have seen, a mechanistic form of organization is utilized in order to maintain an environmental equilibrium, but it is dysfunctional because of the discontent it generates amongst and between seafarers, and because it masks more suitable methods of ship operation and management.

CHAPTER II

THE MERCHANT NAVY: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Introduction

The present structure of the British shipping industry derived from its position in the pre-World War I years as the foremost supplier of sea transport. The industry rose to this place of dominance as a result of the impact of the industrial revolution upon the British economy and Britain's status as an imperial power. The combination of an industrial economy requiring raw materials and foodstuffs and the need to service the demands of far-flung colonies created the conditions for expansion of the shipping industry and required large capital resources.

In 1850 most sea captains traded on their own account and usually were either the owner or part-owner of their vessels. This emphasis on the single-ship "company" with ownership of the vessels divided amongst several persons on the basis of shares, sometimes to the extent of sixty-four shares to a ship, meant that shipowning was, like ship insurance, a form of investment carrying relatively little risk.[1] In a boom period many shipmasters were able to amass sufficient capital to buy their own ships, and seafaring provided a means for ambitious men to move upwards rapidly.

This system of share ownership and payment still exists in the fishing industry and in some of the bulk and tramp trades, but the advent of steamships caused ownership to become concentrated in the hands of ship

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[1] S.G. Sturmey (1962), pp. 359-362; S. Plimsoll (1871); the single-ship company is still favored by speculative shipowners and is the basis of the Greek shipping industry.

brokers and agents. Steamships were expensive pieces of equipment and required a premium trading pattern if they were, in the early days, to compete with sailing vessels.[2]

The capital required to build an iron ship and equip it with steam engines was considerable. Once the vessel was in service, the steamship required a crew that was at least twice the size of that of a sailing ship, since deck work continued on both and the steamship also had to carry engineers and firemen. In addition, the cost of maintaining and procuring coal stocks abroad and the provision of replacement parts were factors which required a regular trading pattern.

Cargo-Liner Companies

The major shipping companies of today owe their existence to the British lead in mechanically powered shipping in the mid-nineteenth century. Liverpool was the centre of these developments, as it served the new industries of Lancashire and had previously established itself, like Bristol, by participating in the slave trade. From 1830 to 1880 Liverpool expanded its ship-brokerage industry which was based on the need for raw materials and on the benefits of share ownership. Some future shipowners like the Harrisons entered the commercial world of ship brokerage through contacts and wealth from land ownership; others such as the Williamsons, from seafaring families with a tradition of owning shares in the vessels they sailed;[3] still others like Alfred Holt came from the new industrial towns, and through refinements of the marine steam engine, built a fortune by providing reliable and cheap sea transport.[4]

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[2] F.E. Hyde (1957), esp. ch. 1.

[3] F.E. Hyde, J.R. Harris, and A.M. Bourn (1967); G. Chandler (1960).

[4] F.E. Hyde (1957).

As the ship-broking business prospered, particular trades were established. Harrisons' developed the Charente brandy and Oporto wine trades in the 1820's, and as cargo offerings became larger, they expanded the number of ships engaged in the trade, at first through co-ownership on a share basis and then with ships bought on their own account.[5] A similar pattern of activity was followed by George Holt and his son Alfred, who, after his apprenticeship as a railway engineer, capitalised on his father's marine experience and developed a trade to the West Indies. When this, the traditional Liverpool trade, became unprofitable, he redesigned the marine engines then in use and with new ships formed the Ocean Steam Ship Company (Blue Funnel Line), which opened up the Liverpool-China trade in 1865.[6] The Brocklebanks, the Ismays, and the Inmans were other families that entered shipowning during this period, and they all created shipping lines which are now a part of the ten largest United Kingdom shipping companies.

The manner in which shipping companies have grown is worthy of note. Once a company established itself in a trade, it continued in that trade, and expansion, particularly after 1890, came about by buying other shipping companies and their trading interests or through mergers. This pattern is clearly shown in the Rochdale Report,[7] and Sturmey distinguishes the process as being the decline of family interest in the shipping business and subsequent seeking secure profits rather than competition.[8]

"Conference" arrangements for fixing freight rates came into being during the 1880's, and these arrangements persist today. The United

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[5] F.E. Hyde, et al. (1967), ch. 1; G. Chandler (1960), pp. 153-156.

[6] F.E. Hyde (1957), ch. 2; G. Chandler (1960), pp. 35, 211-221.

[7] Rochdale (1970), Appendix 3.

[8] S.G. Sturmey (1962), chs. 14 and 15; J.H. Singman (1963).

States Federal Maritime Commission has argued that conference arrangements stifle free competition and are detrimental to the interests of shippers.[9] This issue was explored by the British Government in enquiries in 1909, 1923, and 1970,[10] but in each case it was decided that conference arrangements served to stabilize prices of raw materials and transport, and permitted shipowners to provide shipping services to areas which would otherwise be uneconomic to handle.

A consequence of these pooling arrangements within the conference has been to stultify competition, and after 1909, company mergers in the liner trades became the usual form of growth. These companies were united into shipping groups, often retaining their original identities after the takeover but releasing new trades in which the whole group could participate.

As Sturmey has pointed out,[11] a consequence of the formation of these groups is that the cargo-liner companies are characterized by formal and rigid management structures. They typify the mechanistic organization posited by Burns and Stalker. These cargo-liner companies stagnated during the period between 1920 and 1960. Long-established trades and management patterns combined to create a form of conservatism that actively sought to preserve a status quo.[13]

This conservatism has been broken down by three factors: a change in patterns of trading activity following the Suez Canal closure in 1956; the move by owners of bulk- and liquid-carriers toward economy of scale in ship size and technological developments; and the impact of the Pearson Inquiry and Rochdale's Committee. It should be emphasized that the influence of the last did not occur through the publication of the two reports but rather through the need to prepare evidence for these documents and the subsequent picture of the "real" company that managements received.

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[9] Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries (1954), pp. 50-55; Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries (1961); also see Rochdale (1970), paras. 435-436; S.G. Sturmey (1962), pp. 325-326, 338-340.

[10] Report of Royal Commission (1909); Report of Imperial Shipping Committee (1923); Rochdale (1970).

[11] S.G. Sturmey (1962), pp. 377-382. [12] T. Burns and G.M. Stalker (1961).

[13] Rochdale (1970), paras. 64-65.

> I think that the most shattering thing about the strike [the 1966 Seamen's strike] was the realization by J. [cargo-liner company director] and myself that we knew nothing about the day-to-day operation of our ships. We had prided ourselves on the contacts we kept with the ships, but had no idea of the way the crews were pushed around by the junior staff.[14]

The Rochdale Report phrased it somewhat more succinctly:

> At the beginning of our Inquiry [1967] it was obvious that the wind of change was beginning to blow through the industry. At that time it seemed little more than a zephyr; it has become a gale.[15]

Bulk and General Cargo Companies

The world of the bulk-carrier and tramp shipowner has been somewhat different. The tramp shipping companies have traditionally carried cargoes anywhere in the world for the shipper who offered the best rates. These owners, therefore, are exposed to the full force of free international competition and are unable to cushion periods of economic recession as the cargo-liner operators can by means of the liner-conference system. Freight rates reflect the supply of, and demand for, tonnage in the tramp markets. To offset this, owners seek to place some of their ships on long-term charters, where income is assured but profits are fixed, and the remainder of their vessels on short-term charters where, during the Suez Canal closure in 1956-57 for instance, freight rates can be very high and profits in excess of the long-term charters can be earned.

Unlike the cargo-liner groups, tramp operators have few ships, and with the exception of tramp companies absorbed into liner groups, considerably fewer resources for expansion. This has caused the majority of

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[14] Research Notebook 1, Interview with Director, AB Company.

[15] Rochdale (1970), para. 7; for similar effects on industry of the Government Inquiry, see K. Prandy (1965), pp. 23-24.

owners to be less ready to accept new technologies until they are proven, but at the same time has developed a need for a vigorous form of management if the company is to succeed. Thus these companies move toward a flexible and informal form of management because they must adapt to a constantly changing market situation. In the cargo-liner company AA, there is a ratio of one member of the shore staff to every two seafarers; in the small and dynamic tramp company CA, there is one member of the shore staff to every nineteen seafarers.

Tramp companies have traditionally been small, and Sturmey noted that in 1960, nearly 25% of British tramp tonnage was owned by fifty small companies.[16] Commonly, nowadays, a group of these companies are run by a joint management concern or, with the advent of very large bulk-carriers, a consortium will be set up to manage a fleet of ships. An example of this is the Seabridge consortium which

> . . .currently has as members Bibby Line, Bowring Steamship, H. Clarkson, Houlder Bros. (which is a member of the Furness Withy [cargo-liner] Group), Hunting & Sons and Silver Line. The management of Seabridge itself is responsible for marketing and deploying, but not husbanding, the ships. The member companies receive an income from chartering their ships to Seabridge and from the profits made from its total operations.[17]

This form of shipowning allows the companies involved to retain a large measure of independence whilst being able to exploit modern technologies. The degree to which independence, particularly from government intervention, is sought was stressed by a northeast coast bulk-carrier owner:

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[16] S.G. Sturmey (1962), p. 363.

[17] Rochdale (1970), para. 533.

> I am in shipping because I love the business. If Rochdale thinks that my firm is too small and tries to force me to sell out -- to rationalize is the expression I believe -- then I would rather sell an interest in my firm to a foreign owner and manage my own ship for him than become part of a large British combine. Shipping is exciting. You have to pit your wits against those of other men to obtain cargoes, to plan for ships to be in ports at the right time.[18]

It is this independence that makes tramp owners individualistic, "hard-nosed" men. Pooling arrangements for tonnage and cargoes are foreign to their way of thinking and, in fact, have occurred only in times of distress. It is noteworthy that company CB, formerly a major tramp shipping company, had declined dramatically following the deaths of its original principals and had then moved into other forms of business more suited to a bureaucratic corporate structure.

The Employers' Association

The British Shipping Federation[19] is the employers' association representing the shipowners and was founded in 1890 as the Shipping Federation in answer to the growing organization of seafarers by trade unions. With the Employers' Association of the Port of Liverpool,[20] it bitterly fought the trade unions in the period 1890-1914. From the first the Shipping Federation sought to control employment by means of Federation "tickets". Union members were not allowed to hold these certificates, and

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[18] Company CA, Interview No. 1, p. 4.

[19] L.H. Powell (1950). The following section is based upon this book. Also see Rochdale (1970), paras. 1110-1118.

[20] Originally organized by the members of the Liverpool Steam Ship Owners' Association (founded 1859) to undertake collective action in labour relations.

the shipowners agreed to take as crew members only those seafarers who held tickets.

Two factors aided the Federation's activities in the 1890's. The first was an economic recession, and the second was the number of Members of Parliament on whom the owners could call to support their case.[21] 1894 saw the passage of the Merchant Shipping Act, an act described as a return to the age of the windjammer.[22] Saville has stated that in the nineteenth century, "no other employers' organization [was] quite as aggressive and as unscrupulous as the Shipping Federation".[23]

The militancy of the Shipping Federation was muted by the introduction of the National Maritime Board in 1917. Set up by the government to regulate the shipping needed for the war effort, this board had members drawn from the government departments concerned, shipowners (represented by the Shipping Federation and the Liverpool Employers' Association), and the trade unions. In 1920 the shipowners' and the seafarers' unions agreed to continue the N.M.B. as the joint consultative body, and since then this body has met regularly under joint chairmen, with the Shipping Federation[24] administering the agreements on the employers' side.

In 1947 the Merchant Navy Establishment was organized to provide "employment exchanges" for seafarers, and the Shipping Federation administers this scheme on behalf of the industry as a whole.[25] There are twenty-one regional offices in the principal ports of the United Kingdom at present, and all British seafarers not on contract to a shipping company seek employment through this organization.

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[21] J. Saville (1960).

[22] B. Mogridge (1962), p. 287.

[23] J. Saville (1960), p. 330.

[24] The Shipping Federation and the Employers' Association of the Port of Liverpool combined in 1967 to form the British Shipping Federation.

[25] Rochdale (1970), Appendix 9, paras. 1, 3; D. Moreby (1968), pp. 199, 203.

Besides the administration of the M.N.B. on behalf of the N.M.B., the British Shipping Federation recruits and trains ratings,[26] compiles shipping and manpower statistics, conducts management training courses for ships' officers and petty officers, and represents the owners in any public issues relating to manpower and employment in the Merchant Navy. The Federation thus reflects the views of the majority of its members at any one time, and consequently is conservative in its administration of policies, and bureaucratic in its form of organization.[27] Federation officials think of themselves as servants of the shipowners which colours their attitude to the seafarers with whom they come in contact:

> . . .if I didn't chase a man for a job, he would never sign up. I have to keep my ships sailing and this means that if I don't have a suitable man here I have to send for one from another port. If I have a good ship in I won't send any of the riff-raff: there's too much drinking done [by ratings] before ships sail anyway.[28]

In areas such as management training and education, where the Federation has a broad view of the problems of the industry and is conscious of the need for innovation, it is hampered by the cumbersome system of trade, regional, and specialist committees, yet there is recognition of the educative value of the committee:

> Some of the more reactionary of them [the shipowners] say "no" to any idea head office propose, usually on the grounds either of tradition or cost. My solution is to suggest the ringleader as a member of the committee dealing with the problem: he usually changes his mind after a year or so.[29]

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[26] In the National Sea Training Schools, a joint N.M.B., Department of Trade and Industry and Department of Education and Science organization, administered by the B.S.F.

[27] A management study is presently in progress of the relations between the B.S.F. and the shipowners. It is being conducted by Booz-Allen and Hamilton and, hopefully, will streamline and modernize the existing procedures of committees and consultation.

[28] Research Notebook 2, Conversation with B.S.F./ M.N.B. counter clerk.

[29] Research Notebook 2, Interview with B.S.F. Regional Secretary.

The ability to innovate, however, is seriously hampered by the committee system. For each new development the Federation spawns a new committee, subcommittee, or ad hoc working party, and more time is spent coordinating and servicing the needs of these groups than on projections and planning. Sermier showed that training programmes are concerned primarily with past needs, not the development of shipping at present and in the future.[30] The Department of Trade and Industry (formerly the Board of Trade) must take a large measure of responsibility for this, as its emphasis on safety above all has tended to reduce nautical education to the level of "cramming" and has not stimulated the seafarers' skills or awareness of skills.

The Federation has not pressed the merits of new techniques in its meetings with the Board of Trade and the N.M.B. because of the failure of its members to provide it with all the relevant details. Its inability to keep abreast with manning changes, for instance, was shown in the decision of individual oil companies to go ahead with new manning scales and to negotiate separately with the Board of Trade and the unions.[31]

The Development of the British Shipping Industry: A Summary

In summary, the development of the British shipping industry's structure stems from the application and utilization of the steamship, and the creation of regular cargo-liner services requiring a minimum of competition if a worthwhile level of profit is to be maintained. This avoidance of competition causes cargo-liner companies to develop a dynamic conservatism[32] which seeks to forestall change and the disturbance of the

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[30] B. Sermier (1967), pp. 78-79.

[31] The Seaman, September, 1967, pp. 161-163.

[32] D. Schon (1967).

status quo. In such a structure the inefficient firm can exist nearly as well as the efficient one.

On the other hand, there is maximum competition for cargoes in the tramp and bulk-carriage trades, and as a result, a fiercely felt need for independence on the part of the tramp and bulk-carrier owners. Change is an everyday feature of the market for these companies, for they are limited only by their capital in the exploration of new forms of technology and trade. Because of the marginal profits earned in a totally free international market, the companies in this sector are small and unable to expand with new tonnage. Their pooling agreements, or consortia, show their desire for independence. The shipowners' association reflects these two strands of conservatism and independence in its attitudes to innovation and to the government.

The present arguments over the future training of deck officers demonstrate this point. The need for better training with a higher education content has been enunciated by several leading figures in the shipping industry.[33] Following the Pearson Inquiry there was a possibility that the Merchant Navy Training Board would be reconstituted as a statutory body, as recommended.[34] The British Shipping Federation, with the approval of its members, suggested several ways in which the industry could continue to have voluntary responsibility for the training of its employees.[35] Since the general election of 1970, it would appear that the prospect of an industrial training board has been reduced, and for example, where the shipowners had agreed to back the M.N.T.B. proposals for a revised and longer syllabus of studies for the Master's and First Mate's certificates, this support has been partially withdrawn.

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[33] H. Stewart (1970); B. Sermier (1967); A. Voll (1967); The Seafarer, Summer, 1968, pp. 5-7.

[34] Pearson (1967), para. 34.

[35] Rochdale (1970), paras. 1030-1037.

The Seafarer and His Unions

> In an authoritarian structure those who obey orders build up aggression against those who give orders. This is especially the case in our culture, which highly values personal independence and authority. The protection of the union allows the employee to voice his feelings against individual supervisors and against management.[36]

In making this statement Miller and Form postulated an ideal type of union-worker relationship which served as an alienation- and frustration-relieving model. The seafarer tends to see his union, if he is a rating, or his association, if he is an officer, as part of that authoritarian structure suggested by Miller and Form, and his actions take forms which reject unionism yet still seek collective solutions to his problems and grievances. The purpose of this section is to analyze these tensions and to discuss the social problems arising from them by placing the tensions within a historical perspective.

Seafarers' organizations have been functioning for some time. In 1457 the Seamen's Guild of Hull built their almshouse and entertained their fellow citizens with a production of the mystery play, "Noah and the Flood". Other ports organized their own seafarers' companies or guilds during the next two-and-a-half centuries, each modelled on the example of Trinity House, Hull, and all dispensed help and care to elderly seafarers or their widows. Scarborough Trinity House and the Whitby Seaman's Hospital, founded in 1602 and 1675 respectively, were funded by levies of one shilling for a shipowner, sixpence for a master, and one penny for a seaman for each voyage. Based on individual ports, this collective insurance against injury and death continued into the nineteenth century, when it found a ready outlet in the charitable enthusiasms of the Victorians and their desire to succor the heathen.

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[36] D.C. Miller and W.H. Form (1964), p. 317.

Between 1800 and 1914, twenty-two benevolent funds, eight missionary societies, six homes for the aged, four training ships, three schools, two hospitals, nine orphanages, and fifteen societies operating seamen's bethels were founded. Since 1914 eleven more benevolent funds have been created, the most important being the King George's Fund for Sailors; three societies and two further missionary organizations have been set up as well.[37]

Obviously, the physical and moral welfare of "Sailor Jack" is well looked after, but with two exceptions, these are all organizations tending to his needs ashore. The two exceptions are the Seafarers' Education Service and the College of the Sea. For the seafarer afloat, organized assistance has been left to his trade union and the government. The role of the government in the seafarer's life is of great importance, and labour relations at sea have depended upon government intervention to a greater extent than in any other industry.

In 1843, Mr. Liddell, the British Consul-General in Gothenburg, wrote in his consular report to the Foreign Office: "Any plan for the reform of our mercantile service must, to succeed, bring with it better pay, permanent employ — in short something to make it worth while for men to behave well."[38] Fifteen years later Captain Pierce told the Parliamentary Commission on Manning:

> Seamen are an exceptional class. They have always been considered so, and always will remain so. What other description of men require their agreements for labour and service to be watched over by a public officer? What other men require the assistance of a public officer to see that their accounts are correct and their wages are properly paid? And this arises from their habits, their education, and the peculiar duties these valuable men are called upon to perform.[39]

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[37] C.H. Milsom (1968).

[38] T. Brassey (1877), p. 314.

[39] Ibid., p. 221.

To a lesser extent these same conditions prevail today. When Thomas Brassey, M.P. and author of a book on merchant seamen, wrote in 1877, he was advocating the reform of the Merchant Shipping Acts of 1850 and 1854. He was also urging the adoption of a standard wage for seafarers, proper training, and adequate systems of relief for disabled and elderly seamen. This concern of government for the seafarer parallels the development of industrialization and the growth of trade. When Britain was an agrarian country, the goods carried in the sea trades were luxuries; as Britain industrialized, the sea trades brought the raw materials for manufacturing and then delivered the finished goods to world markets.

Safety in British shipping barely existed in the early nineteenth century. Between 1816 and 1818, 1,114 British ships and 2,300 British seamen were lost at sea. The yearly average of men lost rose to 894 seamen in 1835, and in January, 1843, 140 ships and 500 seafarers were lost in three days.[40] The seafarer's plight was similar to that of the proletariat described by Burnett: His accommodation was verminous, cramped, and ill ventilated, and his food, poor.[41] Unlike the worker ashore, however, the seafarer lived with danger. Many ships were ill-found and the officers incompetent. Small wonder that the seaman found solace in gin!

Following three governmental enquiries, in 1836, 1843, and 1847, the Mercantile Marine Act was passed in 1850, creating the Board of Trade and giving it responsibility over safety of life at sea. The Act empowered the Board of Trade to examine masters and mates for proficiency in navigation and shiphandling and to license them. Shipping offices were established to supervise the engagement and discharge of seafarers.

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[40] C.H. Milsom (1968), p. 77.

[41] J. Burnett (1968).

Further legislation concerning safety of ships and minimum requirements for conditions at sea was enacted in 1851, 1854, and 1876. All provisions for the regulation of shipping were consolidated in 1894, revised in 1906, and are currently being revised again.

This long summary serves to illustrate the involvement of government in basic functions normally assumed by the trade union; namely, conditions of work and protection of the worker. As we have seen, the involvement was primarily a concern for safety of ships at sea, and the first "trade union" arose in 1857 from the interest of Liverpool shipowners and masters in judgements given by Board of Trade courts of enquiry into marine casualties. This organization, the Mercantile Marine Service Association, was chartered by Parliament

> to conserve the interests of the British Merchant Service and to promote the general improvement of nautical men by education, wholesome laws, obtain redress for wrongs, procure employment, care for the helpless and aged, and by every possible means to seek the welfare of the Service.[42]

Because the Association had members who were shipowners as well as seafarers, the emphasis was placed on welfare work and education of seafarers, not on the improvement of conditions at sea.

The first union was formed by Sunderland seamen in 1879 and emerged as a national union in 1887. Havelock Wilson was the General Secretary, and it had a strength of 500 members in 1888, 65,000 members in 1890, but only 4,300 in 1895. This rise and fall was due to two factors: the demand for seafarers in the boom years 1888-1891, and the employers' forming a counter organization known as the Shipping Federation. Numerous strikes in local ports and regions occurred in 1889 and 1890, and the

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[42] C.H. Milsom (1968), p. 195.

National Amalgamated Sailors' and Fireman's Union drew up a six-point programme which was accepted in part by the shipowners in 1890 but only on a local basis. These early successes were soon offset by the work of the Shipping Federation.

The Shipping Federation was formed in September, 1890, at the urging of the shipowners on the Tyne and was primarily a strike-breaking organization with three depot ships and branches in all the ports. It undertook to supply labour to its members' ships, hired men only through its own offices, and issued "tickets" to seamen who registered with it for employment at sea. The union continued to strike, but such action became less successful as a trade slump hit British shipping and as the Shipping Federation's strike-breaking and legal tactics developed.

The union's programme was a simple one: It wanted all crew members to have the right to receive pay advances on the security of their wages and allotment rates; it sought to establish reasonable hours of duty and fair rates of pay; it attempted to raise the standard of accommodation and institute proper hostels in British ports in which seamen could stay between voyages; it aimed to provide legal aid for seamen and compensation for accidents or shipwrecks; and the union wanted to control the supply of seamen.[43]

In 1894 the union was forced into voluntary liquidation and re-emerged as the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union, again with Havelock Wilson as General Secretary. The battle moved to Parliament in 1894, and the Merchant Shipping Act was passed with disciplinary provisions designed to prevent incursions upon the shipowners' prerogatives by the unions. This act, its amendments of 1906, and subsequent dispensations by the Board of Trade governed the conduct of shipping during the period of the survey,

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[43]National Union of Seamen (1961).

and with 748 sections and 22 schedules, was the longest Act of Parliament on the statute books. The key provision of this act for our discussion is found in Section 236 (i)

> which makes it a criminal offence, if a person wilfully harbours or secretes a seaman or apprentice who has wilfully neglected or refused to join or has deserted his ship, knowing or having reason to believe the seaman or apprentice to have so done.[44]

These sections clearly outlaw normal forms of industrial action and have been the key factor in the lack of power of the seafarer's unions.

Union activity continued in spite of the Act until 1913, and by this time, the seamen had been joined by the officers. In 1893 many of the sea-going members of the Mercantile Marine Service Association felt that the Association did not represent their professional needs adequately nor did it obtain better conditions for them. For these reasons the Imperial Merchant Service Guild was formed in that year, and by 1903 had a membership of 10,000 officers and masters.

The strikes, although illegal, brought some redress of the seamen's complaints, and by 1911 the seamen had been brought within the scope of the Workmen's Compensation Act, but the questions of manning scales, standard wage rates, and hours of work had not been settled. In June, 1911, the seafarers' unions in five European countries including Britain went on strike, and after three months gained considerable concessions on all three points. By 1913 the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union was pressing for a national wages board, and only the advent of war prevented further official strikes.

The first three years of the war were marked by a sporadic series of unofficial work stoppages over war-risk payments and poor accommodation. The government intervened in 1916 by setting up a Ministry of Shipping, and in 1917, a joint board of employers and seafarers was formed under

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[44] Pearson (1967), p. 81.

the chairmanship of the Minister. This National Maritime Board was empowered to negotiate standard wage rates, the supply of seamen, and the conditions of service on board British vessels. The Board was one of the first instances of industry-wide collective bargaining in Britain and is the longest lived, as it still constitutes the basis of present-day negotiating machinery. The Board established a labour supply jointly controlled by the unions and the Shipping Federation.

A series of splinter unions formed in the years 1913 to 1920, but by 1927, the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union, or National Union of Seamen as it was known after 1926, represented all seamen and firemen with the exception of some stewards and other catering staff. The closed shop was a reality so far as ratings were concerned, and by this means, the N.U.S. controlled the supply of labour in the industry. In fact, the N.U.S. was so intent on advancing its claim to be the sole bargaining agent for ships' ratings that it accepted a reduction of wage rates in 1923 due to the slump in trade and took no part in the General Strike of 1926. For its failure to participate, the union was expelled from the T.U.C. for one year in 1928. Since the government had withdrawn from the National Maritime Board in 1919, the industry entered the depression years with a joint negotiating system which was unique: equal employer/employee representation on panels covering all aspects of recruitment, conditions, wages, and labour relations.

The National Maritime Board negotiating machinery successfully weathered the Depression although in 1930 over one-third of all British ratings (about 20,000 men) were unemployed. In 1932 two-thirds of British ratings were out of work, and almost 1,663,000 tons of British shipping were idle. Wage cuts had to be made, but the manning scales were maintained, and all the cuts were restored by 1937.[45] That year,

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[45] National Union of Seamen (1961), pp. 12-16.

the Board of Trade commenced examining ratings and awarding them certificates of competency in conjunction with the National Sea Training Schools, sponsored by the Shipping Federation in cooperation with the N.U.S. (Officers had been certified since the Mercantile Marine Acts of 1851.)

In the late 1930's the Board of Trade also made a start on reviewing the regulations covering standards of accommodation and creating new ones. No official strikes took place during this time, and in the war years, the emergency proclamations of 1940 forbade all strikes in the Merchant Navy. These measures were not repealed until 1951. Out of a total of 150,000 serving, slightly more than 30,000 British seafarers lost their lives in World War II, which represented a higher casualty rate than in any other section of the wartime community with the exception of bomber crews.

During the post-war years, the union was occupied with "housekeeping" problems. The Merchant Navy Establishment came into being in 1947, and much work was done on training and recruitment. Pay rises came slowly until 1960, when a 44-hour week with a 7½% pay rise was negotiated. Yet there were widespread unofficial strikes with major ones occurring in 1956 and 1960. These were directed at the N.U.S., which, it was claimed, had lost touch with rank-and-file members. The dissatisfaction culminated in two unofficial stoppages during the summer of 1960 and led to the creation of the "ginger group" known as the Seamen's Reform Movement. The union reacted savagely, and through the medium of the joint disciplinary committees, removed the strike leaders from the industry. Most of these men were later reinstated, following a change of union leadership, and a period of militancy leading to the 1966 strike followed.[46] This militancy is still a force in today's union, but as we shall see, seamen are still far from content with their union.[47]

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[46] J. MacFarlane (1970a).

[47] P. Foot in R. Blackburn and A. Cockburn (1967), p. 176.

The officers' associations had also been through a quiet time between the wars, and changes were made in structure rather than substance. The Imperial Merchant Service Guild and the Mercantile Marine Service Association were not trade unions, but they combined to prevent the rise of the British Merchant Service League, founded in 1920 as an officers' trade union but dissolved in 1921. However, the need for a comprehensive insurance system for officers' certificates of competency was apparent and was met by Captain W.H. Coombs' Navigators and General Insurance Company. This company not only issued insurance policies but found itself running legal advice and tax departments, and in the Depression years, an employment bureau as well.

In 1935 these activities were spun off from the insurance company, and the policy holders were invited to join the Navigators' and Engineer Officers' Union (N.E.O.U.). This caused the Mercantile Marine Service Association and the Imperial Merchant Service Guild to reunite as one organization, and later, to join the Officers' (Merchant Navy) Federation in 1942, at which time the M.M.S.A. became an association for shipmasters, and the N.E.O.U. represented all other officers excluding those belonging to the Radio Officers' Union, the Marine Engineers' Association, or the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers. There was still some overlap of negotiating responsibilities, and in 1955, the M.E.A. and N.E.O.U. merged to form the Merchant Navy and Airline Officers' Association.

None of these organizations has taken strike action, and again, dissatisfaction exists on the part of members over the lack of militancy. Interestingly, however, 74.8% of the members of M.E.A. and N.E.O.U. in 1955 considered that "association" was a better title for their new organization than "union".[48] None of the officers' associations operates a closed shop, and when the opportunity for such has been presented, it has been rejected by the association.

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[48] C.H. Milsom (1968), p. 198.

Other Organizations in the Environment of the Seafarer

We propose now to review briefly some of the workings of the organizations which influence the day-to-day life of shipping companies and seafarers. Some of these bodies are, to the seafarer, figures in the background, whilst others affect his well being directly.

National Maritime Board

The most important of these bodies to the seafarer is the National Maritime Board. We have already shown the degree of control exercised by the British Shipping Federation on behalf of the shipowners, and by the unions on behalf of the men, which has been shared in the workings of this body. The Board's effectiveness can be stated simply: With the exception of sporadic, unofficial strikes, no industrial action took place in the shipping industry between 1917 and 1966. This consultative organization and the collective-bargaining techniques served the industry well[49] in periods in which there was little social or technological change.

This system of uniform and blanket bargaining is now out of step with the needs of the industry. The unions and some shipowners have recognized this, and have made separate agreements concerning hours, wages, job definition and leave. By terming these settlements "productivity deals" or "special manning agreements", the spirit of the N.M.B. agreements has been broken but the word kept, for the N.M.B.'s purpose is to set the standard rates of pay and conditions of work for practically all seagoing personnel in the Merchant Navy. The companies have always negotiated separate rates of pay for their officers (and part of a company's status can be assessed by its level of pay) on the basis that

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[49] Rochdale (1970), para. 1164; Pearson (1967), paras. 133-145.

these men were part, or at least extensions, of company management. For officers, the N.M.B. rates of pay and conditions of work have been regarded as minima. Ratings, however, have normally been transient employees of shipping companies, and the rates in the Blue Book[50] have been adhered to quite strictly.

The objectives of the Board[51] can be summarized as follows: to negotiate wage rates, hours, and conditions of employment between shipowners and seafarers; to establish these as national standards; to maintain a single source of supply of ratings for the shipping industry, jointly controlled by the shipowners and the seafarers. This supply of labour operates through the Merchant Navy Establishment Scheme which, as we have seen, is itself managed by the British Shipping Federation. The supply of labour is governed by three principles: (1) that the shipowner has the right to select his own crews from the men offered by the Merchant Navy Establishment; (2) every seafarer has equal rights of registration and employment; and (3) seafarers have the right to select their ships.

The National Maritime Board is organized on the basis of committees or panels with twelve representatives each of the shipowners and the seafarers sitting on each committee. There are six of these committees, and during the period of research,[52] each one had a specific field of interest in one of the following areas of industrial relations at sea: shipmasters, deck officers, engineer officers, radio officers, deck and engine-room ratings, and catering ratings. These six committees assess problems in

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[50] The National Maritime Board Year Book specifies all rates of pay, special payments, benefits and leave scales. It also lays down those living and working conditions which are considered advisable.

[51] L.H. Powell (1950), pp. 37-43; C.H. Milsom (1968), pp. 205-208; D.H. Moreby (1969), pp. 197-199.

[52] At present there is a reappraisal of this system; a modification occurred in 1970 (B.S.P. Circular), and Rochdale (1970), para. 1164, made recommendations for change on the grounds that the system was too bureaucratic and cumbersome.

their own sphere of interest and negotiate settlements within their brief. Major issues are considered by the whole Board.

To supplement the work of the ratings' panels and to provide "on the spot" adjudication of differences, there were, in 1969, seventeen district committees whose function was to settle minor disagreements and to refer questions of principle or matters affecting other ports to the national committee. The daily problems are handled by "port consultants", who are appointed by the district panels and are usually members of these panels. It would appear to be normal practice to appoint the District Secretary of the National Union of Seamen as one consultant and either the District Registrar or the Regional Manager of the British Shipping Federation as the other.[53]

It is at this local level that the National Maritime Board copes with problems and to a great extent is dependent upon the relationships between these two men. Both must actively pursue the interests of their principals, and yet each has to negotiate on a wide variety of issues with another body.

Besides administering the Merchant Navy Establishment on behalf of the National Maritime Board, the British Shipping Federation has a much more extensive field of operations in the N.M.B. than any of the unions and also has a better developed bureaucracy. Consequently, decisions move in favour of the Federation on questions of discipline, leave pay, and recruitment in four out of five cases. The National Union of Seamen is further handicapped since its official is placed in the majority of cases in the M.N.B. administrative hall in which ratings receive employment slips, behind a counter with the B.S.F. officials.

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[53]It should also be noted that the N.U.S. District Secretary and the B.S.F. District Registrar also compose the Local Disciplinary Committee of the M.N.B.

In most instances this arrangement simplifies administrative procedures in case of dispute and permits informal consultation. To the seafarer, though, it looks as if his union is part and parcel with the employers.

> The only time I ever seen the Union [N.U.S.] is when they take my dues at the Pool.[54]

> These agreements are all right I suppose but if we had a real union we wouldn't be doing everything the companies want. I think the union [N.U.S.] needs a kick up the backside.[55]

Board of Trade Marine Section[56]

Whilst the National Maritime Board is the joint negotiating body, the Board of Trade, Marine Section, superintends the safety of seafarers and their training through a system of licensing ships and seafarers; it also compiles statistics concerning ships and seafarers (through the Registrar General of Shipping and Seamen); provides lifesaving and coast-watching services (through H.M. Coastguard); supervises the welfare and legal rights of seafarers; and ensures that the lighthouses and other navigation aids are paid for (by collecting light dues from shipowners and allocating money from the General Lighthouse Fund to the three statutory lighthouse authorities) and properly maintained.

Two other sections of the Board of Trade are concerned with the Merchant Navy. One, the Shipping Operations Section, is concerned with the transport of government cargoes and stores and the provision of commercial, economic, and development research. The other, the Shipping Policy Section, is concerned with foreign and domestic maritime policy and with general shipping policy. Neither of these affect the day-to-day work of the seafarers, and that subsection of the Marine Section dealing with navigational aids will not be touched upon in this thesis.

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[54] Q. 4, No. 18, Assistant Steward, aged 25; cargo-liner co., G.S.C.

[55] Q. 4, No. 31, A.B., aged 37; bulk-carrier, G.S.C.

[56] Now the Department of Trade and Industry (Marine Section).

The Marine Section's two subsections in which we are interested are those of Marine Safety and Marine Crews. The latter section was formed in 1835 as the General Register Office of Seamen by the Admiralty, who wished to have a record of seafarers who could be drafted in the event of war. Following the government enquiries in 1836,[57] 1845,[58] and 1850[59] into safety at sea, the Merchant Shipping Act of 1851 placed the Registrar General's department under the Board of Trade, and it was required that seamen should be signed on and off vessels in the presence of a Shipping Master, and in Mercantile Marine Offices in the Act of 1854.

This second act also required ships' officers to hold certificates of competency. Persons who did not were not allowed to sail as officers. This tightening of regulations caused the Marine Safety Section to be formed to administer examinations. Nowadays, all officers' and ratings' examinations — e.g., Master, First Mate, Second Engineer (Steam), Lifeboatman, Efficient Deckhand, Cook's Certificate — are conducted by nautical or engineer surveyors. Ship surveyors are naval architects or marine engineers who examine ships for stability, safety of hull, and tonnage.

The content of all these examinations, therefore, is concerned with safety at sea and in port. No officer, for instance, is required to have an understanding of the business side of shipping for his master's certificate. For this reason the Board of Trade does not set an education standard above that of being able to read and write, but educational criteria are recommended by the Merchant Navy Training Board. In recent years, however, the Board of Trade has permitted exemptions from the

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[57] Select Committee on Shipwrecks (1836).

[58] T. Brassey (1877), p. 314.

[59] Ibid., p. 316.

statutory examinations for holders of Ordinary National Diploma (O.N.D.) and Ordinary National Certificate (O.N.C.) qualifications in nautical science, and O.N.D., O.N.C., H.N.D. (Higher National Diploma) and H.N.C. (Higher National Certificate) qualifications in mechanical and marine engineering. Boys coming from approved pre-sea courses are given remission of part of their qualifying sea time.

The Board of Trade examinations are now considered as minima by the majority of shipowners, to be supplemented by extra training in, for instance, radar techniques and management. These courses are not required by law, and several persons have argued that the Board of Trade standards of education are too low:

> We have boys coming here without a G.C.E. or a C.S.E. for their second mate's ticket. We don't have the time, and they don't have the inclination, to teach them basic principles. The only motivation we can offer is to cram them for an exam, and they learn the techniques by rote.[60]

> Unless you are a large company, it is very difficult to introduce new ideas in automation and manning. The [Board of Trade] surveyors are terribly conservative, largely because their job requires them to be concerned with meeting present requirements, and thus they don't have any incentive to innovate.[61]

The procedure for signing men on and off vessels has not changed, although Rochdale reports that new methods will be introduced as a means of reducing costs.[62] At present, every man signs the articles of agreement[63] in the presence of a Shipping Master, who by law must explain every

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[60] Interview 82, Senior Lecturer, School of Navigation. Also see H.T. Stewart (1970).

[61] Research Notebook 1, Interview with Engineer Superintendent, Company CB. Also see D. Roberts (1964).

[62] Rochdale (1970), para. 1471; this is to be implemented in 1973.

[63] Articles of agreement set out the contract of employment between the master of the ship and the crew members. For a specimen copy, see Appendix 5.

item of the agreement to the seafarer. In practice the calling over of the articles is rarely done in a formal manner, as the provisions do not vary greatly between one set of articles and another. Signing on or off the ship may take place either on board or in the Mercantile Marine Office; formerly, it was always conducted in the office. Before signing a man off articles, any complaints or disputes are referred to the Shipping Master who adjudicates them.

The Mercantile Marine Office issues seafarers with all the necessary documents: a Discharge Book, an Identity Card, and any Certificates of Competency the seafarer may have. The Discharge Book, or the Continuous Certificate of Discharge (Dis.A.), contains details of the seafarer's service and personal information. When a seafarer signs articles, he hands his Dis.A. to the master, who enters particulars of the ship in it, and at the completion of the voyage, returns it to the seafarer with endorsements as to his ability and conduct.

These endorsements are formalized and are V.G., Good, D.R., and E.N.R. V.G. represents "very good"; any of the other stamps — Good, D.R. (decline to report) or E.N.R. (endorsement not required) — will cause a seafarer to be called before his local committee at the Merchant Navy Establishment. The seafarer can request an E.N.R. if he thinks he will receive either a Good or a D.R. A master or his representative will thumb through the Discharge Books prior to signing on, and any man with a record of poor reports will have his job chances jeopardized if substitutes are available.

The Identity Card was first issued as a wartime measure, but is now used as a form of passport in line with the Seafarers' Identity Documents Convention adopted by the International Labour Organization, 1958.

Merchant Navy Training Board

The Merchant Navy Training Board is a joint consultative body involving the shipowners (represented by the British Shipping Federation), the unions, the Association of Nautical Colleges, the Department of Education and Science, the Board of Trade, and the Scottish and Ulster Departments of Education. The Board was originally formed in 1935 for the standardization and improvement of the training of officers and apprentices and was reorganized in 1943 into its present form.

The educationalists on the Board have consistently pressed for higher standards of education for seafarers, and much of the credit for recent educational innovation can be ascribed to their work. The M.N.T.B. provides a standard syllabus for training apprentices as well as syllabuses for higher certificates. The schools of navigation use these as the foundation for correspondence courses which prepare the seafarer for his next certificate examination.

Professional education for deck officers consisted of correspondence courses for those who wish to study whilst at sea, followed by three to four months[64] at a school of navigation to prepare for the Board of Trade examination. Ratings who wish to take the Second Mate's examination may do so if they have been at sea for four years. Quite a number of ratings came "up through the hawsepipe" in the period prior to 1950, but with increased educational opportunities ashore, ambitious ratings tend to utilize these other facilities rather than seek upward mobility at sea. With the introduction of the O.N.C. course for deck apprentices, a *de facto* bar of four G.C.E. "O" level subjects has been set. Although apprentice recruitment in some companies has ignored this, it means that the number of men (former ratings and apprentices) coming forward to sit for the

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[64] This changed in January, 1971, as Masters' and First Mates' preparation courses are for twenty-six weeks each following the introduction of a new syllabus.

traditional Second Mate's certificate has declined considerably and will decrease further in the future.

The O.N.D. and O.N.C. courses for apprentices are organized on a sandwich-course basis, and the boys receive a more systematic training than they did prior to 1960 but with less emphasis on the practical side of seamanship and more on science subjects needed for understanding the increasingly sophisticated electronic navigational aids and ship-control systems. Training for apprentices, therefore, is a matter of company decision around the framework of the M.N.T.B. guidelines. Some companies aim for recruitment of school leavers with "A" levels who are capable of working for an O.N.D. or H.N.D. and possibly a degree in nautical studies; others primarily recruit boys at the age of 16 and put them into an O.N.C. course, whilst a few still seek boys with few academic qualifications and train them in the traditional manner of a four-year practical apprenticeship.[65]

National Sea Training Schools

Ratings are trained by the National Sea Training Schools, organized originally by the British Shipping Federation and now run jointly with the National Maritime Board, the Board of Trade, and the Department of Education and Science. Deck and catering ratings are initially trained at the Gravesend Sea School, with the exception of those trained at the Liverpool Nautical Catering School or at one of the nautical school ships such as the "Indefatigable", or at the Ocean Fleets Training School in Liverpool. Four-fifths of all deck and catering ratings enter via Gravesend. The deck ratings are trained for twelve weeks, and the catering ratings, for eight before they join their first ship.

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[65] C.H. Milsom (1968), ch. 1; R. Hope (1965), ch. 9; Rochdale (1970), ch. 14.

Further training for lifeboatman certificates and the like takes place after qualifying periods at sea. Catering ratings receive their further instruction at the N.S.T.S. at Cardiff, Glasgow, or Hull, or at the Liverpool Education Committee's College. Deck ratings receive further training at the seamanship schools in Belfast, Glasgow, Liverpool, South Shields, London, or Southampton. Engine-room ratings do not normally enter the industry until after their eighteenth birthday, and initial training is done at the N.S.T.S. Firemen's School at Liverpool. Little further training is available for these men except through company courses.[66]

Seafarers' Education Service

The Seafarers' Education Service provides the bulk of further education through correspondence courses and the provision of ships' libraries. Seamen are able to study for almost any examination they wish, and the S.E.S. has devised a comprehensive system of tutors in order to comply with their varied requests. The Service maintains about fifteen hundred libraries at sea at any one time, and the books are exchanged for others, either at the end of a voyage or every four months. This provision of books is, as we shall see, of great importance to seafarers. The Service also gives information concerning hobbies and games, and runs poetry, essay, handicraft, art, and photographic competitions each year.[67]

Summary

The purpose of the discussion of the organizations outlined in this chapter is to sketch the purposes and aims of groups which affect the seafarer, the performance of his role, and his role definition by himself and by others. The company is concerned with the profitability of a voyage, and

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[66] R. Hope (1965), ch. 9; Pearson (1967), paras. 14-35; Rochdale (1970), ch. 14.

[67] R. Hope (1965), p. 60; Rochdale (1970), para. 969.

thus, with the individual's contribution to that profit; the trade union is concerned with the well-being of its members, as the B.S.F. is with its members; the Board of Trade is concerned with the safety of seafarers and ships; the National Maritime Board, with the administrative details of the employment of workers in the industry. The training schools and programmes are designed to create a supply of adequately trained men for the industry; the Seafarers' Education Service attempts to supply an intellectual stimulus for the seafarer and provide him with broader horizons. All of these ends are good in themselves, but in the enclosed social structure of the ship, they produce tensions which must be resolved, and they create role anomalies which are dysfunctional to the operation of the vessel.

CHAPTER III

THE THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE STUDY

Introduction

This chapter has a dual purpose to fulfill. In the preceding pages we have looked at the organizational framework within which the shipping industry and the ship exist. The following pages must relate this organizational framework, a form of reality, to a conceptual form which will enable us to examine the social structure of the shipboard community and provide a social explanation of the seafaring life. To this end the chapter falls into three sections. First, there is a discussion of the development of a seafaring culture and the creation of the institutional and hierarchical aspects of ships' crews. This is followed by a discussion of previous studies of seafaring. This second section looks at the theoretical forms used by other observers of maritime life and identifies the strengths and weaknesses of the approaches that have been used. The final section reviews some sociological theories and develops a theoretical approach based on a "contingency" view of the interaction of organizations, their members, and their environment.

The Development of a Seafaring Culture

Men have used waterborne craft, be they logs or liners, since time immemorial. Sea-related activities can range from the transportation of the individual or his goods and the creation of a sea-trading pattern of commerce to war or leisure. The sea has played an important part in

these human activities, and the function of an activity which continues through time is the part it plays in social life as a whole and its contribution to the maintenance of the society's structural continuity.[1]

Once the activity has become part of the structure of society, social expectations arise over the way in which those members engaged in the activity conduct themselves. Rules are imposed to reinforce these expectations and to exclude spontaneous or outstanding achievements.[2] This activity requires coordination which is initially supplied by the primitive society's social system and then by formalized control systems as the society matures.

In all cases the institutions of society, whether they are seafaring, educational, or any other change with time, and the services they provide are adapted to meet society's needs. MacIver described this adaptation as a form of coordination within the community and argued that each form of association within the community has a distinctive place and character of its own which cannot be usurped by any other form of association. He stated further that the more specialized the association, the better the service it renders to the community.[3]

The individual must also adapt to meet the changing needs of society, and this adaptation takes place through the process of socialization. Cooley's concept of the "looking-glass self," like other theories of socialization, postulates that under certain conditions the socialization of the individual causes rewards and punishment inherent in his role to be internalized, and behaviour that was once sanction-motivated becomes

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[1] For example, see A.R. Radcliffe-Brown (1952), p. 180.

[2] H. Arendt (1958), especially p. 40; G.H. Mead (1956), pp. 24-36.

[3] R.M. MacIver (1924), pp. 250-51.

voluntary.[4] This patterning of behaviour within the society's culture over a period of time causes a social tradition to evolve which is expressed through the social institutions and norms of the culture. This tradition outlives the actors who occupy the roles determined by and determining the norms and institutions.[5]

The culture of seafarers is an international one with its roots in the days of sail and its branches in modern turbine tankers, giant bulk-ore carriers, and fast container ships. It is a culture in which the institutions and norms are values meaningless in themselves but which are the means of transmitting the culture to new seamen. The international character of the culture is such that a Swedish A.B., a British A.B., and an Italian deckhand have more in common (and recognize this as so) than they do with their national societies. A major argument which will be explored is that the high rate of wastage of seafarers from the occupation is because this discrepancy between national societal values and ship societal values is so vast. The socialization process of landsman into seaman represents a break with the social inheritance of attitudes and shoreside values which will mould the seafarer to the needs of his shipboard community.

The Ship as a Community and Social System

MacIver has defined a community as

> an area of common life. . .the area must be somehow distinguished from further areas, the common life may have some characteristics of its own such that the frontiers of the area have some meaning. . . . with distinctive common characteristics -- manners, traditions, modes of speech and so on.[6]

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[4] C.H. Cooley (1962), Part II; G.H. Mead (1956), pp. 263-71; C.W. Mills (1959), pp. 169-71, for arguments concerning the dysfunctions of the socialization process; F.E. Oppenheim (1961), especially p. 31.

[5] For a development of this line of argument, see R.M. MacIver (1924), pp. 86-87.

[6] R.M. MacIver (1924), pp. 22-23; R. Frankenburg (1966), esp. ch. 9.

A ship's community has its own language -- for example, a "floor" in landsman's parlance is a "deck" on board a ship -- its own traditions and manners. Most important, it occupies a highly defined area and has a system of geographic mobility unique for a community. In other words the ship has its own style of conduct and its own social structure which, in a very general form, it shares with other ships. On first boarding the ship, the landsman is very conscious of these differences, and he must learn the culture of ship society if he is to become a seafarer. He is a seafarer when life ashore has an unfamiliar, strange culture, and when this happens, his socialization is complete.[7] The institutions and social norms of the "tradition" of seafaring become

> partially autonomous realities with their own way of life. They have the power to attract and repel each other and to form amongst themselves various syntheses which are determined by their natural affinities and not by the condition of their matrix.[8]

Durkheim discussed the synthesis of social elements in the collective substratum as being connected to the rest of the world but not absorbed into it. The seafarer is connected to the rest of the world by virtue of the services he provides and the time which his ship-community spends in port, but the synthesis his culture arrives at in relation to the national culture is an uneven one. The way in which the seafarer is shaped to the duties and dangers inherent in his 24-hour-day working environment is different from the shaping of workers ashore. It also differs between seafarers, since the experiences and style of behaviour that each man brings to the ship-community are unique. Durkheim argued that

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[7] For examples in other occupations, see T. Burns and G.M. Stalker (1961), especially p. 258; K. Prandy (1965), pp. 19-20; University of Liverpool (1956), ch. 3; M. Janowitz (1960), pp. 199-204; A.K. Rice (1965), p. 10; C.P. Snow (1959).

[8] G. Simpson (1963), p. 21.

"sociological phenomena cannot be defined by their universality. . . the collective aspects of the beliefs, tendencies and practices of a group . . . characterize truly social phenomena."[9]

No two ships are identical in their social structure or social relations. To generalize the social structure of an oil tanker and then attempt to use this as an explanation of the social structure of a passenger liner would meet with failure. It is possible, however, to develop social hypotheses concerning the seafarer, for attitudes to seafaring are acquired through experience of many ships, and the external social forces on the seafarer are part of his national culture.

In examining the differentiation of tasks on a ship, it is found that the greater the differentiation, the greater the support that the seafarer needs from his fellows. If that support is not available because of the smallness of the groups on the ship or the rigid hierarchy, he will seek it ashore, and hence will not become fully socialized into the occupation and will not "conform to images, to practices which are common to the whole profession,"[10] since social knowledge "is the very authority of society, transferring itself to a certain manner of thought which is the indispensable condition of all common action."[11]

The function of any behaviour within an organization can be defined as "the consequence of that behaviour for the social system in which it takes place."[12] The behaviour of the seafarer is the result of the division of labour, the need of the ship-community for shared norms and institutions on the part of the seafarer, the level of conflict within the ship-community,[13] and the requirements of the organization's environment.

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[9] E. Durkheim (1950), p. 6.

[10] E. Durkheim (1947), p. 131.

[11] E. Durkheim (1948), p. 18.

[12] R. Dubin (1963a).

[13] Conflict-power is used as a heuristic device in the way suggested by R.A. Dahl (1957) to isolate social functions within social systems.

The structure of task roles within an organization offers a differential access to new experiences and opportunities to release strains and tensions that are fostered by the role structure for the average worker. The way in which an individual can achieve these experiences and outlets is a function of his role within the organization and the work with which the organization is concerned. Work is more than a means to an end for the individual in an organization; it gives the worker intrinsic and extrinsic gratification of his needs for money, recognition, status, and life purposes.[14]

Morse and Weiss have pointed out that

> a life without working in a middle-class occupation would be less purposeful, stimulating and challenging. The content of working-class jobs concerns activity. . . . Therefore life without working becomes life without anything to do.[15]

In the small community of the ship there are many roles of "middle class" and "working class" types, and a dichotomy results in attitudes toward work. The officers seek satisfaction from their work and are dissatisfied when, in the monotony of a long, open-sea passage for instance, they do not find it or when they are prevented from obtaining satisfaction because of organizational constraints imposed by outside bodies such as their company or the Board of Trade.

For ratings, however, work is an activity to fill the time which cannot be spent more profitably in other pursuits; consequently, their "investment" is less in the work situation than in the social situation.[16]

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[14]This point is discussed in N.C. Morse and R.S. Weiss (1955); K. Rogers (1967), ch. 1; R.A. Ramsay (1966); R. Dubin (1963b); L. Orzack (1963).

[15]N.C. Morse and R.S. Weiss (1955), p. 195.

[16]See W. Baldamus (1951, 1961); H. Behrend (1957); J.H. Goldthorpe, et al. (1968), ch. 2.

This dichotomy of attitudes is the source of much conflict on board ship, which has been recognized for some time:

> . . . there is no situation of life in which there is room for more virtues, more conduct and address than that of a sea officer. The men are thrown upon his humanity and attention in more views than one: they are subject to a more arbitrary exertion of power than the constitution of the state authorizes in civil life. . . .it is the character of seamen to be thoughtless and neglectful of their interest and welfare, requiring to be tended like children; but from their bravery, utility, and other good qualities, they seem entitled to a degree of a parental tenderness and attention from the state they protect and the officers they obey.[17]

> A key to an understanding of seamen and their actions ashore is to be found not so much in the men as in their jobs. A seaman is what he is and does what he does, ashore as on shipboard, not so much because he is a given type of person but rather because he has a certain kind of job.[18]

> The most distressing thing to me about the Merchant Service has always been the state of war that exists between the officers and the men, so different from the spirit of the Navy as one has known it. The officers speak of the men with contempt or rage; one feels quite sorry for the officers, and horrified to think of the life they must lead the men.[19]

The merchant ship has always had a hierarchy on board, and even in the primitive forms of craft rowed or paddled by hand, someone had to set the time and steer the boat, either from amongst the oarsmen as in a dory, or from a tiller or steering oar. Further specialization exists in a rowing boat in which the hierarchy is normally the coxswain or helmsman, the stroke oarsman who sets the tempo, and the bowman who casts off and handles the boathook.

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[17] G. Blane (1785), pp. 327-28.

[18] E.P. Hohman (1952), p. xv.

[19] W.E. Home (1922), pp. 5-6.

The division of labour in sailing vessels was equally simple, with the master in charge of navigating the ship, the first mate or the mate as his second-in-command and supervising the day-to-day operation of the ship, and the second mate who was in charge of the work force for half the day but normally worked with the men. The men were divided into two groups or "watches," and worked four hours on deck and four hours off around the clock. The only men who did not work watches beside the master were the cook, the steward, and a carpenter or sailmaker.[20] This work force was related directly to its technology. Equipment had to be overhauled and repaired constantly, and the ship "worked" in order to gain the maximum benefit from the wind and tide which could only be done by splitting the small crew[21] into even smaller work units.

The same hierarchy exists in the merchant ship today, although it has been added to because the ship is propelled by mechanical means, and a complex structure has evolved with no man holding exactly the same rank as another. Again, the subdivisions are by watch-keeping and day work, but owing to the specialized nature of the skills, the men work on their own or in much smaller groups than the "Pilgrim" ever had. Ship "Y"[22] had a crew of thirty-three men, but at any one time, in spite of watches of four hours on duty and eight hours off, there were rarely more men available to form primary groups off watch than there were on the "Pilgrim." The increased division of labour, therefore, has created a more complex and less satisfying system of working on the modern ship.[23]

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[20] R.H. Dana (1909), pp. 16-17, describes the work organization on American merchantmen in 1834.

[21] Ibid. The crew of the "Pilgrim" numbered 15 men.

[22] Ship "Y" was a bulk-carrier of 11,000 tons gross. For a description, see P.H. Fricke (1971).

[23] For a description of the organization of ships' crews, see J.C. Record (1957), p. 323; P.H. Mann (1957), pp. 30-41; J. Tunstall (1962), pp. 21-26; P. Duncan (1963); O. Hoel (1971), pp. 1-2; G.C. Homans (1946); K. Weibust (1958).

With the coming of the steamship in the mid-nineteenth century, the size of crews increased rapidly. The seamen, or deck ratings, were still needed to maintain the ship's structure and its cargo-handling equipment, and in the early days, to tend the sails brought along to ensure additional power. The boilers were coal-fired, and large groups of labourers were employed to move the coal from the bunkers to the fire rooms and to care for the boiler fire. These labourers were far outside the seafaring tradition, and because of their large numbers, they were not socialized to the ways of the sea. The engineers were a small group of men, skilled in the maintenance of their engines. Often they were employed in shipyards as fitters or engine erectors before going to sea and were recruited by the shipowner to service the engines they had built. As motor ships were utilized in the period between the world wars, so the size of crews fell again, and in absolute terms, the number of seafarers in the United Kingdom has declined.

The Status of Seafaring

With this decline the prestige of a career in seafaring has fallen too.[24] For the men who ordinarily would have sought social mobility and economic rewards as officers, other avenues of career advancement have opened. In the time of relatively full employment, the potential rating can now find work which is less demanding and, moreover, allows him to spend each night in his own bed. With the decline of the passenger liner, much of the Englishman's knowledge of life at sea has also receded, and as a consequence, the prestige of seafaring has slipped.

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[24] N.N. Foote and P.K. Hatt (1953), pp. 370-71, argue: "When the results of studies of occupational shifts are considered in the light of findings from studies of occupational prestige, there can be no doubt that expanding occupations on the whole are those of higher prestige levels, whereas the contracting occupations are on the whole found at lower prestige levels."

This situation is aggravated by the recurrent reports of accidents and accompanying pollution of the environment. Sea transport is a quaternary activity in the economic sphere together with other forms of transport, and its place as the prime mover of passengers has long been eclipsed by the air transport industry, to which much of the status formerly attributed to the seafarer has been transferred.

> The fact that the [shipping] industry does not have a good image accentuates its personnel problems. We believe that it has itself been partly responsible for this undeserved image; by insisting on its difference from other industries, it [the shipping industry] has become out of step with education and training for industry generally, as also with social attitudes now prevailing in the country as a whole.[25]

The ship is now viewed, in the public eye, to be part of a much larger undertaking that looks after prosaic detail such as the optimum economic size of bulk-carriers and the possibility of operating million ton dwt. oil-tankers. The glamour has left the shipping industry, and the three main subsystems of any industrial organization remain in full view. These can be termed the operations/production, the marketing, and the administrative subsystems.[26]

Previous Studies of the Social Aspects of Seafaring

In relation to other areas of sociological interest, there are few extant studies of seafaring. Much of the literature on the seafarer and his place of work concerns health and accommodation problems.[27] These

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[25] Rochdale (1970), para. 17.

[26] W. Brown (1960), pp. 143-45, argued that the three major industrial subsystems were sales, production, and R and D. P.R. Lawrence and J.W. Lorsch (1967a), pp. 45-49, pointed out that these were "basic" subsystems.

[27] See, for example, G. Blane (1785); T. Trotter (1793); S. Brun-Gulbrandsen and O. Irgens-Jensen (1964, 1967); K. Evang (1951); J.A. Nixon (1946); F.P. Ellis (1948); Ø. Ødegaard (1956); W.E. Home (1922); P. Sundby (1956), A. Otterland (1960); F.P. Burow (1943); J.G. Wilson (1936, 1953).

medical studies are useful corroborating material, but do not advance our social understanding of seafarers; they are described in Appendix V. Other, more relevant studies have examined the place of the seafarer in the development of shipping,[28] and on his life ashore,[29] but few have focussed on a critical consideration of the merchant seaman at sea in his workplace, the ship.[30] The literature is sparse and has concentrated on immediate problems of the shipping industry, whilst the work of Thorsrud, Herbst, MacFarlane, Richardson, Aubert and Arner, and Tunstall[31] has centred on the sociodynamics of seafaring.

In the following section we shall consider theoretical approaches to life on board ship -- in particular, "total institution" theory, then studies of the ship as a community, and finally, descriptive literature on life at sea.

The Ship as a Total Institution

Goffman argued that there are five rough groupings of total institutions whose characteristics can be symbolized by their isolation from society as a whole. These groupings are (1) those institutions caring for persons who are incapable and harmless such as homes for old persons; (2) those institutions caring for persons who are incapable but potentially

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[28] See, for example, C.H. Milsom (1968); R. Hope (1965); D. Moreby (1969); J.H. Wilson (1925); P. Foot (1967); W.H. Coombes (1926); B. Mogridge (1962); A.W. Werner (1966).

[29] See, for instance, E.P. Hohman (1952); G.A. Gollock (1930); F. Powdermaker (1945).

[30] See, for example, P.H. Mann (1957); J.C. Record (1957); P. Duncan (1963); G.W. Horobin (1957); V. Aubert and O. Arner (1958); G.C. Homans (1946); I.L.O. (1950).

[31] V. Aubert and O. Arner (1958); V. Aubert (1965), ch. 8; P.H. Herbst (1968); J. MacFarlane (1970a); S.A. Richardson (1956); J. Tunstall (1962); E. Thorsrud (1971); also see W.R. Rosengren (1970); P. Duncan (1963); R. Andersen and C. Wadel (1972); R.G. Stiles (1972); J.J. Poggie and C. Gersuny (1970).

harmful to the community as, for example, hospitals for the chronically ill; (3) those institutions organized to contain persons who are capable and are thought to be harmful to the community; prisons, for instance; (4) certain institutions organized to perform tasks and are total institutions on instrumental grounds only; for example, the army, ships, logging camps, and remote construction sites such as oil rigs; and (5) those institutions serving religious purposes such as monasteries.[32]

Goffman maintained that a total institution is one in which all spheres of life activity -- work, recreation, and sleep -- are carried on within the same physical boundary and are segregated from society in general.

> The central features of total institutions can be described as a breakdown of the barriers ordinarily separating these three spheres of life. First, all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority. Second, each phase of the member's daily activity is carried on in the immediate company of a large batch of others, all of whom are treated alike and required to do the same thing together. Third, all phases of the day's activities are tightly scheduled with one activity leading at a pre-arranged time into the next, the whole sequence of activities being imposed from above by a system of explicit formal rulings and a body of officials. Finally, the various enforced activities are brought together into a single rational plan purportedly designed to fulfill the official aims of the institution. . . .In total institutions there is a basic split between a large managed group, conveniently called inmates, and a small supervisory staff. . . . Each grouping tends to conceive of the other in terms of narrow hostile stereotypes, staff often seeing inmates as bitter, secretive, and untrustworthy, while inmates often see staff as condescending, high handed, and mean. Staff tends to feel superior and righteous; inmates tend in some ways at least to feel inferior, weak, blameworthy and guilty.[33]

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[32] E. Goffman (1961), pp. 4-5.

[33] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

In his earlier work Aubert discussed Goffman's theme of the total institution with regard to the ship.[34] In this work Aubert pointed out that the ship is unique amongst total institutions, for it has no "clientele" on board (with the obvious exception of passenger liners), and consequently does not engage in formal training and socialization processes.[35] He also indicated that the ship is exceptional amongst total institutions, since it is part of the economic institutions of society and thus is bound by the definition of the seafarer as an occupational category. In his later work Aubert moved away from the concept of the total institution but retained the concepts of socialization discussed by Goffman.[36] Other writers such as Porritt and Duncan[37] have used the concept of total institution with reference to the ship and have had considerable difficulty in creating a theoretical "fit."

The total institution theory is a theory of the ideal type as Goffman himself points out:

> This classification of total institutions is not neat, exhaustive, nor of immediate analytical use, but it does provide a purely denotative definition of the category as a starting point.[38]

The usefulness of such a theory is that it is a yardstick to measure social institutions. A ship has a high degree of fit along many of the lines that Goffman has postulated, but it is an industrial subsystem concerned with economic goals, not "people" goals, and moreover, its membership changes every two to four months on average, as voyages are completed and the crew paid off.

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[34] V. Aubert (1965), ch. 8.

[35] Ibid., pp. 248-49.

[36] V. Aubert (1969), pp. 170-82.

[37] W.M. Porritt (1971); P. Duncan (1963).

[38] E. Goffman (1961), p. 7.

This changeover of membership does not lead us to postulate socialization and integration in a total institution but rather into an occupational subculture. Consequently, total institution theory, as explicitly outlined by Wilkie and Perry and Aubert[39] is too limiting a concept for the study of ships. As an analytical tool it has some interest for the definition of the process of role formulation and norms of shipboard life, and in this way Goffman's theory will be used in this study.

The Norwegian Studies

Aubert's work stemmed from research at the Institute for Social Research at Oslo. That the Norwegians should be interested in studies of seafaring is not surprising, for 20% of the male population of Norway aged 15 or more has worked on board a ship.[40] Much of the Norwegian work has been concerned with the psychology of seafaring and with the use and abuse of alcohol on ships[41] and culminated in three research projects published in 1958-59 upon which much of present-day discussion of seamen rests.[42]

Two of these three projects dealt with the problem of seafarers' families.[43] Gronseth and Tiller developed the concept of the passive-feminine psychological type to account for the attraction of men to the sea and the logical outcome of an upbringing associated with an absent father. In his study of seafarers' wives Gronseth makes the point that wives seek partial satisfaction of the need for companionship, created by the absence of the seafarer, through their relationships with their children or female relatives. This is well documented in other studies of seafarers[44] and will be discussed in Chapter VII.

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[39] R. Wilkie and N. Perry (1968); V. Aubert (1965, 1969).

[40] S. Brun-Gulbrandsen and O. Irgens-Jensen (1964), p. 162.

[41] See, for example, Ø. Ødegaard (1946, 1956); S. Brun-Gulbrandsen and O. Irgens-Jensen (1964); O. Arner (1970); P. Sundby (1956).

[42] V. Aubert and O. Arner (1958); E. Gronseth (1959); E. Gronseth and P. Tiller (1958).

[43] E. Gronseth (1959); E. Gronseth and P. Tiller (1958).

[44] J. Tunstall (1962), pp. 160-62; M. Kerr (1958), pp. 97-98.

Aubert and Arner's study, "On the Social Structure of a Ship," is a careful description of the functions and consequences of life at sea for seafarers. The authors used this study as a departure point for their later work on seafarers.

The Norwegian research since 1960 has moved to studies of the ship as an industrial organization and has followed the work of the Tavistock Institute. For this reason we shall consider the recent work of Thorsrud and Herbst when we look at the implications of the sociotechnical system as a theoretical approach to the study of seafarers.

Other Descriptive Studies of Seafarers

The major British contribution has been that of the sociologists from Hull. The work of Horobin, Duncan, and Tunstall is deservedly well known.[45] These investigations are of seafaring communities and relate their findings to occupational studies of fishermen. Other British contributions have been those of S.A. Richardson, whose study was based on his experience in the Merchant Navy, and P.H. Mann.[46] These two studies are descriptive rather than analytical but are of use in providing reference points for social change in the Merchant Navy.

The other descriptive British studies have been those of Moreby, who was concerned with the management of ship's personnel; the Pearson and Rochdale reports, and the work of Wilkie and Perry, Mogridge, MacFarlane, and Lane.[47] The majority of studies of seafaring made by the Tavistock Institute have not been published because they were commissioned studies made on behalf of various shipping companies.

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[45] G.W. Horobin (1957); J. Tunstall (1962); P. Duncan (1963).

[46] S.A. Richardson (1956); P.H. Mann (1957).

[47] D.H. Moreby (1962, 1969); B. Mogridge (1962); J. MacFarlane (1970a, 1970b); A.D. Lane (1966, 1967); R. Wilkie and N. Perry (1967); Pearson (1967); Rochdale (1970); J.M.M. Hill (1972).

The Pearson Commission was set up by the Labour government in the course of the 1966 seamen's strike and issued two reports. The first was a preliminary report which was rejected by the seamen,[48] and the second and final report was published in 1967. This documented many details of life at sea for officers and ratings and provided a base of data for the present study. The Rochdale Committee was organized in 1967 to examine the shipping industry and to make specific recommendations to the government for future legislation. Its report was issued in 1970 and presented a useful source of corroboration of material used in this study.

Historical studies of the Royal Navy in general and the Merchant Navy in the days of sail or in wartime are legion. Few of these tell of the seaman in more detail than stereotyped platitudes.[49] As we shall see, this does not reflect a desire to belittle the lot of the seaman; rather, the focus of attention is on the ships, the naval actions, and the "heroes." The sordid fact that in 1968, thirty-two catering ratings were sharing two wash basins, two toilets, and a shower on a modern passenger ship engaged in the short sea trades[50] is not of more than a passing interest to an author's public where popular histories are concerned.

Other descriptive work is largely concerned with accounts of the Merchant Navy and its institutions.[51] These books, in particular Hope's study, are factual and accurate in their presentation but are designed to provide information for potential recruits, especially at officer level, and are not involved with discussions of life at sea other than from the management point of view.

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[48]Pearson (1967); J. Prescott and C. Hodgins (1966).

[49]For exceptions, see B. Somerville (1920); E. Shinwell (1955); J. Saville (1960); S. Plimsoll (1871); L.H. Powell (1950, 1952); F.E. Hyde (1957); F.E. Hyde, et al. (1967); T. Brassey (1877); C. Lloyd (1970).

[50]Research Notebook 10.

[51]See, for example, C.H. Milsom (1968); R. Hope (1965); British Shipping Federation (1967).

For a country with a proportionally smaller population of seamen, American sociological studies of the seaman are, surprisingly, much more extensive than those undertaken in Britain. Healey's study of the merchant seaman and Hohman's study of the whaleman[52] were attempts to describe the seafarer's occupation. As a result the work of Homans, Beattie, and Record[53] followed in a field in which basic work had already been undertaken. Since 1956 studies of seafaring in America have centred around seamen's communities and studies of fishing.[54] None of this work has tried to relate major theoretical concepts to these socioanthropological community studies with the exception of Rosengren's paper on the Durkheimian theory of the division of labour as applied to the fishing crew.[55]

The Seafarer and the Sociotechnical System

The best organized approach to the study of ships and their crews has undoubtedly been that of the Tavistock Institute and its collaborators. Much of the work has not been published, as it has been done for specific clients.[56] As Brown has pointed out,[57] this method has inherent dangers for the research organization as well as the client because research cannot be checked easily through replication. Difficulties for other researchers also arise. Frequently they duplicate work unknowingly and find parts of the research field closed to them whilst studies are going on.

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[52] J.C. Healey (1936); E.P. Hohman (1928).

[53] G.C. Homans (1946); W.M. Beattie (1950); J.C. Record (1957).

[54] The most recent studies have been by V. Liguori (1968); W.R. Rosengren (1970); J.J. Poggie and C. Gersuny (1970); J. Cove, 1970, 1971); E.N. Anderson, Jr. (1970); R. Andersen and C. Wadel (1972); R.G. Stiles (1972).

[55] W.R. Rosengren (1970).

[56] However, see S. Baddeley (1969); J.M.M. Hill (1972); P.G. Herbst (1968).

[57] R.K. Brown (1967).

Sociologists and others who have been associated with the Tavistock Institute's work include Baddeley, Emery, Hill, Klein, Moreby, Quinn, and Trist in the United Kingdom; Roggema in the Netherlands; and Herbst and Thorsrud in Norway. Their research has included studies of manpower selection, training, reorganization of work groups, and a major sociographic study of seafarers. However, the Tavistock Institute was initially concerned with developing the concepts of the sociotechnical system that they had successfully applied to, amongst other things, the organization of coal-getting and the operation of cotton mills.[58]

Herbst stated that the key factors in the structure and operation of an organization were

> 1. Social interactions within the group and relations of the group to the behavioural environment within which it is located. . . . 2. Techno-ecological processes within the group and techno-ecological relations to the environment. . . . 3. Economic processes that concern the valuational aspects of both the social and the technological intakes, outputs, and internal operations.[59]

The theoretical frame related the individual to his technology and sought to explain the worker's relative satisfaction and dissatisfaction by the demands that the technology made upon him as a social being. Thus, a man who was autonomous in the work situation and had control over his technology was likely to be a relatively satisfied human being. This concept of the sociotechnical system was, however, not suitable for direct application to ships,[60] and the reason for this was the opposite of the unsuitability of applying total institution theory.

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[58] E.L. Trist and K.W. Bamforth (1951); A.K. Rice (1957).

[59] P.G. Herbst (1957), pp. 335-36.

[60] S. Baddeley (1969).

Total institution theory was difficult to apply to ships because of the lack of formal socialization or training criteria[61] and the functioning of the ship as an economic unit within an occupational subculture. The sociotechnical system theory could not account for the behaviour patterns of the twenty-four-hour community/organization of the ship. Herbst has argued that this can be best explained by the variations in status in the social structure of the ship. In order to create effective task groups, a redistribution of status (and suitable compensations for loss of status) must take place together with the introduction of a continuous learning process to provide satisfaction for leaders and workers in a small community.[62]

The work of the Tavistock Institute would, therefore, seem to be moving toward an integration of the sociotechnical system with the social system, drawing in the factors of the total organizational environment as part of overall research strategy. It must be pointed out that all this research is to be utilized in the shipping industry and that many of this group of studies deal with commissioned problems relating to the industry for which solutions must be found. A simplistic, easily understood approach like that of the sociotechnical system is useful in this context.

The studies that have been made of seafarers have concentrated on the concept of the ship as a total institution, the ship as a sociotechnical system, the health and welfare of seafarers, the seafarer as a deviant or as an actor in a history, or descriptions of the Merchant Navy. The only attempts to outline an occupational and social frame for

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[61] N.P. Mouzelis (1967) argued that "(a) not all total institutions portray the negative characteristics which are usually associated with them; (b) that even when mortification processes exist, they do not always have destructive or degrading implications for the self" (p. 113). However, the argument does not detract from the problem of the application of a general theory, which Mouzelis recognizes, to a specific form of organization (i.e., the ship) nor does it take into consideration the nature and duration of characteristics of economic institutions like the ship-community.

[62] P.G. Herbst (1968).

the seafarer have been in the work of Tunstall and of Aubert and Arner.[63] In their explanations they have sought to produce an overall picture of the seaman. Tunstall's work is a community study of a particular form of seafaring, whilst that of Aubert and Arner is of the division of labour within a unique industrial organization. For similar comprehensive "pictures" of life at sea, we have to rely on the intuition and observation of novelists such as de Hartog, Melville, or Conrad.

Since there are relatively few studies of seafarers, the piecemeal approach has posed difficulties to a full understanding. Unfortunately, where a unitary approach to the study of seafaring has been taken -- that is, in the application of the sociotechnical system -- much of the research findings has not been published.

The work that has been completed suggests certain directions to the study of the seafarer. First, to understand the nature of the occupation, we must examine the social structure and industrial organization of the ship. Next, it is necessary to examine the inputs and outputs of the ship-as-an-organization and its environment, including the social, economic, and technical factors which impinge upon the ship. Then, to know the ship-as-a-community, its relation to the community or communities of its members must be explored. Finally, the seafarer must be studied in his relationship to the ship, to his community afloat and ashore, and to his work. In other words, what is a ship? What is the nature of shipping? Who is a seafarer? Why does a man become a seafarer? What is his relation to the ship and to other seafarers? What is the seafarer's relationship to the society of landsmen?

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[63] J. Tunstall (1962); V. Aubert and O. Arner (1958).

The Theoretical Framework of the Study

We have stated that as the glamour and aura of adventure have decline, the three major subsystems of any industrial organization -- operations, marketing, and administration -- remain. On the ship, as we have seen in Chapter I, the operating subsystem is the most important and is set up on the basis of operating and maintenance functions in the deck and engine-room departments. These serve to fulfill the production goals of moving goods from one port to another as quickly and efficiently as possible. The administrative subsystem is divided between the shore staff of the company -- for example, stores, wages (in some companies), accounting -- and the ship. On the ship the heads of department and their deputies are responsible for the administrative duties relating to the ship. The marketing function is almost entirely carried out by the shore staff, so the ship has two "line" departments and one additional one, the catering department. In our analysis we shall consider this to be a "staff" department, and as such, it plays an important role.

Lawrence and Lorsch define an organization as being a

> system of interrelated behaviours of people who are performing a task that has been differentiated into several distinct subsystems, each subsystem performing a portion of the task, and the efforts of each being integrated to achieve effective performance of the system.[64]

The subsystems in the case of the ship are the two operating departments of deck and engine and the staff function performed by the catering department. Each department has its own tasks and subtasks. The deck department is concerned with the navigation of the ship and stowage of cargo. Its subtasks are the care and maintenance of its equipment, the external care and maintenance of hull and superstructure, and the reliability

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[64] P.R. Lawrence and J.W. Lorsch (1967a), p. 36.

of safety equipment. This department is the senior of the two operating departments because by law command of the ship can only be assumed by a qualified man who has risen through the ranks of the deck department.

The engine-room department is concerned with the operation of the ship's engines. Its subtasks include the operation, maintenance, and care of all auxiliary machinery on the ship such as electricity generators, water pumps, cargo winches, and so on. The catering department handles the provision of food and, for the officers, housekeeping services. It also supplies all bonded stores, clean linens, and other day-to-day items of comfort necessary in an isolated community.

The theoretical framework of this study is derived from the work of Lawrence and Lorsch on organizations and their environments, and their hypothesis that any organization will be composed of subsystems that would tend to develop particular attributes which, in turn, would be related to characteristics of its external environment. For this study we will consider first the degree of formality of structure of the shipping company and its subsystem, the ship, and the degree of formality of the ship and its subsystems, the operational and staff departments. Secondly, we will look at the orientations of members to the organization in terms of the time lapse of feedback of information. We shall also examine the goal orientations of seafarers to the ship and the company.[65] Finally, we shall consider the social structure of the ship as a system of roles and role sets.

Formal Organizations

Weber postulated an ideal type of formal organization as a bureaucracy in which the regular activities of the organization are arranged within a framework of official duties with a specified hierarchy of offices where each office is under the supervision of a higher one. A system of abstract rules is consistently applied; each official acts impartially and impersonally

[65] P.R. Lawrence and J.W. Lorsch (1967b), pp. 5-9.

within the scope of his duties; employment in the organization is based on technical qualifications and a career structure, and consequently, the organization approaches its tasks in a rational and efficient manner.[66] Although the ideal type of organization is conceptualized as rational and efficient, it can be so for only a short period of time. Since it cannot cope with change, Weber's bureaucratic system created what Merton termed dysfunctions in the organization if the reified typology was accepted,[67] or the organic and mechanistic systems of organization cited by Burns and Stalker if the ideal type was redefined in terms of "real" organizations.[68] MacIver put it another way:

> The history of progressive peoples constantly reveals the danger which arises when institutional forms become ossified, the danger that they may pervert instead of furthering the spirit, tradition, way of life out of which they arose.[69]

Durkheim also argued that traditional, or formal, methods of organization tended to preclude thought and reflection on the future course of the organization.[70] Rosengren and Hinings, et al., believed that small organizations with specialized tasks had systems of restricted and formal communication, whilst those with unspecialized tasks had open systems of communication. This permitted the latter organizations to attain their goals with a minimum of organizational strain.[71]

In the organizations with the organic structure postulated by Burns and Stalker, a person controlling rewards and sanctions will also control

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[66] M. Weber (1947), pp. 330-40. Also see M. Albrow (1970), pp. 43-45; R.H. Hall (1963) for analyses of the dimensions of bureaucracy. Hall analyzes the work of Berger, Dimock, Friedrich, Heady, Merton, Michels, Parsons, Udy, and Weber. Albrow, pp. 87-89, distinguishes between rational and inefficient in his discussion of Weber's model.

[67] R.K. Merton (1957), pp. 197-200.

[68] T. Burns and G.M. Stalker (1961), pp. 103-10.

[69] R.M. MacIver (1924), pp. 161-62.

[70] E. Durkheim (1956), p. 128.

[71] W.R. Rosengren (1967), p. 196; C.R. Hinings, et al. (1967), p. 68.

power resources, and thus, will tend to have both authority (status) and prestige (legitimacy).[72] A ship's officer considers himself to be a professional; as a consequence, if a ship is treated solely as a formal organization, his power, based on his position in the hierarchy, would not be adequate for situations requiring his professional knowledge or risk-taking decisions.[73]

The organization of the ship must accept a dichotomy of responsibility in which watch-keepers are liable for the safety of the ship, but the formal structure subsumes authority at non-watch-keeping times which implies a commitment to the structure of the organization and an acceptance of its goals. If these goals are fully accepted, the individual will tend to view the organization as "his" and will reify the traditions and goals, creating problems of innovation once again.

> In a mechanistic system decisions at lower levels are taken within the framework of decisions at higher levels. . . .all that a superior in fact does is to define the context, the conditions, the premises and the grounds within and on which subordinates act. . . .In organic systems subordination becomes less important as determining active and passive roles in this process; everybody in the system has to work out his own actions within a series of temporary "frameworks of decision" set by people around him.[74]

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[72] R.A. Schermerhorn (1961), especially p. 24, has developed the concept of the cumulative nature of power resources in which a person enjoying power will accumulate further power, whilst a person who is relatively powerless will lose power resources. W.R. Rosengren (1967) and E. Shils (1965) have argued that authority or "charisma of status" (Shils) gives an office holder power beyond that which is formally attached to the position.

[73] See, for example, P. Blau and W. Scott (1962), p. 185.

[74] T. Burns and G.M. Stalker (1961), p. 209; E. Durkheim (1947), p. 45: "Mechanical solidarity generally is not only a weaker link than organic solidarity but it also decreases in importance as social evolution advances." M. Halbwachs (1958), p. 107, has discussed this problem in the work situation of clerks, whilst D.T. Campbell and J.H. McCormack (1957) have discussed it with reference to United States Air Force personnel and civilians.

As the techology of ship operation has become more complex and sophisticated, the mechanistic, or formal and bureaucratic, structure of the organization has ceased to be fully relevant. The shipmaster is not qualified in all aspects of ship operation as he was in the days of sail, but the authority structure of the ship does not recognize this.[75] The management structure of a ship basically still remains as it was in the eighteenth century except that an engineering department has been tacked on to the organization. R. Powell noted that a major cause of industrial inefficiency is the obsolescence of managerial skills and structures. For a modern firm to do its job well from one year to the next, whether it be an electronics company or a shipping company, there must be an increase in managerial skills as well as in technical competency.[76]

The bureaucratic structure posited by Weber is a simplistic approach to the study of organizations and is applicable largely to an organization with a stable environment and technology. Where constant change occurs within the environment, the structural roles and the concept of career will be modified. This will, in turn, pose problems for recruitment and socialization to the organization,[77] especially with a lack of shared social relationships and no right to appeal from decisions made by persons

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[75]For a discussion of this point as it affects ships' radio operators, see J.C. Record (1957), p. 358.

[76]R. Powell (1963); K. Rogers (1967), pp. 138-9; T. Barna (1961) states that "the character of a firm is determined by its management. . . . In almost all firms the different manifestations of the firm's behaviour — price policy, marketing policy, inventory policy, labour policy, investment policy — are just different aspects of the management's character." T. Burns and G.M. Stalker (1961), p. 232.

[77]For a full discussion of adult identity and formal organization structure, see H.S. Becker and A.L. Strauss (1956); for a model of the bureaucratic career, see K. Mannheim (1936).

vested with authority. Thus, because of the formal organization of the ship, discontinuities in the bureaucratic structure will arise.[78]

In our consideration of formal organizations, we are interested in a significant form of middle-range theory which can, we hope, explain variables at a level that is valid for all forms of organizational structure, provide a common framework for primary and secondary group interests within organizations, and enable us to delineate the differences between work and non-work social organization. We have shown, as has Bendix,[79] that Weber's conceptual scheme of ideal type bureaucracy presented the rational basis for the majority of modern theories of organization. Pugh, et al., and Hinings, et al., have maintained that the Weberian model has brought forth two forms of response: One is the creation of ideal types for new forms of organizational behaviour, and we would argue that Goffman's theory of total institutions is an example of this. The other form of response is a study of the weaknesses of the Weberian concepts and their reformulation.[80] We would hold that the work of Burns and Stalker, and Lawrence and Lorsch leads us to support this latter response.

Lawrence and Lorsch have directed their work to the contingent relationship between an organization and its environment.[81] The environment

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[78] The lack of shared social relationships is discussed in detail in P.M. Blau (1957), especially p. 59; C.R. Walker and R.H. Guest (1952), pp. 62-3; A.S. Tannenbaum (1962), p. 244, shows that influence is the key to control and power in organizations, and where consultation between groups takes place, dissatisfaction over the allocation of power resources is diminished; W.M. Evan (1962) argues that the right of appeal of a subordinate in a formal organization is a characteristic of Weber's rational-legal model of bureaucracy. Where it is lacking, the organization does not limit the power of office-holders and consequently is not a bureaucracy within Weber's meaning.

[79] R. Bendix (1960), pp. 284-5.

[80] D.S. Pugh, et al. (1963); C.R. Hinings, et al. (1967).

[81] P.R. Lawrence and J.W. Lorsch (1967b); J.W. Lorsch and P.R. Lawrence (1970).

of an industrial organization is thought of as being composed of market information, scientific information, and technoeconomic data. These components of environment of an organization are handled by their assignation to different functional units within the organization. At any one time the different parts of the environment have varying roles of information exchange, varying time spans of feedback about the results of decisions, and a varying accuracy of information. From these different rates of change a continuum of certainty-uncertainty of operating environment is evolved. An organization faced with rapid change, long-term feedback of information about its operations, and low accuracy of information would operate in a highly uncertain environment. Conversely, an organization facing relatively little change, rapid feedback from its operating practices, and clear data about its prospects is operating within a very certain environment.

The relative certainty of the environment was a function of the degree of differentiation between the functional units of the organization. Lawrence and Lorsch defined differentiation as "the differences in cognitive and emotional orientation among managers in different units and the differences in formal structure among units."[82]

Differentiation was measured by the formality of structure, goal orientation, time orientation, and interpersonal orientation. In effective organizations the members had orientations which were the same as the demands of their environment. For successful overall coping with the organization's operations it was necessary to integrate the functional units into a whole. Since integration and differentiation are opposing forces within a social setting, this state is a difficult one to achieve, and the successful organization requires the coordination of the structural factors used to achieve integration (the managerial hierarchy) and the patterns of behaviour used to manage problems of differentiation

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[82] J.W. Lorsch and P.R. Lawrence (1970), p. 6.

(socialization). These patterns of organizational management correspond to Albrow's[83] concern with the problems of efficiency and rationality as incompatible factors in ideal type bureaucracy, and resolves the issue of the use of rationality and efficiency as predictive devices.

Burns and Stalker[84] utilized a mechanistic-organic continuum, developed from the Durkheimian theories of the division of labour which coped with conceptual inadequacies of the Weberian theories discussed above. The mechanistic model is applied to stable structures embedded in a stable market and hierarchy of authority. This model is characterized internally by specialized work roles, by control of the organization through the authority hierarchy, by clear delineation of work tasks, and by a stress upon technical means rather than changing ends.

On the other hand Burns and Stalker's organismic model of an organization is one in which the technology is subject to change and the market situation is unstable. The model is typified by the continual adjustment and redefinition of work roles, by a network of control and communication, and by a stress upon changing ends, not stable means. In their study of Scottish electronics firms, Burns and Stalker demonstrate the pathological consequences of the mechanistic model in dealing with the changing technologies and diffuse authority required by the organismic form of the research units. Ramsay showed very clearly the effects of mixing the two forms of organization in the generation of hostility on board ship.[85]

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[83] M. Albrow (1970).

[84] T. Burns and G.M. Stalker (1961); J. Woodward (1965) analyzes the effect on craft, batch and process production systems of formal management and shows that the social structure of the organization is determined by the technical systems employed.

[85] R.A. Ramsay (1966), especially chs. 2, 3, 9.

Orientations of Organization Members to Other Members

The orientations of organization members to their tasks and to other members of the organization should be mentioned. MacIver has said that "the check given to socialization by irrelevant social barriers is, of course, at the same time a check to individualization. Men can realize their individualities only within the appropriate social relations."[86]

As the ship community grows more complex and its role structure becomes more differentiated, there will be a corresponding demand by the members of the ship's crew for social fulfillment, and consequently, the social rewards offered by the ship-community for the seafarer's participation must also increase. The arguments advanced by Maslow regarding the motivations of individuals within organizations are that once the basic needs of persons for safety, self-identification, self-respect and esteem are satisfied, the individual will seek self-actualization or the realization of his potential as a person and as a member of the organization.[87] Durkheim argued in the same vein:

> As long as societies are restricted in size and in density the only psychic life capable of being developed is one common to all members of the group and identical in each member. But as societies become large and especially as they become dense a psychic life of a new sort makes its appearance. Individual differences, originally lacking or indistinguishable amidst the bulk of social likenesses, appear in bold relief and increase. A host of things that had persisted beyond the reach of individual minds because they were of no concern to collective life become objects of representations.[88]

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[86] R.M. MacIver (1924), p. 270.

[87] A.H. Maslow (1968), pp. 25, 126-30.

[88] E. Durkheim (1947), p. 347; also see A. Zander (1958), p. 108.

The ship-community prior to 1850 was composed of seamen, or sailors, only. It was the primitive, undifferentiated society which Durkheim described as being mechanical.[89] With the advent of the steamship and the use of radio-telegraphy and electronic navigation and control systems, new dimensions were added to the formal organization of the ship. The occupants of these new dimensions competed for the control of power resources on the ship on the grounds that the utilization of their knowledge and their place in the formal structure entitled them to do so. As a result, the power resources of the ship were decentralized, and the master tacitly gave control of the engine room department to the chief engineer because of the latter's expert skill.[90] With further specialization the number of men in the crew rose in the 1950's, when the average size of crew on board a ship of 8,000 tons deadweight was 68 men. Increased specialization has led to a reverse in this trend, and the average crew size for cargo-liners of 8,000 tons in the sample used for the study was 46 men.

A small, restricted community emerges, and the psychic life is not the common one available to all members. There is also increased competition for, and dilution of, the power available to individuals on the ship. Loss of the control of power resources was due to meagre communication between the deck department and the new specialist departments. However, a positive association has been shown between the power of subsystem managers and the number of communication links between operational subsystems.[91]

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[89] Also see R. Frankenberg (1966), especially ch. 9; V. Aubert (1969), pp. 41-2, gives descriptions of primitive societies.

[90] J. Woodward (1965), p. 72; J. Hage and M. Aiken (1967); J. Tunstall (1962), pp. 121-3.

[91] J.D. Thompson (1957) showed that there is a correlation between power and the intensity of communication in U.S. Air Force units; R.K. Brown, et al. (1970), demonstrated a similar correlation in the management of shipyards; J.K. Hemphill (1950), p. 12.

Burns and Stalker's organismic system recognizes this feature and postulates that, proportionate to the rate and extent of change, less authority and power appropriate to command organizations can be ascribed to the head of the organization. Less definition is given to status, role and modes of communication as specialists seek control over power resources, and the activities of the individual in the organization are determined to a greater extent by what he perceives as the real tasks of the organization. This perception, too, is mediated by his training and routine.[92]

In the present day the success of the ship as an organization does not rest on the ability of a master or a "bucko" mate to drive his men, but rather on the ability of the ship's officers to identify themselves with their ship-community and to become part of its collectivity.[93] The communication between subsystems provides a means of passing important information as well as pooling power resources. Where communication networks exist between subsystems, the formation of group power with strength to control the actions of superiors becomes possible. The group use of power may be based on friendship, cohesiveness, or identification as a member of the group.[94] In terms of formality of structure and goal orientation, the flexibility of use of this power resource is limited. Groups in organizations with a rigid hierarchical structure, and thus a very certain environment, and those with little agreement on goal attainment, and therefore a very uncertain environment, will have difficulty in achieving integration.

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[92] T. Burns and G.M. Stalker (1961), p. 125.

[93] M. Halbwachs (1958), especially p. 63, argues that the economic success of a firm depends on the manager being a coordinator of the social forces of the firm.

[94] A. Zander (1958), p. 105; T. Burns (1955).

Goal Orientations of Subsystem Members

The seafarer has a goal orientation toward his job on the ship, toward the ship-community, and to his shore community. Goode has argued that role strain, defined as the felt difficulty in fulfilling role obligations, is a normal condition in organizations or communities.[95] The social stability of an organization cannot be explained as a product of the agreement on, or adherence to, normative systems by individual members of the organization or their integration into the organization if the social structure is conceptualized as a structure of roles. Rather, each individual assesses his personal roles and utilizes these as bargaining agents in shaping his relationships with other role incumbents. This role bargaining may cause situations in which the interpersonal relationships are centred either on social interaction or task-oriented interaction, and the bargaining itself may be shaped by the environment of the organization.

The environment of the cargo-liner is very certain because of a fixed schedule of ports and a set voyage length, and we would predict that the roles and role bargaining are also fixed. Therefore, a mechanistic form of organization would evolve which would be task-centred. Companies operating a variety of ships will fall into the moderately certain/uncertain category, whilst tramp ships fall into the very uncertain group and are, again, task-oriented. The cumulative pattern of role bargains, defined as the necessary compromise of role components between individuals to achieve integration, will determine the weighting of power resources in the subsystems and their ability to cope with their environments.

The pressure on an individual to weight his bargains comes from his need to reduce internal conflict between his own roles, from his work group/subsystem, and from members of other subsystems with whom he

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[95] W.J. Goode (1960).

interacts. The pressures are intensified on those occasions when the individual or the "in-group" aspire to upward mobility. Bargaining for status and power between the deck and engine-room departments or between members of the catering department and engineer officers reflect the tensions of mobility aspirations.[96]

An individual's evaluation of his abilities, opinions and beliefs with reference to the organization are directed to the persons with whom he must bargain, and explicit comparisons are made between the beliefs and capabilities of these significant others and the individual's own performance. Group stability is due to these assessments, since it is derived from the convergence of opinions and abilities, and group instability occurs when there is a divergence and constant pressures to conformity within the groups and subsystems.[97] These pressures exert themselves on the role bargaining processes because of the need for group/subsystems uniformity in bargaining.

The compromise or bargain is between roles which serve to achieve the needs of the individual and the integration of functional units. Since the individual's work can be regarded as a fulcrum around which the worker's pattern of life is organized, a job serves to maintain the worker within a group, to regulate his life activity, to place him in society. It determines the pattern of the individual's social activity and is a source of many of his satisfactions and effective experiences. In other words a job gives a worker income, a pattern of life activity,

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[96] See, for example, M. Sherif (1948), p. 106.

[97] For a discussion of this point, see L. Festinger (1954).

a place in society, social relationships within his work group, and meaningful life experiences.[98]

A person is dependent on others for the gratification of his needs in his role when these others control the technology, means of production, and their allied resources in the organization or in the subsystem. Information about the functioning of the organization or personnel are also necessary for accomplishing goals. These variables of technology, resources, personnel, and information are the keys to power within an organization and offer the means to achieve goals.[99]

Within the ship-community ways exist in which the competition for power can be resolved as in an ordinary community. Bierstedt defined power as

> . . .the ability to employ force, not its actual employment, the ability to apply sanctions, not their actual application. . . .Power symbolizes the force which may be applied in any social situation and supports the authority which is applied. Power is thus neither force nor authority but, in a sense their synthesis.[100]

The authority of leaders in the subsystem depends on their prestige, their status as problem-solving, bargain-making intermediaries with the environment of the subsystem where problem resolution and bargains are made within the framework of the norms of the group. Consequently, power

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[98] E.A. Friedman and R.J. Havighurst (1954), pp. 3-5. A considerable body of literature exists on the needs of individuals in the work place: A.H. Maslow (1968) suggests that human needs form a hierarchy from the lowest to the highest of physiological needs, safety needs, social needs, ego needs, self-fulfillment needs; K. Horney (1946, 1951) discussed self-fulfillment and idealized concepts of need; A. Adler (1946) regards the need for power as the central life force; Miner (1963) and E. Fromm (1941, 1962) argued that the need to be liked is the most important motivation; D. Willings (1968), ch. 9, holds that need-frustration is the major cause of inefficiency and states that the needs are social needs, ego needs, self-fulfillment needs; R. Schacht (1970), pp. 160-5.

[99] D. Mechanic (1962), p. 352: "To the extent that a person is dependent on another, he is potentially subject to the other person's power."

[100] R. Bierstedt (1950), p. 733 (emphasis in original).

within the subsystem is based on internalized rewards and punishments, and the subsequent acceptance of the authority of subsystem leaders. Authority is based on the power to give rewards or punitive sanctions, power obtained through prestige, power by virtue of expertise, legal power, or any mix of these four.[101]

The ship's officer is frequently dependent for his authority on his power to administer rewards and sanctions of a limited kind and in his legal power embodied in the Merchant Shipping Acts. This dependency is due to the poor "visibility" of the exercise of his skills and to other seafarers' discounting his prestige. As we shall see later, much of the seafarer's prestige stems from stereotypes held by non-seafarers. Dahlstrom hypothesized that the power exchange process, when influenced by a system of institutionalized norms, will affect the freedom of individuals to bargain.[102]

Where the bargaining process is limited by a system of institutionalized norms and roles, the result of change in the organizational structure through the use of power and authority will result initially in behaviour changes. Clark suggested that "these behaviour changes then compel compatible attitudinal accommodations which are required to preserve the assumption of personal relationship and adjustment."[103] It is in the

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[101] R.K. Merton (1957), p. 340, argued that "orders will ordinarily not be accepted if they depart considerably from the norms operating within the group." Also see E. Dahlstrom (1966), pp. 238-9.

[102] E. Dahlstrom (1966), p. 260; also see A.W. Gouldner (1960).

[103] K. Clark (1953), p. 74; H.D. Lasswell and A. Kaplan (1950), ch. 5, show that power is a function of access to cultural resources when other factors are held constant; W. Isajiw (1968), pp. 79-80, held that the Mertonian dichotomy of manifest and latent functions was not always relevant to the process of change, and there is a further dynamic relationship of unmanifested (i. e., non-intentional or subconsciously intended effects) functions vis-à-vis latent functions.

process of change, therefore, that power resources are most important.

A professional usually has little to fear from the results of change because of his expertise. Conversely, the quasi-professional and other workers have much to lose in job satisfaction, status, and prestige should innovation take place on any scale. Change is most resisted by those persons who are closest to the point of change, and this, we propose, is an explanation for the inordinate use of power resources to maintain the status of junior and then senior officers at the expense of the men. Where power and authority diverge in the organization or in the subsystem, the ability of persons of higher formal authority to influence the actions of subordinates will be reduced. However, where the reward system of the organization or its subsystem is effective -- that is, where a positive correlation exists between the rewards hoped for by members and rewards which are actually given -- there is a corresponding level of satisfaction amongst individuals in the organization, and the influence of superiors is increased. In cases in which this positive correlation is missing, dissatisfaction levels will be high, and a correspondingly high level of turnover will be evident.[104]

Summary

MacIver said that "contract or covenant may be the basis of an association and yet be quite inadequate to express the character of the social activity thereby determined. The terms of a contract can never comprehend the meaning of a kind of life."[105] The hierarchical structure

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[104] See, for example, L.I. Pearlin (1962); W.G. Bennis, et al. (1958); A. Zander (1958), especially p. 106; G. Gordon and S. Becker (1964), pp. 89-91; R.M. MacIver (1924), pp. 340-1; A. Gouldner (1960), pp. 167, 171-2.

[105] R.M. MacIver (1924), p. 135.

of a ship or a shipping company does not necessarily correspond to the organizational structure, nor does the hierarchical structure necessarily cope with the problems of the environment of the ship or shipping company. The concepts which we will use are, hopefully, able to distinguish between the abstract form and the real form of the organization and to relate it to the occupation of seafaring in a meaningful way. We have suggested that many of the approaches to the study of the organization of ships as industrial units, particularly the total institution and sociotechnical systems approaches, are not able to cope with this problem in all its ramifications. For this reason the author has adopted a "contingency theory" approach in which the internal structures and processes of the organization are viewed as being contingent upon external requirements of the organization and the needs of its members.[106] To accomplish this it has been necessary to articulate the concepts of role structure and role strain[107] and to relate these concepts to the way in which the organization reaches its goals and deals with its environment.

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[106] J.W. Lorsch and P.R. Lawrence (1970), p. 1.

[107] W. Goode (1960).

CHAPTER IV

STEREOTYPICAL VIEWS OF SEAFARING

Introduction

A ship is a container of cargoes, machinery, and men. It has a technology which is served by workers with highly defined roles and is an isolated community, separated from the normal social life of men ashore by distance and occupation. The question arises, then, Why do men go to sea? What attracts them to seafaring? Is it because, as de la Varende suggests:

> . . .the child and water are dangerously allied. He immediately wants to possess the element. The bits of wood, rubbish and leaves he flings in the stream become his ships. He boards them in his imagination as, bright-eyed, he follows them in their flight. There you have the source of all voyages, and floundering is merely the first act of nautical adventure.[1]

Or is it the prospect of adventure coupled with a career? P & O together with other companies see it this way:

> TRAIN as a decision-making, problem-solving, world-exploring OFFICER with the P & O GROUP. Yes! You'll face problems and decisions. And plenty of them as Navigating or Engineer Officer with the world's largest shipping group. But you'll be trained to deal with them swiftly. World travel? Well, that goes with the job. . . .This is a career. One that beats any executive position for responsibility. We'll train you. Then we'll depend on you. We've got to with a total of nearly 2,500,000 tons of modern complex machinery on the world's oceans. We'll pay you well (no accommodation or food bills at sea, remember). We'll promote you (most Navigating Officers become Captains. Most Engineer Officers become Chiefs). And we'll look after you: you get frequent leave and there's a worth-while pension scheme.[2]

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[1] J. de la Varende (1955), p. 3.

[2] Wallsend Weekly News, 14 February, 1969 (emphasis in original advertisement).

In the course of the study all references to ships, seafaring, and shipping news were taken from selected newspapers[3] between March, 1968, and June, 1969, in an effort to determine how much information the general public received through the mass media. In these sixteen months 3,272 items appeared in these papers, excluding the regular items of shipping news which appeared in the Journal, the Evening Chronicle, the Wallsend Weekly, the Daily Post, the Liverpool Echo, and the Sunday Express.[4] These regular features were concerned with shipping movements or requests for information on the whereabouts of ships. The other items were broken down into the categories shown in Table 4.1.

For the period studied the average newspaper reader was well served with news items relating to shipping, since, on an average day, he could expect to see approximately six or seven items. The frequency varied with locality; the reader of the Louth Standard would commonly find only two or three items whilst the reader of the Liverpool Echo could expect to see between fourteen and fifteen items. The national papers had five to six items each day on average. Certain factors increased the amount of

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[3]Tyneside newspapers: the Journal, the Evening Chronicle, the Wallsend Weekly News, Durham County Advertiser; Liverpool newspapers: the Daily Post, the Liverpool Echo; national newspapers: the Times, the Guardian, the Telegraph, the Daily Mail, the Daily Mirror; Sunday newspapers: the Sunday Times, the Sunday Express, the Sunday Sun, the Observer; other newspapers: the Birmingham Post, the Louth Standard. Assistance was gratefully received from R.K. Brown, P. Brannen, J. Cousins, and M. Samphier, who allowed me to use the Tyneside papers obtained for the Wallsend Shipyard Project (sponsored by the S.S.R.C.); Miss F. Morton for the material from the Liverpool papers; Mrs. W. Fricke for the material from the Louth Standard; the Graduate Society, University of Durham, for material from the other papers with the exception of the Birmingham Post and the Times. The Misses G.E. Bradney, J. Mitchell and S. Paradise painstakingly indexed and sorted the material.

[4]Where an item appeared in more than one paper, it was counted as one item and attributed to the first paper. Altogether there were 13,013 newspaper cuttings concerning 3,272 news items.

Table 4.1. Information available to the public on shipping matters.

Item	No. in category	% which appeared in 1 newspaper only	% appearing in 2-6 newspapers	% appearing in more than 6 papers
Trawlers	148	18	62	20
Accidents to seamen or ship workers	307	31	54	15
Accidents to ships	284	4	61	35
General news of ships	614	21	64	15
Shipping companies in financial items	159	5	74	21
Shipping companies - general news	268	7	81	12
Seafarers	308	37	52	11
Seafarers' unions	50	21	51	28
General items about ports in which ships are mentioned	195	14	47	39
General items about dockers in which ships or seafarers are mentioned	283	8	53	39
Ships and shipyards	148	17	59	24
Travel by sea	41	84	12	2
Navigational aids	17	41	48	11
Cargoes and freight rates	67	38	40	22
Training and education of seafarers	32	57	41	2
Advertisements for seafarers*	351	12	78	10
TOTAL	3,272			
Average %		26	55	19

*An advertisement was counted as one item regardless of the number of times it appeared in one sequence; for example, an advertisement for a second engineer which appeared for three days in three papers would count as one item.

coverage such as the trawler disasters in the spring of 1968, the Longhope lifeboat disaster, the grounding of the "Carmania," and the mechanical problems of the "Queen Elizabeth II." These received attention in all the newspapers.

Articles concerning life at sea and a seafarer in particular appeared only in one newspaper,[5] as did news items concerning accidents to seamen and articles on travel at sea. The reader would thus be exposed to factual information about ships in port, accidents to ships at sea (especially with reference to accidents to oil tankers), and general items about ships, shipping companies, and shipyards. These account for 2,051 news items, or 63% of the total, but appeared in two or more newspapers in 89% of the cases. Items concerning seafarers appeared on 938 occasions, but excluding advertisements, there were 587 news items which represented 18% of all material about the shipping industry. Of this material on seafarers, 63.5% appeared in two or more newspapers.

The advertisements which represented 10.6% of the total material had a much wider coverage, as 88% appeared in two or more newspapers. The advertisements for recruits to the industry formed 17% of the advertisements, or 1.8% of the total items. However, these had a wide coverage, for they all appeared in five or more papers. Of the 3,272 news items which appeared, nine discussed life at sea, and four of these were in relation to British Shipping Federation recruiting drives; the others were brief, descriptive passages concerning ships and changes in the life of seamen.[6]

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[5] See, for example, "The Last of the Collier Masters" in the Journal, 28 November, 1968, p. 8; "Seaman-Artist had always a touch of magic" in the Wallsend Weekly News, 24 January, 1969, p. 8; "Battered Coasters" in the Guardian, 3 February, 1969.

[6] See, for example, "Anachronistic View from the Bridge," the Guardian, 10 May, 1959, p. 11; "Shipping Faces Big Problems," the Journal, 27 March, 1969, p. 6; "The Floating Hells That Made Britain's Ocean Mastery," the Sunday Express, 30 March, 1969, p. 6.

Knowledge of life at sea, therefore, cannot be gained in a precise manner through the medium of the press, and only a few seafarers get their information about seagoing from books or the newspapers (see Table 4.2). What information is available from newspapers is factual

Table 4.2. Sources of information about seafaring prior to joining the Merchant Navy.*

	Officers			Ratings			
	Deck %	E.R. %	Other %	Cater. %	Deck %	E.R. %	All %
Visiting ships	1	1	4	1	2.5	0	1.5
Visiting docks	13	7	8.5	16	13	2	11
Reading	20	8	0	7	0	0	7
TV/films	2	0	0	4	0.5	0	1.5
Knew seafarers	54	53	71.5	56	64	81	60
Was a sea cadet/scout	1	0	0	1	0	0	0.3
Worked in docks or shipyard	0	24	0	0	6	0	7
No information	9	7	12	14	13	17	11
No answer/D.K.	0	0	4	0	1	0	0.7
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N =	108	109	22	99	163	42	544

*Taken from Questionnaires 2 and 3, items 30 and 29 respectively.

knowledge of ship accidents, shipping business, and "gossip" about ships. The reader must turn to novels or biographies for a literature of seafaring or to popular histories of the Royal Navy.

Although the work of the novelist Jan de Hartog is possibly the most accurate description of contemporary seafaring, the average grammar school boy will have had the opportunity to read the books of Melville, Conrad, Robert Louis Stevenson, Monserrat, Villiers, and C.S. Forester at some point in his school career. Hornblower, Lord Jim, and Billy Budd are not relevant to life at sea in the 1970's, and the majority of young men who enter the industry are surprised at the work they have to do (see Table 4.4).

The characteristics of a novel are determined by the drama of its plot, and life at sea can rarely be likened to a drama on board a modern bulk-carrier. Dana made this point in the 1840 Preface to Two Years Before the Mast:

> . . .all the books professing to give life at sea have been written by persons who have gained their experience as naval officers, or passengers, and of these, there are very few which are intended to be taken as narratives of fact.
>
> Now, in the first place, the whole course of life, and daily duties, the discipline, habits and customs of a man-of-war are very different from those of the merchant service; and in the next place, however accurately they may give sea-life as it appears to their authors, it must still be plain to everyone that a naval officer, who goes to sea as a gentleman, "with his gloves on," (as the phrase is,) and who associates only with his fellow-officers, and hardly speaks to a sailor except through the boatswain's mate, must take a very different view of the whole matter from that which would be taken by a common sailor. . . .A voice from the forecastle has hardly yet been heard.[7]

If, as Dana suggested, there is a lack of accurate knowledge of conditions at sea, what are the sources of information for persons wishing to go to sea? In the mass media two important sources of information exist. The primary one is the recruitment advertisements, and the second, the advertisements of voyages by shipping companies. P & O, as we have seen, emphasize the following features of sea-going: training, being an officer, command and scope for initiative, adventure and travel, career, responsibility, pay, security, and opportunities for home life. This emphasis is repeated in the British Shipping Federation's advertisements and booklet, Passport to Adventure, for officer and rating recruits.[8] For ratings the attractions are seen as adventure and travel, training, scope

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[7] R.H. Dana (1909), p. 5.

[8] British Shipping Federation (1967).

for initiative, the possibility of becoming an officer,[9] good pay, and a career. These images are projected by the recruiting advertisements and reinforce the popular myths of seafaring outlined in novels and films; for example, "P.Q. 17," starring John Wayne. These myths are, in turn, reinforced by seafarers' conforming to popular expectations when they are ashore.

The Attraction of Seafaring

Tunstall noted that the attractions of fishing to the school leaver are high pay and the "virility" of fishing.[10] The pay for ratings in the Merchant Navy is only marginally higher than the mean of other semi-skilled occupations ashore, and between 10% and 16% less than the basic pay of dockers with whom the seamen compare themselves. Pay seems to be more for the single man, however, since his board and lodging are provided by the ship, and he is able to spend all his net pay on himself if he chooses. The majority of men leave an allotment to their family, but even in this case, the seaman ashore has much more money in his pocket than other workers, money that is there because he has nowhere to spend it on the ship. For this reason the seaman can afford the conspicuous consumption in which he indulges. Tunstall mentioned that the fisherman ". . .did not go to sea on trawlers because he wanted to become posh, be middle

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[9] British Shipping Federation (1967), p. 19: ". . .many [deck ratings] from the National Sea Training School have gained promotion to officer rank and ultimate command." It should be noted that in 1969, eight former ratings took and passed the Second Mate's examination (the total number of deck ratings in 1969 was 19,730), and in 1970, eighteen ex-ratings passed the examination out of a population of 18,600 deck ratings. Sources: Address of the Principal Examiner of Masters and Mates and the Registrar General of Shipping Annual Statistics.

[10] J. Tunstall (1962), pp. 107-13.

class, but because he wanted a little social status, some spare money to spend in the kind of social sphere he already moved in."[11]

The seafarer's pay does not conform to the stereotype held of merchant seamen being well paid, but because of the enforced restrictions on the seafarer's spending and consumption patterns, he appears to be well paid, and in fact, only 8% of all seafarers referred to pay as a major reason for going to sea. Unlike fishermen, the pay is not an important

Table 4.3. Major reasons for going to sea.*

Reasons	All Officers %	All Ratings %	All %
Travel	41	57	50
Open-air life	7	6	6
Only work available	22	17	19
Good pay	7	9	8
Always wanted to	22	9	15
No answer/D.K.	0	1	**
N =	239	304	

**less than 0.5%

*Based on Questionnaires 2 and 3.[12]

part of the stereotype commonly held although it does ensure the means for complying with the stereotype of the lavish spending, self-indulgent seafarer that emerges from the news items.

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[11] J. Tunstall (1962), p. 137; also see E.P. Hohman (1952), ch. 11, for a discussion of buying habits of U.S. seamen when ashore.

[12] Also see Rochdale (1970), Social Survey, Vol. 1, p. 12. In a survey undertaken by Gallup Poll, 46% of seafarers mentioned travel as an original source of satisfaction and variety/lack of routine (22%) as a secondary satisfaction. Gallup Poll argued that advertising campaigns should concentrate on these factors as facilitating recruitment. Our thesis is that short-term use of advertising of stereotypes which are inaccurate will in the long term increase wastage of labour.

The popular idea of a seafarer travelling to and exploring strange and exotic lands was the major reason why men chose to go to sea and was cited by 50% of the seafarers. A significant difference occurred between officers and ratings, as 57% of ratings considered travel to be their major motivation for going to sea. Travel at sea is a very uncertain quantity however. The ship does call at foreign ports, of course, but the probability of having time free to go ashore is relatively small. In the sample studied, officers were free from work responsibilities for 11¼ hours for each day in port. Of these free hours time had to be set aside for eating, sleeping, and personal needs. Consequently, each officer had, on average, 2.9 hours per day in a foreign port when he was truly free to spend time ashore. (For apprentices the time was slightly longer, 3.2 hours.) Ratings had an average free time of 4.1 hours. If sleep was sacrificed, a longer period of shore leave could be obtained, and many of the younger men did this.

With the exception of ports in the Far East and Australasia, most dock areas were too far away from city centres for the seafarer to have a chance to attend cultural events without spending much of his time ashore in travel. Because of the twenty-four-hour nature of the work, some opportunity for sightseeing was found, but again, this was largely restricted by travelling time and because the seafarer's working day coincided with the normal hours of sightseeing whilst the ship was in port. With limited time available to him, the distance of port areas from city centres, and his working day, the seafarer cannot travel in the usual sense of the word. He is restricted by time and distance to certain areas and must seek his relaxation pursuits within them.

A further boundary, a social one, is his lack of contact with persons ashore. Because of his occupation, the seafarer shares neither their norms nor their expectations and is remote from, and possibly

dangerous to, the community at large. The seafarer's need to release pent-up energy on his visits ashore, energy which cannot be discharged without affecting the balanced society on board, leads to a specialist quarter which caters to seafarers' leisure activity developing around dock areas. Thus, the seafarer travels to a foreign land to find himself hampered by and large by an unrepresentative leisure area. The Reeperbahn in Hamburg is little different from the Ginza in Tokyo or King's Cross in Sydney in what it supplies for seamen in particular and the population in general. Travel, therefore, does not conform to the expectations of the stereotype, and it is difficult for the seafarer to retain his reputation for foreign adventure when typists and mill girls can go to Majorca or Italy or Spain for their summer holidays.

Stereotypes

The stereotype[13] of the seafarer as a worker is that of a man engaged in a hazardous job calling for a high degree of skill and dedication. The average seafarer, officer or rating, is rarely exposed to danger and rarely needs a high degree of skill in his everyday life. In fact, life is most dangerous for the seafarer when he is in port, where 62% of all fatalities occur, and it is during these port stays that his skills are most in use, as cargo gear has to be prepared and special maintenance work carried out. The skills required by the Board of Trade certificates are there, but the majority of seafarers interviewed said that they had forgotten many of the more unusual techniques. The skill level is low because skill requirements are low. Most of the work of deck and engine

[13] By stereotype we mean the popularly held image of the occupation. In this sense the stereotype is a culturally laden phenomenon and is based in the normative expectations of society as a whole. See, for example, G. Saenger and S. Flowerman (1954), and J. Fishman (1956).

room ratings is washing paintwork, knocking (chipping) or scraping paint off metal, or painting — a job not unlike that of painting the Forth Bridge in that on a ship the task of maintaining the structure never ceases.

To vary this routine other jobs can be done such as cleaning hatches and overhauling cargo gear on deck or cleaning bilges and tank tops in the engine room. The skill of the seaman

> The life demanded by that art, the keen
> Eye-puckered, hard-case seamen, silent, lean,
> They are grander things than all the art of towns,
> Their tests are tempests and the sea that drowns.[14]

is that of the semi-skilled labourer and the technician. Problems are solved and production-line techniques are introduced from ashore by the company. Planned maintenance for deck and engine-room equipment is a recent innovation, backed by work study and operational research techniques, but one cargo-liner company has insisted on its navigators following fixed routes since 1906, and at one stage, these routes were marked in red ink on their charts.

The stereotype of the problem-solving, decision-making seafarer is erroneous. His control over the range of problems encountered at sea is limited by the company, and the majority of shipmasters have time spans of decision-making that are measured in one or two months unlike their counterparts in industrial management ashore. The only occasions on which the skills of a seafarer can be shown are those of emergency.

The stereotypes attached to seafaring in general are those of the early days of steam and sail. The art of sailoring has died with the emergence of company shore installations supplying all the equipment ready to use.

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[14] J. Masefield, "Ships," in R. Hope (1960), p. 13.

> It's a rare A.B. who can put a splice in a wire these days and an even rarer one who knows how to parcel and serve stays properly. Ten years ago you had enough of the old timers around, but nowadays the shore gang come on board in ——— and take the lot to the rigging loft for overhaul. This crowd [crew] can't even reeve a set of gangway falls.[15]

One of the companies in the sample did not have a marine department in its head office, and all the deck equipment as well as engine-room spares and stores were supplied by the engineer superintendent.

An example of an erroneous stereotype is that of the "officer."

> There is only one man aboard a British merchant ship with officer's rank; and that man is the sparks or Radio Officer. A mate is often called a chief officer, but he is given that title for courtesy reasons; he signs a ship's articles as Mate, and the qualification for doing so is a Mate's Certificate. In the same way, the ship's engineers get the courtesy title of engineer-officer, and the Old Man himself, who is engaged as Master of the vessel is called Cap'n by everyone, even me. . . .While some cargo-ship mates, engineers and skippers try to insist on this officer business, many of them have too much sense and too much work to do to worry about such things.[16]

The term "officer" is used in this study as a convenience to delineate the mates, engineers, radio officers, and chief stewards from other members of the crew. The term "officer" came into use on passenger ships in an effort to satisfy the public-relations side of ship management. Legally the term has no recognition with regard to merchant ships with the exception noted by Foulser in his autobiography. The concept of officer, then, is in dispute between the officers and ratings, and certainly there are few areas not touched by this disagreement on board ship.

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[15] Research Notebook 14, Interview with Bosun, Company AA.

[16] G. Foulser (1961), pp. 26-7.

The officer is a technician for most of his life at sea, and a "leader of men" in a limited sense of the phrase for the rest. In fact, the Board of Trade certificates which enable him to work at his job do not require any evidence of leadership or management ability. The pre-sea training schools inculcate an expectancy of status within their students which is often inappropriate for the type of ship to which the officer-apprentice is sent.[17] The apprentice will spend most of his training at sea wearing overalls or their equivalent, and although he will eat with the officers, he will not be accepted as one until after his apprenticeship.

The discrepancy in the question of "officer" versus "mate" or "engineer" is one of the root causes of role strain on board ship. If the status of "officer" is to be maintained, it has to be at the expense of those who are "officered" -- that is, the ratings -- and in a small community this can be extremely disruptive.

To summarize the arguments briefly, the stereotype of the seafarer held by the general public is inaccurate and is based upon knowledge gained from books, the mass media, or intermittent contact with seafarers. Much of the material appearing about seafarers emphasizes the aspects of travel, adventure, status, and responsibility. Where these aspects appear in a seafarer's life, they are diluted by the constraints of shipboard life and meaningful contact with society-as-a-whole. Consequently, the stereotype creates role strain in the ship where the stereotype is accepted as a norm. As we shall see, the ships with a mechanistic form of structure tend to accept stereotype definitions.

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[17] See R.A. Ramsay (1966), p. 167; W.H. Hopwood (1971, 1973); the officer status is confirmed by his uniform: C.H. Milsom (1968), pp. 55-7, lists the items of uniform a well-dressed apprentice should take with him. On ships "X" and "Y" in the sample many of the officers did not possess a uniform, yet there was no difference in the crew's attitude to these mates and engineers, and that of the crew of "Z" where the officers wore uniforms all the time. On ship "X" in fact there was a marked sense of team spirit fostered by the informality.

Stereotypes: An Analysis

An individual in society occupies a group of roles and interacts with other members of his role set. Because his contacts with others are limited, he will have few opportunities to meet incumbents of roles not connected with his own, and few opportunities to know at first hand what these strange roles entail or where they fit into society. Certain roles and role sets are known throughout society; the doctor, nurse, teacher, and priest perform roles with which the average person will interact at some time. Other roles are highly specialized and little information is readily available about them -- for example, the farrier -- so far as the ordinary man in the street is concerned.

Society passes knowledge about these roles and their place in the social structure through the acculturation processes in the course of an individual's lifetime. Information about different roles is provided through literature, the press, or radio and television; through friends at home or work; or through observation. From any of these sources an expectation is derived as to the normative behaviour of a person occupying a given role. Such expectations are reflected in short summaries: "He was drunk as a sailor," for instance -- in which case the inference is that sailors regularly get drunk. Or "Taffy is a Welshman, Taffy is a thief," which indicates an implicit belief in the dishonesty of Welshmen.

These stereotypes allow the recipient to build up a picture of his society in the round which he would not be able to do otherwise. That this picture may not be accurate is irrelevant for the individual. Should he come into contact with persons associated with a stereotyped role, his attitudes toward them will be modified at the same time as theirs are modified toward him, and the stereotype will move closer to reality.[18]

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[18] See, for example, G. Saenger and S. Flowerman (1954) for a discussion of the adaptation of stereotypes; J. Fishman (1956).

As the individual comes into contact with more than one person occupying this formerly unfamiliar role and role set, he is able to reassess the accuracy of his initial attitudes, and the stereotype may become even more definitive and of greater use to the individual for predicting the outcome of future contacts.

Where there is little contact with an occupational group in its workplace, the public knowledge can only be gained through the stereotype. We suggest that this is the case with seafarers. If the population once had contact with seafarers in the seaport and coastal towns of the United Kingdom, this contact has become more dispersed as the population as a whole is more mobile, and men are recruited to seafaring from areas such as Birmingham which have relatively little proximity with the occupation. As a result the stereotype will tend to be modified slightly elsewhere, but in the coastal towns what had once been a "real" view of an occupation has become a stereotype as the number of seafarers declines and fewer people are in touch with them. This newly emergent stereotype has its roots in the Merchant Navy prior to the 1920's and in the modern advertisements for cruises and recruits. Currently the stereotype of the competence of the ship's crew is declining as the number of ships involved in collisions mounts. This is a secondary consequence of the concern of the mass media and the public with the pollution of the environment.

The function of a stereotype, therefore, is to provide a shorthand method by which an individual can place an occupation or role in his image of society and the social structure. It has dysfunctions if it is too divorced from reality and gives untrue expectations of the occupation or role and if individuals entering the occupation on the basis of the stereotype are unable to reconcile the image they have received with reality.

When a boy enters the Merchant Navy he has identified himself with seafarers through his previous stereotypical knowledge. Because of this prior identification, the boy often accepts the social standards of the ship or organization because of his desire to establish a relationship with that organization.[19] The group of seafarers with whom he now lives has become his reference group, and the boy has to abide by its norms of behaviour if he is to be accepted. If he complies with the norms, it is with the hope of benefitting from this conformity. The compliance may be to avoid teasing or punishment, so the norms are not accepted as part of an internalization process (although they may be internalized later) but rather as being expedient. Social control of the individual's actions can thus occur even when the individual does not fully belong to the group with which he is seeking identification.

Rather than having an individual seafarer as a "generalized other," the boy utilizes his knowledge of the stereotype and his immediate experiences to create a "generalized other" of a group of seafarers.[20] By this identification with, and adaptation to, a stereotype, the boy may overact. He may drink too much, boast of his sexual exploits,[21] or if he is an engineer who has entered via the traditional route, he may assume an attitude toward the catering staff modeled on his conception of the behaviour of officers to "servants." His belief that the values he imputes to his stereotype are the values of his reference group justifies his action based on these values. We can thus argue that the stereotype initially provides the recruit with a basis of expectations of behaviour by seafarers and provides him with a model for his own behaviour in his relationships with seafarers.[22]

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[19] See, for example, S.N. Eisenstadt (1954), pp. 194-5; R.K. Merton (1957), ch. 8; T. Shibutani (1962); A.E. Siegel and S. Siegel (1957).

[20] G.H. Mead (1934); C.H. Cooley (1962), especially pp. 319-25; L. Festinger (1954); H.H. Kelley (1952).

[21] See J. Tunstall (1962), p. 118, for a description of a boy living up to reference group norms.

[22] W.G. Runciman (1966) has extended this argument in terms of perceived social justice and its relationship to stereotypes.

Table 4.4a. "When you first joined a ship, were you surprised or unprepared for the type of job you had to do?" Ratings' sample. (Questionnaire Nos. 2 and 3)

	Seafarers with relatives at sea %	Seafarers without relatives at sea %	Whole Sample %
Very surprised or surprised	55	91	73
Not surprised	45	9	27
Total %	100	100	100
N =	241	214	455

Table 4.4b. Officers' sample.

	Seafarers with relatives at sea %	Seafarers without relatives at sea %	Whole Sample %
Very surprised or surprised	53	93	70
Not surprised	47	7	30
Total %	100	100	100
N =	207	162	369

Note: There is no significant difference at .01 level of confidence between officers' and ratings' samples (t test).

A mutual expectancy arises of a helpful relationship with others which is created by the generalized norms of society and by the generalized norms of the stereotype. Where this norm of helpfulness is violated, pressure will be exerted from the individual to gain his place within the group, which may be expressed in the form of deviant behaviour, and pressure will also be placed on the individual to reshape his expectations

of group conduct.[23] If the stereotype and the reality are far apart, the individual will attempt to create a synthesis, but should this not be possible, he has three means of resolving the dilemma. The first is to revert to his previous normative pattern and implicitly reject the stereotype. In this case the seafarer will leave the occupation. The second is to adopt fully the new normative pattern and again implicitly reject the stereotype. In this case the seafarer will become fully socialized into the occupation.

The last method seeks to accommodate both patterns of normative behaviour and leads to the state of cognitive dissonance described by Festinger[24] and thence to anomie. As we shall see, those seafarers who are not able to leave the sea because of lack of opportunity find adaptation possible through patterns of deviant behaviour on the ship. Merton has argued that

> Anomie is. . .conceived as a breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between the cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them.[25]

A stereotype links norms with a group or occupation, defines the group, and discriminates between the group and other groups. Roles are clusters surrounding individuals within a group, and consequently, are models for behaviour learning and the guidance of behaviour expectations. In our discussion of the third method of resolving cognitive dissonance, we suggest that the move towards an impossible synthesis will lead to anomie. Anomie as defined above is the individual's perception that he is in a situation in which his immediate social surroundings are unpredictable and have no rationale behind them. Since the individual cannot rely on

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[23] R.F. Bales (1950).

[24] L. Festinger (1969); L. Festinger and J.M. Carlsmith (1959); also see M. Sherif and C.W. Sherif (1953).

[25] R.K. Merton (1957), p. 162; also see E. Durkheim (1951).

those around him for social and psychological support, he feels that he cannot achieve his life goals and that his existence is of no importance to the situation. He perceives a discrepancy between the value systems of his new reference group and his own value system which he is unable to justify to himself or accept as legitimate. Consequently, the individual may display deviant forms of behaviour,[26] he may withdraw from the anxiety-provoking situation altogether, or he may internalize his new group's norms and reject his previous patterns.

If he accepts the second alternative -- withdrawal from the situation -- the seafarer must leave his occupation. Because all ships are similarly organized and have a similar culture, the seafarer cannot avoid tensions by changing ships. If he accepts the third solution, he will reject the culture of society ashore as being meaningless and will isolate himself from shore ties, experiencing anomie on those occasions when he is ashore. It has been noted that

> adequate adjustment to our social environment would seem to involve not only an accurate appraisal of the more objective demands of the situation but also a knowledge of the appropriateness of our behaviour as judged by our colleagues. . . .In those circumstances in which his own perception of a situation is shared by his fellows, his subsequent behaviour is likely to be seen as appropriate. When this behaviour is judged to involve group-relevant values, the acceptance or rejection of the behaviour and person are intensified.[27]

Home has pointed out that the seafarer's life is one of constant upheaval. His social roots do not develop because he completes a voyage and joins another ship and because he spends only a few days or hours in a

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[26] R.K. Merton (1957), p. 174, suggests that the normal forms of deviance are innovation, ritualism, retreatism, and rebellion.

[27] A.J. Smith, et al. (1955), p. 385.

port at any one time.[28] The seafarer goes to sea in search of travel and adventure, a job, or a career. As we have pointed out earlier, though, the first of these is illusory with the present mode of operating ships. A bulk-carrier arriving in a modern port after a three-week sea passage may discharge and be back at sea within twenty-four hours; container ships on the North Atlantic trades are scheduled for months in advance on the basis of a thirty-six-hour turnaround at their terminal ports.

Tankers have turnaround times of less than a day. Where the ship formerly spent between only 30% and 45% of her time at sea in the cargo-liner trades, her replacement, the container ship, is designed to spend only 10% of her voyage time in port. Economically this procedure is very sound — a ship is not earning money when she is not moving between two ports — but the stereotype of "seeing the world" leads to an expectancy of a chance to see at least one part of a port before the ship sails again. A modern bulk-carrier discharging at Port Talbot is turned around so quickly that a seafarer is not able to walk to the dock gates for a drink after work.

In a society in which people live and work alone and have few opportunities for social activities, opportunities must be available for intense periodic interaction. This interaction was formerly provided by the runs ashore of the seaman and the intense pattern of drinking and tension-release. Human association, companionship, has inherent value for the majority of persons, and these periods of interaction ashore are of great importance for individual adjustment as well as the social cohesion of the ship.[29] Maslow has pointed out that

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[28] W.E. Home (1922), especially pp. 30-1; K. Evang (1951), p. 3, notes: "It is very easy for a seafarer to become denationalised, and yet not to become fully and truly internationalised. Having lost his roots in his own country without having an opportunity of establishing fresh ones in any other country, he feels himself neglected by others." Also see E.P. Hohman (1952).

[29] See, for instance, D.B. Heath (1958), p. 504; K. Evang (1951), p. 9.

> . . .culture is an instrument of need-gratification as well as of frustration and control. We can now reject the almost universal mistake that the interests of the individual and society are of necessity mutually exclusive and antagonistic, or that civilization is primarily a mechanism for controlling and policing human instinctoidal impulses.[30]

The function of the stereotype for the community is that it provides a cultural explanation for behaviour patterns of seafarers. Travel is a useful reason for a form of tension-release for the seafarer when the ship is in port, but the stereotype of travel -- sightseeing, touring, and so forth -- is not correct when applied to the travel of the seafarer. Durkheim noted that when unregulated emotions are not adjusted to one another or to the situation they are supposed to meet, anomie would arise.[31] When the tension-releasing mechanisms of seafaring are curtailed or the release of tensions is sporadic or without pattern, the seafarer will seek to maximize his excursions where possible. As a result the voyage pattern is of importance to the seafarer; regular voyages and predictable patterns of tension and tension release allow the seafarer to reduce to manageable proportions the anomie experienced from the realities of seafaring and the stereotyped expectancies.

On the other hand irregular voyage patterns such as those of tramp ships and the majority of bulk carriers create uncertainties of behaviour and expectation. Behaviour which can be disruptive for the ship's routine may simply be a distraction or an innovation in the cycle of living for the individual. Zander stated that this type of behaviour can occur in groups in which the members are mutually interdependent and that it is functional insofar as long-term performance is concerned.[32]

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[30] A.H. Maslow (1968), p. 159; note the similarity of this argument to that of H. Marcuse (1964).

[31] E. Durkheim (1951), p. 285.

[32] A. Zander (1958), p. 101.

Mates and engineers are thought of as officers by society. We have argued that they are not officers in the legal sense of the word, nor are they officers in the moral sense in that they do not, with the exception of heads of departments, manage men on a day-to-day basis for the well-being of the men and the efficiency of the ship. As we have seen, "officer" is a courtesy title, yet the stereotype imbues it with all the rights and privileges of a person commissioned by the Queen in the Royal Navy. The mate or engineer is a junior manager with special skills and a quasi-professional status with aspirations and training. In his desire to create a status equivalent to that of the stereotype, the mate or engineer has to obtain the deference of the ratings on board ship. When this deference is not forthcoming, it only serves to reinforce the stereotype of the officer vis-à-vis the rating.

Hostility, in the sense that competition for scarce resources creates adverse attitudes between officers and ratings, is a function of the desire of officers to maintain the status ascribed to them by the general population.[33] That this status is not an accurate reflection of the state of affairs on board ship causes cognitive dissonance which is alleviated to a certain degree by innovation occurring in the balance of power between the two groups to provide a satisfactory synthesis.[34]

As we saw in Chapter III, power relationships are ones providing rewards and punishments and are conducive to learning patterns of behaviour. If power is arbitrary, the resulting attitudes to power will be concerned with need, or in this case, stereotype gratification. The mate or engineer has a great deal of power because of the 1894 Shipping Act, and his use of it is discretionary. For this reason variations appear in the way in which

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[33] See, for example, J. Shurval (1957); A. Zander, et al. (1957); A. Zander (1958).

[34] This concept of a bargaining relationship is discussed by G.C. Homans (1961), ch. 4.

the ship-as-an-organization copes with its environment. On cargo-liners certain forms of deviance will be implicitly accepted if ratings conform to other norms, and for this reason, excessive overtime levels and cargo pilferage are ignored if the ratings show proper deference to their officers.[35] The stereotype is reinforced and each group receives a measure of gratification.

Summary

We have argued that the stereotype is a reference point for the performance of roles in that it provides an individual with a cluster of norms and expectations which he can use in his identification of and with a new life situation. Where a discrepancy occurs between the stereotype attached to a role or roles, cognitive dissonance or role strain will result which will either cause the new role to be rejected, cause the new role to be accepted and the original reference group to be rejected, or result in anomie where a synthesis of stereotype and reality is attempted. It is suggested that these forms of action lie behind most role strain on board ship and are an underlying cause of labour turnover.

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[35] G.M. Sykes (1964) and D. Mechanic (1962), p. 136, argue that non-rational forms of power exchange may occur if obedience and conformity result in heavy costs to a subordinate.

CHAPTER V

THE SEAFARERS - OFFICERS

Introduction

Recruitment to the Merchant Navy is strongly influenced by the information available to the potential recruit. As we noted in Chapter IV, this information is obtained from knowing seafarers (54% for mates; 53% for engineers), either in one's own family or as friends and neighbours; and then from literature for recruits to the deck department (20%), or by working in shipyards or marine engine works for recruits to the engine department (24%). This pattern of recruitment through friend and family information and knowledge is common in most industries.[1]

Shipping seeks its recruits between the ages of 16 and 18 for the deck department and between 16 and 24 for the engine-room department.[2] These boys and young men are thus at the stage in their lives when they are "trying out" new jobs and life styles, and a high turnover is to be expected if the job does not measure up to expectations. Miller and Form suggested that this trial work period extends into the early thirties for many individuals,[3] and the reasons for going to sea are often those of seeking a change, excitement, or an unusual occupation to bolster status.

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[1] See, for example, E.G. Sykes (1953); D.C. Miller and W.H. Form (1964), pp. 539-604.

[2] Engineer apprentices enter straight from school; engineer officers enter after an apprenticeship ashore and are between 20 and 24 years of age when they first go to sea.

[3] D.C. Miller and W.H. Form (1964), p. 553; also see S.M. Lipset and R. Bendix (1959), ch. 1; R. Millar (1966), p. 88; R. Dubin (1958), p. 266.

Table 5.1(a). "What was your major reason for going to sea?"*

Reason	Officers**	
	Mate %	Engineer %
Travel	42	40
Open-air life	11	2
No other work	11	30
Better prospects	1	13
Always wanted to	34	16
Total %	99	101
N =	108	109

Table 5.1(b). "Why did you choose your present job in preference to any other work at sea?"*

Reason	Officers**	
	Mate %	Engineer %
Seafaring family	5	4
For the training	13	10
Formerly in R.N.	0	2
Outdoor life	19	0
Work available	8	3
Wanted to leave home	16	3
Travel	9	3
Already trained	0	57
Most interesting	25	17
Good status	4	0
Total %	99	99
N =	108	109

*Questionnaires 2 and 3.
**Excludes apprentices.

For the engineer seafaring is frequently a second or third job, and a significant difference exists between his major reasons for going to sea and those of a mate. Table 5.1(a) and (b) explore different aspects of the same question, and in fact, a high correlation (Pearson r = 0.43) exists between the categories of one table and the categories of the other because the data was collected through similar open-ended questions.

To determine recruitment patterns it is necessary to look at the social backgrounds of seafarers. Including apprentices, 40% of an average ship's crew in the sample were officers in the deck and engine-room departments. Of this group approximately 45% were deck officers, and 55% were engineer officers. In other words deck officers comprise 18% of the total crew, and engineer officers, 22% of the ship's crew on a normal dry-cargo vessel.

Table 5.2. Father's occupation: Officers.*

Occupation	Mates %	Engineers %
Manual**	6	30
Skilled	28	37
Clerical	22***	16
Managerial	29	15
Professional	15	3
N.A./D.K.	0	0
Total %	100	101
N =	158	159

(Significant difference between Mates and Engineers at 1% level (t-test).)

*Data from Questionnaires 2, 3, and 4.
**R.G. Classification (modified as per M. Stacey).
***2% were factory clerks; see Table 5.8.

Significant differences occur in the backgrounds of these two groups because of the different methods of recruitment. As Table 5.2 shows, mates are recruited from predominantly middle-class backgrounds, and their use of literature as a means of finding information about seafaring is to be expected. On the other hand two-thirds of the engineers came from working-class backgrounds. The mate enters the industry as an apprentice and is trained by the shipping company to which he is indentured for periods ranging from two-and-a-half to four years, depending upon his educational background and ability (as outlined in Chapter I).

The engineer normally enters the industry fully trained (87% of engineers; N = 189) after serving an apprenticeship ashore in heavy fitting or engine-erecting. Therefore, he comes to seafaring with cultural expectations derived from his previous work.[4] Those engineers who served their apprenticeship at sea (13% of the sample; N = 189) were all drawn from the same groups as the majority of mates; that is, from families whose head was either a clerk, a manager, or a professional.

The work of a mate is primarily white collar in nature; generally, he wears a uniform with a white shirt for most of his activities and very rarely engages in manual work. The engineer's job is the opposite. Work in the engine room is hot and dirty, and for his usual duties the engineer wears a boiler suit with no distinguishing marks of rank. Much of the work in the engine room is semi-skilled, and only repair or maintenance work on machinery can be classified as consistently skilled. These two distinctions, working environment and family background, reinforce the status expectations of both groups.

In Chapter IV we noted that a high proportion of recruits to seafaring obtained their initial information about the occupation from men serving at sea. Among many of the seafarers there is an axiom that seafarers come from seafaring families, and that mates are traditionally from such families whilst engineers are not. Table 5.3(a) shows the distribution of seafarers with relatives who are or were at sea, and Table 5.3(b) shows the relationship of these relatives to the seafarers. The engineers had a greater proportion of relatives who were seafarers or former seafarers, and half of these men had fathers or uncles who were seafarers. Just under half had other relatives at sea.

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[4] See T. Lupton (1963), especially pp. 147-8; R.K. Brown, et al. (1970).

Table 5.3(a). Seafarers within the family.*

	Mates		Engineers	
	No.	%	No.	%
Relatives at sea	82	52	109	58
Whole sample	158	100	189	100

Table 5.3(b). Distribution of relatives of seafarers.*

	Mates		Engineers	
Relative	No.	%	No.	%
Father	44	53.6	58	53.2
Uncle	56	68.3	57	52.3
Other	28	43.1	53	48.6
Sample	82	100	109	100
Average no. relatives per seafarer	1.56		1.54	

*Questionnaires 2, 3, and 4.

We can say that a family tradition of seafaring was marked amongst those engineers with relatives who were seafarers. The mates also showed family involvement at sea although only 52% of the total sample had relatives at sea compared to 58% of the engineers. Again, just over half of those with relatives at sea had a seafaring father, but the interesting feature of the mates' sample of men with seafaring relatives was that 68% had uncles who were seafarers. This can be ascribed to the differences in attitudes to seafaring of the two groups shown in Table 4.1(a).

Travel is the dominant reason for going to sea cited by both groups (mates, 42%; engineers, 40%), but for 43% of the engineers, seafaring provided job prospects and conditions that were not available to them ashore, whilst only 12% of the mates went to sea for this reason.

Table 5.4(a). Time in years spent at sea by officers.*

Time (in years)		Mates %	Engineers %
0 - 4		8	55
5 - 9		56	24
10 - 14		20	12
15+		16	9
	Total %	100	100
	N =	126**	184**

Table 5.4(b). Age in years of officers.*

Age		Mates %	Engineers %
16 - 20		8	0
21 - 25		56	55
26 - 30		20	24
31+		16	21
	Total %	100	100
	N =	126**	184**

*Questionnaires 2, 3, and 4.
**Apprentices are not counted as officers unless serving as an uncertificated mate.

The instrumental reasons for the engineer's going to sea are akin to the ordinary worker's trying new jobs in an effort to find a suitable one for a career. In view of the engineers' short sea careers (Table 5.4(a)), the engineer uses his stay at sea as a means to an end: to travel and to acquire added skills in mechanical engineering. From the knowledge of the industry gained from his family, the engineer looks upon seafaring as a chance to "spread his wings," to explore the world whilst getting experience which will ultimately be taken back to his home environment.

The mate, however, obtains much of his knowledge of seafaring from a "remote" family figure, an uncle whose life style is something to be envied, whilst not affecting the family in the majority of cases where

the father was not a seafarer. The boy who always wanted to go to sea (34% of the mates versus 16% of the engineers) had, in nine cases out of ten, an uncle who was seafaring and a father who was not a seafarer. The stereotype of the seafarer coming laden with presents and being a family hero was noted in several interviews:

> Uncle John 'ld come home every five or six months, and would visit us for two or three days with my grandparents. He always brought lots of things with him and would hire a car and we would go for drives into the Pennines. He came to my school twice to talk about his ship and its cargoes and voyages. Those were exciting [times] for me, and it wasn't until I had been at sea a year or two that I realised just how rotten that run of his with ----- Line to the Red Sea and up to Chittagong and Rangoon really was. He told me to join AB Company if I wanted to get ahead so I did.[5]

> My mother's brother was a master with -----, and had been torpedoed three times in the war. He had a big house in South Shields which we used to stay at for our summer holidays, and he would take us down to the river or to Sunderland to see the ships when he was home. When I told my family I wanted to go to sea, my father and uncle advised me not to, but I thought that they were exaggerating, so I went anyway.[6]

The more important connection of seafarer to seafaring relatives in the case of mates was that of uncle-nephew rather than father-son. Of the total sample more than half the engineers and mates had relatives at sea, and approximately a fifth of the total sample in both groups had more than one relative who was a seafarer.

A final point with regard to recruitment to the Merchant Navy is that of educational qualifications of recruits. A significant difference occurs between the type of full-time schooling and the educational qualifications obtained of mates and engineers. This difference reflects the differences

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[5]Research Notebook 11, Interview with Mate, AB Company.

[6]Research Notebook 4, Interview with Second Mate, CA Company.

in father's occupational background previously noted and in the various ways of securing information about the occupation. Although the school-leaving qualifications of mates are higher than those of engineers, the engineers have many more nationally recognized technical qualifications; 25% of the engineers held an Ordinary National Certificate or Ordinary National Diploma whilst a further 4% held a Higher National Certificate or Higher National Diploma. These qualifications are the result of technical training as engineer apprentices ashore with day release and sandwich courses. This type of course is now available to mates as part of their apprenticeship and will eventually become compulsory.

Table 5.5(a). Type of school attended by officers to age 16.*

Type of school	Mates %	Engineers %
Elementary	5	6
Secondary Modern	22**	50**
Grammar	58**	43**
Public/Private	15**	1**
Total %	100	100
N =	158	189

Table 5.5(b). Educational qualifications of officers.*

Qualification	Mates %	Engineers %
None	21**	48**
G.C.E. "O"	68**	30**
G.C.E. "A"	5**	2**
C.S.E.	6**	20**
Total %	100	100
N =	108	109

*Data from Questionnaires 2, 3, and 4.
**Significant difference at 0.01% level (t-test).

The educational attainments of officers have risen steadily over a long period, but because of the seniority system of promotion, educational levels decline as the upper reaches of the hierarchy are approached. The bright young officer is frequently faced with the fact that his superior is intellectually less able and that the superior occupies his job because of the workings of a bureaucratic system of seniority. Seafaring is an occupation in which the less able man has an equal opportunity for promotion with the gifted man, provided the former follows the written and unwritten rules.

Table 5.6. Years at sea. (Data from Questionnaires 2, 3, and 4.)

School	0 - 4		5 - 9		10 - 14		15+		N =	
	Mates %	Engs. %	Mates %	Engs. %	Mates %	Engs. %	Mates %	Engs. %	Mates	Engs.
Elem.*	0	0	0	0	0	14	40	53	8	12
Sec. Mod.**	40	46	14	73	28	55	0	18	21	93
Grammar	40	54	66	25	56	31	60	29	77	78
Public/Priv.	20	0	20	2	16	0	0	0	20	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	126	184

Note: All apprentices are excluded from this unless serving as an uncertificated third mate.

*An "Elementary" school is one in which the leaving age was 14; i.e., a school prior to the 1944 Education Act.

**Includes Comprehensive Schools.

In Table 5.6 the education pattern of the officers in the industry is shown. Those officers who attended elementary schools were, at the time of the survey, at least 38 years of age, and all held senior posts except where they were uncertificated engineers. If we place the two categories "Elementary" and "Secondary Modern" schools together, 71% of the engineers with seniority of fifteen years or more who had decided to

make the sea their career had a less academically able background compared to 46% with less than four years' service. Amongst career mates and masters, 14% came from a background of secondary modern schools in the same age group as the engineers with less than four years' service, but 40% came from elementary or secondary modern schools in the group comparable to engineers with fifteen years' service or more.

Table 5.7(a). Qualifications and career: Mates.*

Qualification	N =	Career "Yes" %	Career "No" %	Total %
None	24	82	18	100
G.C.E. "O"	72	47	53	100
G.C.E. "A"	4	0	100	100
C.S.E.	8	75	25	100
N =	108	60	48	

Table 5.7(b). Qualifications and career: Engineers.*

Qualification	N =	Career "Yes" %	Career "No" %	Total %
None	52	46	54	100
G.C.E. "O"	33	15	85	100
G.C.E. "A"	2	0	100	100
C.S.E.	22	55	45	100
N =	109	41	68	

*Questionnaires 2 and 3.

All the senior mates and masters held certificates of competency, and three-quarters of the engineers with more than fifteen years of sea service also held certificates. The academic ability displayed in the respondents' school days is thus not necessarily a guide to their ability to obtain Board of Trade certificates, which are primarily "safety" certificates, showing that the holder has an adequate knowledge of the safety regulations

and their application to ships. The certificates, to a lesser extent, show that the holder has a working knowledge of the business side of the ship as an industrial unit. Consequently, for an ambitious man, there is little scope for merit promotion utilizing his intellectual skills in the ship's hierarchy other than by earning higher certificates of competency in the shortest possible time. A mate will normally get his master's certificate between the ages of 25 and 27, and an engineer can obtain his first-class certificates at about the same age.[7]

Career

The motivation for an officer to make seafaring his career is based on his ability to maximize his satisfaction within the occupation. By satisfaction we mean the probability of the officer's utilizing and developing his skills and abilities. In shore industry an individual can move with ease from company to company, selling his services on merit and seeking the best possible price for these services. In the Merchant Navy this is usually impossible because of the career hierarchy. An officer searching for change cannot take his seniority with him to another shipping company, for the majority of companies operate a strict seniority system of promotion rather than a merit system. The seniority in two of the companies, AB and BB, was calculated in half-days and posted for all to see. In three other companies, comprehensive lists of seniority were kept for mates and masters, and a less complete one for engineers. In Company CA promotion was made by merit and by fitting a man to a ship and trade. Engineers in Companies AA, BA, and CB were promoted on the basis of their certificates and technical experience.

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[7] Nautical Magazine (July, 1971), pp. 56-7, notes two appointments to chief engineer at age 28.

Because the more able officer cannot obtain promotion by merit, compensating factors must be introduced by the shipping companies to retain his services. Until the early 1960's the cargo-liner companies were able to offer higher wages, regular runs, and a stable career structure. With the change in the shape of the shipping industry through the development of the container trades and the growing trend to move cargoes in bulk and the subsequent diversification by the cargo-liner companies into these new trades, the possibilities of regular runs on the same ship or in the same trade have been diminished as has the attraction of a stable career structure. As a result many able men have left the industry, and those who stay are the less gifted persons of the middle-class group or the socially mobile working-class officer in the Merchant Navy.

The recruitment to the Merchant Navy on the basis of stereotypes and the immediate gratification of desires for things like travel is not conducive to retaining the more able man, so seafaring as an occupation is viewed by many, particularly engineers,[8] as a means of gaining experience which can be used later in other jobs and as a way of seeing the world. For mates the situation is somewhat more complex, as their training is carried out at sea and their working life is centred around the ship. If a mate does not wish to continue at sea, he must move to another occupation before it is too late -- before he has accrued considerable seniority and before he is too old to be considered for junior management jobs elsewhere. If he does leave the industry after he is too old to enter management, he may have to take a relatively unskilled job in a process industry in order to maintain his life style.[9]

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[8]Note Table 5.7(b). 37.6% of engineers view seafaring as a possible career whilst 62.4% do not.

[9]See J. Goldthorpe, et al. (1968), pp. 171-3, for an example of a Merchant Navy officer ashore.

An able man will probably leave the industry in order to seek advancement. The number of openings for the seafarer in shipping-company management is limited and ordinarily the ship's officer is not trained or encouraged to involve himself in the problems of shipping management.[10] Company AA rotated men who were in the process of promotion through a series of head-office appointments, but little worthwhile work was given to these men. On the other hand Company CA was too small to bring men ashore into its structure except on a permanent basis, but it evolved a system of giving small research projects to carry out and assess to officers who were waiting for appointments to ships. The company also sent every officer on technical and managerial courses for the industry whenever possible. The result was that CA attracted and kept the majority of its mates from other firms in addition to keeping many of its own apprentices. The ability of a small company to keep the better men equally as well as a larger one such as Company AA will be discussed in full in Chapter VIII.

In sum, we have argued that recruitment of seafarers is bound up in the stereotypes of the occupation. We have shown the inadequacy of these stereotypes in relation to the reality of seafaring and have suggested that these stereotypes do not encourage a career structure within the industry. Recruitment is largely through information provided by seafaring contacts, and educational levels are inversely proportional to the likelihood of making seafaring a career amongst officers because of a lack of perceived opportunity for advancement.

The Effects of Tradition

As we have shown in Chapters I and IV, the stereotype and training of the seafarer are based on "traditional" ways of seafaring. The master

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[10] Rochdale (1970), paras. 1214, 1215, and 1216.

is in command of the ship because traditionally he is the most highly skilled and experienced man on board. Dana's ship, the "Pilgrim," had a simple technology and a simple form of hierarchy. The modern ship, too, retains the hierarchy of the "Pilgrim," but the addition of mechanical propulsion and power to the technology of the ship has made it an extremely complex piece of machinery. Once a simple division of labour existed between the ratings who handled the equipment and the officers who had trained with the ratings and knew their skills as well as the skills of navigation. With the coming of the steamship, a new group was introduced into the ship-as-community, and for the first time skills were required by one work group which were not known, and did not need to be known, by the others.

The traditional form of organization exists amongst deck officers and ratings. The mate must be able to navigate by stars, compass, and chronometer, as the mates of ships in the nineteenth century were expected to. He must stand watch and "con" the ship, and although navigational aids have changed greatly (for example, radar, gyro compass, automatic helmsman), he still faces the problems of the ship's seaworthiness and safe navigation. The mate's duties with cargo have hardly varied over the centuries. He is responsible under the master for the safe stowage and carriage of cargoes, and this responsibility has only recently been usurped by the emergence of containerized cargo, for the mate now has no way of knowing whether the cargo has been properly stowed in the containers.

The mate's training and his work have altered only slightly since 1870 and the predominance of steam over sail. Many of his skill requirements predate steam, and some predate history. Similarly, the traditional elements of the deck officer's job colour his attitudes and

approach to everyday tasks. This tradition is best expressed in the following quotation from evidence given to a court of inquiry into the loss of a very large crude carrier (VLCC or oil tanker) in 1969:

> When Captain ----, the Master, was asked if it would be right to expect an officer to be on duty for more than 24 hours, continuously, and possibly for 36 hours, he replied: "In my days as Chief Officer I looked upon 24 hours as the warming-up period. I started to work after 24 hours."[11]

No criticism of the master was made at the time; and the loss of a 208,000-ton oil tanker was attributed to the carelessness of the first mate of the ship rather than to the first mate's working under difficult conditions for 28 hours without rest. The patterns of work on board ship are thus largely determined by traditional methods. Ramsay, in particular, has noted this phenomenon and ascribed it to the patterns of training which British officers receive and to the innate conservatism of the British lower middle-classes.[12]

Table 5.8. Occupations of the families of mates from working-class backgrounds. (Data from Questionnaires 2, 3, and 4.)

Relationship	Unskilled %	Skilled %	Clerical %	Mana-gerial %	Profes-sional %	D.K. %	%
Father	25	48	7*	0	0	20	100
Father's kin	15	34	32	14	0	5	100
Mother	8	34	48	10	0	0	100
Mother's kin	27	25	37	11	0	0	100
Siblings	10	30	32	18	0	10	100
All relatives	17	34	31	15	0	7	100

Families: N = 40

*These men were factory clerks; i.e., checkers, tally clerks.

[11]Department of Trade and Industry Court of Inquiry into the loss of the S.T. "Mactra," cited in the Telegraph, November, 1971 (Vol. 3, No. 11), p. 15.

[12]R.A. Ramsay (1966), pp. 166-7.

The socioeconomic background of mates is unmistakably lower-middle and middle-middle class (see Table 5.2), and only 34% of the sample came from working-class backgrounds. Analysis of this group shows that like many of the affluent workers,[13] the working-class homes of mates were ones in which there had been downward mobility, and that, in fact, the seafarer in these circumstances had relatives who were middle class. The decision to go to sea for many of them was prompted by the feeling of being "left out," of being "left behind."

> When we visited my uncle [a ship's master] in Shields, I was always conscious that we were the church mice. You know -- my mum had had our clothes cleaned but they were always not so nice as my cousins'. They went to boarding school and I had a scholarship to Wakefield Grammar so I can remember myself thinking I can be good as that. That's one reason why I went to sea.[14]

For other boys the decision was somewhat similar. Particularly for the boys whose parents had been moving around the country through wartime evacuations or to better jobs, the decision to go to sea was often a response to a need to be different.

> When I was twelve we moved to Stoke-on-Trent from Doncaster because of my father's job [a railway permanent way inspector] and I went to the grammar school there. On my first day the form master asked us all in turn what we wanted to be, and I said a seaman.[15]

For these men the response to this need <u>was</u> to be different and to join the Merchant Navy. Once in, they accepted the traditional way of doing things and the way of life.

> Things go like clock work on watch. You establish a routine and then you stick to it. On the bridge at 4 a.m. and take the watch over and have a cup of tea with the Second Mate. Depending on the weather,

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[13] J.H. Goldthorpe, <u>et al</u>. (1968).

[14] Research Notebook 4, Interview with Second Mate, CA Company.

[15] Research Notebook 11, Interview with Third Mate, AB Company.

> where you are, on the number of ships [around], you plug into a routine. But it's routine that we all follow. When my father was Mate he used to do just the same.[16]

> The continuity of voyage following voyage; of looking for a light [beacon] I know and finding it when I expect to, these are the things you look forward to at sea. Some people find it boring, but I enjoy it. The sea is always changing, but the seaman stays on top because he anticipates the sea, he knows it, and no technological aid will do away with seamanship. Some young chaps laugh at the way I con the ship but I know what the sea is doing.[17]

The tradition of the sea forms the framework of life on the ship, and it is a pattern of culture passed primarily through the deck department. The men whom Jan de Hartog referred to as "liars" are the culture bearers,[18] and the storyteller is still prized within the shipboard community. It is this traditional framework that contributes to the conservatism of the shipmaster as much as legal restraint and company policy.

The traditions of the ship provide the security within which the personal needs of such men can be met. The man who is striving for upward mobility has a secure middle-class job which would give a status and life style akin to that of the middle manager, and a man who is not very good academically can arrive at the top as surely as the man who makes his mark in any business. The tradition of the sea, therefore, permits the responses to needs for status ashore to be controlled within certain limits and rationalizes tension patterns.[19]

The rigidity of the management hierarchy is an unintended result of the search for security by the majority of senior deck officers. This

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[16] Research Notebook 11, Interview with First Mate, AB Company.

[17] Research Notebook 1, Interview with the Master, Ship "Y".

[18] J. de Hartog (1966).

[19] See Chapter IV.

security is visibly enforced by the use of status symbols (e.g., uniforms, gold braid) all the time, and the wearing of authority symbols reinforces the hierarchy as much as the habit of addressing other mates by their ranks rather than their names. The system of working watches does not encourage close relationships with the other mates, nor does it involve group decision-making. Consequently, the easiest way out of problems is to tackle them in a conventional manner, whether the problems concern a jammed head block, a derrick, discipline, or the death of a seaman.

The problems created for the mate by traditional methods of behaviour arise from change, either in manning or in technology. As Ramsay noted,[20] new technology has to be proven to be accepted and the tradition of non-acceptance of new equipment on board ship is reinforced by the shipping companies' habit of appointing marine superintendents to junior/middle management ashore, where they rapidly lose touch with the realities of seagoing and stress the criterion of efficiency, as this is the only means they have of assessment. Among the young officers, 62% of the junior mates find that their up-to-date training is worthless because frequently the master of the ship refuses to allow new techniques or technologies to be introduced, for, the junior officers say, the senior officers neither understand nor have been trained to use the techniques.[21]

The problems for senior officers faced with technological innovation are particularly great, firstly because their foreign-going certificate of competency is applicable to any class of deep-sea vessel no matter how new; secondly because on average twelve years elapse between the time of

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[20] R.A. Ramsay (1966), pp. 169-70.

[21] Research Notebook 11, Interview with Third Mate, AB Company. The third mate spoke of the master's dislike of true motion radar and his insistence that both radar sets on the ship should be set up with a relative display, as he (the master) found this type of display more effective.

obtaining the master's qualifications and actually achieving the rank; and finally, it is only recently that provision has been made for "refresher" courses for senior officers. This combination of circumstances increases the need for a structured work culture within which a senior officer can operate and retain his status and self-respect.

For the deck officer, traditional systems of behaviour and hierarchy are functional in that they aid the smooth running of the ship and contain the personal problems of officers at a tolerable level by providing security and status. The dysfunctions of traditional management systems on a ship are that they impede organizational and technological change.

Engineer Officers and Status Problems

The engineer officers are "newcomers" to the shipping industry which produces anomalies in their status on board the ship.[22] The engineers come from a predominantly working-class background (see Table 5.2), and the majority (87%) have served their apprenticeship in heavy engineering ashore. This socialization prior to seafaring results in egalitarian attitudes toward the work group with the exception of the barrier between craftsmen and labourers.[23]

Furthermore, the socialization process ashore poses severe problems for the "new" engineer officer when first appointed to the ship. He is confronted with the problem of discarding a complete set of normative values acquired during his apprenticeship and substituting those required at sea, whilst at the same time adjusting his stereotype of an officer to a format which is appropriate. As we shall see in Chapter IX, those

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[22] See, for example, J. Tunstall (1962), pp. 119-20.

[23] J. Tunstall (1962), p. 29: "The engineers with their respect for efficiency and their long tradition of trade unionism were a very important new force in the occupation." Also R.K. Brown and P. Brannen (1970), p. 207.

engineers who stay at sea longest will be found in the bulk-cargo companies, particularly those with a pattern of organismic management where the normative values of ship operation and of apprenticeship are closest to each other and where the stereotype of officer is less well marked. The cargo-liner companies, on the other hand, display a much higher turnover of engineer officers and proportionately fewer engineers with a record of long service because of the emphasis on officer status (see Chapter VII).

The engineer officer makes status problems for other members of the crew. His work lies mainly in the bowels of the ship and is hidden from view, unlike that of the catering and deck departments. The engineer is thus able to comment on the performance of tasks by these other groups whilst they have little knowledge of his work and are unable to pass judgement except when equipment breaks down. For the deck officer the engineer officer creates status problems which are aggravated by their different socioeconomic backgrounds and their different work interests. From these differences between deck and engineer officers has arisen the phrase, "Oil and water don't mix," which is a justification for non-involvement with one another as well as an explanation for social forces outside the control of both groups.

In his relations with non-engine-room ratings, the engineer is regarded as someone useful as well as one whose tasks are inherently dirty and who creates extra work. This problem is especially acute with the relations between the engineer officers and the catering ratings, as the latter have the job of adjusting the stereotype of the "officer".

The engineer officers interviewed came from a significantly different socioeconomic background than the deck officers. Two-thirds came from blue-collar backgrounds, and the educational level of the sample at age 16 was significantly lower than that of the deck officers (see Table 5.6). Moreover, the majority of engineers had gone to sea for reasons which

were not those, qualitatively, of deck officers. 87% of the engineer officers interviewed (158 men) had served their apprenticeship ashore in heavy engineering. Of this group only 15% saw seafaring as a career when they first went to sea. The attraction of seafaring was a break in routine for many, but for some (30% of the sample), seafaring was the only employment available. Traditionally, therefore, seafaring for the engineer officer was a short commitment and was viewed as such (see Table 5.4).

> I came to sea because I was in a rut and fed up. The only good thing about work in the [ship] yard was Saturday night at the pub. So I talked to my cousin [4/E in tankers] and he put me in the way of this firm. But when I've been away a couple more years then I'll settle back into Doxfords [marine engine builders] rather than go to the yard again.[24]

The engineer officer sees his commitment to the shipping industry in the extrinsic benefits it offers him. The most important of these are travel and adventure, then a secure job. Unless he also enjoys his work on the ship, the engineer officer will be ready to go ashore again after three years or so and will settle back into his original life style.

Engineer officers have stayed at sea when they have been unable to make the transition back to industry ashore or in cases where they are upwardly mobile. Like the mates who were seeking to obtain or maintain middle-class status, these men showed a strong commitment to their jobs even when job satisfaction was low.

> When we were first married we had a flat in Aigburth [Liverpool], so that my wife would be close to her job [school teacher]. We lived there for three or four years, and when I was home for my Chief's ticket we decided to buy a house in Heswell [Cheshire], so my wife could be near her family. I tried to find a job ashore but the only ones going were in Lairds [Camel Laird's shipyard] as a fitter, so I decided to go back to sea with ---- Line on their South American run, as that would get me home every two months. Then we had the kiddies and I can't afford to go ashore now. The

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[24] Research Notebook 5, Interview with Junior Engineer, BA Company.

> oldest is at school, and I would have to have a job paying at least £3,500 to pay the mortgage, school fees and a car for the wife. I've got another 25 years here before I retire [retirement age in Company AB was 60 years] and I'm a chief now so my pay won't increase too much more.[25]

The pattern of economic depression is reflected in the age pattern of engineer officers (Chart 5.1) and from this we can infer that once a man has been "trapped" in the occupation, he finds it more difficult to move into a shore job because the economic benefits of remaining at sea, as well as benefits of status, are much greater the longer he remains a seafarer.

Since the engineer officer does not have a traditional role to play in the social structure of the ship, he has difficulty in defining his place on board, as the engineers are the largest group of officers and the problems of shipboard status are aggravated. On Ship "X" the mates and engineers mixed readily, and in any case the social hierarchy was not marked. On Ship "Y" there was cooperation between mates and engineers, and the primary groups that formed amongst the officers did not distinguish between departments although they did between rank. On the cargo-liner, "Z," a definite separation between department and rank appeared, and primary groups did not include anyone from outside departments.

The traditional pattern of ship operation, therefore, does not allow for the easy assimilation of engineers into the social structure except where there is either a long-serving crew, as in Ship "X," or a crew with an informal pattern of behaviour fostered by the master or the shipping company, as in Ship "Y." This aspect will be discussed in full in Chapter VIII, but the distinction should be made and noted between mates and engineers in terms of different socioeconomic and educational backgrounds, a different system of socialization to shipboard life, and different career expectations. All these attributes lead to perceived differences and difficulties in the formation of satisfying social relationships on board ship.

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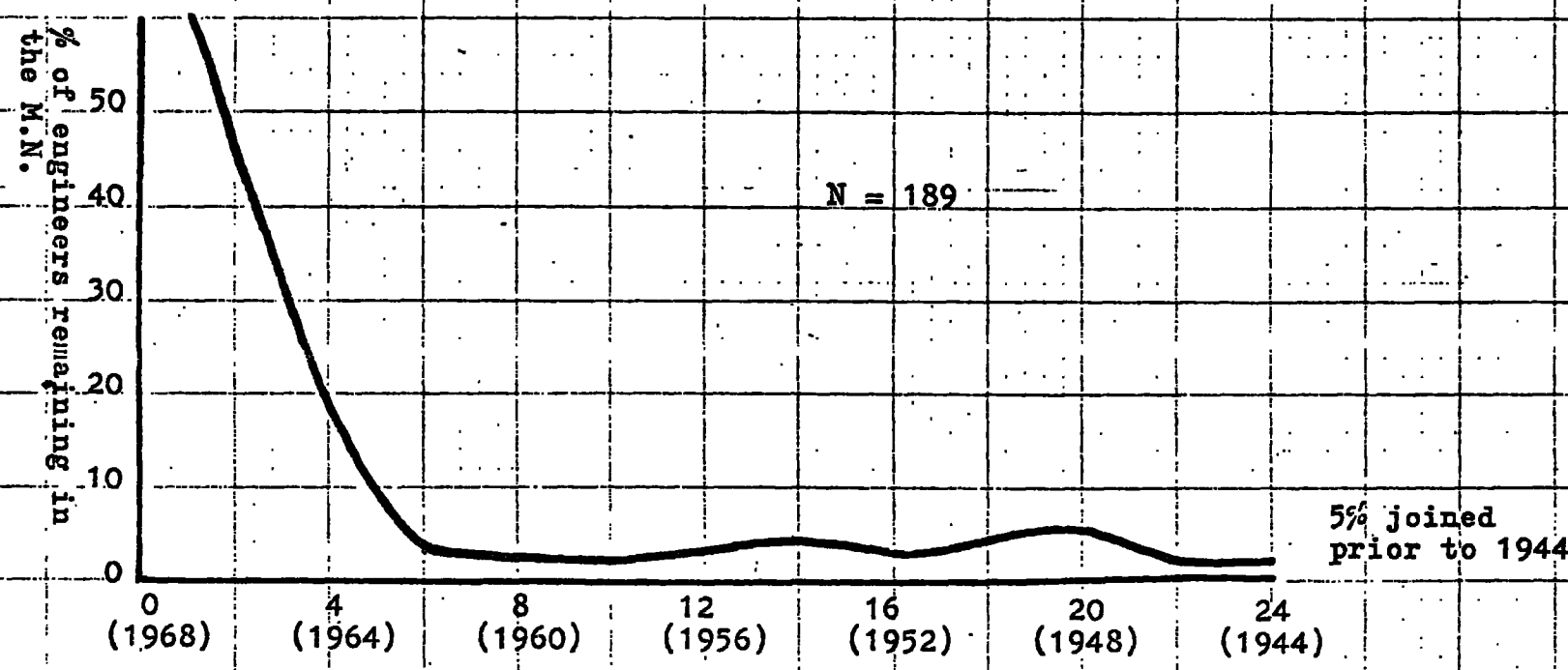
[25] Research Notebook 3, Interview with Chief Engineer, AB Company.

CHART 5.1. CAREER PATTERN OF ENGINEER OFFICERS.



Discipline and Authority

As mentioned previously the deck officers fit into a traditional pattern of ship operations. By virtue of this pattern, their attitudes toward discipline and the exercise of authority are also couched in traditional terms and these are reinforced by the provisions of the Merchant Shipping Acts. Amongst the deck officers discipline is enforced by informal sanctions rooted in the socialization process. These sanctions are based on a concept of professional ethics for officers, and informal sanctions are brought to bear through "joking" situations -- hiding equipment or belongings, or direct criticism by other officers. Conformity is also ensured by the system of company employment and the need, if a career is envisaged, to have a good voyage report at the end of each voyage. These reports, made by the master, are normally not seen by the officers other than the mate or chief engineer and are, therefore, a manipulative sanction in the hands of both the master and the company.[26]

The acceptance of these norms of discipline is functional for the mates because it reduces the problems of management on short voyages or with a crew which changes frequently, and because it enhances the status of the individual officer. For the shipping company the acceptance of the normative codes of discipline by the officers reduces the managerial responsibility for the smooth running of the ship, and at the same time facilitates the movement of crews between ships.

Given that these perceived advantages of maintaining a uniform code of practice on board ship are functional for the deck officers, do they also meet the needs of the engineer officers and ratings? The answer can only be "no." Based on the assumption that discipline is administered

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[26] In the interviews on board ship and in conversations with ships' officers, none of the respondents had seen a voyage report other than master and mate, although the officers said their companies used them. A specimen, and recommended, form of voyage report can be found in D. Moreby (1969), pp. 128-30.

only according to the Merchant Shipping Acts' provisions (see Appendix III), the master, as arbiter of the provisions of the Act, assumes powers that the ordinary works manager ashore does not possess, powers that are not normally given to other managers of total institutions. Whilst the master of a ship does not exercise these legal rights in the usual course of events, the possibility always exists that he may do so. That the master has the power to fine, "log," or give a man a bad discharge is the fundamental difference between the heads of the deck and engine-room departments. A mate may become a master; an engineer officer cannot.

Discipline, therefore, is handled in the traditional manner by men with traditional authority. This system does not take into account the fact that whereas on the sailing ship there were approximately five or six sailors to every mate, on the modern cargo ship there are approximately one-and-a-half ratings to every officer. This means that 40% of the ship's crew are permitted to discipline the other 60%. This allows for abuse of the traditional system, since a pervasive network of contacts and different interpretations of discipline by officers is possible, and the hierarchy will normally support the superior (the officer) against the inferior.

The traditional system of discipline and authority does not account for the variety of jobs on the ship. As Record and Mann noted,[27] the radio operator does not conform to any of the usual patterns of behaviour of a ship's officer which makes it difficult to impose discipline upon him. The same is true of other jobs. As we shall see in Chapter VI, the rating who has a job which is not fully accounted for by the provisions of the Acts may well find himself subject to discipline which is not appropriate to his situation.

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[27] J.C. Record (1957); P.H. Mann (1957).

The engineer officers form a relatively large group of men engaged in the same or similar work. Whilst working, the skills and abilities of each are clearly shown and an informal work structure emerges with considerable autonomy for its members. This work group would not be able to function if the rigidity of the authority structure which applies to the deck officers were to be introduced into the engine room. Amongst the deck officers formal status is important because so much of a mate's work is done when he is on his own. The hierarchy provides status satisfaction for the deck officer by confirming the importance of his work.

In the off-duty hours the mates spend most of their time alone, as they do on watch. The second mate of Ship "Y" reported a typical day at sea:

> At midnight I went on watch; we were just passing Belle Isle. It makes the watch more interesting when your [sic] coasting [in sight of land] and have other ships around you. The Mate relieved me at 04.00 and we had a cup of tea and chatted until 04.45, when I came off the bridge and turned in. I was called at 07.30 and did the breakfast relief at 08.00 and came off the bridge at about 08.45 after taking the longitude sight. Did some washing and read a book. Listened to the wireless for a while, and after coffee [10.45] went and saw the Third Engineer about the fuel consumption returns. Had dinner at 11.30 and went on the bridge at 12.00 and did my watch until 16.00. Had a can of beer before tea with Sparks [radio officer] and read a book for a while and then turned in about 18.30.[28]

The engineer officer is also isolated but not so much as the deck officer. Only two of the ships studied had single-man watches for engineer officers, and on both ships the 12-4 watch (third engineer's watch) was the only one worked single-handedly. The fourth engineer on Ship "Y" worked a typical day which consisted of the following:

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[28]Research Notebook 25, Diary kept by Second Mate, CA Company. Selected officers and ratings kept diaries during the research voyages to record their work and leisure activities. Twenty-eight diaries were kept in all.

> I usually have a couple of beers with the Junior [engineer] when we come off watch and then take a shower and go to bed about 01.15. I like that period as the ship's quiet and we can talk easily. Sometimes we talk about food or drink, or nights out or the girl friend. You know, we can't talk in the engine room, so we talk when we come off watch. I usually read for half an hour or so after I go to bed -- gets rid of all the noise and fumes before you go to sleep. The steward calls me at 07.15 with a cup of tea, and I get up for first breakfast at 07.30. Always eat in the duty mess except for tea -- too much mucking about with uniforms in the saloon. Keep the watch 08.00-12.00. I usually spend the first hour checking all the machinery and equipment, and going over the main engine with the Junior. The rest of the watch are the working hours. You keep an eye on things, and make sure the Greaser does his job properly, but you have to overhaul a generator, or make a spare part, or test the boiler feed water, or something, as well. Last half hour is spent doing paperwork: have to keep a log -- a record -- of all the engine readings and this has to be written up and signed for the next watch. We come off watch about 12.15 and have a couple of beers in the duty mess with our dinner. Then I get cleaned up and usually read or sleep until 3.30 or 4.00. Everyone off watch in the afternoon sleeps for an hour or so. When the watches change at 4.00 I usually sit in the duty mess and talk to the others. At 17.00 I go along below for the first-meal relief. I put on a boiler suit but I don't do any work unless it's an emergency as I don't want to get mucked up before my tea. When the Second [engineer] comes back, I get my tea and then take a couple of beers to someone's room and we talk or listen to the radio or something until 19.45 when it's time to go back on watch. I relieve the Second at 20.00 and the watch goes just the same as the morning. And then it's midnight again.[29]

The problem of authority as a function of shipboard life is to embrace these two disparate life styles. The second mate has little social contact with others because of his job, and in the case of Ship "Y," because he lives in midships accommodation whilst the engineers live aft. However, on Ship "Z," where the accommodation of deck and engineer officers was mixed or in the same decks in the main accommodation, primary groups

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[29]Research Notebook 21, Diary kept by Fourth Engineer, CA Company.

involving both departments were non-existent. The lack of contact was partly due to the nature of the work of the department, partly to the absence of common shared experiences by mates and engineers on the normal short voyage. The traditional authority patterns, consequently, are the most functional for these voyages.

Several of the respondents[30] noted that the "oil-and-water" syndrome broke down on long voyages, those of more than nine months, or on regular runs when few crew changes occurred. In such cases an informal authority structure arose, adapting the needs of ship operation to those of the personnel and creating an alternative form of "self-government" which was described by all as fostering a "happy" ship. This bears out the author's own experiences of long voyages and also offers an explanation for the egalitarian organization of Ship "X," a coastal bulk-carrier whose crew had served on the vessel for an average of thirty-three months per man, excluding leave periods.

It is possible to relate an officer's experiences on board a ship to its run, length of voyage, and to the development (or non-development) of primary groups and alternative authority structures. A continuum emerges in which the following characteristics are equated:

Table 5.9. Primary groups and authority structures compared.

	Regular crew or long voyages: strong primary groups.	Short voyages, frequent crew changes: little primary group formation.	
Ship "X"			Ship "Z"
	Alternative authority structures: greater need satisfaction, lower levels of deviance.*	Traditional authority structures: little need satisfaction, higher levels of deviance.*	

*See Chapter VIII.

[30] Research Notebooks 20, 21, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32, and 36; diaries kept by officers.

To quantify this continuum proved difficult because of variables such as the personality of senior officers (the master and chief engineer) or the attitudes of individual shipping companies toward their officers. In a qualitative sense the continuum is of some value. On Ship "X," which had a regular crew and run, the mate referred to his crew as

> . . .a fine crowd. We have lots of laughs and the job is done very efficiently. I can trust any sailor to do his work properly, and we don't have problems of drunkenness here. These ships are happy ones and we talk about the job and do it between us. The ship's not an ocean liner but we keep her in good shape. I think the secret of good ship management is to do unto others as you would have them do unto you. And work at it.[31]

The mate on Ship "Z" thought that his crew were

> . . .better than most. The trouble with white crews is that they are not interested in the job. They "skive" [dodge work] and the older seamen are as bad as the young ones. You have to watch them all the time and log them when necessary or they won't work at all. If you give a sailor an inch, he'll walk rings around you. The only way to handle 'em is to throw the book at them from the start of the trip until they get the message.[32]

The authority pattern is used as a substitute for management skills. The officers are not trained to be managers; thus, their attitudes toward one another and toward their crews are related to the need to get on with these other men. When this need is not great -- when the run is short and the crew changes frequently -- the traditional authoritarian pattern conceals the lack of management skills and the inability of crew members to form social relationships.

On long voyages or those with few crew changes, a new authority structure arises to cope with the closed environment. Any new structure is dependent upon the personalities of the men involved, their role

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[31]Research Notebook 14, Interview with Chief Officer, X Company.

[32]Research Notebook 11, Interview with Chief Officer, AB Company.

definitions, and their sociocultural backgrounds as well as the ship type and the form of organization of the company. If an authority structure of an informal or "leadership" type does evolve, it will pose problems for new members of the crew or officers, and also problems of sustaining the new structure under adverse physical or social conditions.

On Ship "X" this problem was resolved by the master's practice, when appointed to a new ship, of taking a majority of the officers and ratings with him. For one ship the solution to the assimilation of new men was to change a quarter of the crew at a time. Difficulties came about on this particular ship following the appointment of a new master and chief engineer within three months of one another, and these two men effectively dismantled the new organizational structure of the ship by following a pattern similar to that of the gypsum plant manager described by Gouldner.[33] Like the plant manager, the reasoning behind their action was to reassert their own authority and to prevent the officers and ratings from becoming "soft."[34]

Under the traditional authority pattern, the officers are the final arbiters of behaviour and organizational patterns on board ship. These men are reinforced by the provisions of the Merchant Shipping Acts and by their own sense of being responsible for the ship. As Ramsay observed,[35] this responsibility is not a real one in that it can be assumed or discarded at will. Little planning responsibility in the managerial sense rests with the officers, and their true responsibility is akin to that of the lorry driver described by Hollowell,[36] or the railwaymen described by

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[33] A.W. Gouldner (1954), pp. 59-104.

[34] Research Notebook 13, Interview with Master, AA Company.

[35] R.A. Ramsay (1966), p. 114.

[36] P.G. Hollowell (1968), pp. 25-6.

Salaman.[37] This responsibility is that of the agent of the owner for the safety of cargo and vessel. It is of the same order as a bank messenger, not that of the professional (a doctor or lawyer, for example) toward his clients. The ship's officer is taught that he is accountable for all facets of ship operations but soon learns from experience that many of his obligations can easily be shunted onto others.[38]

Summary

The authority pattern as traditionally accepted lays down a structure with defined roles and responsibilities. This structure provides the discipline framework for the ship's crew and normally can be used instead of management skills, since, if it is followed closely, the officer cannot be faulted by shore management. On ships which, for reasons outside the crew's control, do not return to the United Kingdom for long periods of time (nine months or more) or which have a regular run with minimal changes in crew, an alternative pattern of authority will tend to develop based on informal leadership which presents greater opportunities for social interaction between departments and their members.

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[37] G. Salaman (1970).

[38] See, for example, R.A. Ramsay (1966), pp. 156-59. An A.B. put the matter as follows: "The Mate buggers up a cargo stow, and he blames the foreman stevedore or the Third Mate, but he's got to fix it before the Old Man [master] or the Super [superintendent] find out about it. He can't use dockers 'cause they cost too much. So I have to fix Harry Tate's [slang for mate] balls-up, and I lose my time ashore but he couldn't care less." Research Notebook 33, Diary kept by A.B., AB Company.

CHAPTER VI

THE SEAFARERS - RATINGS

Ratings' Backgrounds

The ratings are firmly rooted in the working class, as Table 6.1 shows.

Table 6.1. Father's occupation: Ratings.*

	Catering Ratings %	Deck Ratings %	Engine-Room Ratings %
Manual	58	44	57
Skilled	26	39	31
Clerical	13	5	10
Managerial	3	11	0
Professional	1	0	1
N.A./D.K.	0	1	1
Total %	101	100	100
N =	140	243	72

*Source: Questionnaires 2, 3, and 4.

All three departments draw more than four-fifths of their entrants from manual or skilled families, whilst only a very few men in the sample came from managerial or professional homes. Within the departments the deck ratings have a significantly higher proportion of men from skilled blue-collar families, and this correlates with the reasons given by these men for wanting to go to sea.

Table 6.2. Reasons for going to sea: Ratings.*

	Catering Ratings %	Deck Ratings %	Engine-Room Ratings %
Seafaring family	5	9	0
For training	27	6	0
Outdoor life	4	39	0
Work available	29	18	74
Travel	34	26	24
N.A./D.K.	0	2	2
Total %	99	100	100
N =	99	163	42

*Source: Questionnaires 2, 3, and 4.

The most marked difference between the groups was the deck ratings' desire for an open-air occupation and the engine-room ratings' wish for a job. The catering ratings fell into three basic groups: those who saw seafaring as an opportunity to obtain training that could be used ashore; those who went to sea for travel and adventure; and those who went because no other jobs were available.

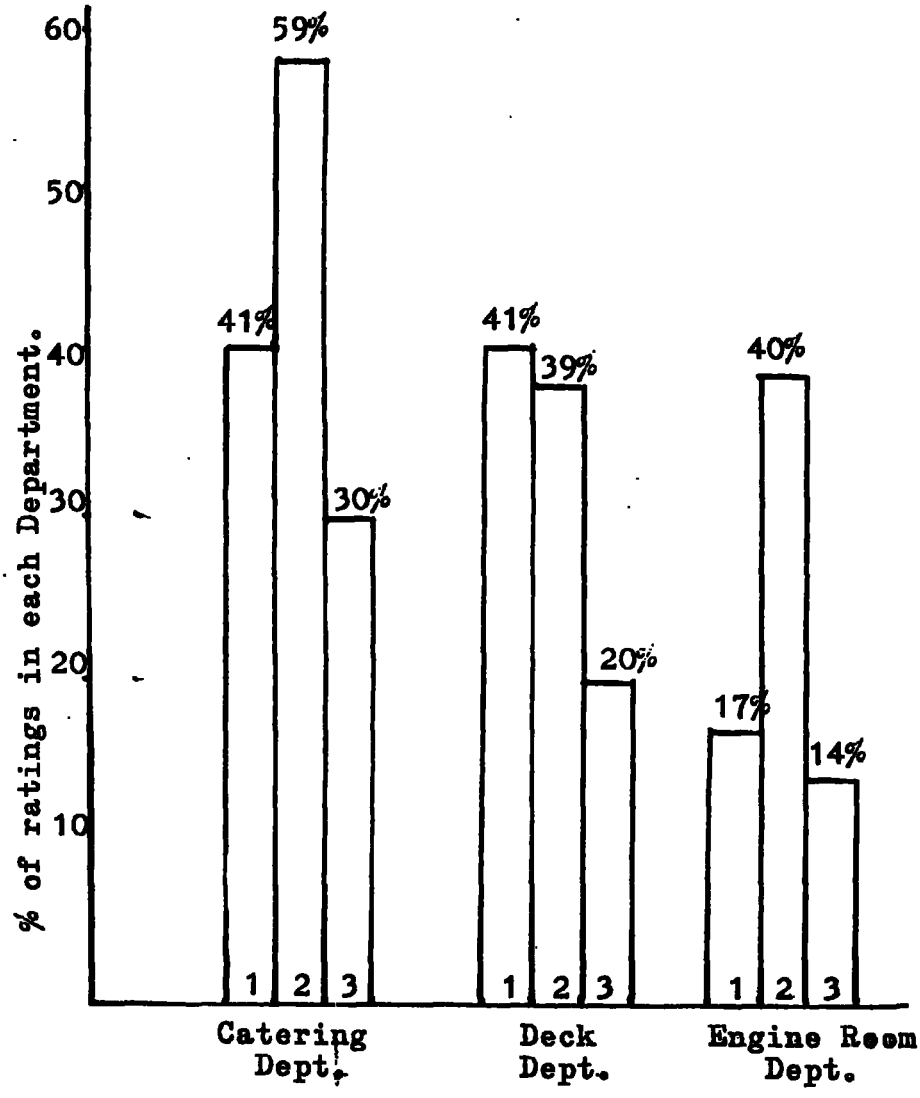
The deck ratings were drawn from more traditional seafaring areas, but although 9% said that they went to sea because it was a traditional occupation in their families, they occupied an intermediate position between the catering and engine-room departments with reference to relatives at sea. In fact, only the catering department had a pattern of relatives at sea that was similar to the pattern of the officers discussed in Chapter V (see Chart 6.1).

As noted by Tunstall, the tradition of men coming from seafaring families is largely a myth.[1] The entrant to the Merchant Navy is usually able to turn to a relative or family friend for advice because 68% of all

[1] J. Tunstall (1962), pp. 105-7.

CHART 6.1.

RATINGS WITH RELATIVES AT SEA



Summary: % of ratings with relatives at sea:

Catering ratings:	70%
Deck ratings:	60%
Engine-room ratings:	43%
Whole sample $\bar{X}$:	61%

Key: Column 1: Seafarers with father who is/was a seafarer.
Column 2: Seafarers with relative(s) who is/was a seafarer.
Column 3: Seafarers with father and at least one other relative who are/were seafarers; that is, a family with a tradition of seafaring over at least two generations.

entrants as ratings come from traditional areas of employment at sea. Whether or not a boy goes to sea depends very much on the job opportunities available to him. Most boys have at least one job before joining the Merchant Navy, and the engine-room ratings will generally have had two or three jobs because of the higher entrance age (18 years instead of 16).

The majority of first jobs for all boy entrants are in unskilled labouring or warehousing, although a considerable proportion of the catering boys (23%) in the sample had worked in hotels or restaurants. 9% of the boys entering the deck department had had river experience on tugs, barges, dredgers, fishing craft, or ferries, and this group was almost identical to the one that went to sea because of family tradition. Of the deck boys over a quarter went to sea straight from school, attracted by the open-air life, and a few by a chance to earn more money than was available to them ashore.

Table 6.3. Previous work experience of ratings before joining the Merchant Navy.

Type of Work	Catering Ratings %	Deck Ratings %	Engine-Room Ratings %
Unskilled or labourer	51	60	80
Factory operative	12	2	14
Maritime related	2	9	1
Hotel related	23	0	0
No work or experience	12	29	4
Total %	100	100	99
N =	140	243	72

All the entrants interviewed had passed through the National Sea Training School's courses for their respective departments with the exception of a group of twenty-three catering entrants who had been trained at the Liverpool Nautical Catering College and forty-two entrants (fifteen

catering and twenty-seven deck ratings) who had been trained by one of the larger cargo-liner groups at its own school. This last group of entrants differed significantly from the main sample, although it must be emphasized that the small sample is a random one and selected on the same basis as the other sample.

In this sample, which we shall call the W sample, two-thirds of the boys had stayed at school until 15½ or 16 years of age and had then entered the training school. Their academic standards were appreciably higher than those of the national sample, and nearly a quarter of the catering entrants and half the deck entrants came from traditional seafaring families. The majority (82%) of these boys in Z sample had relatives who had been or were seafarers with the company. Moreover, these boys stayed at sea for a longer period than the other entrants; the median length of service for W sample entrants was 5.7 years against 3.7 years for the national sample.

This difference in recruitment reflects the company's own reputation as an employer as well as the training school's concern to present a true image of the future employment of the entrants through a realistic scheme of training on board ship. For reasons of logistic difficulty, the National Sea Training Schools cannot provide on-ship training facilities, and their trainees complete their supervised training in shore establishments before they join their first ship. This has serious repercussions for boys who find themselves in a strange environment.

> I joined my first ship in Shields the day she sailed. She was one of ----'s tramps, and f--- dirty. The Cook and Sec [second steward] were on the bottle, and the galley fire was out so me and the catering boy made toasted sandwiches for everyone, and then we had to clean out our carts [bunks] which had been used for storing vegetables and spuds when the store room racks were fitted [whilst the ship was in dry dock].[2]

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[2]Research Notebook 37, Interview with Assistant Steward, CB Company.

This boy was fortunate in that the chief steward was efficient and sorted out the problems in a few days. Some boys never actually sailed on a ship.

> It was a funny thing. I enjoyed the training at Gravesend [National Sea Training School] and looked forward to going to sea. When I got home [Warrington] I reported to the pool in Liverpool as they told me to, and I spent the next seven weeks "working by" [working on ships whilst the crew were on leave]. There didn't seem to be any jobs going at sea and I got fed up with it. So I came to this job.[3]

The form of training the new entrants receive also creates problems when they first join ships.

> I went to Sharpness [N.S.T.S.] and we spent a lot of time learning to lay up for passengers, and how to serve wines and all that. My first ship was a tanker and I spent the entire trip as mess peggy. After that I was a catering boy on bulkers for a couple of trips. The only time I've ever used all my training has been for shippers' parties and that's been three times in this company. Dennis [a catering boy] is on his first trip now and he didn't know that the first couple of years at sea would be in the pantry. The instructors at Sharpness thought we were all going to a "Queen" or one of the Union boats, because that was where they were, not on a real ship like this.[4]

The reality of the training is a determinant of stereotype and role performance, and the turnover of ratings reflects this in the contrast between the national sample and the W sample. This differentiation did not intrude into the mates' sample, as the apprentices were trained mainly on board ship, and training time ashore at the beginning of the apprenticeship was negligible in relation to the total time of training at sea.[5] The deck ratings had similar problems of adjustment as those experienced by the catering ratings, but the problems were less acute, as the basic work patterns between ships do not vary so much for a seaman as for a steward or cook.

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[3]Conversation with British Rail buffet car attendent, 1968.

[4]Research Notebook 14, Interview with Second Steward, BA Company.

[5]This has changed since 1968 as all the deck apprentices are on O.N.C. or O.N.D. courses and spend a lot of time in college. This presents severe problems of turnover and training expenses. The problem has been recognized among engineer apprentices for some time, as they spend approximately 3½ years in shore training against 1½ years at sea during their apprenticeship.

The engine-room ratings enter the Merchant Navy at a later age, so they have had work experience before joining. As we have seen in Tables 6.2 and 6.3, three-quarters of these men joined the shipping industry because work was available. In the sample of engine-room ratings, thirty-eight men or 53% had been unemployed before joining, and four-fifths of the men had previously held labouring jobs. 24% of the sample had joined the Merchant Navy for adventure or "to see the world," and all the men (14% of the sample) who had previously held jobs as operatives or assembly-line workers joined for this reason. Because seafaring offered a secure job for these engine-room ratings whilst allowing them the freedom of movement and choice of workplace characteristic of labouring, there was a considerably broader age range than for the other ratings.

Career

The two groups of ships studied, the cargo-liners and the bulk carrier/tramps, differed in the regularity of their voyages, ports of call, and in the availability of leave. For a rating intending to stay at sea, the cargo-liner offered an attractive means of establishing a regular pattern of family life such as the "trunker" or long-distance lorry driver, described by Hollowell, who gravitates to the regular runs of the long-distance express good vehicles,[6] and this tendency is reflected in the age span of seafarers on these ships. 52% of the ratings on cargo-liners are younger than 31 years of age, whilst on bulk carriers the corresponding age group of ratings formed 65% of the ships' crews. The bulk carriers' attraction for younger men is the lack of routine, and by and large, the greater informality between officers and ratings. For the men on cargo-liners there is the prospect of a reasonably steady income

[6] J. Hollowell (1968).

if they remain on the ship over a period of time and the opportunity to earn a higher rate of pay if they sign company-service contracts as well as a short career ladder.

For these reasons the ratings in W sample, who are drawn from a high proportion of traditional seafaring families, have opted for work with this particular group.[7] The other entrants to the Merchant Navy have joined through the Merchant Navy Establishment and are not screened so rigorously nor do they get such attention as the W sample men did during their training.

> Frequently we have to take whatever ratings the pool [the M.N.E.] offer us. So far as the manning requirements are concerned if a man is still breathing and walking we have to take him if there aren't any others around. The B.S.F. [B.S.F. Senior Officers' Management Course] pitched this idea that it was our job to manage the men, to select them they said, but when you have no choice why bother?[8]

> The first five years I was on the ship it was a great laugh. I always shipped out with my mates and we would try to get the ships where the overtime was good, like this one. Now I get on tankers when I can. The money's alright there but you know it's for five or six months and that suits me and my wife. I'm only on this one because she's a Christmas ship [would be returning to the U.K. before Christmas and the crew could spend the holiday with their families].[9]

The types of ships in the sample thus provide a system of choice for ratings: a choice between a steady seafaring job or seeking jobs at random,[10] and a chance of high wages on some ships versus the alternative

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[7] "We try to take only those boys who are recommended by people known to us. By doing this we make sure that they want to come to sea and know what to expect, but even so we have a high proportion of boys who leave in the first year (17%)." Interview with Crew Personnel Manager, AA Company.

[8] Research Notebook 18, Interview with Chief Officer, BA Company.

[9] Research Notebook 9, Interview with A.B., BB Company.

[10] Although the rating has no control over the availability of ships, he is able to exercise a choice of which ship he takes amongst those offered by the M.N.E.

of steady wages on board cargo-liners. None of these factors affect the majority of officers because they are normally employees of one company and do not seek work in the open market. A career can normally be built only by staying with a company for a period of time. Officers who change companies more than once or twice were not considered "good" company servants or potential servants although they were more likely to make the sea their career than other officers who did not move about within the industry. This situation is the opposite of the ratings' experiences.

When the rating first applies to the Merchant Navy Establishment for a job as a seafarer, he is interviewed and is given a short written quiz in simple English and arithmetic and a thorough medical examination.[11] From this information and considering the entrant's own wishes as well as the availability of jobs, the entrant is accepted or rejected. An analysis of the education standards of entrants reveals that many are barely literate.[12] One B.S.F. selection officer thought that about a third of the applicants "failed" the educational tests but pointed out that some of these failures would be accepted because they passed the stringent medical exams.[13]

The educational qualifications varied by department. Some boys who considered entering the industry as deck ratings had, in fact, been placed with companies as apprentices, and because of the recent introduction of both C.S.E. (Certificate of Secondary Education) and the higher entry requirements for O.N.C./O.N.D. in the Merchant Navy at a national level, the educational backgrounds of boys have been polarized on the ships.

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[11]Birkbeck tests are now being administered by the M.N.E./B.S.F. recruiting and training officers. However, these tests have not been validated for the purpose of selection for the Merchant Navy, and there is no indication that the results are used. (Information received in conversation with B.S.F. and AB Company officials in July, 1970.)

[12]When research diaries were distributed on board Ships "Y" and "Z," seven ratings (three engine room, three deck ratings, and a pantryman) were unable to complete them because of inadequate writing skills. These men were interviewed intensively instead.

[13]Research Notebook 2, Interview with B.S.F. Selection Officer, February, 1968.

It must be noted that engineer officers in the sample have socioeconomic backgrounds which are similar to those of catering and deck ratings, and this is particularly true of educational levels.

Table 6.4. Qualifications of ratings on entry to the Merchant Navy.*

	Catering Ratings %	Deck Ratings %	Engine Room Ratings %	Total %
No qualifications	57	76	94	73
C.S.E.	24	13	3	15
G.C.E.	8	2	0	4
Other	11	9	3	9
Total %	100	100	100	100
N =	140	243	72	455

*Source: Questionnaires 2, 3, and 4.

The catering ratings have a lower standard of physique than the deck ratings who are bound by Department of Trade and Industry regulations for physical fitness. A catering rating has a full departmental career ladder ahead of him when he enters, and he also has the opportunity to obtain a training which can be readily transferred ashore, unlike the majority of shipboard skills. The combination of characteristics — "a smart, intelligent lad"[14] — leads to the creation of socioeconomc groups within the ratings on the ship. We can posit some generalizations about these men.

Profiles of Typical Ratings: Catering Ratings

The typical catering rating is an assistant steward, aged 22, who has been at sea for five years and comes from a family in which there is at least one seafarer, probably two (see Chart 6.1). This man will come

[14]Interview with Crew Personnel Manager, AA Company.

from a working-class background but one with a record of home-ownership and a sense of educational striving, which is reflected both in the occupations of friends and relatives (see Tables 6.5 and 6.6) and in the man's own educational and occupational record.

Table 6.5. Occupations of ratings' friends who are not seafarers.

	Catering Ratings %	Deck Ratings %	Engine-Room Ratings %
Manual	17	42	48
Unskilled/service worker	23	17	20
Skilled	19	29	22
Clerical	31	8	7
Managerial	10	3	2
Professional	1	1	1
Total %	101	100	100
N =	126	208	53

(Table based on response to the question, "What jobs do your friends ashore have?" Seafarers N represents those men who replied to the question positively. Average number of friends itemized was: catering ratings, 2.98; deck ratings, 2.71; engine-room ratings, 2.72.)

Table 6.6. Occupations of ratings' relatives who are not seafarers.

	Catering Ratings %	Deck Ratings %	Engine-Room Ratings %
Manual	37	58	60
Unskilled/service worker	26	14	17
Skilled	17	19	17
Clerical	15	7	6
Managerial	4	2	0
Professional	1	0	0
Total %	100	100	100
N =	31	43	17

(Table based on interviews and conversations with crews of Ships "X," "Y," "Z," and one ship each from Companies AA, BB, and CA.)

Prior to seafaring the steward will have been more likely to have held a paper round (see Table 6.7) or similar schoolboy job than the other ratings. In his first job or jobs, the steward may have started work in a hotel or restaurant, but he is more likely to have been either a van, shop, or warehouse boy; that is, work that demands a degree of numerate as well as literate skill and is relatively clean.

Table 6.7. Work experience of seafarers before they left school.

	Catering Ratings %	Deck Ratings %	Engine-Room Ratings %
No work experience	40	46	39
Labourer	2	15	21
Errand boy	20	19	16
Newspaper round	18	8	7
Service worker*	14	0	2
Maritime work**	1	12	0
Other	7	2	15
Total %	100	100	100
N =	107	145	51

*shop assistant, hotel work
**taken on fishing trips; odd jobs on lights, tugs, ferries; work on river craft

Source: Questionnaires 2 and 3.

Profiles of Typical Ratings: Deck Ratings

The deck rating is somewhat more difficult to typify since the age distribution of the sample has a double mode. The older seafarer is generally a man who went to sea during the Second World War, perhaps for excitement or patriotism. This man does not normally have a record of unbroken sea service but rather a pattern of seafaring based on his own experiences and his opportunities for obtaining work ashore. As his sea service lengthens, he finds himself more and more unsuited to the demands

of shore life and increasingly unable to find work there that is remunerative. This older seafarer feels that he is trapped by seafaring:

> You don't want to stay at sea. I go home and I don't know anyone and they don't want to know me. The only place I know there will be people willing to pass the time of day and talk sensible are on board the ships, so after a couple of weeks of leave I gets fed up with being stuck in the house and the wife gets cheesed off with me being around and I go down to the pool and see if I can ship out. That's what always happens to me.[15]

> I go to sea for the company. There isn't any other reason.[16]

> Only the loonies go to sea they say, but you have a finer set of workmates here than ever you had ashore. On a ship people have to think about others and live together. If you're a loonie and like the sort of life here, then God help them ashore. But I would go ashore if I could get a decent job and a decent bunch of workmates.[17]

> I've had several go's at working ashore. Worked for a house painter once, and on the Fawley site another time and had good money but I couldn't settle down. The sea gets into your blood, and you miss life on the ship and then you go back when the work stops.[18]

The pattern of leaving and returning to the industry is affected by economic and domestic cycles to a certain extent. When a family is young and growing up, it requires a higher income to sustain it than a young or old married couple need, and certainly more than a single man. Consequently, the ability to move to jobs ashore is restricted for fathers of young families.

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[15] Research Notebook 13, Interview with A.B., CA Company.

[16] Research Notebook 18, Interview with E.D.H.

[17] Research Notebook 13, Interview with A.B., CA Company.

[18] Research Notebook 17, Interview with Bosun, CB Company.

Young deck ratings[19] form the greater portion of the deck department, and the typical young rating is 19½ years old and holds an E.D.H.[20] certificate. For these men the sea is a way out of the routine of the shore job, it affords glimpses of other lands, and provides money to be splashed about when the ship is in port. For the single young seafarer in the deck department, seafaring is a good life. The money is seen to be equitable (at the time of the study on Ships "Y" and "Z" the average gross pay was £26 per week), and its expenditure is largely on pleasure. The shipowner provides board and lodging for all the crew, and the deck hand is paid an adult wage as soon as he obtains his E.D.H. certificate. A 22-year-old E.D.H. on Ship "Y" put it this way:

> I signed on this one for the overtime. If she does the same as last trip [the voyage lasted five weeks], I'll get at least £100 on the ovies, and that'll do nicely for Christmas. We'll be back about the 10th and with leave and that I won't ship out again until the first week in January. I've got it set up with the Club [Working Men's Club in Houghton-le-Spring, Co. Durham] and we'll have a right old time when I'm home. I'll be able to fix up the [pigeon] loft as well.[21]

For these men the sea is instrumental in obtaining the money they need for the gratification of their pleasure needs ashore. In this way the seafarer prepares himself for the role of conspicuous consumer which characterizes his later life, and as we shall see, compensates for role deficiencies on the ship.

The need to earn as much money as possible fostered an atmosphere of constant "testing" of the mate during the research voyages. This testing was comprised of finding "make work" situations, and the mate's ability to handle the situation without giving too much money. Once this effort

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[19] The young deck rating is considered to be one between the ages of 16 and 30. 58% of the deck department are in this category. 72% of the catering ratings and 29% of the engine-room ratings are in this age group.

[20] E.D.H. is an Efficient Deck Hand. See Chapter II.

[21] Research Notebook 2, Interview with E.D.H., Ship "Y."

bargain had been struck, the younger seamen settled into a routine. On Ship "Y" the bargain was reached during the first week, and both sides treated one another with respect in their attitude toward work and overtime. On Ship "Z" the mate never finalized a bargain and was dismissed by the crew as incompetent. This gaming factor was important to the majority of young seamen, and much of their discussion centred around the topic, as they were able to compare ships and ships' officers from past experience (see Chapter VII).

Only 22% of the young seafarers on deck thought of the sea as a career, and of those who said that they would stay at sea, over half qualified their statement with "if nothing better turns up." The number of men who had worked ashore in between periods of seafaring rose markedly after the age of 20. Of the sample of young deck ratings, only 16% had not worked ashore by the age of 30 since they started seafaring.

Profiles of Typical Ratings: Engine-Room Ratings

The engine-room ratings are also concentrated at opposite ends of the age scale (see Chart 6.2), but unlike the other two departments, these ratings are heavily weighted toward the higher age groups. In fact, 60% of the engine-room ratings in the sample were over 41 years of age, and only 29% were under 30. Like some of the deck ratings, some of these men entered the Merchant Navy during World War II and had become "trapped" in the occupation. For the majority, 74% of the sample, the reason for going to sea was that a job was available. Since the work of an engine-room rating was not considered desirable on board ship owing to the noise, heat, and dirty work conditions, the engine-room rating is sure of a job provided that he is able to do it.

CHART 6.2. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF RATINGS.

Chart 6.2a. Age distribution of catering ratings.

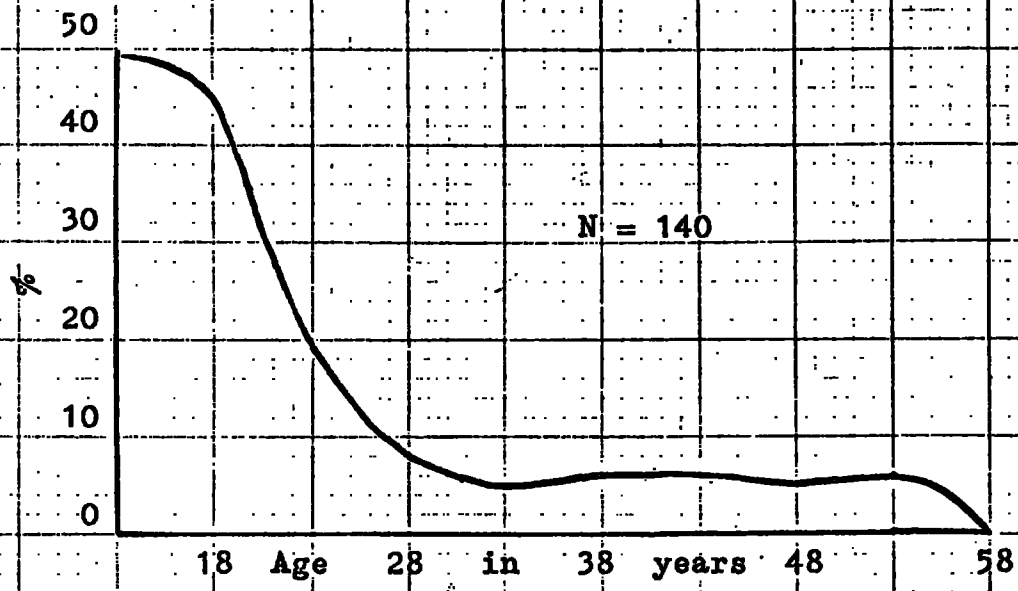


Chart 6.2b. Age distribution of deck ratings

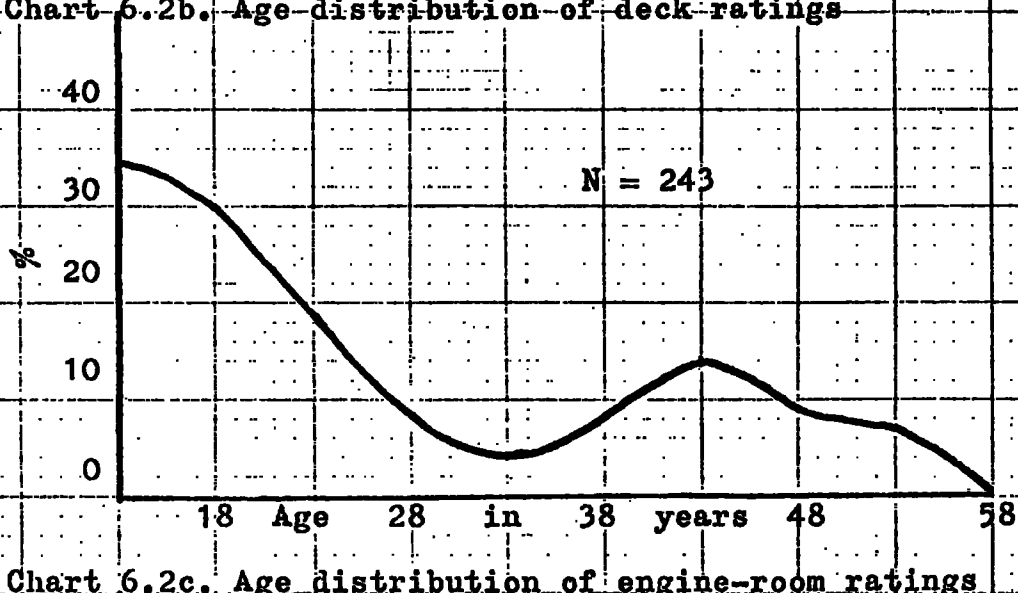
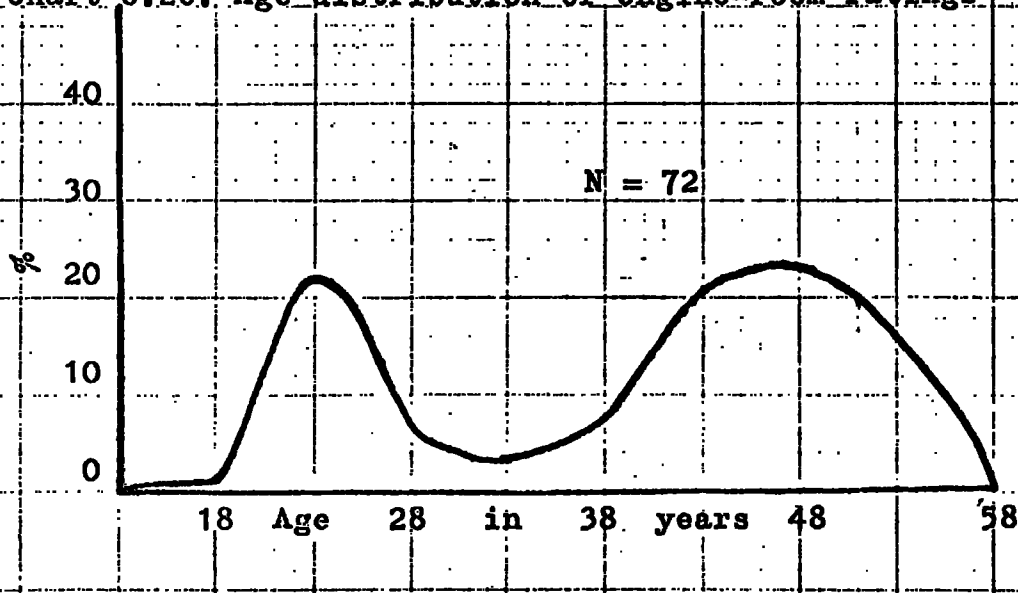


Chart 6.2c. Age distribution of engine-room ratings



The small number of engine ratings (average 4.2) on a dry-cargo ship poses severe social problems for these men. Evidence shows that the noise and vibration levels of engine rooms cause deafness over a period of time, and this in itself would make a barrier to social activity.[22] The low status of engine-room ratings, their age, and the dirty nature of their work set these men apart from the other ratings. Since the engine-room rating works on his own in the engine room and follows a three-watch system with four hours overtime on most weekdays, he is also isolated from the other engine-room ratings, and status and age set him apart from the engineer officer. The social outcome of these factors is an isolated individual within a closed community. As a result the work career of these men is purely instrumental. They are at sea either because they cannot adapt to life ashore due to personal inadequacies (see Table 6.11) or because they are unable to find work.

The sub-group of younger engine-room ratings (the 29% of ratings between the ages of 18 and 30) came from highly diverse backgrounds and areas of the country. As mentioned before, the majority of the group (68%) have gone to sea because they wanted to travel. In their case the stereotype of seafaring as an adventurous life is particularly erroneous, and the period of time spent on average in the Merchant Navy by this group of ratings is very short (1.3 years) except in times of economic depression. Since entry to the engine-room department can be made at any age up to about 45 (and this is waived in the case of ex-RN ratings) provided the entrant is physically fit,[23] the age structure does not fully represent the length of career as it does with the other departments.

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[22] I. Raphael, et al. (1966), p. 29.

[23] Research Notebook 2, Interview with B.S.P. Training Officer.

CHART 6.3. AGE PROFILES OF ALL RATINGS BY TYPE OF SHIP.

Chart 6.3a. Age profile of all ratings on bulk carriers and tramp ships in the study.

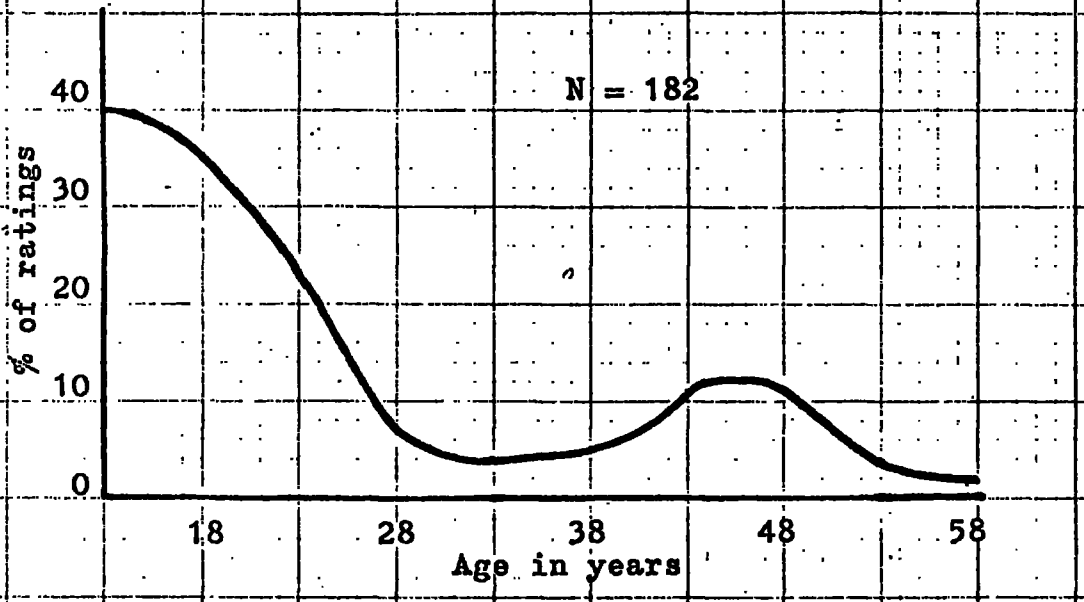
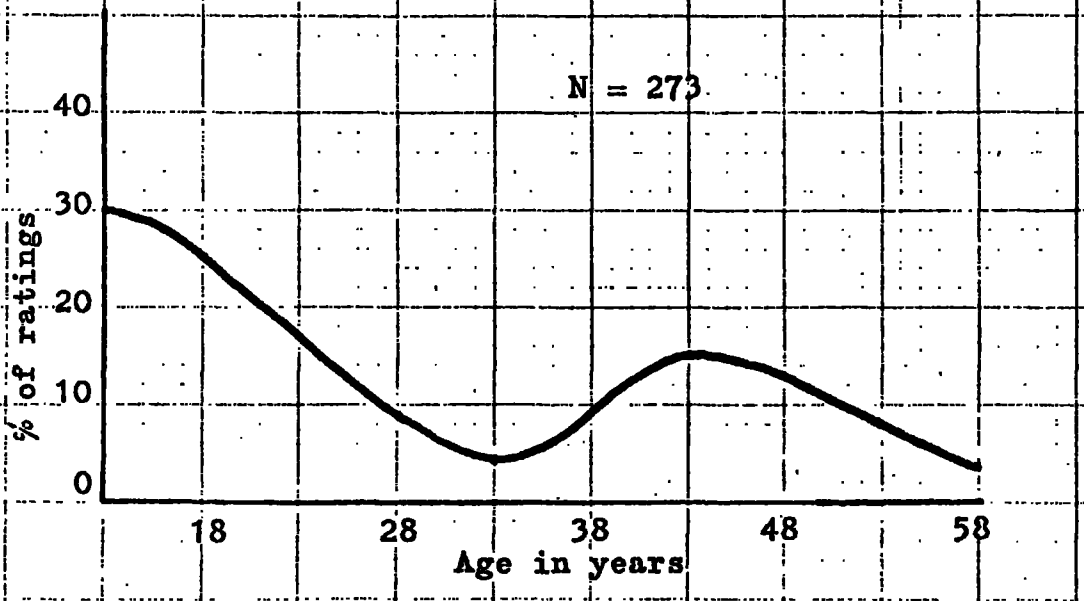


Chart 6.3b. Age profile of all ratings on cargo liners in the study.



The engine-room rating does have a longer period at sea than other ratings (median career is 7.4 years), primarily because of the security and higher pay that seafaring affords him. This is also reflected in the percentage of ratings in the sample (82%) who held General Service Contracts with the Merchant Navy Establishment, whilst 58% of the entire sample held contracts.[24] Proportionately, a greater number of men amongst the engine ratings are divorced, separated, or widowers. The security of the organization and role structure of the ship are important to these men, but at the same time, their social isolation makes them more conscious and critical of the structure of the ship's organization.

Table 6.8. Seafarers with a disrupted family life.

	Catering Ratings %	Deck Ratings %	Engine-Room Ratings %	Whole Sample %
Families with father absent*	69	59	42	57
Widower	3	3	6	3
Separated or divorced	8	9	17	10
% of sample	80	71	65	75
N =	35	58	25	118

*includes (1) broken families; (2) families with father in armed forces, M.N., or fishing fleet

Traditions and Their Consequences

As we saw in Chart 6.1, 61% of all the ratings in the sample had seafaring relatives, and at first examination this would appear to support the contention that "the sea is in me blood," a phrase often heard during the interviews. However, only 6% of the sample said they went to sea because seafaring was traditional in their families (see Table 6.2), and only 23%

[24] Source: Questionnaires 2 and 3.

of the sample came from families which had a history of seafaring (the seafarer's father and at least one other relative of another generation who are or were seafarers). On the other hand, like the fishermen described by Duncan, Horobin, Ligouri, and Tunstall, the seafarer in the main comes from communities in which a tradition of seafaring exists.

The usual areas of residence for merchant seamen in the United Kingdom are large seaport towns and the fishing ports with vessels engaged in middle- and distant-ground fisheries; that is, fishing vessels which are away from port for three or more days (see Map 6.5). Over 80% of all the ratings interviewed came from these areas, a significantly different pattern from that of the officers. Seafaring is an occupation in these sea-oriented areas that is obviously part of the community.

> People here know how to cope when a seaman misses his ship, or loses his life or just comes home. The wives and their mothers share the problems, and most kids realize what it is like.[25]

> Most of the neighbours are in the docks or away [at sea] and they understand what the life is.[26]

A community such as Ship Street[27] or Hessle Road[28] provides information, contacts, and a socializing environment for its inhabitants. This envelope of learning material is of importance to the seafarer, as it provides him with a background to which he can resort on board the ship and an understanding community to return to after his voyage.

We observed in Chapter IV that although the young entrant is poorly informed about the nature of his work, he is well versed with the behaviour of seamen ashore and tries to emulate them. For fishermen in home ports,

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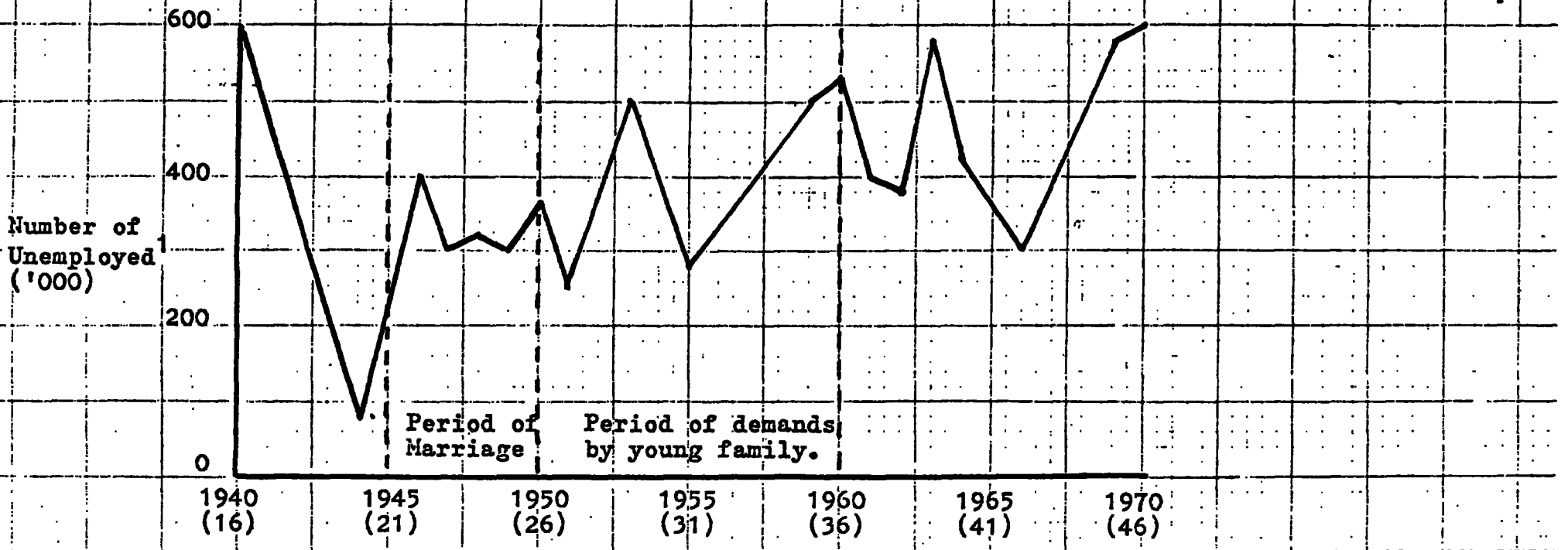
[25] Research Notebook 36, Interview with AB, BA Company.

[26] Research Notebook 19, Interview with Chief Cook, CB Company.

[27] M. Kerr (1958).

[28] P. Duncan (1963); G. Horobin (1957).

CHART 6.4. RELATIONSHIP OF UNEMPLOYMENT LEVELS, 1940 - 1970, TO AGE AND LIFE CYCLE OF A BOY ENTERING THE MERCHANT NAVY IN 1940 AT AGE 16.



Age of boy who entered the M.N. in 1940 at age 16 is shown in parentheses.

[1] Unemployment figures adapted from A.F. Sillitoe (1971), p.123.

as Tunstall has shown,[29] the young entrant looks forward to his "runs" ashore in foreign and home ports. When ashore, he is a seafarer, not a deck or catering boy, so he follows the pattern of behaviour that he considers appropriate, and this behaviour is learned from observation in seafaring areas from which 81% of the catering ratings, 86% of the deck ratings, and 82% of the engine-room ratings interviewed in the sample were drawn.

The typical recruiting areas are conspicuous for their record of trade union militancy and for the casual and harsh nature of much of the employment. Seaport towns such as Bristol, Hull, Liverpool, Newcastle, and Glasgow have usually employed dock workers on a casual basis, but this practice ceased to a certain extent in 1947 with the establishment of the National Dock Labour Board[30] and was further reduced in 1967 with the introduction of Devlin Phase I to the docks.

In Liverpool, Glasgow, and Newcastle the casual form of work in shipyards compounds the tradition of the independent worker.[31] Because of the different waterfront occupations in a seaport, the culture of the seafaring community is not so strong as that of the coal miners of Ashton,[32] for instance, but a shared sense of identity pervades the community. Upper Parliament Street, Liverpool, is as well known to seafarers as a long-time seafaring neighbourhood as London Wall is to the stock-broking fraternity.

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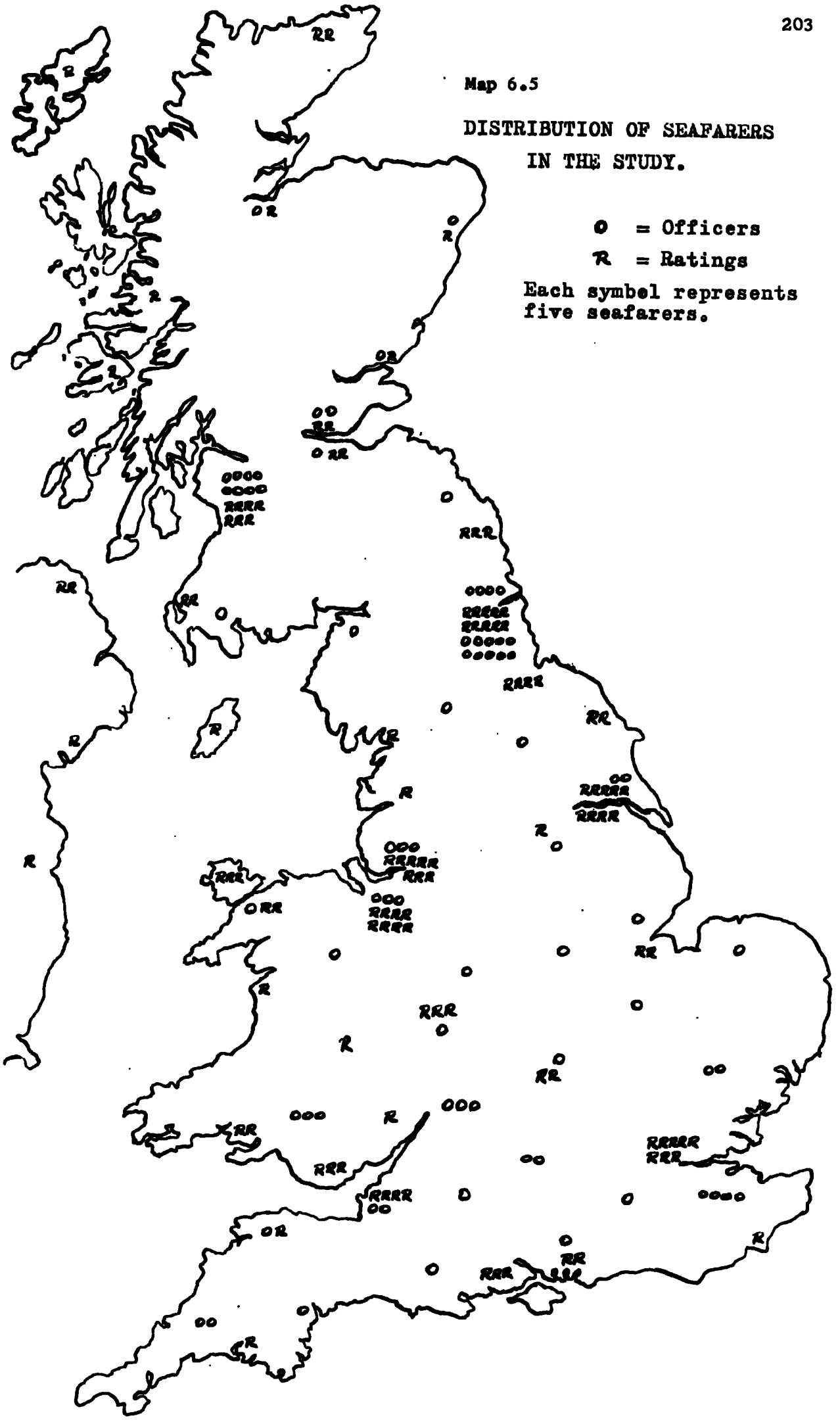
[29] J. Tunstall (1962).

[30] The Merchant Navy Establishment Scheme came into operation in 1947, also replacing the wartime "pool" of seafarers; see the Liverpool Study (1956), Rochdale (1970), Devlin (1965), and Larrowe (1958), for discussions of the casual nature of dock work and its effect upon worker identity.

[31] See, for example, R.K. Brown and P. Brannen (1970).

[32] N. Dennis, F.M. Henriques, and C. Slaughter (1957).



Map 6.5

DISTRIBUTION OF SEAFARERS IN THE STUDY.

O = Officers

R = Ratings

Each symbol represents five seafarers.

Attitudes and a sense of tradition are passed through an environment in which cultural values are recognized by the members of an occupation, values which form a sub-culture. Like the miners, the seafarers' interaction with their families is limited; unlike the miners, it is not at regular intervals. In Coal Is Our Life, Dennis and his colleagues stated that

> The worker experiences his tie to the enterprise as a continual and binding necessity. When a man receives his wages every seven days, and these are on the whole not a great deal more than enough for comfortable survival, he is bound to his work.[33]

The young seafarer, unmarried or with a working wife and no family, is comfortable enough on his wages. His food and board are supplied on the ship, and his pay can be used as he wishes. However, by the age of 23 or 24, he has climbed to the peak of the salary structure, and if he is married and has a family at this time, his wages are not enough to provide him with the compensations he seeks for the deprivations of life at sea. The "comforts" are traditionally defined: alcohol, women, and purchasing power for consumables such as radios and tape recorders, suits and presents. When the young seafarer's money runs out, he returns to sea, primarily to recoup his expenditure.

> The reason I stay at sea is the money. You can live the life of Reilly with some cash ashore, so why not screw these buggers for what you can get? They've got plenty of it. For a married man it's different; he's got to pay for his home, and he can't afford to go boozing ashore, so he packs the job in.[34]

For the married man it is different, since he can only afford comforts at the expense of his family. For the majority of seafarers, seafaring, like most other jobs, is seen as a constraint upon other, more valued activities but is endured for the satisfactions obtainable ashore,

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[33] Ibid., p. 29.

[34] Research Notebook 15, Interview with B.D.H., BA Company.

outside the work situation. For the ratings, as for the fishermen discussed by Tunstall and the miners of Ashton, the satisfactions are regarded to be for the younger man, but are bound by the working-class norm of separation of family roles of husband and wife. A less distinct boundary appears between the roles of husband and wife as workers move into more modern communities where the family is increasingly isolated.

This movement of families from the older neighbourhoods to areas outside the community is due to housing stock being renewed or replaced.[35] As renewal proceeds, families are moved. For example, in Liverpool in 1949, 91% of all rating entrants lived in areas similar to Ship Street. In 1964, 62% of all entrants came from such neighbourhoods, although the change in percentage of those with seafaring relatives was only 2%.[36] The replacement of housing and movement to other areas reduces the support of the seafaring community for the wife and family, and increases the amount of money needed to maintain a comparable standard of living to that of the people next door. Hence, the pressure on the married man is intensified, and as we shall see in Chapter VIII, fewer men from these areas in the 24-26 age range make the sea their career.

As the older sections of housing decline, the values of seafaring also decline. From being a "worthwhile" job, seafaring has become "just" a job.[37] This view, several respondents explained, was due to a number of factors.

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[35] See, for example, R. Durant (1939); M. Young and P. Willmott (1957); M.W. Hodges and C.S. Smith (1954); T. Lupton and D. Mitchell (1954); P. Willmott (1963).

[36] M.N.B. Records of seafarers entering M.N. in 1949 and 1964; 10% sample.

[37] Research Notebook 21, Interview with Bosun, BB Company.

> You used to ask a man what ship he was off. If he said it was a "China" boat, you knew he was a good man, 'cos they looked after their ships and crews, and men'd go with them if they could. If it was a "two of fat and one of lean," then you'd look at him a bit careful like, and if he came off one of the Ropner's, why he'd sunk low. Never signed with one of them if I could help it.[38]

In his ranking of shipping companies sailing from Liverpool, the bosun placed great emphasis upon the quality of the seamen they attracted and on an implicit status hierarchy in the community ashore. As the community and methods of operating ships have changed, so has the ability to rank men in this way.

> If I had a choice I would look for a North-east Coast crew every time I signed one on. They are very loyal and work hard if you manage them properly. Most of them are friends who sign together and live together. They know what a seafarer is.[39]

> If I can I will always try to get the Old Man to sign on a group of stewards who live in the same area. They know one another directly or indirectly, and this seems to put a stop to the problems you get from a mixed crew [from different areas].[40]

Both the master and chief steward quoted above recognized the effect of ties within the community ashore in creating a community afloat. Frequently, emphasis was placed on the qualities of seafarers from Northumberland and Durham, which is due largely to the traditions of seafaring created by the coal trade over five centuries.

This shift in traditional community patterns has occurred at the same time that a period of rapid technological change has overtaken the Merchant Navy. Many of the seafarer's skills are now redundant (for example, little splicing is done on board ship), and the only group whose

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Research Notebook 12, Interview with Master, AB Company.

[40] Research Notebook 10, Interview with Chief Steward, CB Company.

work has not suffered a radical shift in skills is the catering department, although prepacked and frozen foods are being used and some labour-saving devices such as dishwashers have appeared in ships' pantries.

In his community study[41] Stein noted that the sense of community declines as the division of workers into skilled and unskilled breaks down. The basic skills of a deck rating in 1930 are not needed on board a ship in 1970. The shipping company has substituted buying strategy for a worker's skill in supplying the needs of the ship, and the former career pattern based on experience and skill has also largely been wiped away. It has been found by all the companies in the sample that it is cheaper to buy certain deck stores such as derrick guy ropes and mooring wires either ready for use (Companies CA and CB) or in bulk to be made up in the companies' rigging lofts ashore (Companies AA, AB, BA, and BB). As a consequence, none of the craftsman's work previously performed by ratings on board is done on the ship. With the turnover of seafarers in the industry the skills are rapidly being lost to the majority of seamen. A general-purpose rating put it this way:

> When I was an E.D.H. all I ever did was chip, scrape and wash paint in between hatch cleaning, and most of that was done in bloody awful weather. At least with a G.P. ship you get some extra money and a chance to work inside. Working on deck and in the engine room makes for some variety, even if you're just chipping and sougeeing [washing paint] .[42]

> There are a few sailoring jobs left but most of these lads couldn't do them. A few years ago I'd have had the whole crowd along here wanting to do some splicing when we parted a wire [broke a mooring wire] but there's only me and Joe [an A.B.] on this one who can splice, and the lads [apprentices] are the only interested ones. Some of these men can't even steer [the ship] and they've got A.B.'s tickets.[43]

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[41] M.R. Stein (1960).

[42] Conversation with G.P. Rating, Liverpool, 1969.

[43] Research Notebook 10, Interview with Bosun, CB Company.

On the modern container ship very little has to be done by the crew. The container ships operated by O.C.L./A.C.L. do not have cargo gear to be overhauled, since the work is handled by shore cranes. The decks are stacked with containers, so little deck maintenance can be carried out, and the ship's superstructure is made of lightweight metals coated with hard-wearing, corrosion-resistant paint. Although only a few of these ships are currently in use, the trend will be toward similar maintenance-free vessels in the future, and work for deck ratings will continue to dwindle. General-purpose crews in which ratings are trained for work on deck and in the engine room offer a solution to some of these problems, but they cannot cope with the failure to provide interest and stimulation or with the seafarer's lack of intrinsic satisfaction in his work.

The Work Situation

On Ship "Y," which was fourteen years old at the time of the study, the cargo gear consisted of a pair of derricks at each hatch. On Ship "Z" the cargo gear, installed nine years later, comprised two cranes for each hatch. The amount of time spent on non-purposive maintenance work[44] during a six-week voyage was 54% of the total working time on Ship "Y" and 71% of the total working time on Ship "Z." That maintenance work is non-purposive is not the thrust of this argument, for the amount and type of work done on both ships was similar, although on Ship "Z" the crew contrived to spread it out over a much longer time period -- hence 71% of the total working time. The difference was that owing to the design of Ship "Y," extensive maintenance of cargo gear was required. This maintenance was directly related to the purpose of the ship operation and was a vehicle for the skills of the seamen.

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[44] Non-purposive maintenance work means work that is not directly related to the purpose of the ship -- the carriage of cargo.

A deck rating working aloft is part of a traditional working team, and his skill in accomplishing difficult tasks safely is a reflection of this team work. On Ship "Y" on the outward voyage, twelve sets of cargo gear had to be lowered to the deck, overhauled, checked, and if necessary, replaced with new wires or blocks, and sent aloft again. Derrick heels had to be lifted, overhauled, and heel plates renewed. The tasks occupied six full working days[45] on the outward voyage and an additional two days for a further check and overhaul on the homeward voyage. The deck ratings were engaged in maintenace of cargo gear on Ship "Z" for one-and-a-half days, and their work was confined to oiling the cargo runner (hoist) on each crane. The balance of the maintenance of the cranes was done by the deck and engine-room apprentices and the ship's electrician.

On both ships the rest of the purposive work revolved around cleaning the hatch to be ready for the next cargo which occupied 14% of the voyage time (four days), and on mooring and unmooring duties as the ship entered and left port (standby duties) which took 4% of the time. The remaining 5% was spent preparing hatches for loading and discharging by removing or replacing hatch covers and other tasks connected with cargo work.

The balance of work, then, was akin to painting the Forth Bridge for the deck ratings with the disadvantage that few would see the fruits of the painting program, since they rarely stayed on the same ship for more than two voyages, the majority for only one. The tasks of washing paint or shipping it off the superstructure and repainting are extremely boring. The crew of Ship "Y" did the same amount of work

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[45] A full working day in this context is equivalent to all the ratings in the department being engaged on a task. Thus, if there are nine ratings in the department and three spend three days on a task, it is the equivalent of one full working day. In the calculations, time spent on watch is discounted, since it is balanced with overtime. On Ship "Y" time spent on standby duty through the St. Lawrence Seaway has also been discounted in order to provide comparable figures with Ship "Z."

in terms of work completed as Ship "Z," but it took 19½ days of the total voyage on Ship "Y" and 25½ days of work on Ship "Z."[46]

An analysis of the research diaries and notebooks kept by deck apprentices in AB and BB companies showed that work time on board ship tended to be allocated for more non-purposive tasks as the degree of automation, which is a function of the ship's age in the sample, increases. The more modern the ship, the greater the crew's boredom in the work situation and the greater the erosion of traditional attitudes toward the work of the seafarer.

Table 6.9. Number of consecutive voyages completed on a ship by ratings.*

Ship Type	Ratings	Number of voyages					N
		1	2	3	4	5 or more	
Tramps and Bulk Carriers	Catering	100%	68%	40%	22%	10%	51
	Deck	100%	23%	12%	5%	5%	74
	Engine Room	100%	27%	18%	6%	6%	31
Cargo-Liners	Catering	100%	82%	64%	38%	13%	62
	Deck	100%	53%	21%	12%	9%	100
	Engine Room	100%	39%	27%	9%	6%	36

*Crew records for consecutive voyages of six bulk carriers and two tramps drawn from Companies BA, BB, and CB; ten cargo-liners drawn from Companies AA and AB.

Because of the short length of time spent by any one man on a ship, the problem of continuity of work falls on the petty officers and officers. This lack of continuity among ratings creates further problems but is part

[46] The voyage of Ship "Y" lasted 41 days; that of "Z," 43 days. Of these days 36 were weekdays.

of the usual pattern of one voyage followed by a recuperation period. The cargo liners have regular voyages followed by a two or three, sometimes four, week period in the United Kingdom when the rating can take leave. For this reason the voyage patterns of ratings working on cargo-liners, tramps, or bulk carriers differ significantly.

The number of men with company service contracts in 1968 was markedly higher in the cargo-liner companies. In the effort bargain that the rating makes, the higher degree of boredom of the work on a cargo-liner is offset by the regularity of voyages and leave periods. In his knowledge of these possibilities, the seafarer relies upon the information of his community ashore and his experiences afloat. The choice lies between the option of high gross pay coupled with constant changes on bulk carriers and tramps, or rates of pay with little variation between voyages and regular leave on cargo-liners. The deck rating chooses between these types of ships on the basis of his income requirements, much as the trunker and tramper do in Hollowell's study of the lorry driver.[47]

The deck ratings work as a group, fragmented only by watch-keeping and task requirements. They form the largest group of men on the ship and are able to engage in many more social activities within their group. Their directions in work situations are normally given by the bosun, who receives his instructions from the mate (chief officer). Ordinarily, the bosun has discretion in allocating work among the deck ratings, so the work group has a degree of autonomy similar to that of the team group described by Dubin.[48] The bosun, who functions as chargehand, usually distributes work on a consultative basis with the other deck ratings.

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[47] P. Hollowell (1968).

[48] R. Dubin (1958), p. 104.

Within the team group, therefore, movement between tasks and allocation of them can be made according to ability and inclination.

The catering ratings form a smaller group, and autonomy of task performance lies at the level of the individual rather than the group. Dubin called this form of organization a task group which he defined as

> . . .one in which the jobs are clearly defined, and each individual is assigned to one and only one job within the group. In such a group there is little if any exchange of jobs and little if any opportunity to determine by decision of the group who shall perform which jobs in the performance of its task.[49]

The catering rating has specific responsibility for a particular work sector, and while he will work as part of a group on some occasions (at mealtimes, for instance), for most of his working time he is isolated from other members of his department. This is due to the "hotel service" nature of his work, in which personal service is rewarded by gratuities, and also to the dispersion of work areas throughout the ship. One reason for the tendency of catering ratings to stay with one ship longer than other ratings is their autonomy of task.

> It takes you a while to get yourself organized and a routine set up so you can get everything finished without sweating too much. I'd be daft if I left every trip and had to organize each time. Normally I stay with a ship for three or four trips unless I can't get on with the boss [chief steward] or the ship's no good.[50]

> The thing I like about stewarding is that you're your own boss. How you set about the job is up to yourself, and provided you get it done, you're okay.[51]

The engine-room rating works in isolation in the engine room. The complexity of levels and platforms and the maze of pipes and machinery crammed into a small space mean that frequently he can work for long periods without seeing another person. The high level of noise also presents

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[49] Ibid., pp. 104-110.

[50] Research Notebook 21, Interview with Second Steward, BB Company.

[51] Research Notebook 15, Interview with Assistant Steward, BA Company.

a barrier to communication, particularly on diesel engine ships. Consequently, the engine-room rating has the possibility of being almost autonomous within the work setting, but he is paced by the requirements of the machinery.

Dubin and Trist would argue that the extent of machine-paced work is characteristic of the technological[52] or technical group[53] in its effect on the engine-room rating. This notion is too simplistic an explanation, however, as the engine-room rating would be able to interact with others if there were other men of similar status with whom to interact. The autonomy of the engine-room rating is dysfunctional because he is isolated in both the work and non-work situations on the ship. The only interaction he has in the engine room is with the engineer officer on watch, and this is limited by the differences in status of the two men and the difficulty of communicating in the engine-room environment.

As we have noted, the ratings on the ships in the sample composed about 55% of the ship's complement and normally numbered nineteen or twenty. The three forms of work environment together with differing time scales of watch-keeping and daywork foster different responses to the demands of the work situation. These demands, in turn, are mediated by the type of community from which the seafarer comes. A man from a traditional community is more likely to settle into the ship's organization with less difficulty but is less apt to find work satisfaction because, in contrast to the community's concept of the seafarer's role as a semi-skilled or skilled worker, more and more of the work is becoming unskilled.

With the dispersion of communities, the seafarer finds that new possibilities of work are within his ken, but he no longer receives the support and understanding from the traditional community during his periods of

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[52] R. Dubin (1958), p. 105.

[53] B.L. Trist, G.W. Higgin, H. Murray, A.B. Pollock (1963).

recuperation between voyages.[54] These factors are further exacerbated by the status differentials which have become increasingly sharper as the crews have grown smaller.

Attitudes to Authority

> One of the major problems on British ships for crew members is class distinction. It is still evident on most ships. Officers are classed as gentlemen while crew members are looked down on as animals. A mechanic or engineer working ashore can come to sea as a junior engineer, wear a uniform and enjoy all the luxuries of an officer even though he has no sea experience, may be younger than crew ratings and on less pay. On most ships he can buy bonded spirits and even get drunk and nothing is said while crew members are not even trusted with one bottle. This does not mean that ratings desire to get drunk.
>
> On most ships officers receive different menues [sic] as well as better food, they also get more victualling allowance while working by a ship.
>
> One hardship that most seaman [sic] except officers have to be submitted to is logging which has never been changed since the 18th century sailing ship days.
>
> Some captains seem to think that members of the crew are placed on a ship to work 24 hours a day, every day, even though the trip may be 2 years long, and that they are not entitled to any leisure at all. They terminate shore leave long before the ship is due to sail but the men are not paid for this time in which they are not free to do anything.
>
> It is noticeable that class distinction and bad captainship is more evident in London and Southern men, but Northern men on the whole seem to be fair and good captains.[55]
>
> The Steward's [catering officer] starting to try to lay the law down again. Got my back up at dinner [lunch] so I was involved in an argument once more. To top it all one of the senior engineer officers [chief engineer] sided with the Steward. Which he should never have done, so I wasn't in a very good humour. The pantry boy got uppity when he brought the coffee in so I had him and the Steward to the Old Man [captain] to sort it out, which we did.[56]

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[55] Research Notebook 12, Diary kept by an AB., AB Company.

[56] Research Notebook 15, Diary kept by a Fourth Engineer, AB Company.

The attitude of the ratings is coloured by the casual nature of their jobs and the traditional working-class communities from which they come. They are also aware of the obvious discrepancies in the lifestyle of the small community's members on board ship, particularly the difference between heavy manual work and the technical, white-collar jobs of the deck ratings and deck officers, the difference between a skilled worker and a labourer in the engine-room department, the disparity between the skilled and dirty tasks of the engineer, and the hotel-type duties of the stewards.

In a study conducted by Zim Line into the work loads and the calorie intake required to sustain the work loads of seafarers, the stewards were shown to have the heaviest energy needs (for a ten-hour day) of all seafarers.

Table 6.10. Energy requirements of seafarers.

Deck Department	Calorie Intake
Captain	550
Chief Officer	990
2nd Officer	1185
3rd Officer	1270
Bosun	1660
A.B.	1920
Deck Boy	2115
Engine Department	
Chief Engineer	825
2nd Engineer	1270
3rd Engineer	1630
4th Engineer	1630
Engine-room Storekeeper	2040
Donkey-Greaser	2215
Catering Department*	
Chief Cook	2885
2nd Steward	2885
Assistant Steward	2405

*based on a ten-hour day; other work, eight-hour days.

Source: I. Raphael, et al. (1966), p. 29.

The Zim Line findings stress that

> . . . nowadays the physically lightest jobs are those of the deck hands. Physical prowess is therefore no longer such an important qualification for deck hands being recruited now. . . . engine room men expend more calories. . .most of the time they work in a hot and humid work area, involving a very heavy strain on their breathing and blood circulation systems.[57]

Ramsay emphasized that the combination of fatigue, heavy, tedious work, and long hours leads to conditions in which hostility toward the ship's officers is the only possible form of compensation.[58] The work of the seafarer is tiring, but even more so is the movement of the ship. In the diaries kept by ratings, sleep was regarded as the major form of relaxation, and all the respondents noted the time spent asleep or "resting" and the quality of their rest. It was at a moment of excessive weariness that the A.B. quoted above wrote his entry in the diary about class distinctions. He had worked two field days (twelve-hour days) plus two standbys for docking, each three hours long, and had been refused a twenty-minute break by an officer who had just had a good night's sleep.

The diversity of work creates divisions on board ship which heighten the problems of "class." The junior deck officer is not seeking to assert his status over the deck rating; he has never been taught how to manage. He, too, believes that he is not considered by the company when his accommodation is designed. In spite of his practical training, he is not usually aware of the problems of working and living as experienced by the ratings, for contact between junior officers and ratings is reserved for certain working conditions only. The junior mate will have more contact with catering ratings, whom he sees during his off-duty hours when they are working, than he will with deck ratings.

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[57] I. Raphael, et al. (1966), p. 30.

[58] R. Ramsay (1966), pp. 81-3.

The officer with whom deck ratings do have regular dealings is the mate, but he is concerned with the administration and operation of the deck department and is also uniquely under pressure from ship and shore management to provide an efficient working unit. The mate depends upon the master's report and the marine superintendent's observations for his future promotion.

> I just want the whaler lowered, thought Lockhart. . . .I need twelve men to do it. I don't want to bother about whether they've got hangovers this morning, or whether they're in debt or in despair. I just want the whaler in the water. Twelve men, that's all I need. Bodies. . .Coxswain![59]

> The ship has to be ready for anything, so all the gear has to be in top line. We haven't been to the St. Lawrence for five trips, but the canal boom stays and falls have to be periodically overhauled, and I suppose this isn't very productive on this run [to the River Plate]. If we have to work overtime to get the jobs done, O.K., but the work has to be done and done properly, and sometimes you have to stand over the Bosun and the crowd [crew] to make sure.[60]

> We relieved the 12-4 [watch] on deck which is unusual, because they knock off ten minutes to four. But the Mate said relieve each watch on deck during daylight (bit of a sly boot is the Mate).[61]

> It came dark pretty early tonight, 5.30 p.m. I told everyone it was foggy and the wheel would go on [a helmsman would be needed]. While I was on lookout [on the bridge] the phone rang and my watch-mate ask the Mate if it was true. "Of course," says he. I get a dirty look from the Mate and [he] said it wasn't funny. I just laughed. I don't suppose the Geordie prick will talk to me for a couple of days. Some Mates are very childish.[62]

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[59] N. Monsarrat (1955), p. 319.

[60] Research Notebook 27, Interview with Mate, BA Company.

[61] Research Notebook 16, Diary kept by an A.B., CA Company.

[62] Ibid.

The ratings perceive this treatment as being unfair on many occasions. They are the men who have to pull and haul and eat cold meals because the stewards have finished work before they have, whilst the supervising officer stays clean and rarely lends a hand. On one occasion on Ship "Z," two five-gallon drums of lubricating oil were delivered to the ship, and the lorry driver gave the receipt to the third mate to sign. The third mate, who was in working uniform, turned to the apprentice, leaning over the rail with him watching wharf activity and waiting for a meal relief, and told him to tell the bosun that the drums had arrived, and to send an A.B. or E.D.H. to carry them on board immediately. The ratings were having lunch at the time, and after fifteen minutes, an older A.B. came, carried both drums up the gangway, placed them beside the officer and apprentice, and returned to his meal. The third mate or the apprentice could have done the job in a minute. Neither of them thought to do so, and when interviewed later, both said that it wasn't their job to do a seaman's work.

The incident was considered typical by the deck ratings on Ship "Z," and observation of other work situations on Ships "Y" and "Z" confirmed this. The attitudes of unconcern over the use of the ratings' time is the gist of Ramsay's discussion of relationships between officers and ratings.[63] It must be noted that neither the traditional hierarchy of the ship nor the forms of training that officers receive consider management techniques, and the officer enforces his authority through the use of disciplinary devices such as logging or fining the ratings for deviance. Consequently, a need for immediate satisfaction of goals results amongst ratings.

> People who have been deprived will tend to insist upon immediate gratification of their desires when the opportunity persists. They are much less likely to be prepared to postpone immediate satisfaction in order to enjoy a greater benefit later on.[64]

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[63] R. Ramsay (1966).

[64] K. Rogers (1967), pp. 31-2.

Deviancy

The use and abuse of alcohol, the conspicuous spending by seafarers ashore, and the prevelance of deviancy on board ship are responses of the rating to the authoritarian aspects of the isolated community in which he lives and works. Deviancy in this context covers both the damage of ship equipment and failure to carry out duties as well as theft of stores and cargo. This deviancy is not normally characterized by premeditation; it is the immediate response to an event. It is seen in other closed societies such as prisons and army camps as a release of aggression.[65]

> There is, therefore, no cause for surprise if the workers, treated as brutes, actually become such; or if they can maintain their consciousness of manhood only by cherishing the most glowing hatred, the most unbroken inward rebellion against the bourgeoisie in power.[66]

Engels' phraseology is perhaps an overstatement of the feelings of ratings toward their officers, but that brutishness can occur is not denied. One example is the horrifying case of cattle carried as deck cargo, which were painted with caustic soda solution by young seafarers following a series of arguments with a mate about working conditions on a ship in Indonesian waters.[67]

The person at the bottom of the ladder in a closed society has little power when the society is simplistic, but the ship is not a simplistic one. The division of labour is complex, and the technical organization of the ship is a factor in the conflict between officers and ratings.[68]

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[65] See, for example, T. Abel (1951), especially p. 153; D.R. Cressey and W. Krassowski (1957); H. Brotz and R.K. Wilson (1946); A.K. Davis (1948); F.D. Freeman (1948); and G.H. Weber (1961).

[66] F. Engels (1971), p. 16.

[67] Source: Private correspondence with D. Colenso, 1961.

[68] See, for example, J.H. Goldthorpe (1959).

Janowitz has observed:

> The technology of warfare is so complex that the co-ordination of a complex group of specialists cannot be guaranteed simply by authoritarian discipline. Members of a military group recognize their greater mutual dependence on the technical proficiency of their team members, rather than on the formal authority structure.[69]

Although the majority of officers interviewed (61%) did not articulate the growing need to acknowledge the ratings' skills, largely it would appear because of a preoccupation with future technological changes, the ratings recognized and exploited the needs of the officers in relation to the ship and the company. The ratings were often able to drive an effort bargain with the officers for monetary rewards in return for the completion of tasks and the attainment of time-honoured goals such as a "clean" ship. In this the ratings were aided by their control over the greater proportion of work on the ship and by the manipulation of tasks coupled with sanctions for disliked behaviour.

> If I've shown the firemen how to put the burners in once this trip, I've shown them twenty times. They must do it just for some excitement, and they always do it [putting the burners in backwards] in the 4-8 watch, probably because the Second [engineer] gets their backs up. It's a dangerous practice because you get high carbon levels [sooting up of boiler flues and risk of fire], but they certainly get attention when they do it.[70]

The attitude of ratings toward discipline and the way in which it is administered is mostly one of contempt but is moderated by the master's power of referral of ratings to disciplinary committees ashore. These committees, composed of representatives of the National Union of Seamen and the British Shipping Federation, have the authority to stop the Establishment Benefit[71] of ratings on general service contracts and to

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[69] M. Janowitz (1960), p. 41.

[70] Research Notebook 15, Interview with Chief Engineer, AB Company.

[71] A payment supplementing the unemployment benefit of a rating on a general service contract waiting for a ship after completing his leave.

endorse the seafarer's records for serious offences or refuse him further employment. That this is a curb on the overt behaviour of ratings is shown by this A.B.'s comments:

> If a rating is late turning to one morning, he can be logged anything up to three days' pay or if it is his second offense of this nature, up to six days.. Two of these loggings in one trip can mean a bad report in his book. This leads to a committee when he arrives home and it is up them wether [sic] he stays on the pool [Merchant Navy Establishment] or not. In other words he could lose his livelihood for two small offenses, for he knows no other trade. In contrast a shore worker would lose a day's pay or lose his job but he would most probably find another job in the same field. He is not bound to have a bad reference from his previous company but a bad report in a seaman's book is a black mark against him, maybe given by an officer in a bad mood. It is hard enough for a British seaman to get a job ashore as it is without these obstacles.[72]

The need to acquiesce to traditional and authoritarian methods of ship management is reinforced by the desire for a "clean" record in the seafarer's discharge book in order to obtain better jobs on better ships, to retain seafaring employment, or to enable him to get a job ashore when he wishes. The last reason is important since the British Shipping Federation, although not the employer of the seaman, advises shore employers seeking references for prospective workers to ask the ex-seafarer for his discharge book and stresses that any record less than V.G. ("Very Good") is deemed to show unsatisfactory conduct or skill levels.[73]

This combination of sanctions reduces the need for discipline enforcement by the hierarchy. Change in this system can only be initiated by the officers, and some companies and the British Shipping Federation have

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[72]Research Notebook 12, Diary kept by an A.B., AB Company; also interviews with three A.B.'s, Ship "Y," who stressed the same points.

[73]Form letter issued by District Registrar, B.S.F., Liverpool, to seekers of references.

promoted management courses for their officers as a response to the creation of shipboard liaison committees by the N.U.S. Consequently, officers have a patchwork of traditional attitudes toward discipline which is reflected in the increasing demand by ratings for a greater voice in the operation of ships and in the determination of their life style. This demand culminated in the 1966 strike and was, as we shall see in Chapter VII, preceded by unofficial movements within the National Union of Seamen.[74]

Summary

To summarize, the ratings feel that the rewards of seafaring over the long term are unfair in comparison to the rewards received by officers, and this leads to a series of conflicts within the closed society of the ship. The solution sought by the seafarer is for immediate compensation for the discrepancy where remedy is impossible, and these compensations may jeopardize the seafarer's own future opportunities.

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[74] B. Mogridge (1962); P. Foot (1967); J. Prescott and C. Hodgins (1966).

CHAPTER VII

THE SEAFARER'S SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Introduction

In this chapter three major areas of social organization affecting the attitudes of the seafarer to his ship and his job will be discussed. These areas -- the family, other work groups, and the trade union -- exert pressures within the environment of the ship-as-workplace and the ship-as-society, and the intention is to develop concepts that can then be examined in light of the seafarer's role and the structure of the organization.

We shall explore the problems of the seafarer and his family and the effect on attitudes to seafaring. The information is based upon the responses of seafarers over 20 years of age to Questionnaire 4 (see Appendix II) and is also drawn from interviews. The sample has been taken from mature seafarers only in order to provide a balance between the married and single seafarers so that an analysis of comparable factors can be made.

Table 7.1. Structure of the sample: The responses of seafarers over 20 years of age to Questionnaire 4.

	Married N	Single N	Married %
Deck Officers	26	24	52
Engineer Officers	33	47	41
Catering Staff	12	15	44
Deck Ratings	32	29	52
Engine-room Ratings	9	13	41
Total N	112	128	

The Home Background of Seafarers: Officers

Deck officers came from families which had a significantly different socioeconomic background to those of engineer officers (see Table 5.2). However, no significant difference in family size occurred between the two groups (2.2 children in the engineer officers' families; 2.3 in the deck officers'). The difference within the groups lay between those who said they wished to make the sea their career or who had relatives at sea, and officers who had no family links with the sea, or expected to go ashore.

Table 7.2(a). Number of siblings within the families of deck officers (Questionnaire 4).

	Whole Sample %	Career at Sea %	Relatives at Sea %
No siblings	8	2	3
1 sibling	35	28	27
2 siblings	41	37	36
3 siblings	8	14	14
4 siblings	4	10	12
5 or more siblings	4	9	9
Total %	100	100	101
N =	50	24	26

Table 7.2(b). Number of siblings within the families of engineer officers (Questionnaire 4).

	Whole Sample %	Career at Sea %	Relatives at Sea %
No siblings	20	13	10
1 sibling	28	26	24
2 siblings	27	30	34
3 siblings	15	16	20
4 siblings	6	9	9
5 or more siblings	4	6	3
Total %	100	100	100
N =	80	20	46

The mean family size of the career groups was 2.35 children for engineer officers and 2.5 children in deck officers' homes. The non-career sample was not significantly different from the average British family size. The families of those officers who had relatives at sea or intended to make the sea their career were thus significantly larger and also contained a higher proportion of female siblings than the national average (1.65 compared with 1.17).[1]

The parents of those officers who intended making the sea their career also differed significantly from those of the sample as a whole. The officer who wished to make the sea his career was more than twice as likely to have come from a single-parent family than an officer who intended leaving the sea; one in five career officers came from a broken home, whilst the ratio was one in ten in the whole sample.

Table 7.3. Parents in the home: Officers.

	Whole Sample %	Career at Sea %	Relatives at Sea %
Deck Officers			
1 parent	10	19	12
2 parents	90	81	87
Total %	100	100	99
N =	50	24	26
Engineer Officers			
1 parent	10	20	14
2 parents	90	80	85
Total %	100	100	99
N =	80	20	46

[1] A.F. Sillitoe (1971), p. 18.

These factors of the larger, female-dominated sibling group and the high proportion of single-parent families amongst the officers who intend to make the sea their career are important, for they suggest that the ship may provide an area of masculine security. These men elect to stay at sea because it offers a secure base for other social activity and for social satisfactions which would be missing ashore.

As we noted in Chapter V, the deck officer cannot easily transfer his skills to a shore job; therefore, in addition to the group with a one-parent family background, there are those officers who are unable to find shore employment and who make the sea their career by default. Consequently, the satisfaction score (s.s.) of career deck officers (median s.s. = 0) is less than that of engineer officers (median s.s. = +0.3) who can obtain work ashore relatively easily and stay at sea only if they really wish to. (See Charts 7.1 and 7.2.)

These scores also indicate that being married does not affect the career of a seafarer to the extent suggested by many shipping companies. Marriage is a watershed in any man's life, but in the sample the key issues were whether the man could obtain, keep, and enjoy work ashore. Many personnel officers in shipping companies forget that the age range of marriage of a ship's officer coincides with the age range in which he decides, like most young professional employees,[2] what his future career requires. As we shall see, once the career decision has been made, the choice of wife will fit it.

Housing

In the choice of homes, a significant difference appeared between deck and engineer officers' houses and between the houses of their parents (see Charts 7.3 and 7.4). Parents' homes, of course, reflect the occupational

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[2] K. Prandy (1965).

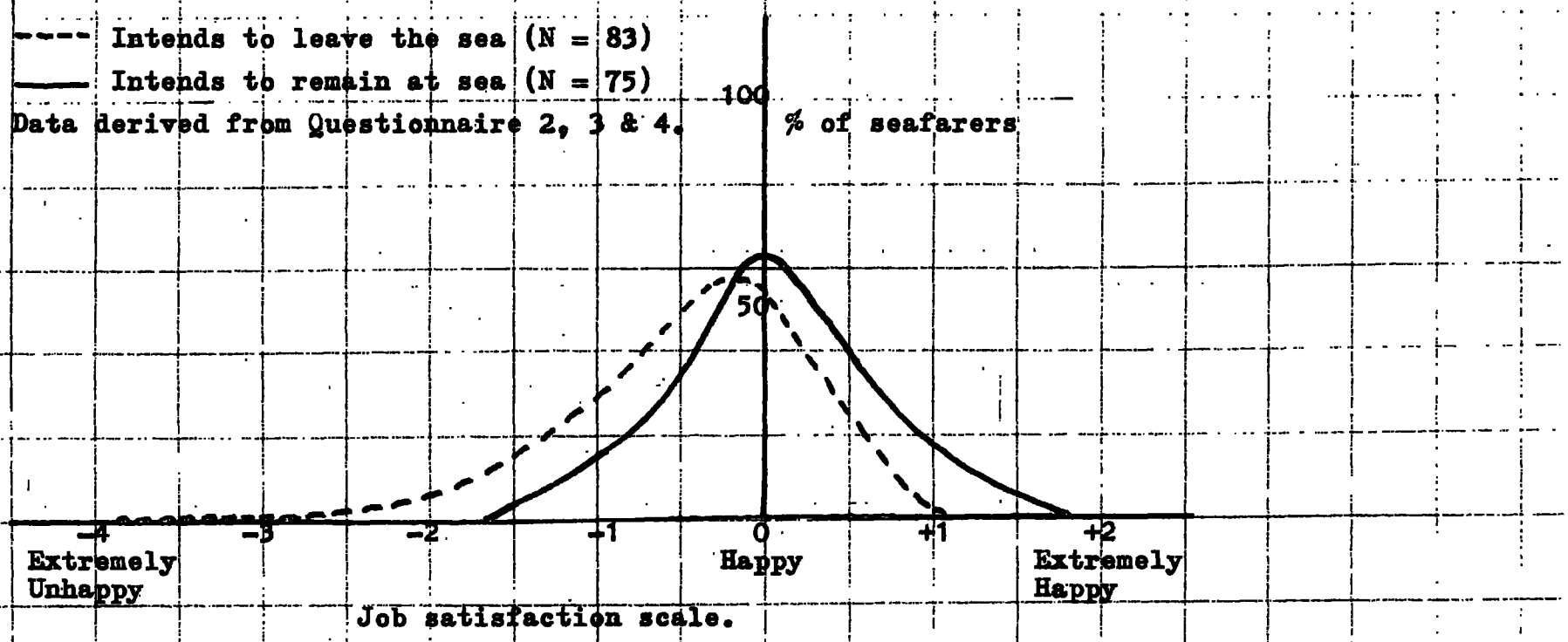


CHART 7.1. JOB SATISFACTION OF DECK OFFICERS.

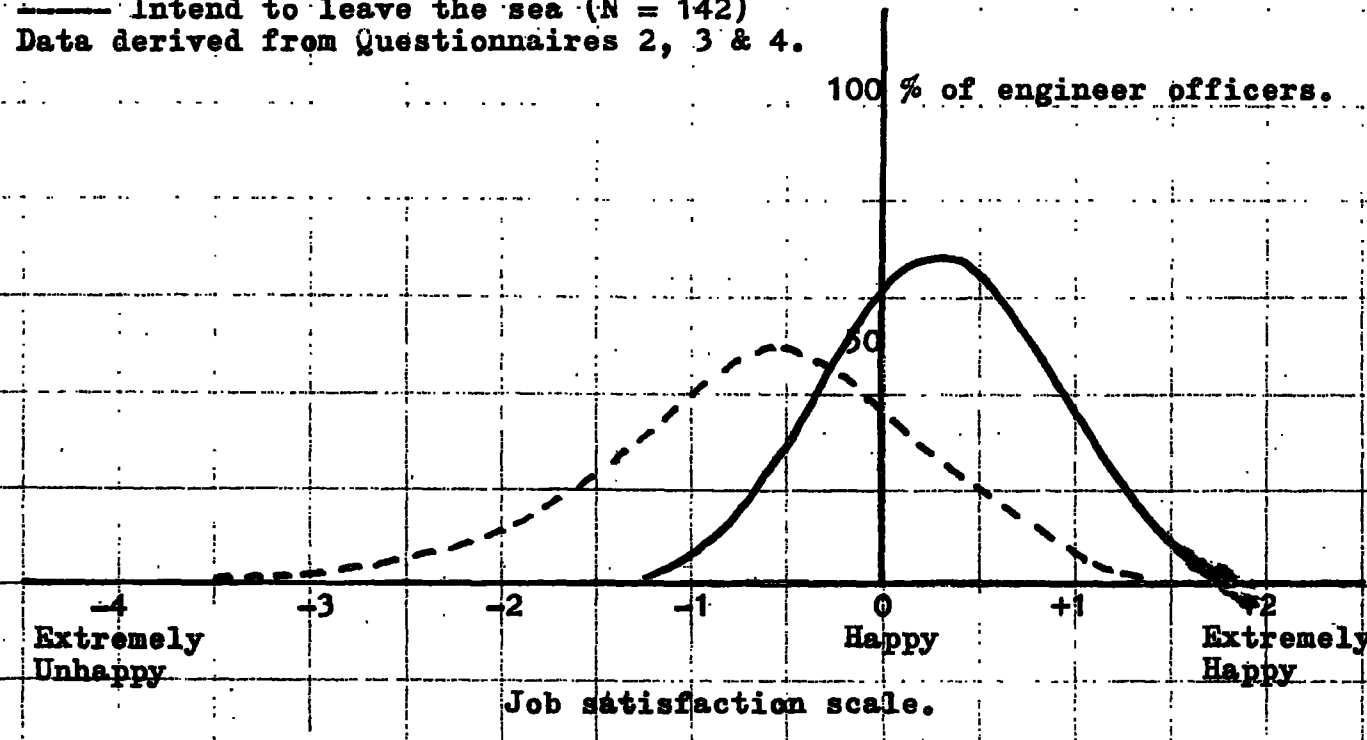
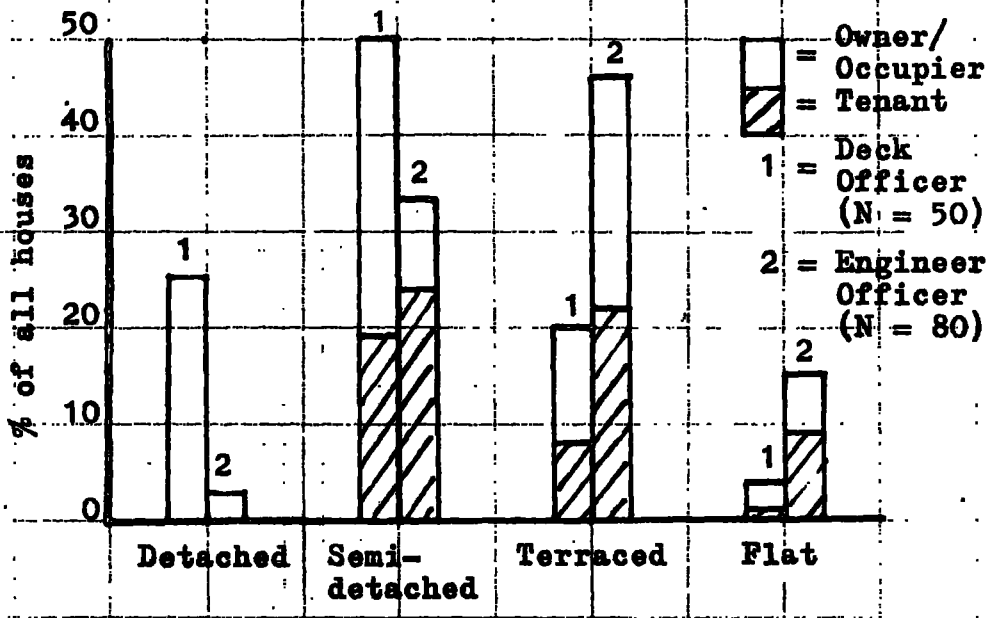


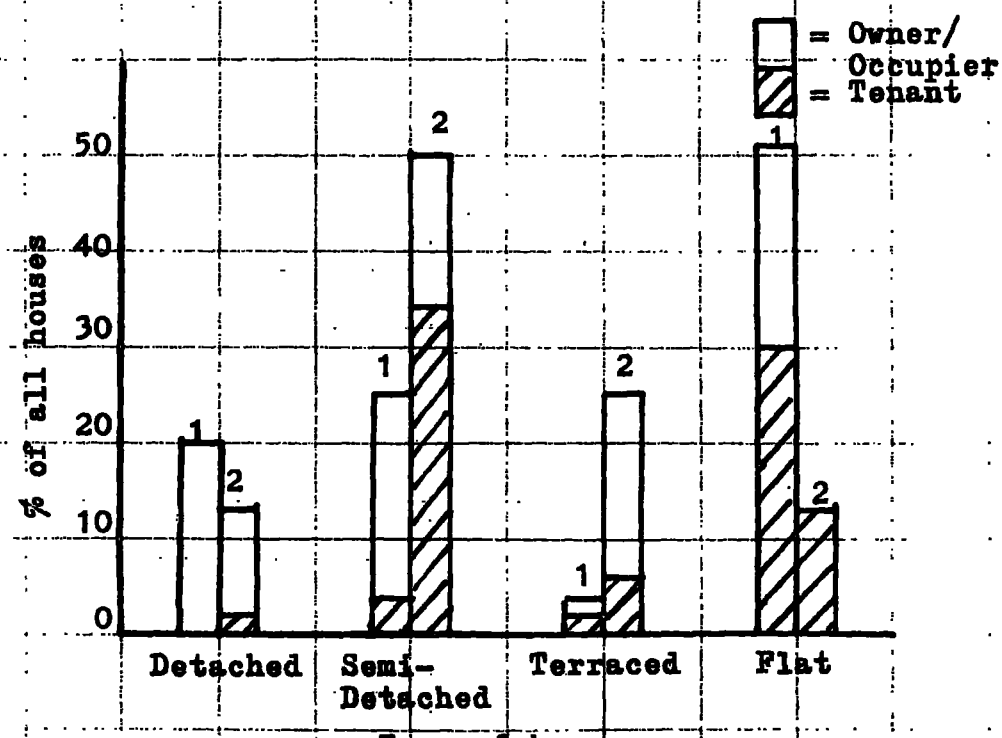
CHART 7.2. JOB SATISFACTION OF ENGINEER OFFICERS.

CHART 7.3. THE HOMES OF OFFICERS' PARENTS.



Data derived from Questionnaire 4.

CHART 7.4. THE HOMES OF OFFICERS



Column 1 = Deck Officers (N = 26)
Column 2 = Engineer Officers (N = 33)
Data derived from Questionnaire 4.

patterns discussed in Chapter V (see Table 5.2). The pattern of home ownership of the seafarers themselves reflects their life styles. The majority of young deck officers (51%) lived in flats, since this form of housing was most convenient as wives were working and families had not been started yet. When houses were bought, they mirrored the salary levels of the deck officers and were at the upper end of the parents' scale of housing. On the other hand the engineer officers tended to marry and start a family almost immediately. Few of their wives worked for long after marriage and a noticeable improvement in housing is evident.

The level of rented accommodation has declined slightly (57% of parents rent their homes against 55% of the engineer officers), but the proportion of terraced houses has declined from 48% (parents) to 25% (engineer officers). This group makes extensive use of council housing (30%) and housing cooperatives (10%); the rest of the housing is obtained through private landlords. Only 36% of the deck officers rented their houses, and just one man in the sample (2%) lived in council property (a flat provided for his wife who was a schoolteacher). The third who rented accommodation were largely in the younger age group (21-25 years), and the majority of this rented accommodation was flats.

The Wives of Officers

> [Seafaring] is a hell of a life for a married man with a family [and] more so for those at home. It's the wives that deserve all the praise, being father and mother, while there [sic] husbands are away at least nine months of the year.[3]

As a bachelor a seafarer ashore has money and freedom to do as he pleases. On leave, he has free time for approximately three months every year. The majority of these leave periods will be spent at his parents'

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[3] Research Notebook 14, Diary kept by Catering Officer, CA Company. Data for this section is drawn from Questionnaire 4 and from interviews with seafarers and their wives. It should be remembered that the number of respondents to Questionnaire 4 was small, and therefore conclusions drawn are tentative.

home or holidaying with them, and his future wife will probably be a local girl (69%) and come from a similar socioeconomic background to the seafarer. We noted in Table 5.2 the occupational backgrounds of the seafarers family. Table 7.4 shows the occupations of wives of seafarers in the sample before marriage.

Table 7.4. The jobs of officers' wives before marriage.

	Deck Officers' Wives %	Engineer Officers' Wives %	All Wives %
Manual	0	33	19
Skilled	0	9	5
Clerical	65	48	56
Professional	35	0	15
No Job	0	9	5
Total %	100	99	100
N =	26	33	59

It is apparent that the deck officers' wives have white-collar, middle-class occupations, and that over one-third are, like their husbands, quasi-professionals.[4] Each of these women has worked for her living, unlike the wives of engineer officers, of whom 9% had not worked either because they married when very young or were unable to find employment. 42% of the engineers' wives had held manual or skilled jobs, mostly in the service industries (9 wives), although some had worked on assembly lines and in factories (5 wives). Those wives of engineer officers who had held clerical posts had typically worked as file clerks, comptometer operators, telephonists, or invoice clerks.

[4]Professionals in the sample were teachers, nurses, therapists, and a chemist and were characterized by their work in institutions (one girl out of nine worked in a non-institutional setting). Since, like the officer, they are professional employees and are not of the recognized professions (law, for example), the term quasi-professional is used.

Although our sample is very limited, we can say that the officer chooses his wife from the same socioeconomic group as his own family. Moreover, as we shall find in our discussion of Table 7.9 (a), 62% of deck officers' wives and 68% of engineer officers' wives live within ten miles of the seafarer's parents' home. Since 46% of the mates and 36% of the engineers came from non-seafaring areas (see Map 6.5), many of these wives lived in areas where the problems of the seafarer's family were rarely encountered. If the wife was able to continue working after marriage, the possibility of her husband's saying that he would stay at sea as a career increased by 27% in the case of deck officers and by 20% in the case of engineer officers.

Table 7.5(a). The jobs of officers' wives after marriage. (Questionnaire 4)

	Deck Officers' Wives %	Engineer Officers' Wives %	All Wives %
Manual	0	3	2
Skilled	0	9	5
Clerical	42	24	32
Professional	27	0	12
No Job	31	64	49
Total %	100	100	100
N =	26	33	59

Table 7.5(b). The jobs of career officers' wives after marriage. (Questionnaire 4)

	Deck Officers' Wives %	Engineer Officers' Wives %	All Wives %
Manual	0	0	0
Skilled	0	0	0
Clerical	44	48	42
Professional	33	0	18
No Job	23	52	40
Total %	100	100	100
N =	18	15	33

In both cases the wives of men who seek a career at sea tend to come from occupations at the "higher" end of the occupational scale. Thus, the wives in quasi-professional occupations are more likely to be married to a career deck officer, and a girl who has done clerical work is more apt to marry a career engineer officer than one who has worked in a factory.

Two factors are at play in this system of choice. The first is that the seafarer tends to be socially mobile and will seek a wife who can also be mobile. A girl who is a quasi-professional will have been through a training and socialization process similar to that of the deck officer and is more independent than other women of the same socioeconomic group. This also holds true of the office worker from a "blue-collar" background. As Lockwood observed in his study of clerks,[5] work in an office has always been deemed superior to that in a factory, and there is evidence that the engineer officer recognizes this and chooses his wife accordingly. If he is socially mobile and more likely to stay at sea for some time, he will tend to marry a girl who can also be mobile or has a better job in light of their mutual working-class backgrounds.

The second factor is that the seafarer is aware that his wife must be capable of standing on her own feet and running a home and family by herself. As one master put the problem:

> When you are a young man you have a lot of money to spend, mostly on yourself. Then you get a Second Mate's job and get married. From then on you don't have the slightest idea where the money goes. If you pay all the bills you find yourself in the position of worrying about the mail, so your wife pays them all. Your balance in the ship [money left after the allotment note has been paid] is the only money you have control over to convert into capital. Since most young mates leave their full allotment allowance [90% of the seafarer's basic wage] to their wives, I'm sure that the only reason mothers-in-law allow their daughters to marry seamen is that the daughter can lead an independent life financed from a long way away.[6]

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[5] D. Lockwood (1958).

[6] Research Notebook 5, Interview with Captain, Ship "Y."

The wife of the career seaman must be able to manage her own life, and the choice of a wife who has had experiences outside the usual routine of the house ensures that she is better equipped to cope with the problems created by an absent husband.

In the choice of his wife the seafarer is aided by his relative wealth as a bachelor and by his exposure to girls at ships' parties[7] and the places and events he goes to on leave. As we mentioned earlier, the seafarer has usually made his choice of career before his choice of marriage partner, and no significant difference shows up between single men who choose to make the sea their career and married men other than the fact of marriage and a preference on the part of single men for longer voyages.

When the married officer is at home on leave, a significant difference does appear between deck and engineer officers concerning the persons with whom his wife and he associate in their leisure time. This disparity is partially due to socioeconomic background and partly because the majority of deck officers' wives continue to work until they start a family and frequently return to work when the children are in school.

Table 7.6. Persons with whom the officer and his wife spend leisure time together during leave periods. (Questionnaire 4)

	Deck Officers %	Engineer Officers %	All %
Shipmates	7	18	13
Neighbours	7	15	12
Relatives	27	43	36
Wife's friends	31	24	27
Officer's friends	27	0	13
Total %	99	100	101
N =	26	33	59

[7] Ships' parties are organized, usually for the officers only, to provide a social break in the routine of the voyage. If an officer has a girlfriend in a port, she will be asked to invite a dozen or so of her female friends to a party on the ship. If there are no such contacts,

Visits to relatives occupy a smaller proportion of leisure time for mates than for engineers, and a greater amount of time is spent with the wife's friends (mostly from her place of work) and with non-seafaring friends of the deck officers. The engineer officer and his wife, on the other hand, spend more time with friends who are seafarers and with neighbours and relatives, reflecting the values of the working-class community and the visiting patterns expected within it.[8]

The Officer's Wife within the Community

While her husband is at sea, the officer's wife has to rely on her own resources for her social life. As Tables 5.2 and 6.6 demonstrate, the socioeconomic backgrounds of officers and their wives are similar, and their social relationships show this.

Table 7.7. Wife's female visitors when husband is at sea. (Questionnaire 4)

	Deck Officer's Wife %	Engineer Officer's Wife %
Friend	49	34
Relative	35	33
Neighbour	17	32
Total %	101	99
N =	26	33

an officer will be delegated to the task of telephoning a women's hostel attached to a hospital or college to extend an invitation to anyone who wishes to come to a party. Other social contacts are made through the hostesses at the clubs run by the Missions to Seamen or Stella Maris.

[8] M. Young and P. Willmott (1957), ch. 7.

Although a third of the visitors to the seafarer's home are relatives in the case of deck and engineer officers, community and housing patterns create significant differences between the other categories of visitor. The engineer officer's wife interacts with her neighbours to a larger extent than the deck officer's wife. The latter interacts more with friends who are not neighbours and who travel some distance to visit.

Table 7.8. Distance in minutes travelled by visitor to officer's wife. (Questionnaire 4)

	Deck Officers' Wives %	Engineer Officers' Wives %
0-7 minutes	21	44
8-11 minutes	14	7
12-15 minutes	10	12
more than 16 minutes	55	37
Total %	100	100
N =	26	33

Whereas 35% of all the visitors to deck officers' wives live within easy walking or travelling distance (that is, an eleven-minute journey), 51% of the visitors to engineer officers' wives live within that distance, and 44% live within five minutes. As a result, the engineer's wife is embedded in the structure of her community to a greater extent than the white-collar deck officer's wife.

This pattern repeats itself within the families of the seafarer and his wife. Since the support needed by the wife when the husband is away is usually provided by her mother, the residence pattern of the seafarer is matrilocal, although the seafarer's immediate family are also normally resident within the area.

Table 7.9(a). Distance in miles of the married seafarer's immediate family* from his home. (Questionnaire 4)

	Deck Officer %	Engineer Officer %
0 - 2 miles	30	21
3 - 5 miles	20	32
6 - 10 miles	12	15
11 - 50 miles	20	8
more than 51 miles	17	24
Total %	99	100
N =	26	33

Table 7.9(b). Distance in miles of the immediate family* of the seafarer's wife from her home.

	Deck Officer's Wife %	Engineer Officer's Wife %
0 - 2 miles	40	54
3 - 5 miles	30	12
6 - 10 miles	4	6
11 - 50 miles	4	19
more than 51 miles	23	9
Total %	101	100
N =	26	33

Table 7.9(c). Distance in miles of the immediate family* of the career seafarer's wife from her home.

	Deck Officer's Wife %	Engineer Officer's Wife %
0 - 2 miles	44	59
3 - 5 miles	39	20
6 - 10 miles	6	7
11 - 50 miles	0	7
more than 51 miles	11	7
Total %	100	100
N =	18	15

*immediate family = parents and/or siblings

The officer who decides to make the sea his career is even more apt to select a home closer to his wife's parents, and this reflects itself in a significant difference in the home location between career and non-career officers (Tables 7.9(b) and (c)).

Table 7.10(a). Frequency with which an officer's wife sees her relatives.*

	Deck Officer's Wife %	Engineer Officer's Wife %
Every day	62	76
Twice a week	19	12
Monthly	12	9
Less frequently	8	3
Total %	101	100
N =	26	33

Table 7.10(b). Frequency with which a career officer's wife sees her relatives.*

	Deck Officer's Wife %	Engineer Officer's Wife %
Every day	72	82
Twice a week	22	12
Monthly	6	6
Less frequently	0	0
Total %	100	100
N =	18	15

*relatives = parents and/or siblings.

The matrilocal nature of the residence of officers and wives is apparent in the patterns of visiting between the wife and her relatives. This pattern is shown in Tables 7.10 (a) and (b), and is intensified when the officer is making the sea his career. Proximity to her family's home

in the case of the engineer's wife (also see Tables 7.8 and 7.9(c)) is demonstrated in the higher level of daily visits, but these are more frequent than those recorded, for example, in Young and Willmott[9] for married daughters. The deck officer's wife also has a higher frequency of interaction with her family than a middle-class married daughter would normally have, and visits are increased during periods of illness or when children are young.[10]

Table 7.11(a). Seafarers' wives with friends who are other seafarers' wives.

	Deck Officers' Wives %	Engineer Officers' Wives %
1 or 2 friends	50	43
Several friends	19	21
No seafarers' wives as friends	31	36
Total %	100	100
N =	26	33

Table 7.11(b). Career seafarers' wives with friends who are other seafarers' wives.

	Deck Officers' Wives %	Engineer Officers' Wives %
1 or 2 friends	55	47
Several friends	23	33
No seafarers' wives as friends	22	20
Total %	100	100
N =	18	15

[9] M. Young and P. Willmott (1957), ch. 5.

[10] C. Rosser and C. Harris (1965); also see P. Willmott and M. Young (1960).

Seafarers' wives know of one another within a community and frequently interact. Again, the wives of career officers knew a higher proportion of other seafarers' families than the wives of non-career officers. These women meet through mutual friends rather than through the seafarer's work friendships, and they often help one another during leave periods or school holidays.

> I met Monica at a night class we were taking at the Tech. two years ago, and we have been firm friends ever since. When Bob and John, her husband, are away we go to the cinema or a concert together once a week and went to the Ideal Home Exhibition as well last year. My mother looks after the children and tries to understand what it's like without Bob home, but Monica is in the same boat so to speak as myself and I don't have to explain why I'm blue after four weeks and no letter. She can pull the efficiency of the so-called postal service apart much more concisely than me.[11]

Tables 7.12(a) and (b) show the extent to which the officer recognizes the concern of his wife about his work at sea. Many wives obviously dislike it, since it takes her husband away from home. The small sample, though, does not permit a test of significance of the data, and trends must be interpreted with caution, as these are the husbands' perceptions of the wives' attitudes.

Table 7.12(a). Attitudes of officers' wives to husband's seagoing (whole sample).

	Deck Officers' Wives %	Engineer Officers' Wives %
Non-committal	8	12
Prefers him home	46	33
Does not like it	27	43
Extreme dislike	19	12

[11] Research Notebook 26, Interview with Second Mate's wife, CA Company.

Table 7.12(b). Attitudes of officers' wives to husband's seagoing (career sample).

	Deck Officers' Wives %	Engineer Officers' Wives %
Non-committal	11	20
Prefers him home	50	33
Does not like it	28	33
Extreme dislike	11	13
Total %	100	99
N =	18	15

To summarize, the seafarer's wife reflects his attitudes toward a career at sea in her occupation and independence. The choice of the location of her home, her patterns of visitors and visiting, and her friends also parallel the choice of the seafarer in his career. In resolving the problems in his environment, the officer is able to approach the work of the ship with a firm commitment.

The Rating and His Family

Table 7.13. Structure of ratings' sample. (Questionnaire 4)

Catering Department						
	Second Steward	Assistant Steward	Catering Boy	Chief Cook	Second Cook	N =
N =	9	13	8	5	6	41
Deck Department						
	Bosun and Carpenter	A.B.	E.D.H.	Deck Boy		
N =	20	28	28	4		80
Engine-room Department						
	Engine-room Storekeeper	Donkey-Greaser				
N =	6	24				30

The sample of ratings tapped by Questionnaire 4 numbered 151 and was structured as shown in Table 7.13. In this table one notices that a slight imbalance of the sample occurs in favour of the petty officers (bosun, carpenter, second stewards, and engine-room storekeeper). This is due to the problems of interviewing ships' crews during working hours and is only discernable in this particular sample. It would appear that this bias has had two effects. The proportion of these seafarers intending to stay at sea is higher than in the main sample (see Table 7.14), and the average age (and, in consequence, the possible length of stay at sea) is greater than in the main sample. This has an advantage for the consideration of family life in that it offers a full cross-section of the age range with emphasis upon the older groups.

Table 7.14. Ratings who intend to make seafaring their life. (Questionnaire 4)

	% staying at sea	N
Catering Ratings	44	18
Deck Ratings	44	35
Engine-room Ratings	77	23

Table 7.15. Length of time spent at sea by ratings. (Questionnaire 4)

	Catering Ratings %	Deck Ratings %	Engine-room Ratings %
0 - 4 years	51	35	40
5 - 9 years	14	15	10
10 - 14	10	0	10
15 or more years	25	50	40

In spite of this, however, the married men who completed the section of the questionnaire dealing with married life represented approximately two-thirds of those who had earlier reported that they were married.

Table 7.16. Married ratings in the sample. (Questionnaire 4)

	Did not complete schedule	Completed schedule	N
Catering Ratings	7	12	19
Deck Ratings	9	32	41
Engine-room Ratings	5	9	14

The Rating and His Family before Marriage

As we stated in Chapter VI, the rating comes in the main from a traditional seafaring community (see Map 6.5). The house in which he was brought up was of old housing stock and usually rented; little difference appeared between the three groups of seafarers in this respect. The community life of the working class has been thoroughly discussed by Phillips, Frankenberg, Young and Willmott, Kerr, and Banks, and that of fishing communities by Tunstall, Liguori, and Cove,[12] and our findings are not greatly different.

The boy seafarer goes to sea with his community's knowledge of the job, but as we saw in Chapter IV, this information is based upon stereotypes that are frequently inaccurate although closer to reality than those held by officer entrants to the Merchant Navy. His home background, though it shows a higher incidence of single-parent families, is firmly enmeshed in the community and within kinship and friendship networks. Thus, the major reason expressed by boys from these communities for

[12] M. Phillips (1965); M. Young and P. Willmott (1957); R. Frankenberg (1966); M. Kerr (1958); Univ. of Liverpool (1956); Tunstall (1962); V. Liguori (1968); J. Cove (1971).

going to sea -- for adventure, for excitement -- is a response of the young person trying to get out of a community "cage," only to find that the ship is an even more tightly knit "cage." Often this realization does not come until the boy has been at sea for two or three years, by which time, like the fisherman in Tunstall's example, he is on an adult wage,[13] and his life has become centred on pleasures that this money can buy.

Table 7.17. Ratings families of origin. (Questionnaire 4)

	Catering Ratings %	Deck Ratings %	Engine-room Ratings %
Single-parent family	32	20	26
Two-parent family	68	80	74
Total %	100	100	100
N =	41	80	30

The catering rating is particularly interesting, since nearly one-third of the sample came from single-parent homes. Gronseth and Tiller[14] argued that the female-oriented interaction in single-parent families results in a loss of masculinity within the ego and a subsequent personality formation which they term "passive feminine." Entering a purely masculine world reduces potential role conflict, but a possibility arises that boys attracted to catering are also seeking work that is ego-satisfying. The masculinity of the seafaring stereotype together with "housekeeping" duties provide the catering rating with a level of satisfaction. Of the eighteen catering ratings who indicated a wish to remain

[13] J. Tunstall (1962).

[14] E. Gronseth and P. Tiller (1958).

at sea, eleven came from single-parent homes. Again, it is unfortunate that the sample size is too small to permit a full testing of this idea, but the data suggest that the "passive feminine" hypothesis is valid with regard to the single-parent family background of catering ratings.

Of the families of seafarers, the majority were firmly embedded in the working class. Their patterns of life are similar to those described by other writers in studies of traditional communities. The evidence suggests that in large seafaring communities, the "parent-deprived" families produce seafarers because they are deprived of the male parent. Table 7.18 shows that, in fact, 69% of the catering ratings in the sample came from families with an absent parent, and two-thirds of these men (N = 18) expected to stay at sea.

Table 7.18. Ratings with father absent from family. (Questionnaire 4)

	Catering Ratings %	Deck Ratings %	Engine-Room Ratings %
Single-parent family	32	20	26
Father-absent family*	37	39	16
Total %	69	59	42
N =	28	47	13

*fathers who are/were seafarers or in the Armed Forces during the seafarer's youth. (This column is a refinement of Tables 5.3 and 5.11.)

The Wives of Ratings

Like the wives of the officers, the wives of the 53 ratings in the sample were drawn from similar working-class backgrounds. In their study of Ashton, Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter remarked that

> The Ashton family is a system of relationships torn by a major contradiction at its heart; husband and wife live separate, and in a sense secret lives. Not only this, but the nature of the allotted spheres places women in a position, which although they accept it, is more demanding and smacks of inferiority.[15]

The most astonishing feature of the responses to the questionnaire by the sample of ratings was how frequently they were unable to say anything about their wives' activities. For most of the questions, about one-fifth of the respondents could not tell us of visitors or social life enjoyed by their wives whilst they were at sea. Some of this is undoubtedly due to the poor levels of literacy of some ratings which inhibits letter-writing.

> I write home twice a trip. The first time is Suez outward and then I write from Port Said homeward to tell her when I'll be home.[16]

Regular communication by letter enables the officer to be better informed about his family and home community, and this is an aspect of their lower middle-class status. For the rating a letter is an effort to be thought about, chewed over, and executed as seldom as possible. Until recently, most ratings lived with others in two- or three-berth cabins, and writing letters or other quiet activities could only be engaged in when few people were in the cabin or the other ratings were asleep. These additional restraints reinforced the communication barrier between ratings and their wives. Tunstall and Duncan[17] believed that the enforced separation turned the wife's attention inward on her family, and this would support the contentions of Gronseth[18] concerning the psychological state of seafarers' wives. This attitude toward the family reflects the dissatisfaction that many wives feel when the husband has a long leave.

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[15] Dennis, et al. (1957), p. 228.

[16] Research Notebook 16, Interview with Bosun, AB Company. (The voyages were approximately 4½ months long.)

[17] J. Tunstall (1962), p. 164; P. Duncan (1963).

[18] E. Gronseth (1959).

> After the first two weeks we would have visited all the relatives and Joe would have dug the garden and seen his mates at the club. Then he would just sit and watch T.V. and go to the pub, and I'm sorry to tell you I was always pleased when he went back.[19]

The wife of the seaman lives in a world apart, seldom sharing her husband's experiences and remote from his life as a seafarer. Yet she is also a member of a working-class community, and Tables 7.19(a) and (b), describing occupations, show this. The only group of wives that differed to any extent were the stewards' wives who were hairdressers (N = 2) and some service workers (N = 6). These women heavily weighted the sample of skilled and clerical workers. The engine-room ratings' wives had been employed as unskilled workers in factories or mills. Approximately one-sixth of the sample had never worked before marriage, and only 6% did so after marrying.

Table 7.19(a). The jobs of ratings' wives before marriage. (Questionnaire 4)

	All Wives* %	Wives of Deck Ratings %
Unskilled	19	28
Semi-skilled/skilled	38	28
Clerical	26	22
Unemployed	17	22
Total %	100	100
N =	53	32

*Wives of catering ratings, N = 12; wives of engine-room ratings, N = 9; wives of deck ratings, N = 32.

[19] Research Notebook 3, conversation with the wife of an Engine-room Storekeeper (1967). Also see J. Tunstall (1962), p. 162.

Table 7.19(b). The jobs of ratings' wives after marriage. (Questionnare 4)

	All Wives of Ratings %	Wives of Deck Ratings %
Unskilled	0	0
Semi-skilled/skilled	4	0
Clerical	2	6
Housewife	94	94
Total %	100	100
N =	53	32

The low proportion of wives working after marriage is due to two factors. The first is the need to maintain a home and look after children. As described by Rowntree and Lavers, though, a working wife in 76.5% of the cases they examined worked for pin money for luxuries, not for economic need, and 21% worked for the relief of boredom in the house.[20] The economic factor is mitigated because the seafarer's wages are sufficient to ensure a standard of living similar to the other members of the community, so the wife does not have to work for her necessities.

The second factor is that the seafarer does not want his wife to work. His isolation from the community at an early age and from the values of communities other than wholly masculine leads to a re-assertion of traditional working-class values, best expressed in the ethos of home-making and in the mass media. Before Women's Lib, Myrdal and Klein spoke of a cult of homemaking and motherhood fostered by press and propaganda.[21] The rating sees his wife in this role and views her and home as the foil

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[20] B.S. Rowntree and G.R. Lavers (1951). Also see F. Zweig (1961), p. 47; P. Pinder (1969) for a discussion of the role of wives in obtaining a higher standard of living for the family.

[21] A. Myrdal and V. Klein (1968), p. 145.

to his shipboard life. If his wife worked, this aura of masculinity, the idea that someone needs him and is dependent upon him for economic survival, would vanish. This issue has been stressed by Tunstall, who argued that the fisherman's willingness to put up with a hard, rough life would, in his own eyes, be worthless if his wife also worked.[22]

The Leisure Time of Ratings at Home

The rating spends some of his leave with his wife and family and does the chores about the house such as painting, repairs, and heavy gardening that his wife has been unable to do. These occupy the first few days after he has caught up with his sleep.

> When he comes home, he always gives me a present and I cook a meal and then we go down to the club for something to drink. He always sleeps in for the first three or four days, gets up for dinner and then goes to the pub or the club for the afternoon. I'll go to the pictures with him and we'll visit his brother and sister in ----- Street [the next street] and then he'll do some decorating in the house -- he painted the hall last trip. After he's been home for a while he spends more time at the club with his friends, and then one day he'll say he's going to the pool next day. And he will get a ship and go away again. He's spent all his money by then anyway, and he don't like getting the benefits [going on the dole].[23]

When husband and wife are together, their leisure time is shared with a totally different group of people from those with whom the married seafarer on his own will spend his time.

Table 7.20(a). Persons with whom ratings and their wives spend joint leisure time. (Questionnaire 4)

	Whole Sample %	Deck Sample %
Neighbours	55	62
Relatives	19	12
Wife's friends	17	16
Husband's friends	9	10
Total %	100	100
N =	53	32

[22] J. Tunstall (1962), p. 161.

[23] Research Notebook 3, conversation with Bosun's wife (1967).

Table 7.20(b). Persons with whom ratings spend their leisure time on leave. (Questionnaire 4)

	All Ratings %	Deck Ratings %
Shipmates	44	47
Neighbours	26	13
Relatives	14	19
Old friends	16	21
Total %	100	100
N =	53	32

When alone, the seafarer seeks out other seafarers and talks with them of ships and seamen, recreating a little of the close-knit community in the strangeness of the community ashore. At home with his wife, the seafarer's behaviour changes radically. Shipboard language is punctuated by an expletive every sentence or two and utilizes an argot of seafaring. Ashore, the seafarer adjusts his speech to conform to the communal norms.

Tunstall speaks of the pattern of prostitution amongst fishermen ashore and suggests that married men continue to move within the circles of pub and prostitute because of ambivalent attitudes toward marriage.[24] Within the sample and in observation of seafaring communities, this pattern of the fishing community was not marked amongst the merchant seamen. Behaviour similar to that of the fishermen occurred amongst seamen in ports other than the seafarer's home port.

When her husband is at sea, the wife is involved with her community and the cycle of visiting between neighbours and relatives. If the ratings who were unable to say whom their wife visited (21%) were removed from the sample, 48% of the wives' callers were neighbours and 28% were relatives. This visiting pattern is somewhat like that of engineer officers' wives but is significantly different from that of deck officers' wives.

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[24] J. Tunstall (1962), pp. 138-43, 162; also see E. Gronseth (1959).

Table 7.21(a). Female visitors to ratings' wives when the husband is at sea. (Questionnaire 4)

	All Ratings' Wives %	Deck Ratings' Wives %
Neighbours	38	39
Relatives	22	21
Friends	18	17
D.K.	21	23
Total %	99	100
N =	53	32

Table 7.21(b). Distance in minutes travelled by female visitors to ratings' wives. (Questionnaire 4)

	All Ratings' Wives %	Deck Ratings' Wives %
0 - 3 minutes	26	37
4 - 7 minutes	19	16
8 - 11 minutes	13	11
12 - 15 minutes	14	19
16+ minutes	7	4
D.K.	21	23
Total %	100	100
N =	53	32

After allowing for the "don't know" responses, 58% of the visitors to ratings' wives lived within seven minutes' travelling distance of their homes. The deck ratings' wives, as we previously noticed, tend to be concentrated within traditional communities, have a routine of visiting which is almost entirely within the locality, and 70% of their callers also live within seven minutes' travelling time. This aspect of the community is borne out by Table 7.22, in that approximately half of the wives were known by their husbands to be friendly with other seafarers' wives. The friendship pattern thus formed is one in which a supportive relationship between the women is possible.

Table 7.22. Friends of the seafarer's wife who are the wives of seafarers. (Questionnaire 4)

	All Ratings' Wives %	Deck Ratings' Wives %
1 or 2 friends	17	22
Several friends	30	28
D.K.	53	50
Total %	100	100
N =	53	32

A working-class community presupposes an area populated by members of a distinctive blue-collar-worker subculture, strong kinship and friendship in the area, and a coherent sense of self. As any secretary of a Ward Labour Party knows, though, the working-class community and organized activity other than purely recreational rarely go together. As a measure of the supportive web of relationships, the data in Table 7.23 concerning active membership in organizations (including religious groups) is introduced.

Table 7.23. Ratings' wives who participate in organized activities. (Questionnaire 4)

	All Ratings' Wives %	Deck Ratings' Wives %
Participates in clubs or other organizations*	17	9
D.K.	83	91
Total %	100	100
N =	53	32

*includes church organizations

The deck ratings' wives rely less on organized activities for a social life than do the wives of catering ratings, the majority of whom have moved out of the traditional neighbourhoods to council or private housing. An interesting study would be the intensity of organized activity related to the intensity and frequency of communal friendships. Willmott and Young demonstrated that a loss of community supportive networks occurred following a move to new surroundings,[25] which would apparently be compensated for by a higher level of participation in organized activity. Unfortunately, the data available is not sufficiently extensive (and such a study is outside the scope of this work) to draw firm conclusions concerning these community values and their interrelationships.

Gellman's work on alcoholics pointed out that the need for companionship epitomized by Alcoholics Anonymous was a response by isolated persons,[26] and Powdermaker discerned the same need amongst seafarers.[27] When the wife is isolated from her traditional community ties and is more dependent on organized social activities for a break in her routine of house and family, greater demands will be placed on the husband to change his occupation and on both their families for support.

Wife and Family

> Normally for young families the wife's relationships with her own family are of special importance because her relatives and particularly her mother are the most ready source of help in times of need, such as sickness and confinement.[28]

For the seafarer's wife, decisions about day-to-day activities, help with the upbringing of children, and repairs or maintenance work ordinarily

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[25] P. Willmott and M. Young (1960), esp. ch. 3; R. Wilson (1963); for a general review of studies of housing estates, see R. Frankenberg (1966), ch. 8.

[26] I.P. Gellman (1964), p. 135.

[27] F. Powdermaker (1945).

[28] A.F. Philp (1963), p. 99; also see E. Bott (1957); N. Dennis, et al. (1957); C. Rosser and C. Harris (1965); J. Tunstall (1962), p. 161.

undertaken by the husband in a landsman's family have to carried out by the wife if the family is to function properly. In stressful situations the role of relatives is vital. They supply babysitters, general help, and comfort in times of difficulty or at holidays when the husband is absent. The frequency reported for interaction between the wife of the rating and her relatives is less than reported for officers' wives and their families.

Table 7.24(a). Distance in miles of the seafarer's relatives from his home. (married sample; Questionnaire 4)

	All Ratings %	Deck Ratings %
0 - 2 miles	42	50
3 - 5 miles	14	12
6 - 10 miles	7	5
11 - 50 miles	2	1
51+ miles	3	4
D.K.	32	27
Total %	100	99
N =	53	32

Table 7.24(b). Distance in miles of the relatives of seafarers' wives from her home. (Questionnaire 4)

	All Ratings' Wives %	Deck Ratings' Wives %
0 - 2 miles	34	34
3 - 5 miles	26	36
6 - 10 miles	10	8
11 - 50 miles	6	7
51+ miles	5	4
D.K.	20	11
Total %	101	100
N =	53	32

The apparent discrepancy between this statement and Philp's quote can be reconciled by considering three factors: the seafarer's lack of knowledge of his wife's activities; the nature of contacts between families in working-class communities; and the higher level of neighbourly activity which masks some of the important aspects of kinship relationships outlined in Table 7.25.

Table 7.25. Frequency with which a rating's wife sees her relatives. (Questionnaire 4)

	All Ratings' Wives %	Deck Ratings' Wives %
Every day	34	25
Twice weekly	26	25
D.K.	40	50
Total %	100	100
N =	53	32

Table 7.26. Rating's perception of his wife's attitude to his job. (Questionnaire 4)

	All Ratings %	Deck Ratings %
Non-committal	15	3
Prefers him home	17	12
Does not like it	36	44
Extreme dislike	17	22
D.K.	15	19
Total %	100	100
N =	53	32

The first factor has already been mentioned and will be discussed at length in the next section. The second, the nature of community relationships, is very important. As Young and Willmott have shown,[29] the contacts occur outside the home as much as within. These contacts take

[29] M. Young and P. Willmott (1957), chs. 3, 7.

place in the street, supermarket, or other people's homes. Often they are not considered to be actual visits to, or from, relatives, and thus are poorly represented in the data.

The final item, the higher level of neighbourly activity, conceals the activities in the family because of the common friendship ties in the community and subsequent visiting patterns. Visiting with neighbours, all of whom are likely to know all of the members of the wife's family, presents other social venues for the womenfolk and further enhances the quality of community life.

The Rating and His Wife

As we have seen in all the tables relating to the rating and his family, many of the respondents were unable to say much about their family or their wives' mode of life. This lack of knowledge -- of seafaring on the part of the wife, and of his family's life on the part of the rating -- is recognized by both. Further signs of strain appear. Most of the ratings thought that their wives did not like them to be away at sea (Table 7.26). The wives, however, although liking their husbands home, found that they had adjusted to the demands of a single-parent family and that the husband's presence on long leaves was unsettling to their routine.[30] Moreover, their allotments meant a steady income sufficient to meet their needs, and long leave interrupted the flow of money to the family. As a result, pressure was exerted on the seaman to return to sea, and if possible, to adopt a regular pattern of seafaring.

The rating feels that he is being displaced within the family, and his increasingly long periods of leave as he grows older reflect this duality of need. The seamen is concerned about his wife and children, but they are idealized in his conversations and discussions of the family. On

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[30] P.O. Tiller (1958).

the ship the married man does not have to prove his masculinity overtly, thereby reducing social pressures. At home, these tensions mount, and the resultant social effect is the proportion of men in the sample who are separated from their wives or divorced (10%; see Table 6.11), which is considerably higher than the national average.[31]

In sum, we may say that the seafarer comes from and retains ties with a traditional community but has little understanding of the needs of his family and the way they live. Consequently, the pressures of marriage are aggravated, and the wife tends to find a life style for herself and her children which is independent of her husband's. This leads to a dual life for the seafarer, for in both home and ship he has to accept a non-dominant role.

The Seafarer and Society as a Whole: The Effort Bargain

A recurrent theme in the interviews and conversations with merchant seamen was that people ashore, society as a whole, did not understand or attempt to understand the seafarer and his role in the community.[32] The seaman, like the docker and the lorry driver,[33] works in an environment which the public sees but does not fully comprehend. In particular, the seafarer points to Britain's need for the cargoes carried and the money earned by shipping. This self-image of Britain's requiring the services of the seafarer to maintain its supplies received a nasty blow during the 1966 strike, when organized labour and the Labour Party refused to support the seamen's strike officially.

During World Wars I and II, the United Kingdom depended upon the supplies brought in by sea. Britain still leans heavily on sea trade,

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[31] A.F. Sillitoe (1971); from the interpolation of data given by Sillitoe and the R.G.S., the divorce rate nationally is of the order of 3% of all married population in 1968; also see P.O. Tiller (1958).

[32] The words of John Clare were used by one officer to summarize this attitude: "I am, yet what I am none cares or knows. . ." Research Notebook 12.

[33] University of Liverpool (1956); P. Hollowell (1968).

especially the carriage of oil, but the seamen in the sample thought that people had forgotten this dependence. Moreover, the seaman finds this diminished recognition of his role difficult to accept.

> We work all hours of the day and night to make a living wage, and that [crane] driver does a 36-hour week for a guaranteed £38. All he does is sit on his arse in the warm and pull bloody levers. Last trip I made £30 a week on a [Great] Lakes trip and we flogged our guts out in the St. Lawrence Seaway.[34]

Table 7.27. Average weekly hours worked by seafarers.

	Hours Worked
Deck Officers	73.5
Engineer Officers	71.3
Catering Ratings	74.2
Deck Ratings	64.1
Engine-room Ratings	72.8

At the time of the study, the average number of hours worked by shore-based workers was forty-seven hours per week.[35] Because of the twenty-four-hour nature of ship operations on the traditional watch-keeping system which is still worked by officers, engine-room ratings, and some of the deck ratings, the average working week would normally be fifty-six hours per week. The hours actually worked reflect ship-operating needs plus ship management requirements for officers and a high level of overtime for the ratings.

The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Certain Matters concerning the Shipping Industry indicated that

> ratings actively sought the opportunity to work overtime, and generally were willing to work the long hours which were necessary to operate ships seven days a week while at sea and would in fact be dismayed if any significant reduction in overtime was achieved.[36]

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[34] Research Notebook 29, Interview with A.B., BB Company.

[35] Derived from A.F. Sillitoe (1971), p. 106.

[36] The Pearson Report (1967), para. 94.

To enter into the discussion about the basic rates of pay for seafarers is not our aim. The argument to be pursued, rather, is that the seafarer actively seeks an equitable wage for his work, and that in deriving the notion of fair pay, the seafarer compares his work with other groups of workers in allied industries; namely, the dockers and lorry drivers.

Every employment contract has two implicit components: an agreement on the wages to be paid by unit of time or unit of productivity, and the amount of work considered appropriate in the situation. Hilde Behrend referred to this second component as the effort bargain[37] and argued that wages bought a supply of effort for performing varied work assignments. The seaman consciously measured his efforts by the rewards, both intrinsic and extrinsic, that he could earn.

In the study of crews of a bulk carrier, "Y," and a cargo-liner, "Z," it was found that the motivation to work -- the effort given -- varied in relation to social and management factors. The social factors have been discussed in a paper on living accommodation.[38] Social factors such as satisfaction with, or alienation from, life on board ship played a major role in determining the patterns of work. Ship "Y" had an active social life, and the crew worked well in terms of a high ratio of pay to work completed after an initial period of testing the management.

Ship "Z" had a non-active social life and the criteria of alienation were marked, as was the poor ratio of pay to work completed. When this study was made in 1968, both crews thought a reasonable wage for each week of the voyage was £26 gross, and overtime was seen as a necessary evil. On Ship "Z" overtime also served a dual purpose by filling the

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[37] H. Behrend (1957), p. 505; also see W. Baldamus (1951, 1961); R. Richardson (1971); F. Barth (1966).

[38] P.H. Fricke (1971).

vacuum created by the unsatisfactory social life on board, and when the men refused to work overtime on some occasions, by becoming a punitive sanction against management afloat and ashore. One A.B. on Ship "Z" made this explicit after refusing to work overtime on Saturday afternoon:

> The mate wants the topside painted so that the ship will look O.K., but my time is my time and I'm b---- if I'm going to waste it on paintwork that will wash off as soon as we leave here.[39]

The only man who turned to that afternoon was a young A.B. with two children and a mortgage.

> Young L---- will work all the overtime under the sun, and then shout for more, but that's because of his wife and kiddies. The mate knows that's the reason he works, so we don't mind.[40]

We can see, therefore, that groups of A.B.'s had developed a keen sense of the adequacy of effort and the worth of that effort in return for pay. Where deviations from this "norm" occurred, they either conformed to appropriate deviations, such as that exhibited by L----, or inappropriate ones. The following incident on "Y" speaks for itself: An A.B. on gangway watch had not paid sufficient attention to his work; in fact, the other A.B.'s accused him of sleeping in the messroom. The aluminium gangway had become trapped under a crane track, and as the tide was going out, had been buckled beyond repair.

> A---- is a lazy b----; he should've kept an eye out for the gangway. The rest of us pull our weight, but he goes and tries to skive [dodge work] whenever he can. They work us fair on this hooker, so we've got to be fair as well.[41]

The other A.B.'s ostracized A---- for two or three days after the event, and he was excluded from the friendship (primary) group's activities for

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[39] Research Notebook 8, Interview with A.B., Ship "Z."

[40] Ibid.

[41] Research Notebook 3, Interview with A.B., Ship "Y."

the rest of the voyage although superficial friendliness was shown.[42]

The A.B.'s on Ship "Y" got on well with the mate after an initial period of "testing" on both sides. This testing was done deliberately and was recognized as being intentional. Once the outlines of the effort bargain had been drawn, the productivity of the A.B.'s increased until they felt that

> . . .we're giving the mate a fair whack. He knows what's being done, and he spreads the work around so we all get a chance at the blue-eyed jobs.[43]

The mate's comments were similar:

> This is a pretty good crowd. They know what's to be done, and once we had worked out the bogies, like hatch-cleaning, they've done well.[44]

Ship "Y" had a lot of unavoidable overtime, and the men were soon assured of reaching their pay target in the first four weeks of the voyage. The effort continued at a steady rate, and the balance of the voyage averaged a little under the target figure. The A.B.'s were well satisfied, as was the mate. Certainly the ship was smart in appearance, but little time had been spent, compared to Ship "Z," on getting the paintwork done. The main concern of the A.B.'s and the mate was the maintenance of cargo gear and other equipment, for both parties recognized that this was work worth the effort and work in which skills could be displayed and receive recognition.

On Ship "Z" emphasis was placed on outward appearances of the ship.

> These two ["Z" and her sister ship] are the superintendent's little yachts. We can have as much

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[42]See F.J. Roethlisberger and W.J. Dickson (1966), pp. 505-6, for similar group relationships in a telephone bank wiring room.

[43]Research Notebook 3, Interview with A.B., Ship "Y."

[44]Research Notebook 4, Interview with Chief Officer, Ship "Y."

> badly stowed cargo as we like, and he couldn't care less. But if we dock looking scruffy, it's worth all our jobs. . . .the last mate couldn't get the sailors to work, and we had to turn to on the trip home and touch up the bridge paint work.[45]

Because of this concern and because the ship had deck cranes, the work of the seamen fell into the categories of hatch-cleaning and overside painting in port, and chipping paintwork and painting at sea. The A.B.'s had few opportunities to demonstrate their skills, and they viewed their task as boring drudgery. This boredom was aggravated by the lack of social space and by the need to spin out the tedious work to maintain overtime levels.

To sum up, the effort bargain is the subjective measurement by the worker and the management of "A fair day's work for a fair day's pay." It is based on a recognition of skills, the employment of those skills in work that is felt to be worthwhile in a non-wage sense, and is part of norms of the work-group. Where worker and management differ on definitions of an appropriate effort, friction will arise which can either be bought off by an added monetary inducement or ameliorated by a change in the social attitudes surrounding the work situation.[46]

Given the concept of an effort bargain, it is of some interest to develop our knowledge of how an appropriate wage for an appropriate effort is arrived at. In other words, why did the A.B.'s in 1968 decide that £26 per week was a "good" gross wage?

Pearson noted that "with the narrow limits placed on his leisure activities, the seaman is prepared to work long hours at sea, especially if he can thereby accumulate additional money to spend when he has leisure

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[45] Research Notebook 8, Interview with Third Mate, Ship "Z."

[46] H. Behrend (1957); F. Barth (1966), pp. 7-11.

on shore."[47] None of the author's research material confirmed this point; overtime was limited to the amount required to meet the fair-pay goal, and seamen with interesting tasks were prepared to work overtime voluntarily, while those with boring jobs were not prepared to do so. The carrot in this case was the amount of income that could be earned through unnecessary overtime, work that was created for the purpose of producing extra income, and Ship "Z" presented a good example of this.

> The mate told us to clean out No. 3 'tween deck and make the dunnage up [into slings ready for discharging]. So J---, M--- and me went down the hatch after breakfast with brooms the Bosun had given us. There were a few [packing] cases lying around, so we decided to move them to the other end of the hatch. J--- went for a crowbar and took his time about it. We couldn't move them with a crowbar, so M--- went for'd for a pot of tallow. The lamp room was locked and by the time he got back it was smoke-o, so we knocked off for half an hour.[48]

By the end of the day they had moved the packing cases but had not started to clean the hatch. What would have been a two-hour chore on Ship "Y" was effectively extended by these men to three days. R.K. Brown noted the same syndrome in shipbuilding.[49] Overtime as worked at present, therefore, is largely unnecessary, and even when the work is interesting, much of the overtime could be avoided.

The crux of the problem is, why is it worked? The answer appears to be simple: Overtime provides men with the wage to which they think they are entitled for the type of work they do and the effort they put into it. For many years shipowners have accepted high rates of overtime without inquiring into the reasons behind them. The trawler owners, however, have overtly accepted that bobbers in Hull should be paid a wage related to an effort bargain, which is done by manipulating overtime

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[47] Pearson (1967), para. 96.

[48] Research Notebook 9.

[49] R.K. Brown, et al. (1970), p. 9.

and standby pay to give a wage for a forty-hour week that is 15% on the basic rate.[50] The dockers in Liverpool use the practice of the welt for the same reason. All these workers have a standard wage which they consider proper and which can be attained through the manipulation of the work situation. In all the occupations cited, though, wages were minor costs in relation to capital employed.

The worker sets a value on his work by comparing it with that of other occupational groups. The seaman traditionally places dockers in his peer group, and evidence exists that wages in one industry affect wages in the other. Hoffman, Festinger, and Lawrence analyzed the actions of groups engaged in competitive bargaining and demonstrated that uneven status relationships assisted in attaining a condition of stability.[51]

The docker's effort bargain is considered by both seamen and dockers to be higher than the seaman's effort bargain. As a result, the docker is seen as legitimately having higher pay, but pay that is higher within certain constraints. Table 7.28 shows that the seafarer's gross earnings vary from the docker's gross earnings within a percentage band of 10-14%, and that this band remains steady over a period of years. When, in 1968, the A.B.'s expressed a desire for a target wage of £26, they were conscious of the effects of the recent settlements within the docks and had translated these into their own effort bargains.

The connection between the social worlds of the seamen and the dockers has been described as follows:

> On Merseyside. . .many of the dock workers are ex-seafarers; there is a close association between seafaring and dock-work, and during the inter-war years, it was common for men to alternate periods of dock-work with periods at sea.[52]

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[50] J. Tunstall (1962), pp. 80-3.

[51] D.H. Lawrence and L. Festinger (1963).

[52] University of Liverpool (1956), p. 83.

This connection was also observed by Tunstall:

> Although some men go from fishing, via casual-bobbing, to regular bobbing, there is no movement the other way. . . .Fishermen frequently express envy of the bobbers, pointing out that in the old days the job was kept for old fishermen.[53]

Of the seamen in the sample, 42% had neighbours who were dockers or port workers and had had an opportunity to contrast earnings and benefits when home. The seafarer's wife could also view her lot next to that of the other workers' wives. Such a case was L---'s overtime, for his wife's sisters were married to dockers, and he was very aware of the social pressure to "keep up with the Joneses." The social linkage, then, was the main determinant of the seafarer's evaluation of his work.

Table 7.28. A comparison of the gross earnings of dock workers, A.B.'s, and lorry drivers.* (weekly average for the year)

Year	A Dock Worker	B Seaman	C Lorry Driver	B as a % of A	C as a % of A
1955	£12.48	£11.10	£11.73	90	95
1960	15.88	13.98	15.02	88	95
1965	20.70	18.63	19.66	90	95
1967	22.52	19.82	22.07	88	98
1969	31.50	27.10	28.67	86	91

*Dockers' earnings are taken from the Annual Reports of the National Dock Labour Board; seamen's earnings are based on the earnings of 38 men in the main research sample; lorry drivers' earnings are by courtesy of the transport manager of the Cardiff depot of a large, private, road haulage contractor.

[53] J. Tunstall (1962), p. 83.

The other group with whom the A.B. had stronger than normal ties was the lorry drivers, particularly those on "trunk" or "tramp" runs when the driver would be away overnight. Approximately 12% of the sample of A.B.'s had experience driving heavy vehicles, and many left the occupation only because of the isolation when working. Again, a degree of cross-socialization appeared, especially in the language used, and the docker was a reference point for the lorry driver.

Unlike the seaman the lorry driver felt that he had equal status with the docker in the effort bargain. Referring to Table 7.28, we see that the lorry driver's pay lies within a band of between 95-98% of the docker's pay. Like the seaman and the docker, the lorry driver has a relatively low basic rate, and the increment is made up of overtime work. British Petroleum discovered that by paying their drivers a consolidated rate which included the basic pay and the overtime previously worked, they doubled their carrying capacity, for drivers no longer "created" overtime and returned with their lorries in time for a further shift to be worked using the same vehicles by other drivers.[54] The lorry driver objects to being assigned a lower status by the docker[55] and asserts his skills by appealing to a wider community.

We suggest, therefore, that the level of the effort bargain is determined by the social links of the occupation to the community. The docker derives his status from his place in a semi-skilled occupation that views itself as a craft industry. In the workplace he has a measure of control over his pace and method of working, and like a craftsman, strikes a bargain with his employers for the work he is assigned.[56] This

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[54] Information received in a communication from B.P. (South Wales) Ltd.

[55] P.G. Hollowell (1968), p. 222.

[56] G. Mars (1972).

bargain is based on the nature of the work (dirty, cold), the skill required (heavy lifts, special stows, danger involved), the duration of the job, and the amount of physical effort needed.

The result is that a proliferation of piecework rates has evolved which reflect the effort bargain. The additional factor in the status of the dock worker is that he is prepared to take industrial action in defence of his right to strike a bargain when he feels it is being eroded. This conduct builds up much interdependence amongst dockers, and Mars showed that the norms of behaviour emphasize the need for occupational solidarity.[57]

The seaman is also a semi-skilled worker, and he, too, has some control over his pace and method of working. However, he is unable to strike an explicit bargain with his employer because his "employer" is not on the ship. Although the mate has the legal rights of the employer through the contract between the shipmaster and the seaman, he cannot vary the wage rates at which the seaman joined the ship without the company's assent, and the shipping company is usually bound by the National Maritime Board rates.

The only thing the seafarer can alter, sometimes with tacit consent of the mate, is the amount of overtime. For this reason, the average hours worked per week on Ship "Y" were 70.3; on Ship "Z," 71 hours per week. On tankers, where general-purpose crews have been introduced, the working week dropped, on average, to 57 hours for A.B.'s in 1969, when a guaranteed wage of £26 was in operation. Since then, overtime has increased, but as we have noted, so have the seamen's expectations of the return for their effort.

The characteristics of the community structure supporting all three occupational groups are the casual nature of employment in spite of the Merchant Navy Establishment and National Dock Labour Board schemes, the

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[57] Ibid.

remoteness of these communities from the mainstream of community life, and the special demands that the occupations place on the families of the men. Periods away from home for the seafarer and the lorry driver and the odd hours of the docker foster a higher "we-feeling" within the families which acts to reinforce the demands for rewards for labour.

The pay that the dock worker sees as his just reward for his toil is therefore mediated by his reference to lower status occupations such as seafaring and lorry driving. The seaman has the same employers as the dock workers, but his labour receives less recognition by rewards. Consequently, the seaman aspires to maintain a stable parity with the earning of the dock worker in order to preserve his occupational status within the community. This is not ordinarily verbalized, and pay demands are rarely phrased in such a manner. The seaman achieves this parity by manipulating his overtime, thus devaluing the effort that he puts into his work by spreading it over a longer period of time. Devalued work promotes dissatisfactions in the workplace and leads to a higher labour turnover which further devalues the work.

Seafarers and the Media

The lack of primary groups on the ship often means that the seafarer has to count on his own resources for leisure time activity. Much of this activity is reading, for very little handicraft or hobby work is carried out on the ship in modern times.[58] Seafarers read voraciously.

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[58] No seafarers were engaged in a craft or hobby amongst the crews of the ships on which research voyages were carried out, and only ten men in the entire sample stated that they had hobbies; these men were serving on cargo-liners. The Seafarers' Education Service attempts to stimulate interest in hobbies, but the number participating is a very small proportion in relation to all serving seafarers. A communication from Capt. J. Macrae expressed the belief that television and other forms of mass media on board had causedthe demise of handicrafts at sea.

The Seafarers' Education Service supplies libraries to more than 1600 British ships on a regular basis. These libraries range in size from twenty books to a hundred or more and are exchanged approximately every four months. Beside these libraries which are subsidized by the shipowners, S.E.S., and the Department of Education and Science, the seafarers have an informal system of book and magazine exchanges operating between ships and between ship and welfare organizations such as the Missions to Seamen.

This stock of reading matter, supplemented by the seafarer's own purchases of books and newspapers, is an important feature on the ship. It furnishes information, talking points, and a way of passing time when not at work. Books are a prized resource and the average seafarer will read one every two-and-a-half days in the two or three hours of free time (after chores, meals, etc.) he has each day. The seafarer has catholic reading tastes because the ship's libraries contain a varied selection of books. Thus, the officers and ratings with reading skills find recreational activity.

With newspapers the average national readership of each single paper is estimated to be three persons. On a ship the practice is to purchase a newspaper of one's choice and then pass it on to the other members of the crew. Amongst the deck officers, the preferred newspapers are the Daily Telegraph (42%) and the Daily Express (36%), whilst the engineer officers select the Daily Express (52%) and the Daily Mirror (26%). The ratings chose the tabloids without any significant difference between the groups and preferred the Daily Mirror (63%) and The Sun (27%).[59]

These newspapers and others are circulated on the ship during the voyage and are augmented by English language papers in foreign ports or by papers mailed to the ship by relatives. This section of the media,

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[59]Information from Questionnaire 4.

the printed word, is heavily utilized by the seafarer, and he tends to have a better global knowledge of facts than his counterpart ashore.[60] Quiet periods in watch-keeping routines allow the seafarer to think about issues and ideas.

His job is the only subject on which the seafarer does not receive a lot of information through printed matter. The officer will receive or have access to copies of the Ship's Telegraph, a monthly journal in tabloid form circulated by the M.N.A.O.A., and the rating may see the Seaman, put out by the N.U.S. These two journals present shipping affairs from the union point of view and provide limited general coverage of shipping news. Periodicals such as Fairplay, the Motor Ship, or the Shipping World and Shipbuilder are seldom placed on board, although they circulate throughout shipping management ashore. The seafarer, then, falls back on rumour and gossip for information about developments of trends, since company house magazines, where supplied, are concerned with items of interest to staff afloat and ashore, and tend to focus on the exotic (elephants shipped as cargo, for instance) or the social news of staff tennis clubs and charity events.

The seafarer is often interested in new designs and equipment for ships.

> I read a lot, but it has little to do with the ships because we only get the Seafarer and ---- [the company] magazine here. The union sends their paper to the Old Man [the master] for him to pass around, but after he's read it and cut out the ads., it goes to the Chief [Engineer] and rarely gets to me. I usually see the Telegraph in the Mate's cabin and read it there when we're having a drink. We didn't have any idea about the new OBO's the company's building for charter until we saw the drawing in the Telegraph although people had been talking about them for a couple of years.[61]

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[60] A general knowledge quiz of current affairs was prepared and administered by the author as a project exercise at New York University under the direction of Dr. R. Quinney. Seafarers achieved a median score of 62% on this quiz versus a median score of 57% for mature undergraduates.

[61] Research Notebook 24, conversation with Second Mate, BA Company.

The Use of the Wireless Set

Nearly every seafarer owns a radio set, large or small, and until recently, a major recreational activity on a ship was adjusting the aerial to obtain better reception. Most modern ships are fitted with communal aerials, and the festoons of copper wire, so annoying to marine superintendents,[62] have been removed. The radio set allows the seafarer to keep in touch with events through the B.B.C. Overseas Service or local stations.

The seafarer can follow sports events, hear pop music, and retain his ties with the United Kingdom to a much greater extent than before the introduction of short-wave broadcasting. In fact, the radio, as Captain Macrae suggested,[63] has compensated somewhat for the lack of social interaction on the ship. In every diary kept by seafarers in the sample, the most frequent off-duty entry was "listened to the radio and read."

In coastal waters around the United Kingdom and the United States, television sets are frequently hired by the crew or the shipowners. These sets are often the centre of group activities and coincidentally a forum for discussion. In this way the television has spawned communal activity on board ship albeit passive activity. Seafarers have recognized this and have commented that "when we have a T.V. the lounge is used by everybody. Oftentimes people start talking or arguing about programmes, and this makes for a much livelier ship, and a much better atmosphere."[64]

Several shipping companies are presently considering the use of television with video-tapes as teaching aids and for leisure use at sea. Such an experiment would require a high degree of coordination and consensus if it is to succeed.

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[62]Communication from J. Sinclair, Chief Officer.

[63]See footnote 58.

[64]Research Notebook 1, Interview with Master, Ship "X."

The Political Views of Seafarers

We mentioned earlier that the shipping industry is a conservative one and that the traditional role of the officer also attracts conservative men. Politically, the majority of seamen vote on strictly socio-economic lines as they perceive them.

Table 7.29. The political parties expressing the views closest to those of seafarers. (Questionnaire 4)

	Mates %	Engineers %	Catering Ratings %	Deck Ratings %	E.R. Ratings %	Total %
Communist	0	3	0	3	3	2
Conservative	64	46	44	35	20	42
Labour	28	44	52	60	77	52
Liberal	8	6	5	0	0	4
Total %	100	99	101	98	100	100
N =	50	80	41	80	30	281

The men who voted Conservative were the older men, and nearly all said that they would make the sea their career. Amongst engineer officers, for example, 75% of the chief engineers said that they thought themselves to be Conservatives, whilst only 37% of the junior engineers were of the same persuasion. This pattern was true of all the seafarers in the sample, and many thought that "it doesn't really matter what I say. My vote is by proxy and my wife [or father or brother] uses it as she wishes."[65]

Most seafarers (62%) felt that politics were unrealistic and took no account of the shipping industry. The question of flags of convenience was seen as a political issue which could be solved if "they" wanted to. These men were not politically active either by inclination or need, and the seafarers mentioned quite often that the subjects which were taboo on

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[65] Research Notebook 22, Interview with Third Engineer, Ship "Y." Similar comments were made by seven other seafarers.

board ship were religion and politics. Few of the men interviewed were prepared to discuss politics, and those who did were usually men of left-wing leanings.

Summary

In his relationship with the world outside the ship, the seafarer is limited in his political views because of the lack of discussion on board ship and because politics are a thing he regards as outside his sphere of activity. He does, however, view his work as important to the community as a whole and feels that he has lost status as the industry has declined in numbers. With the difficulty of organized trade union activity, the seafarer concentrates on an effort bargain related to what he considers a fair wage in comparison with other workers with whom he comes in contact. Since this fair wage can only be obtained through make-work on most ships, it devalues the effort bargain when the basic rate of pay is low which leads to problems for ship management of low morale and motivation.

In shaping his views about society at large, the seafarer depends upon the radio and printed matter for most of his information. This, in turn, affects his attitudes about his role and encourages a fantasy world in which the seafarer can exist without much meaningful social interaction with others.

The Seafarer and His Unions

As we saw in Chapter I the history of seafarers' organizations has been chequered. After initial industrial unrest, the industry settled down with the collective bargaining arrangements of the National Maritime Board in 1920, and the first official strike since that time occurred in

1966. This should not be taken to imply that the seafarer is happy with his industrial organizations, and as we shall find, the normal problems of trade union organizers and members are compounded because the ship is a mobile workplace. A union election ashore generally will not have voting taking place on more than one or two days; the seafarers' elections allow for voting periods of up to three months because the seaman is not at home during the period. This sort of problem colours the seafarer's ideas about his union. In this section, therefore, we are concerned with union membership, attendance at meetings, attitudes toward minor officials, and the concern with the activities of the union. Flanders has stated that

> The workers' claim to be consulted by management before decisions, which can appreciably affect their interests, are taken, is fundamentally a moral one. It rests on its own merits regardless of the economic result: as human beings they [the workers] have dignity and are entitled to respect.[66]

The ship's rating is rarely consulted by shipping company management before a decision is taken, and frequently the first he will hear of it is in a paragraph detailing a new agreement in the Seaman.[67] Negotiations have taken place but seamen are not parties to them since they are away at sea, and their elected representatives, formerly seafarers, conduct them on their behalf. The attitude of the seafarer is influenced by twin dichotomies: first, the seafarer is away and negotiations take place with shipping companies in the United Kingdom, so he must delegate responsibility to the unions; second, he is still at sea, and he feels that the union official has rejected the life of seafaring and may also reject the seafarer's own interests.

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[66] A. Flanders (1968), p. 135.

[67] The Seaman is the monthly journal of the National Union of Seamen (N.U.S.); the Merchant Navy Journal and the Ship's Telegraph are respectively quarterly and monthly publications of the Merchant Navy and Airline Officers' Association (M.N.A.O.A.).

The National Union of Seamen was the union for all the ratings in the sample, as it is with the majority of all ratings in the U.K.[68] The M.N.A.O.A. does not operate a closed shop, and 79% of the officers interviewed were members.

Table 7.30. Union membership.

Union	Deck Officers %	Engineer Officers %	Catering Ratings %	Deck Ratings %	E.R. Ratings %
N.U.S.	0	0	100*	100*	100*
M.N.A.O.A.	84	75	0	0	0
A.E.F.	0	6	0	0	0
None	16	19	0	0	0
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
N =	50	80	41	80	30

*closed shop

The Association operates under the handicap of being a white-collar organization with the associated problems of whether it is a professional or an industrial body.

> Mr. Tennant [M.N.A.O.A. General Secretary] said that the Association was both a trade union and a professional association. Over the years it has striven to improve the well being of the members and, at the same time, to promote their professional status and dignity.[69]

With this problem of identification, the M.N.A.O.A. found some difficulty in persuading the majority of officers of its value, and most belonged to the union because it provided insurance for certificates of competency and legal assistance for any member who was involved in an incident on a ship or whilst working for his company.

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[68] Some ratings on tugs, ferries, Royal Fleet Auxiliaries, cableships, and pilot vessels are members of other unions.

[69] The Ship's Telegraph (January, 1968), p. 4.

The major problem facing both unions has been that of communication between members and officials. As MacFarlane and Mogridge have indicated,[70] the seafarers' organizations have the highest proportions of officials to members of any of the unions. The scattered membership and also the loss of contact with membership at sea has reduced the opportunity for the unions to act on grievances when they occurred. Communication was, and still is, a haphazard affair and relies heavily on printed matter. Since 1965 there has been a scheme of shipboard liaison committees fulfilling some of the roles of shop steward committees ashore in relaying information between union and members but not engaging in any form of negotiations. None of the ships sampled were in this scheme which is for N.U.S. members only, and just five seafarers in the sample had sailed on a ship with a scheme in operation.

Each union sets its policy at its general meeting and then executes it through the paid officials and the executive committee or council. The members of the executive committee are elected by the general meeting, but owing to the difficulty in attending the meeting, a small group can easily influence both policy and action. The general meeting of the N.U.S. is held annually, whilst the meeting of the M.N.A.O.A. is held biennially. At the grass roots level the union officials of the M.N.A.O.A. and the N.U.S. visit every ship in their port where practicable, and the N.U.S. holds branch meetings at regular intervals. Even so, contacts between union and member are almost random, as Tables 7.31 and 7.32 show.

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[70] J. MacFarlane (1970a); B. Mogridge (1962).

Table 7.31. Yearly attendance at union/association meetings.

Attendance	Deck Officers %	Engineer Officers %	Catering Ratings %	Deck Ratings %	E.R. Ratings %
Never	87	91	75	70	43
Once or twice	0	0	15	10	47
Three or four times	0	0	2½	10	10
No reply	13	9	7½	10	0
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
N =	42	60	41	50	30

Table 7.32. Number of meetings with union/association officials each year, other than when paying dues.

Meetings	Deck Officers %	Engineer Officers %	Catering Ratings %	Deck Ratings %	E.R. Ratings %
Never	20	50	60	40	40
Once or twice	40	38½	33	28	50
Three or four times	30	4	0	22	6
Five or more times	2	5	0	0	4
No reply	8	2½	7	10	0
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
N =	42	60	41	50	30

These contacts are imbued with normative overtones, as pointed out earlier. Nearly two-thirds of officers found contacts with their union officials useful, and reference was made to obtaining information about the industry in the interviews with many of the officers. Lane has shown that the appropriate attitude of the union official to the ship's officer is seen by the latter as providing a service only.[71] On the other hand the majority of ratings did not see their contacts with officials as being helpful. Table 7.33 shows these attitudes in detail.

[71] A.D. Lane (1966).

Table 7.33. Attitude toward union/association officials taken by seafarers. (Questionnaire 4)

Attitude	Deck Officers %	Engineer Officers %	Catering Ratings %	Deck Ratings %	E.R. Ratings %
Useful	62	65	44	56	37
To be tolerated	2	17½	41	34	40
To be avoided	20	12½	3	6	23
No reply	16	5	12	4	0
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
N =	42	60	41	50	30

Franz Fanon said:

> In every political or trade union organization there is a traditional gap between the rank-and-file, who demand the total and immediate bettering of their lot, and the leaders, who, since they are aware of the difficulties which may be made by the employers, seek to limit and restrain the workers' demands. This is why you are often aware of a dogged discontentment among the rank-and-file as regards their leaders.[72]

It has been shown that trade union officials tend to be appointed for their administrative ability and not for their support of the ideology or the actions of the trade union movement. Whatever the action taken by the officials and however opposed some members may be to this action, a trade union official is very rarely removed from office because of a lack of charisma.[73] In the seafaring unions this has proven to be the case, and union information and instructions tend to be treated cynically by members who are disgruntled and frustrated.[74] In their replies to a question asking about the importance of union activities to them, nearly half the ratings answered that no important activity was undertaken by the union on their behalf.

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[72] F. Fanon (1965), p. 85.

[73] P.E.P. (1959), pp. 22-24.

[74] F. Zweig (1961), p. 24.

Table 7.34. Most important activity undertaken by the union/association for its members. (open-ended question;Questionnaire 4)

Activity	Deck Officers %	Engineer Officers %	Catering Ratings %	Deck Ratings %	E.R. Ratings %
None important	12	12	17	50	80
Wages	24	25	41	24	0
Tax matters	0	0	2	6	0
Improvements in conditions	8	14	49	10	20
Legal matters	56	49	0	10	0
Handles complaints	0	0	0	0	0
Total %	100	100	99	100	100
N =	42	60	41	50	30

Table 7.35. Major weakness of the union/association. (open-ended question; Questionnaire 4)

Weakness	Deck Officers %	Engineer Officers %	Catering Ratings %	Deck Ratings %	E.R. Ratings %
No weakness	12	5	17	40	20
Union inactive	16	30	46	30	40
Not 100% membership	64	35	0	0	0
Not all wish to be members	0	0	12	4	0
No control by seafarers	4	16	20	20	17
Officials seek own ends	4	14	5	6	23
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
N =	42	60	41	50	30

It would appear, therefore, that the commitment to the union is based upon the visibility of action, and since many seafarers do not believe that their union or association is active on their behalf, their commitment to union activities is low.

Those seafarers who are the most socially isolated and who have the most unpleasant working environment -- the engine-room ratings -- are the ones with the most active participation in union affairs. Kerr and Siegel have discussed the problem of unpleasantness in the workplace and have suggested that real or deemed real unpleasantness is a major factor in creating militancy.[75] At the same time the isolation of the engine-room rating causes him to seek social relationships within union activities, and thus to participate in status-achieving activities. For this group the unions function as a method of acquiring recognition that is not found on board ship.[76]

The unions provide an important communication channel for seafarers whilst also supplying a bargaining agency. By belittling the work of the union, the seafarer is able to assert his own professional status in the shipboard culture so far as the officer is concerned, and he is able to direct his grievances, real and imagined, toward a body which is required to listen.

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[75] C. Kerr and A. Siegel (1955), esp. pp. 193-7.

[76] For an American example, see J.C. Record (1957), p. 359.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SEAFARER, THE SHIP, AND THE SHIPPING COMPANY

Introduction

In Chapter III we suggested that previous studies of seafarers provided departure points for a study of the social structure of ships' crews. These points were, first, an overview of the social structure and industrial organization of the ship to comprehend the nature of seafaring as an occupation; second, that a study of the ship-as-an-organization must include external, or environmental, factors including social, technical, and economic forces; third, that the relationships of the members of the ship-as-a-community to their communities ashore needed to be explored; and finally, that the individual seafarer's ties with the occupational community of the ship, his community ashore, and his work must be examined.

These points have been explored in the preceding pages in an effort to build an understanding of various relationships. Now we shall relate these descriptive passages to the points outlined in Chapter III. In this chapter we shall examine the variables concerning the organizational constraints of the ship and the shipping company, whilst in Chapter IX we shall focus on the premises about shipboard roles.

Shipping Companies and Their Organizational Characteristics

The six shipping companies in the sample were chosen by the seafarers on the basis of their reputation of being companies for which the seafarer would most like to work, or companies for which he would least like

to work. The methods of selection are outlined in Chapter II, and for the moment we only need to remember that companies AA and AB are engaged in cargo-liner trades; BA and BB are engaged in the bulk- and general-cargo trades and also manage ships for other owners of dry-cargo and liquid-cargo tonnage; and CA and CB operate a few ships each in the bulk- and general-cargo trades. In the derivation of the nomenclature for the companies, the second letter indicates the seafarers' choice; thus, AA is a company the seamen would like to work for, and AB is one that has a poor reputation as an employer amongst seafarers.

This distinction is crucial, since the conditions of work and wage levels are laid down by the National Maritime Board[1] and are theoretically uniform for seafarers throughout the Merchant Navy. In the case of officers lip service is paid to the principle of uniform pay rates,[2] but for ratings, the N.M.B. rates are closely adhered to, and the only major exception is the negotiation of productivity deals (for example, general-purpose manning schemes) when the company concerned and the National Union of Seamen bargain directly.

Cargo-Liner Companies

Companies AA and AB are large companies operating fleets of ninety-eight and fifty-four vessels respectively. In addition, both companies had major shareholdings in smaller companies which operated independently of the parent companies. When these subsidiary fleets were included, Company AA had interests in 138 ships and AB in 103 ships. For the purpose

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[1] National Maritime Board Year Book.

[2] Interview with Personnel Director, AA Company: "We pay our officers a salary which is about 25% above the N.M.B. rates in order to attract and retain the best men. Over a long period this has worked well, but there's a shortage of officers at present [1968] and other companies are matching our rates. We expect this situation to change in two or three years as our increased cadet entry enters the fleet."

of the study, only those ships run directly by the company were included in the sampling frame.

These two cargo-liner companies had ships on worldwide trading patterns, but the majority of their ships (AA Company, 87%; AB Company, 89%) plied on routes originating and terminating in Britain or north-western Europe. AA Company employed, in 1968, a total of 3,226 seafarers, of whom 1,360 were officers, whilst AB Company employed 2,862 seafarers, of whom 1,307 were officers.

The corporate structure of each was based on a ship management company (a holding company), managing ships owned by wholly subsidiary companies. Little diversification of trading patterns occurred at the time of the research, but both companies have invested heavily in container ships, bulk carriers, and tankers since 1968.

The organization of each company was complex. Beside the department which operated the ships, others dealt with cargo shipments, agencies, stevedoring and port facilities, towage, and road transport. The resultant bureaucracy required to coordinate activities appeared to be at levels below that of optimum efficiency, and this bureaucratic concern was greatest in Company AB, which was London-based and had formerly operated passenger liners. (See Table 8.1.)

Companies AA and AB each employed approximately 5,000 persons. This is business on a large scale by any measure, and one would expect management systems to be responsive to change. In actuality, this was not so. In the late 1950's and early 1960's, the management of AA Company was disturbed by the declining share of trade it was obtaining. A first step was to set up an operations and methods department to examine the profitability records of the ships and to cut back on operating costs. Some savings were made but at the expense of much good will

Table 8.1. Number of employees in the United Kingdom shipping companies in the sample (1968).

Company	No. of Ships	Sea Staff		N1	Shore Staff		N2	% N1 of all employees
		Officers*	Ratings		Ship. Op. Staff**	Other		
AA	98	1,360	2,548	3,908	73	1,641	1,714	70
AB	54	1,307	1,555	2,862	185	1,852	2,037	58
BA	21	403	437	840	24	31	55	94
BB	18	277	409	686	22	36	58	92
CA	6	108	107	215	11	2	13	94
CB	7	76	121	197	14	16	30	87

*excludes apprentices

**Ship operating staff includes marine and engineer superintendents, personnel and training staff, stores and administrative personnel dealing solely with the ships and ships' crews. It does not include personnel such as naval architects, O. and M. personnel, stevedoring departments, freight departments, pay and administrative personnel concerned with shore staff and shore and port activities.

amongst the ships' officers. In 1964 attention was switched to the company's shore-based operations, and these were drastically reshaped during the following three years. Departments which no longer contributed to the needs of the company were cut back or disbanded, and work study was introduced in all other departments. In the three-year period to 1967, 28% (N = 656) of the shore staff retired or resigned from the company and were not replaced.[3]

Reductions in the number of ratings had taken place previously. In 1959 the standard 10,000 G.R.T. (gross registered tonnage) cargo-liner operated by Company AA had twenty deck ratings on board (two petty officers and eighteen ratings); in 1967 the same ship operated with twelve deck ratings on board (two petty officers and ten ratings).[4] The head of the Operations and Methods Department said:

> I was very concerned about the overmanning, but the Company did not sack anyone. We brought the changes in on the ships gradually through the fleet, and were able to reduce the crews through natural wastage. At the same time there was a reorganization of the work load on the ship, and all the wages, and the cargo documentation were brought ashore. The first reduction occurred after we introduced automatic steering equipment, and the men appreciated the efforts we made.[5]

Company AA was regarded as a good company to work for by the majority of the seafarers interviewed, and the wastage figures support their views. For deck officers the wastage rate was 18% per annum during the period 1963-1968, whilst for engineer officers the rate was of the order of 28% per annum. For adult ratings as a whole, the wastage rate was 26%. These levels are well below the figures for the whole sample (Table 8.2) and parallel the system of employment in the company. The management encouraged identification with the company, and the labour turnover of officers

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[3] Interview with Head, Operations and Methods Department, AA Company.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

reflected the numbers who left the industry. Of those officers leaving Company AA, only 12% continued to go to sea.

Table 8.2. Average yearly labour turnover amongst seafarers by company, 1963-68. (Data from company records.)

Company	Deck Officers %	Engineer Officers %	Adult Ratings (CSC)* %
AA	18	28	26
AB	36	52	35
BA	28	40	30
BB	37	43	37
CA	15	26	30
CB	48	62	--**
Average rates	30	42	31

*Ratings who either have a CSC or normally work for the company only; i.e., have indicated that they prefer the company's ships.

**No ratings in this category.

The organization of the company was similar to that shown in Chart 1.1. The seafarer interacted solely with office staff attached to his operations department which gave rise to numerous anomalies. In Company AA, the engineer superintendent was a man of very strong personality and frequently issued directives to the ships' engineer officers, posing difficulties in the operations of the ship because of the need to co-ordinate activities on board. A strict programme of engine-room maintenance was laid down which engineer officers were expected to follow. On several ships it was reported that cargo work had been hampered and the ship delayed because generators had been overhauled.

The problem of liaison was further compounded because the engineer superintendent instructed the chief engineers to report directly to him, and the ship's master did not officially know what was going on in the

engineers' department. In an effort to resolve the matter, the company introduced a ship's manager who coordinated all the shore functions and dealt with the masters of the company's ships. This settled some of the difficulties, but many times assistant engineer superintendents would by-pass the master on visits to the ship.

This form of bureaucratic deviancy meant obvious problems for the ship's organization. Centralized systems for supplying the ship with stores were used, and although the seafarers criticized the shore staff's handling of problems, most agreed that the organization functioned reasonably well. However, much discontent arose over the recurrent features of poor design in the ships, design which had added to the work load rather than reduced it as the crew sizes were cut back. Criticism of operating methods was also voiced, specifically the way in which departments ashore "passed the buck" and the officiousness of the shore staff when dealing with the sea staff.

The attitudes of seafarers in Company AA toward their employers was one of satisfaction with their jobs. This satisfaction was mirrored in the company's reputation as a good employer, in the even age range of the company's seafarers, in the high proportion of company service contracts held, and in the longer average period that men worked at sea for the company.

Company AB seafarers were highly dissatisfied with the way in which their company was organized and operated. AB was a holding company in which each of the subsidiaries operated its ships in its own way. That this was inefficient is evident in Table 8.1, where Company AA can be seen to operate nearly twice as many ships as AB but with the same number of shore staff. Fragmentation of responsibilities ashore affected the ships, since the labour turnover of seafarers within the company was significantly higher than in Company AA, although no significant sociographic differences appeared between the two groups of seafarers (Table 8.2).

The major problems were summed up by a chief officer:

> Last trip we sailed from London for Australia. When I took over the ship I checked all the stores lists and found that we had no courtesy flags, so I got on to the Marine Superintendent. He was just doing a holiday relief for the regular one and normally dealt only with the ——— ships. He said he'd fix the problem but the stores clerk for our ship refused to let him have the flags for us because his signature wasn't authorised. This was three days before sailing, and the Superintendent got the letter of authorisation from head office by messenger two hours before we sailed. He and I went to the stores, and the clerk didn't have any flags because three of the ships had been in and used up the nine flags a month he was allowed to hand out. That's just one example of the sheer incompetence of these office fools.[6]

The organization of the company was broken down into units for each subsidiary company, frequently resulting in "empires" within the company. Ship "Z" and her sister ship continued in service from 1967 to 1971 on the North Atlantic run and rarely carried a full cargo, except immediately after the United States East Coast longshoremen's strikes.

> We load to about a third of the [cargo] space each trip. It's not economic to run two ships, but the company do. Now Manchester Liners have the container service going, we are losing cargo -- regular cargo -- steadily.[7]

> Those ships maintain the run because it's in our interests to continue as part of the shipping conference. At present they are operating at the point of breaking even, and while that is the case there is no intention of withdrawing them from the service.[8]

> The reason those ships operate is because ——— [the manager in charge of the service] would be without a job if they closed the service down. We could do with ships elsewhere, and their equipment is more than adequate, but what can you do? I've recommended to the Board that they be withdrawn. They cost a packet to maintain, and this new colour scheme ——— has ashore is totally impractical. The crew'll be painting and touching up all the time.[9]

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[6] Research Notebook 9, Interview with Chief Officer, AB Company.

[7] Ibid., Interview with Master, Ship "Z."

[8] Research Notebook 5, Interview with Director, AB Company.

[9] Ibid., Interview with Marine Superintendent, AB Company.

The splintering of the company into small units and the resultant hierarchies posed severe problems for the seafarers. Although two of the subsidiaries had a surplus of seafarers on contract in 1968, the company as a whole needed additional junior officers. Some ships were sailing overmanned from Britain, while others had apprentices serving as uncertificated fourth mates. This situation brought about further complications for the company because of the subsequent differences in promotion rates.

To sum up, the cargo-liner companies displayed the characteristics of well-developed bureaucracies: clearly defined hierarchies, specialization and specific roles of officials, and a clear-cut pattern of goals. The differences between AA and AB lay in the use of central control in the organization. When the control was diffuse as in AB, power was dispersed through the organization and diverse patterns of behaviour arose. Often this power was used to enhance the status of organizational units and to substitute their goals for those of the shipping company as a whole. This was reflected in the labour turnover of the company, since the seafarer was subject to pressures and constraints which were not part of the organizational plan.

The problem of the uneven use of power is also seen in Company AA with the engineer officers. In AA as a whole, the bureaucracy functioned in a way that was seen to apply to all sections and provided a secure framework of rules and operating practice for the seafarer.

The Medium-Sized Companies

These companies, BA and BB, operated three types of ships: tankers, ore carriers, and bulk/general-cargo ships. Both companies had been family shipping concerns since the end of the nineteenth century and had moved into the field of ship management in order to obtain an assured

income based on management fees (operating costs of the vessels plus a fixed percentage of these costs), thus eliminating some of the uncertainties inherent in the non-liner trades. The sample of ships did not include tankers, but by and large, the ships' crews were likely to serve on any one of the companies' ships as the need arose. The organization of these companies was in theory like that shown in Chart 1.1, and a rational structure on bureaucratic lines was assumed to exist. Relationships were formal between all departments in spite of the small staff, and operating and administrative units were well defined.

Despite the precise nature of work roles and tasks within the organization, Company BA maintained a system of informal contacts at all levels ashore and afloat. Awareness of the availability of contacts and resources within the organization and the desire of the general manager to "try things out" encouraged interaction between seafarers and company which was missing in Company BB.

BB was operated by the sons of the firm's founder, who was chairman and in his seventies at the time of the study in 1968. He tightly controlled the organization; all information was passed to him and decisions were confirmed by him. The attempt to impose uniformity of conditions of service and operating practice was, in effect, nullified by the actions of this man who prided himself on his acumen as a "hard businessman." Decisions that were taken routinely in Company BA might or might not be made in Company BB, and both office and sea staff lacked freedom in the exchange of information. When interviewing office personnel in Company BB (and in Company CB), the author was never alone with the subject. In BB a director or senior manager was always present and interjected remarks and comments during the interviews.

In these medium-sized companies, the effect of instituting a framework of offices and tasks akin to the large companies was negated because they were not large enough to have the resources to implement a workable bureaucracy. Company BA was favoured by seafarers because it allowed a degree of independent action, whilst Company BB did not. The labour turnover figures highlight these characteristics, but they also show the "in-the-middle" nature of the companies, as they were too large for satisfying relations to develop between ship and shore staff, and too small for the effective implementation of a bureaucracy.

The Small Companies

These two firms, CA and CB, were controlled and managed by members of the owners' families. CA was a very small firm and operated six bulk carriers; CB was only slightly larger. For CA the only business of the company was shipping, but CB was involved in other activities, all of which were run from the same headquarters.

We can see from Table 8.1 that Company CA employed a total shore staff of thirteen, and unlike any of the other companies, this firm occupied offices on the dockside. CA was operated on a team basis, as any attempt to specify much of the work would lead to problems of co-ordination. Each staff member had a broad range of tasks which he normally undertook, but the entire staff were involved in the day-to-day operation of the ships with the possible exception of the accountant and his clerk-assistant. This problem-solving team approach was recognized by the ships' crews:

> We always operate on a shoestring, but the good thing about working for them is that you can always see them to talk to when you go in the office. It's not like AB Company where I used to be. There a slip of a girl would tell you to make an appointment or say they would take note. Here if I want to see the owner, I see the owner. It's that kind of a firm. They'll talk to you and you talk to them. I'd never go back to cargo-liners.[10]

[10] Research Notebook 26, Interview with Bosun, Ship "Y."

> I've been with this company for sixteen years as second steward and chief, and I like it here. I'm my own boss, and if I want to try new methods or things in my department, I can do it provided it doesn't cost too much. . . .The only problem with working for a company like this is that you never know if they will stay in business, but I've decided that if they can't make a go of it, then I'm not staying at sea. I couldn't work for another company now.[11]

Company CB had a larger staff, and contacts were marked by extreme formality. There were sharp distinctions in roles and tasks and none of the informality of Company CA. It will be noted from Table 8.2 that Company CB had no ratings on contracts. The reason was that

> The British ratings are really the dregs of society. They go to sea because no other employer will take them or because they are avoiding the police. We instruct our Masters to deal severely with any infringement of discipline since this is the only way to ensure the smooth running of the ship. Quite frankly these men often live like pigs and we would prefer to staff our ships with Asian ratings.[12]

The same personnel director also bemoaned the decreasing standards of officers, since he found that many of those recruited through the Merchant Navy Establishment were alcoholics or had bad discharges. The attitudes which this official expressed were also displayed by the majority of the company's office staff. At the same time, the shore staff did not look to the shipping section of the business of CB Company for their careers and thought that it was merely a stepping stone in the career structure. Except for two superintendents, a wages clerk, and the assistant personnel director, all of whom visited the ships regularly, only two members of the office staff had been on board the company's ships.

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[11] Research Notebook 24, Interview with Chief Steward, CA Company.

[12] Interview with Personnel Director, CB Company, 1967.

The Relationship of Organizational Forms to the Seafarer

Etzioni has argued persuasively that compliance -- the "relationship consisting of the power employed by superiors to control subordinates and the orientation of the subordinates to this power"[13] -- is a suitable basis for classifying organizations. The companies in the sample were ranked by the responses according to Etzioni's concept of control systems (coercive, utilitarian, and normative) and the results are shown in Chart 8.1.

Etzioni defined utilitarian control as one in which "remuneration is the major means of control over lower participants and calculative involvement [i.e., mild alientation to mild commitment] characterizes the orientation of the large majority of lower participants."[14] Therefore, this has been taken as the zero point of the scale. Coercive control is obtained through the use of physical sanctions (not force) and "is the major means of control over lower participants. . . .high alienation characterizes the orientation of most lower participants to the organization."[15]

Etzioni suggested that normative control is derived from the recognition of the organization as a legitimate controlling force, and a high level of commitment to the organization is a feature of participation in organizational activities.[16] Commitment is attained in this analysis through the coming together of organizational norms and the normative patterns of the lower participants.

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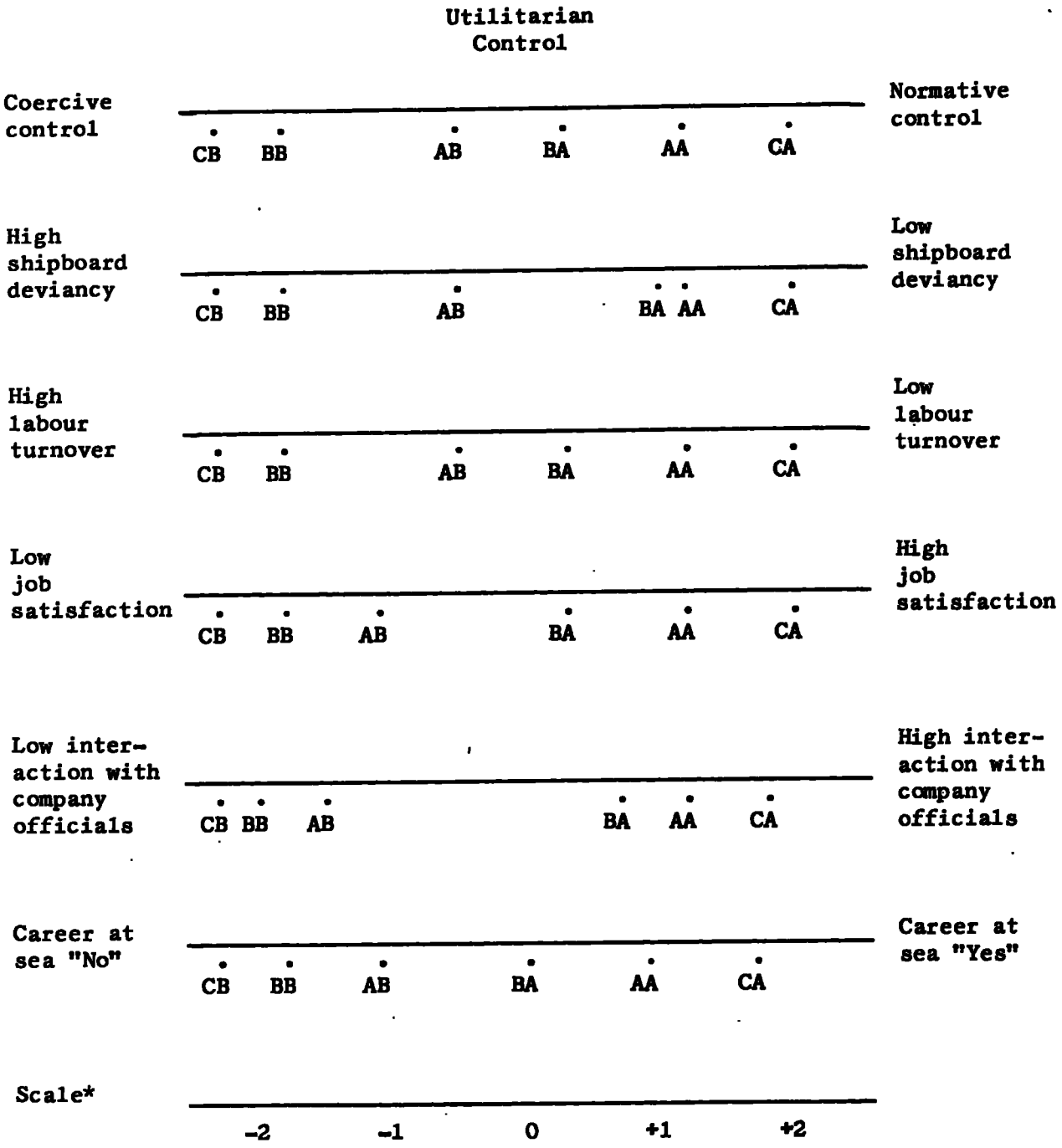
[13] A. Etzioni (1961), pp. xv.

[14] Ibid., p. 31.

[15] Ibid., p. 27.

[16] Ibid., p. 40ff.

Chart 8.1. Relative forms of organizational control in shipping companies shown with significant variables of seafarers' behaviour.



*The scale was obtained by taking the respondents on a 1:5 index and then ranking companies proportionately along the scale according to the forms of responses given. By taking the polar cases as equal to $-2\frac{1}{2}$ and $+2\frac{1}{2}$ respectively, an effective spread was obtained. Etzioni's concept of utilitarian control was taken as the 0 point. See Appendix III.

In utilizing this form of Etzioni's analysis, it must be emphasized that the levels of coercive, utilitarian, and normative control are relative to this small sample of shipping companies and are used as indicators of trends rather than as "real" points. By devising this model, the forms of organization that are preferable to the seafarers are in rank order.

Although Chart 8.2 implies that the criteria of the success of a shipping company's policies are reflected in its activities, the seafarer's perception of the organization's concern for him is determined by his treatment on board the ship and by his expectation of the company's attitudes toward him. In this sense Company CB was coping with a reputation for harsh conditions and poor management since 1910, whilst Company AA was seen by the seafarer as a secure source of employment, and therefore attracted those men who sought the security a successful bureaucracy could impart.

A crucial factor was the degree to which company officials visited the ships and whether their visits were seen as useful. In Company CA, visits by any official were thought of as an opportunity for formal and informal exchanges of information, but in CB, visits were for the purpose of issuing instructions to the seafarers. The reaction to this in the preceding five years had been £106,482 worth of damage to the crew accommodation and a loss in 1967 of nearly £3,000 of small stores which had to be replaced.[17]

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[17] For the purpose of this analysis the consumption of stores on board three ships of each company were noted for a calendar year. The ships were matched for size, type, and run in each group of companies. Thus, the excess in CB is measured against the expenditure in CA. The small stores lost are such things as crockery (not breakages), cutlery, paint, paint brushes and rollers, chipping hammers and machines, buckets, electric kettles, and so forth. Seafarers are well aware of the little rhyme, "Tinkle, tinkle little spoon; knife and fork will follow soon," which invariably signals the loss of equipment over the side, loss mainly through negligence.

Chart 8.2. Criteria of organizations.

Company CA	1. An organismic* approach to management; involvement of ships in decision-making; probably only possible in the small company; low level of remuneration.
Company AA	2. A truly bureaucratic approach with strong central control of management functions; involvement of ships in company ideology; requires good personnel management techniques; medium-high level of remuneration.
Company BA	3. Bureaucratic system with strong central control and forceful owner personality; applicable to smaller or medium-sized company; high levels of remuneration.
Company AB	4. Bureaucratic system with fragmented control from centre; ships rarely involved in management; high level of remuneration.
Company BB	5. Quasi-bureaucratic/oligarchical system of management; frequent policy shifts rarely involving ships; medium level of remuneration.
Company CB	6. Coercive forms of bureaucracy (mechanistic organization*) relying on external constraints (manpower supplied by M.N.E., discipline by Shipping Acts); no involvement of ships in management; low level of remuneration.

*after T. Burns and G.M. Stalker (1961).

The way in which the companies structured themselves was of importance to the seafarer. In the large companies a bureaucratic system could function because of the company's size, so that for the seafarer, unfair treatment was recognized as the odd occurrence rather than a regular happening. In the small companies resources were insufficient for a bureaucracy to operate effectively. If, for example, a junior engineer became ill on a ship belonging to AA, it would be a routine matter to replace him with another.

In Company CA the sickness of an engineer officer could be detrimental to meeting charter dates because a replacement would have to be recruited before being sent to the ship. Consequently, the smaller company relied to a greater degree upon its reputation than the bigger firms to attract and retain capable crews. With an organizational system like that of CA, these aims could be carried out more efficiently and less expensively than in CB. Thus, the two vital factors are the size of the shipping company and its ability and desire to involve its seafarers in management processes. When these criteria are met, ship operations are more easily accomplished and less stress is placed on the crews in the work environment.

The Operating Environment of the Ship

The operating environment is defined as the combination of ship operations and the regularity of employment that these afford the seafarer.[18] In the sample of companies, operational factors ranged from

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[18] Economic factors are the degree to which the company is affected by fluctuations in trading cycles; the degree to which the company is able to control freight rates on cargo; the regularity and certainty of employment of the company's ships; the span of planning for the future of the company. The employment factors stem from the degree to which regular employment can be provided; the regularity of trading pattern and, hence, voyage and leave patterns; the extent to which the company is able to attract and retain men. In this study the categories of companies are as follows: A, cargo liner groups; B, medium-sized bulk and general trading companies; C, small general trading (tramp) companies. The second letter denotes the seafarers' preference: A is a "good" company, and B is a "bad" company.

certain to highly uncertain. These are partly a function of the size of the company and the resources which the factor of size can command. The trading patterns of the companies are the key to the economic certainty of their operations.

Table 8.3. Certainty of operating environment.

Factors	Certain	Uncertain	Highly Uncertain
Economic	AA, AB	BA, BB	CA, CB
Employment	AA, AB	BA, BB, CA	CB

The cargo-liner companies operated ships between two ports or two areas of the world on a regular schedule. As we have noted, this trading pattern offered regular periods of work at sea and leave ashore. Engaging in these trades is not possible unless the company can ensure a frequent service in fast vessels. An extensive shore operating staff is also required in the United Kingdom and abroad to process cargo documents, seek cargoes, and provide factoring and agency services for exporters and importers. The cargo-liners operated an overseas "parcels" service with the problems that handling small amounts of cargo entailed. These economic factors demanded a large investment and a large organization, so a greater opportunity existed for a career structure for the seafarers, and with it the opportunity for stable employment if a man wished to stay at sea.

The medium-sized companies, BA and BB, operated a variety of ship types and used a number of economic techniques. Both companies ran tankers on a management basis for large oil companies which provided a steady source of revenue lacking in the other trades. One of these trades was the bulk transportation of mineral ores, with ships on long-

term charter to either ore-exporting or -importing organizations. These trades insure a steady income but one which does not normally adjust itself to inflation or increased costs. The other trade is the bulk transportation of cargoes such as grain, coal, or cars on a "spot" (short-term) or medium-term charter. This trading pattern permits the companies to benefit from sudden increases in freight rates[19] but also exposes them to sudden depressions in the rates.

Since the ships only carried one commodity at a time, the marketing organization of the companies was virtually non-existent, as contracts could best be obtained through the Baltic Exchange in London and the agency of a ship broker. The pattern of employment of the ships operated by these companies fluctuated with the need for shipping, but it did not vary to the extent of companies such as CA and CB, which worked on the open market. Companies BA and BB were able to secure a degree of stability of trading pattern for those ships on long-term charter and those which were managed, and a measure of regularity of voyage and leave patterns for seafarers followed.

Companies CA and CB operated bulk- and general-cargo ships in worldwide trading. These ships are the "tramps" of the ocean, carrying any form of bulk cargo anywhere. Marketing services for the companies are executed by ship brokers on the Baltic Exchange, and the shipowners seek the highest cargo rates available for their ships and charges them on these runs. The trading patterns, as a result, are irregular unless the company can build up a relationship with cargo shippers or consignees. CA Company had been able to do so and had trading patterns which were fairly regular although dependent upon the spot-charter market.

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[19] For example, after the closure of the Suez Canal, cargo freight rates increased sharply.

This regularity was reflected in voyage and leave patterns for seafarers; the employment factor is shown in Table 8.3 as uncertain, whilst the economic factor is highly uncertain as it depended on the volume of cargo available and the location of the company's ships. Company CB shows values of highly uncertain on both scores, and subsequent to the study, had to sell four of its ships because of a downturn in trade with which the company's operating resources could not cope.

The structuring of roles on the ships correlated with the certainty or uncertainty of the operating environment. On the ships of the cargo-liner companies, the routine of run and operation rarely varied; this is the objective of the shipping company in the cargo-liner trade, as it attracts business by the regularity of its services. One cargo-liner company, Ocean Fleets Limited, boasts that it operates the longest ferry service in the world from Birkenhead (its loading berth) to Liverpool (the company's discharging berth) via Hong Kong. The ships are scheduled to take three-and-one-quarter months to do the round trip, and the regularity of arrivals and departures was such that the vessel's dates were met 87% of the time,[20] with a vessel loading on the berth in Singapore for Britain and Europe every two-and-a-half days. This routine permits patterns of life on board to evolve which are highly structured, for the work does not change greatly from voyage to voyage nor do the roles alter from ship to ship.

This patterning of life is shown in Table 8.4. The rates of change in Companies BA and BB are higher on the index score which can be related to the level of uncertainty of their operating procedures. Company CB shares the highest rate of change with Company BB, and these high scores are due primarily to personnel policies on behalf of the companies, as Company CA had a relatively greater stability amongst personnel.

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[20]Analysis of author's own seafaring experience.

Table 8.4. A comparison of the rate of change of the reported structural variables of the six companies.

Structural Variable*	AA	AB	BA	BB	CA	CB
Technology	2	2	2	1	2	1
Tasks	1	1	2	3	2	2
Role content	1	1	1	1	2	1
Personnel	1	2	3	4	1	5
Total score	5	6	8	9	7	9

*Each variable is scored on a 1-5 scale: 1=little or no change; 2=some change; 3=considerable change; 4=a great deal of change; 5=constant change. The scores are based on questionnaire and interview material and company records.

Traditional patterns of behaviour were most marked in Companies AB, BB, and CB. In other words the companies which had been rated as poor employers by seafarers displayed traditional forms of organization ashore and afloat. During visits to the ships in the sample, observations were made of the ways in which departments were organized and run. The observed occurrences of formalized procedures -- "by the book" -- the formality of dress amongst the officers, the recognition of status differences by officers and ratings, and the degree to which procedures were written down were noted and scored on a scale from 0 to 5. The average score for the ships of each company are shown in Table 8.5.

Table 8.5. The formality of organizations on board ship.

Company	Formality Score
AA	4.8
AB	5
BA	3.1
BB	4
CA	2.1
CB	4.3

These scores show that in each group of companies, the company considered to be the better by the ratings had a lower score on the formality scale. These formality scores correlated significantly with the scores of the companies on the scale of bureaucracy (see Charts 8.3 and 8.4).

The correlation of these scores ($r = 0.477$)[21] of formality and bureaucracy is such that the certainty of operating environment is the major variable in the structuring of the company and the ship's crew. In Chart 8.4 the certainty of operating environment is compared with the formality of the ship's structure by company. A significant difference occurred between those companies rated as better employers and those rated as poorer by seafarers. In other words the less preferred companies had poor social integration of their respective subsystems, and compensated for this by tighter formal control.

For the first group the correlation coefficient is of the order of $r = 0.256$, whilst the correlation of the second group is $r = 0.55$. Applying the criteria of best fit, those companies which are not the better employers display a marked formality of structure in uncertain operating environments. This does not seem to accord with our expectation. However, Company CB, which distorted this fit, has since ceased to operate ships on its own account, and Company BB has undergone two major management reorganizations as has Company AB. Therefore, in the case of shipping companies which had achieved a successful, relatively certain operating environment, and were seen by their employees as having done so, the more certain the environment of the shipping company, the more highly structured will be the company's organizational characteristics.[22]

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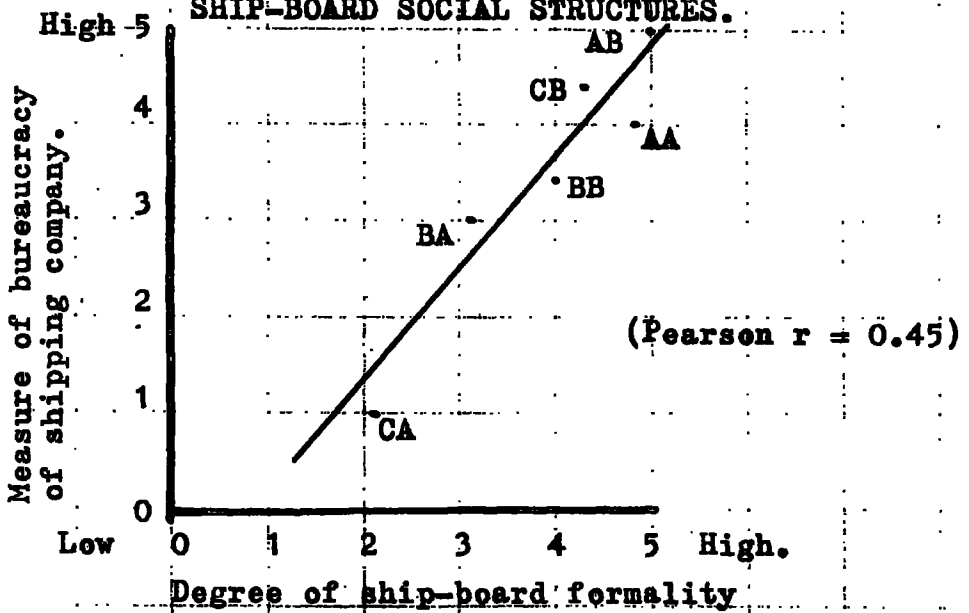
[21] All regression coefficients are Pearson coefficients.

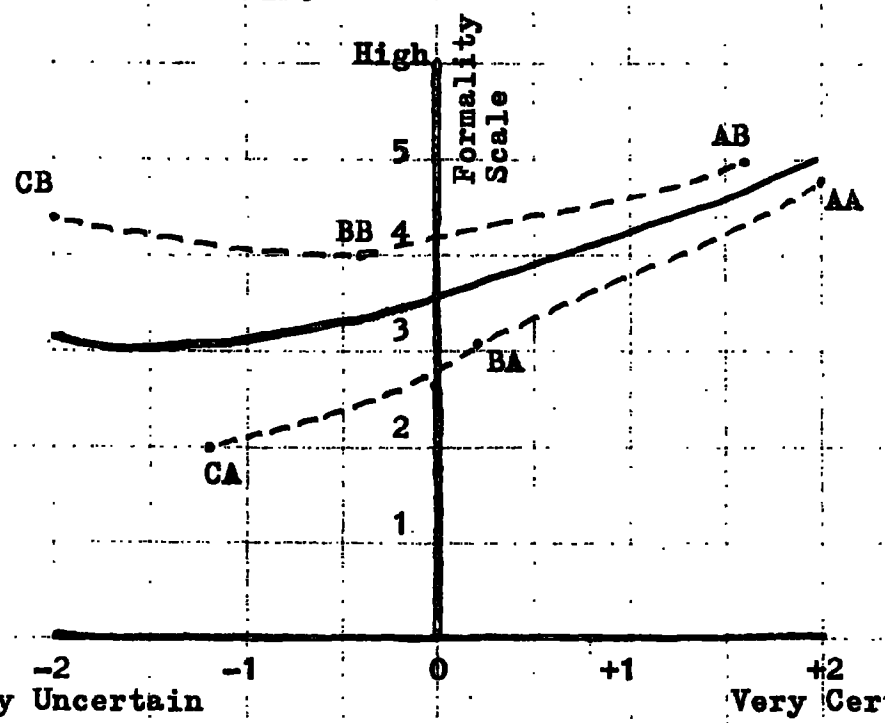
[22] For a discussion of similar organizational environments, see J.K. Galbraith (1964); D.A. Schon (1967), esp. ch. 5; L. Sklair (1970), pp. 137-41.

CHART 8.3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEGREE OF BUREAUCRACY OF SHIPPING COMPANIES AND THE FORMALITY OF SHIP-BOARD SOCIAL STRUCTURES.



(For explanation of bureaucracy and formality scales, see Appendix I)

CHART 8.4. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OPERATING ENVIRONMENT AND FORMALITY OF SUB-SYSTEM SOCIAL STRUCTURE ON SHIP.



(For explanation of operating environment scale, see Appendix I)

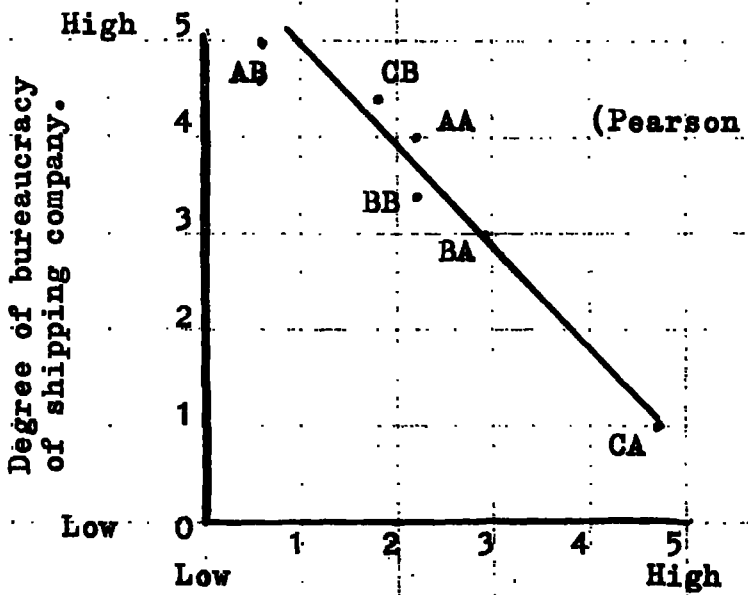
These companies had a lower level of bureaucracy than non-successful companies and significantly lower levels of formality of structure on board ship, both in the ship as a whole and within departments.

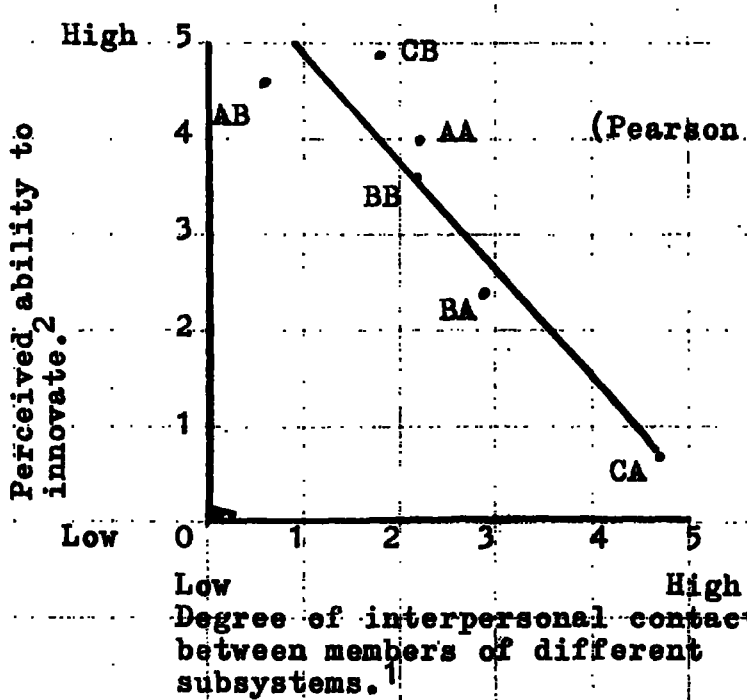
A positive correlation appears between the degree of bureaucratization of procedures within the shipping company and on board the ship, and the degree of certainty of operating environment. Yet those companies which were not trading successfully in terms of profit return on capital invested tended to a high degree of bureaucratization regardless of certainty of the operating environment. This was particularly marked in the case of Company CB, which at the time of study was regarded as a "tax shell" by the managers of its parent group. The degree of bureaucratization of procedures related directly to the degree of formality exhibited in shipboard procedures and relationships.

The Acceptance of Innovation

In the shipping companies in the sample, the contact between subsystem members -- the contact between members of different departments -- varied from a very high rate of contact in Company CA to a very low rate in Company AB (see Chart 8.5). This was to an extent linked to both size and the degree of bureaucratization. Obviously, in a small company like CA everyone knew of and worked with one another, whilst in AA, contacts occurred between people of the same status and interests to the almost total exclusion of others. The ease of communication in the less bureaucratized companies was accompanied by a marked increase in the perceived ability to innovate amongst the shore staff, and hence, a move towards the state which Burns and Stalker term "organismic."

CHART 8.5. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEGREE OF BUREAUCRACY OF A SHIPPING COMPANY, INTERPERSONAL CONTACT BETWEEN MEMBERS OF SUBSYSTEMS, AND THE PERCEIVED ABILITY TO INNOVATE ON THE PART OF MEMBERS.





[1]Score is based on interview reports of (a) those with whom subject discussed company matters as a "matter of course"; and (b) those persons with whom the subject interacted informally during the course of a normal working day. Each subject received a personal score and the company score is the aggregate of these.

[2]Based on the subject's assessment of the ease with which he could initate change in the organization.

This extended to the ship as well and was most marked in the development of primary group systems. On the cargo-liners, primary groups existed only when crew members had remained on a ship for several voyages. Thus, on Ship "Z" there were three primary groups involving fifteen men out of forty-six. These groups were organized on occupational and status divisions. One group was composed of the three senior engineers and the electrical engineer; another had a membership of five, all of whom were junior ratings in the catering department, whilst the last group consisted of the bosun, the carpenter, the engine-room storekeeper, an older A.B., and the engine-room day worker. The chief cook also participated in this group's activities two or three times a week. All the members of this last group had worked for the shipping company for at least eleven years, and all had sailed on Ship "Z" for the previous two years (that is, for at least fifteen seven-week voyages).

Many of the other crew members of this ship had also worked for the company for some time, and many had sailed on the ship for more than a year, since the voyage pattern of five weeks at sea followed by two weeks in Ship "Z"'s home port allowed married men to establish a regular routine. The lack of primary group formation can be considered to be a lack of interest in shipboard relationships by not having friendships with a depth greater than that required of "Board of Trade acquaintances," and reflects the instrumental approach to seafaring of the cargo-liner crews. The regular run and the routine of ports, cargoes, and work at sea could be predicted and thus programmed. Even the ship's party given by the officers was part of this routine and was organized on well-established lines. The formalization of organization permits a series of expectations of rewards, the majority of which are found in the seafarers' lives ashore, and seagoing is undertaken because it supplies these rewards.

As the degree to which behaviour was formalized or was expected to be formal decreased, the primary group formation on the ship increased. On Ship "Y," a small bulk-carrier/tramp, twenty-seven men out of a total of thirty-three belonged to identifiable primary groupings. These were organized on occupational and status lines, as on Ship "Z," but there were fewer seafarers who had served with the company for any length of time, and only slightly more than half the crew had been on the ship the previous voyage.

The lack of formality, created in part by the uncertainty of the voyage pattern, and the lack of a set work routine, caused a greater level of group participation to arise. This group activity was also reported by the seafarers on the other ships of CA Company, and to a lesser, predicted extent, on the ships of BA and BB companies. Company CB did not conform to this pattern, for, as we have shown, the uncertainties of operation were superficially resolved by strengthening the formal controls and sanctions within the company ashore and on its ships.

The structuring of the seafarer's activities, then, is dependent upon the regularity of the voyage pattern, the degree of routine in work patterns, and the formal control systems required by the company's management. When all these factors have high values, the scope for problem-solving behaviour on the ship is diminished. Consequently, the seafarer within this pattern can function without a great deal of reliance upon his fellow seafarers provided they do this routine work. Both interpersonal relationships and problem-solving activities on ships with regular voyage and routine work patterns are reduced, and seafaring becomes an instrumental activity.

On those ships which do not have a regular voyage pattern, nor a fixed work routine, and little formal control of on-ship activities by the company's management, a significantly higher level occurs of ship-

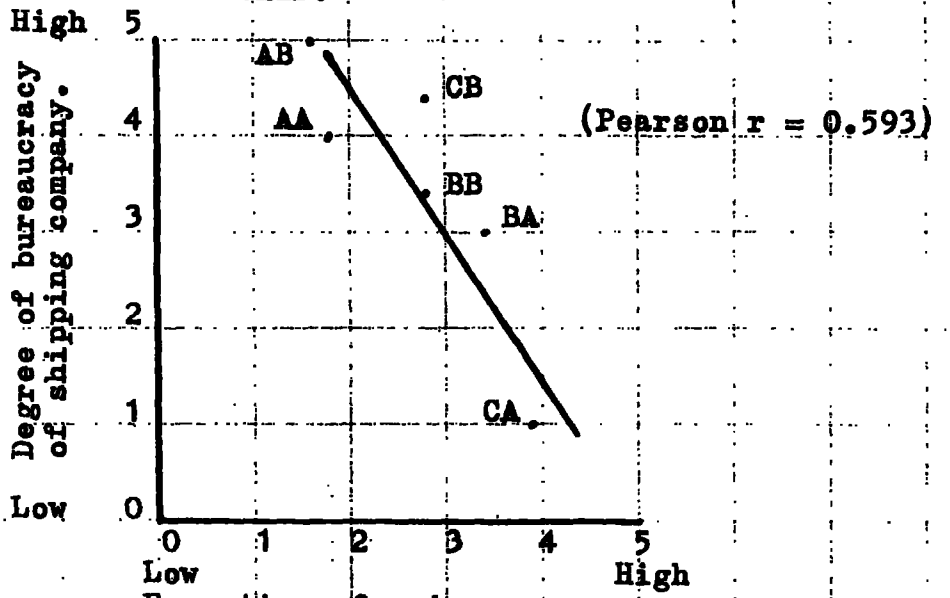
board interpersonal activity and of freedom in problem-solving situations. Chart 8.7 shows the degree to which seafarers perceived freedom to innovate on the ship. This perception of freedom does not differ significantly between officers and ratings.

The degree of freedom to innovate, to find new work patterns or to adapt work methods leads to high levels of satisfaction amongst the crews of the bulk-carriers and tramp ships (with the exception of the crews employed by Company CB), although the physical conditions of work were inferior to those on the cargo-liners. Adaptive behaviour was seen as satisfying and reported as such. When asked, "What aspect of seafaring do you like most?" 78% of the officers and 62% of the ratings on the ships of Company CA replied that it was the lack of routine or the new experiences. Only 31% of the officers and 27% of the ratings on the ships of Companies AA and AB gave this response.

We have argued that the certainty of the operating environment of a company and its ships determines the degree of formalization of procedures and structures in the company organization afloat and ashore. We believe that this proposition is adequate with the provision that a company in a highly uncertain environment might seek to reduce subsystem uncertainties by introducing a highly formalized system of control which, like the formal control system introduced by the electronics firms which were termed mechanistic by Burns and Stalker, is largely inappropriate in the long-term situation, as it does not allow adaptation to take place.

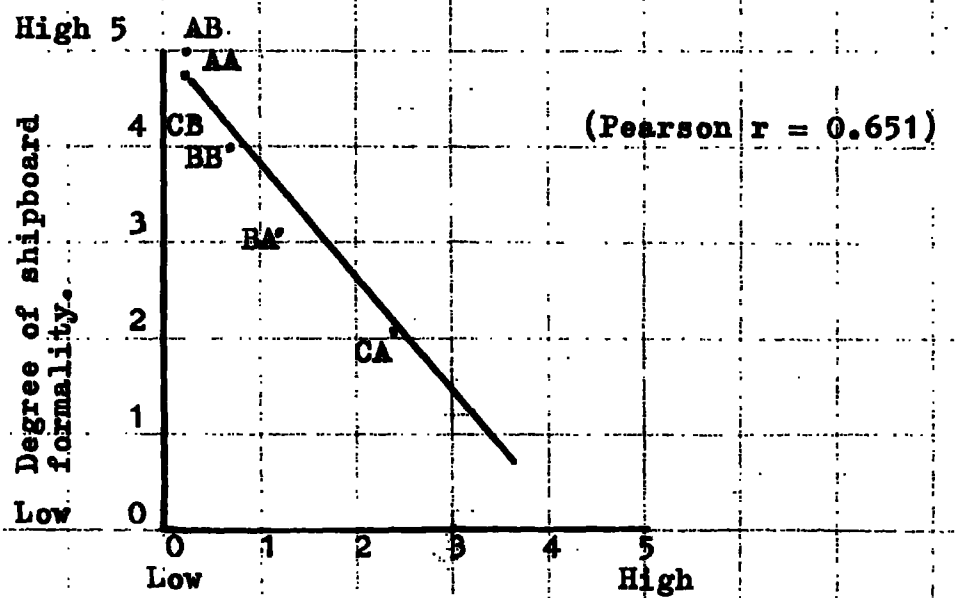
In the discussion of the seafarers and innovation, we suggested that the structural variables of the operating environment are reflected in the interpersonal relationships between seafarers and in the extent to which they would perceive their freedom to innovate. This supposition is adequate in that a significant difference exists in

CHART 8.6. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEGREE OF BUREAUCRACY OF COMPANY AND PRIMARY GROUP FORMATION ON SHIP.



on board ship; score based on (a) the proportion of crew members belonging to primary groups; (b) the number of groups on board; (c) extent of activities on board ship. Data based on interviews and observation.

CHART 8.7. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEGREE OF FORMALITY OF SHIPBOARD ORGANIZATION AND THE SEAFARER'S PERCEIVED ABILITY TO INNOVATE.



the social relationships on board ship in those companies with a lower level of certainty of operating environment when compared to companies with high levels of certainty. A similar relationship exists with regard to the ability to innovate.

The Orientations of Seafarers towards Their Shipmates

In all ships there were differences in the number of problem-solving situations which arose. In order of relative magnitude amongst officers, from lesser to greater, problem-solving was an activity engaged in least by members of the catering department and most by members of the engine-room department. Within each ship a continuum of problem-solving activity emerged which corresponded to the social relationships within groups. Both catering and engine-room department staffs had task-oriented relationships; that is, the nature of the work required cooperation between members in order to resolve problems. For the engineer officers skills also formed a basis for relationships.

The degree of certainty of environment was highest amongst deck officers because of the nature of their work whilst the ship was at sea. This work, following a routine of watches and specific navigational tasks, is applicable to all ships and shipping companies. As a result, a deck officer at sea works in a very certain environment. Owing to the nature of the tasks and the watch-keeping system, purely social interaction between deck officers is relatively low compared to time spent in task-related interaction, but most of their problem-solving activity was carried out by officers when on their own.

Engineer officers, on the other hand, frequently worked together on watches, but their interaction was hindered by the noisy environment of the engine room. Their work was less routine than deck officers' because of the many different types of machinery in the engine room and the need

for maintenance and repair of the equipment. Breakdown could not, obviously, be forecast and all the engineer officers engaged in problem-solving activities. Their interaction amongst themselves was high and this reflected both the work activities and the larger number of engineer officers carried on a ship relative to deck officers. The environment of the engine room can be classified as moderately certain on the majority of ships, since much of the work is routine and engine breakdowns rare. The exception to this was the case of CB Company, where the maintenance of engine-room equipment was very poor, largely because of the lack of continuity of personnel.

The ratings' interpersonal interactions also reflected the certainty of their environment. The catering ratings' work followed a pattern which did not very significantly during the voyage. No matter what the circumstances, meals had to be prepared and served, and accommodation and public rooms had to be cleaned. The catering rating performed his tasks in a very certain environment and his interaction with others was on a task-oriented basis (see Chart 8.8) rather than on a purely social one.

The deck ratings as a group have a moderately certain environment in which to work, and a higher proportion of time is spent in purely social activities. Tasks are varied and are performed when the weather, loading and discharging pattern of the ship, and voyage pattern permit. Unlike the catering ratings who solved problems in the working situation by themselves, the deck ratings generally resolved problems in work groups. However, the task-oriented interaction of deck ratings was only slightly less than that of catering ratings, whilst the social interaction of the former averaged nearly two hours more per day than that of the latter.

The engine-room ratings do not fit into these patterns. Interaction in the work environment is restricted by noise, by the spatial complexity of the engine rooms, and because only one engine-room rating is usually working at a time. We have mentioned that the engineer officer is engaged in problem-solving; by and large, the engine-room rating is not. His work is routine, and most of these ratings viewed boredom as their major problem. Very rarely did an engine-room rating assist an engineer in maintenance or repair work.

The pattern of interaction varying with the certainty or uncertainty of the individual's work also held true for the shipping companies. The companies that had the greatest certainty in their operating environments, the cargo-liner companies, also displayed the highest level of task-oriented relationships amongst the crews of their ships (see Chart 8.8). Certainty is comprised of the regularity of trade, the relatively specialized nature of the cargo-liners in the sample, and the companies' heavy investment in shore facilities for handling cargo and providing services to the ship. Problems that had to be solved by seafarers in other companies -- for example, the purchase of ships' stores -- were handled as a matter of course by the shore staff of the cargo-liner firms.

The absence of problem-solving situations and the lack of the need for innovative behaviour led to a highly structured social environment on board the ship. This environment was patterned by the hierarchy imposed upon the ship's crew by tradition and legal requirement and by the more specialized jobs on board the cargo-liners. Whereas the bulk carriers and tramp ships of the sample had crews ranging from 31 to 18 men, the cargo-liners had crews that were of a size between 42 and 68 men. Even these crews numbers were greatly reduced from the ones of

CHART 8.8. QUALITY OF INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS OF CREW MEMBERS (BY COMPANY).

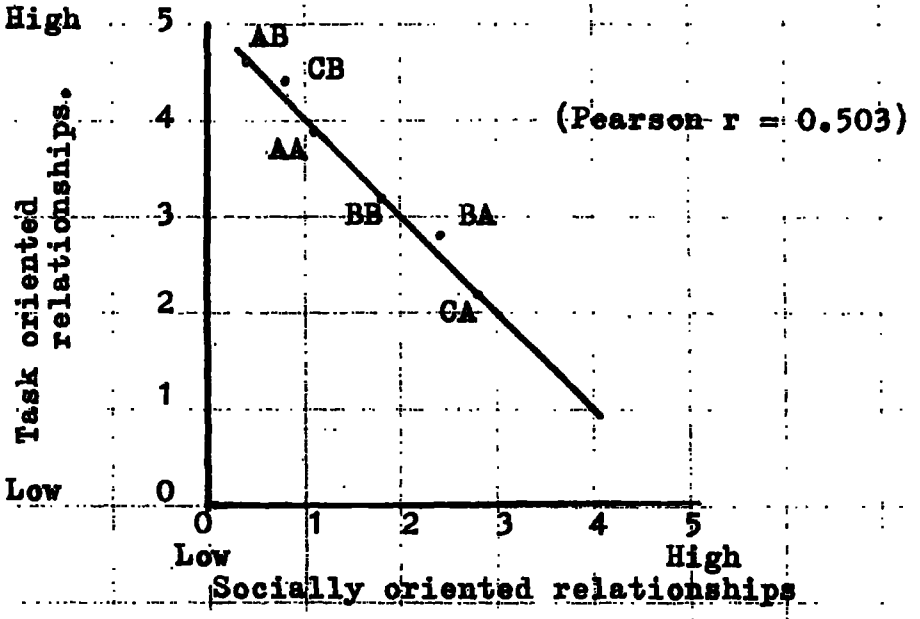
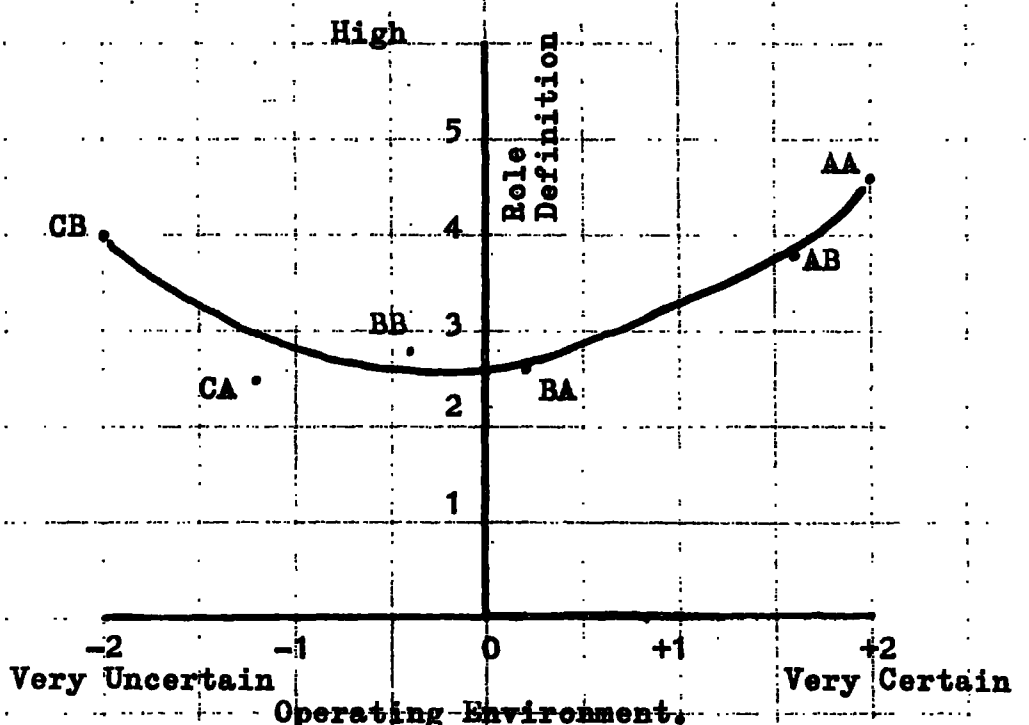


CHART 8.9. SEAFARERS' PERCEPTION OF THEIR ROLES VIS-A-VIS THE CERTAINTY OF OPERATING ENVIRONMENT.



of the late 1950's, but the specialist post of the electrical engineer, for example, was justified on the cargo liners by the need for reliability of service, although his duties are similar to the work carried out by the third or fourth engineer on the bulk or tramp ships equipped with electric cargo-handling gear.

Task-oriented behaviour was, therefore, related to the ships which were relatively specialized, to shorter voyages, and to the companies that were least successful in coping with their economic environment. Companies AB and CB, which showed a high degree of task-oriented behaviour (see Chart 8.8), coped relatively fully with their economic environments, although the degree of certainty and uncertainty of their environments were polarized. Company AB was a cargo-liner company operating in a "certain" area of activities, whilst CB, operating tramp ships, was in a highly "uncertain" environment. The responses of both systems and their subsystems -- the ships -- to their environment was characterized by a bureaucratic network of management ashore and by a lack of social-oriented relationships at sea.

> I stay at sea with this firm [AB] because the voyages are short and there's a lot of overtime here. This ship's bloody awful to live on and crew is straight off the pool -- no company for a man in the evenings. All these youngsters are concerned about is their overtime and working fiddles with the dockers.[23]

> This is my eleventh trip with this company [CA]. When the holidays come round then I look for a short trip with [BA] but the rest of the year I prefer these ships. [Why?] Well I suppose the mates don't have any side. If I want to beef [complain] to Harry Tate [the first mate; rhyming slang] then I go and see him, and we talks about it. The crowd [crew] on these ships are always good for a laugh and everyone mixes well. If you're going to write that in your notebook make sure the company knows they need to build a new ship to replace this one. I put the hammer [chipping hammer] through the fiddly [funnel deck] this morning.[24]

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[23] Research Notebook 25, Interview with Chief Cook, AB Company.

[24] Research Notebook 12, Interview with E.D.H., Ship "Y."

For ships operating in a moderately certain environment, the degree of socially oriented interaction appears to be greater amongst the crew. We noted that on those ships belonging to the "A" suffix series of companies, there is relatively less formality and a greater perceived opportunity for problem-solving behaviour than on the ships of the "B" suffix series of companies. The social structure of the 'A' series of companies more closely approaches the organismic form of Burns and Stalker's electronics firms and is thus able to adapt itself to the social needs of the crews.

Seafarers' Roles

Goode has argued that role strain, which he defined as the felt difficulty in fulfilling role obligations, is a normal condition in organizations or communities.[25] In very certain or uncertain environments, the individual will experience less role strain because of the greater definition of his role. We have seen that the response of the shipping companies to very certain and very uncertain environments has been to emphasize the formal aspects of organizational behaviour. In consequence, roles are highly defined, and little scope appears for individual adjustment of the role. The definition of role as perceived by the seafarers in the sample is shown in Chart 8.9.

In the companies with a relatively high role definition, AA, AB, and CB, the relationships between seafarers were characterized by being task-oriented (see Chart 8.7), and the ability to innovate was not perceived by the seafarers. When the seafarer had a loosely defined role -- a role which was not defined in detail by the company -- he also perceived the ability to innovate, and his relationships with other crew members were more socially oriented. These conditions prevailed in those companies having moderately certain operating environments.

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[25] W.J. Goode (1960).

Role strain was created in these cases by the need to accommodate role elements of a seafarer to the role elements of another seafarer; in other words, to accommodate the tasks of one seafarer to the tasks of another. This problem-solving activity, which on the ships with highly defined roles was an activity normally carried out by heads of departments or was referred by them to company middle-management ashore, embraced the majority of officers on the ships of companies BA, BB, and CA. Since it was necessary to interact in the work situation to resolve problems, socially oriented relationships appeared because the seafarers knew one another and were able to assess the skill and ability of each other.[26]

Role strain arose on three counts on the ships with a moderately certain environment: the necessity of defining his own role by the seafarer; the necessity of coordinating his own role with that of others; and the necessity of meeting the goals of ship operation. Although the hierarchical structure did not differ between the ships in the sample, on those vessels belonging to companies with high role definition, the hierarchy coupled with the role definition provided the context of interaction. On the ships with low role definition, the hierarchy provided the "signposts" for role definition, and each seafarer developed his own role definition.

This adjustment varied between levels of the hierarchy. The ratings in all departments on board the ships of Companies BA, BB, and CA experienced the loss of role definition to a lesser extent than the junior officers. This is due primarily to the fewer components of the ratings' roles vis-à-vis the officers'. To the ratings the increased but limited ability to innovate was seen as a restoration of the traditional role of seamen.

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[26] A feature of this was that the majority of crew members on the ships of the companies with moderately certain environments knew one another by name. On the other ships knowledge of the names of seafarers outside of one's own department was not common. For example, the third mate of an

The junior officers also appreciated the possible enlargement of their roles, and the ability to engage in tasks to their liking. The dysfunction of this perceived ability to innovate was that it increased the likelihood of disputes within the social and task relationships and also the likelihood of deviant behaviour. The deviant behaviour that occurred was an expression of the definition of roles and ranged from arguments between officers and ratings over tasks to seafarers being absent without leave because time off was felt to be their due.

The pressures perceived by the seafarers on this group of ships were seen in interpersonal terms, whereas the pressures on seafarers with AA, AB, and CB were defined mainly by the company's operational definitions:

> The Second Engineer doesn't bother to go below when there's a breakdown and leaves the job to the watch-keepers. I don't think that's right as I don't have any idea about some of the gear. Last trip was my first here and we had a [lubricating] pump failure on my watch, and when I sent for him he told the Greaser to tell me to fix it and not to bother him.[27]

> We don't run this ship. The superintendent runs it. They tell us how to load the cargo, how to maintain the machinery with planned maintenance, how much paint to use and where. The only difference between my job and a bus driver is that he gets home nights and I don't.[28]

> You can go on board any ship belonging to [AA] and you do exactly the same work. I was bosun on the ---- last trip, and everything is just the same here even though this is a bigger ship. The crowd know exactly what jobs they'll have to do and the way they have to be done. It's easy really.[29]

AB Company ship had sailed on that ship for two voyages (ten months) and could not tell the author of any of the engineer officers below the rank of second engineer although they had sailed together throughout the period.

[27] Research Notebook 12, Interview with Fourth Engineer, Ship "Y."

[28] Research Notebook 17, Interview with Chief Officer, Ship "Z."

[29] Research Notebook 21, Interview with Bosun, Company AA.

> All these trips are different. The last Mate used to worry about the accommodation paintwork and the bridge brass. This one likes to see the gear being overhauled, and I like that as well. He gives me the chance to really get on with a job and I can work things through. It's the constant change of crew that makes it difficult here to keep the ship in order -- everyone has his own ideas, and we have to work around them.[30]

Where these role definitions occur, an element of compromise, of bargaining, is apparent. This bargaining is carried on within the framework of the hierarchy of the subsystem of the ship and is partially determined by the legal requirements of licensing and certificates, but represents an opportunity to create a satisfying social climate. Strain becomes apparent when there are differences in the definition of roles, differences which must be ironed out if the ship is to operate successfully.

The mediation of roles lies with those whom Lawrence and Lorsch refer to as integrators, persons whose role definition places them as mediator.[31] In the companies with high role definition, mediation lies solely in the roles of the heads of department, the ship's master, and the marine superintendents. The mediation tends to be placed with these same functionaries in the low role definition companies, but the role of integrator can be, and frequently is, assumed by others because of varying role definitions.

On one AA Company ship, for instance, the electrician became the integrator of deck and engine-room activities because he moved freely between the two groups of officers. He serviced all the bridge equipment in addition to doing all the engine-room electrical work. Since the mate and the chief engineer of this ship were very status conscious, little contact occurred between the two groups at informal levels other than through the activities of the electrician who coordinated activities.[32]

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[30] Research Notebook 4, Interview with Bosun, Company CA.

[31] P.R. Lawrence and J.W. Lorsch (1967a), esp. pp. 62-9.

[32] Research Notebook 25, Interview with Second Mate, AA Company.

Compensation for this lack of scope in the role definition of the officers in Companies AA and AB, and to a lesser extent CB, was given in status terms. The officers, both mates and engineers, were afforded a life style by the company which was similar to that of the stereotype discussed in Chapter IV. This life style satisfied, in many cases, the sense of being "proper" officers but was derived at the expense of the status of the ratings. In Company CB the officers needed to assert their power, and their recourse was usually through the medium of the logbook.

Table 8.6. Logbook entries for ratings in the period June, 1968, to June, 1969.*

Offence	AA %	AB %	BA %	BB %	CA %	CB %	N
AWOL	34.7	33.3	38.0	37.7	43.0	22.2	195
Drunkenness	42.1	43.0	23.0	20.0	21.4	41.9	229
Disobeying an order	9.2	10.0	27.0	35.4	28.6	22.7	121
Other	14.0	13.3	12.2	6.6	7.0	13.3	77
Total %	100.0	99.6	100.2	99.7	100.0	99.1	
N =	121	135	74	62	27	203	622

Table 8.7. Summary of offences by company groupings.*

	High Role Definition AA, AB, CB %	Low Role Definition BA, BB, CA %
AWOL	30.1	39.6
Drunkenness	42.3	21.5
Disobeying an order	14.0	30.3
Other	13.5	8.6
Total %	99.9	100.0
N =	459	163

*The sample is of five voyages of 11 to 13 weeks' duration from each company, under different masters during the period June, 1968, to June, 1969. Information taken from ships' logbooks.

In the breakdown of disciplinary action in Table 8.6, of the 622 offences recorded, 73.8% took place on ships in the companies with a high degree of role definition; 41% of all offences took place on the ships of Company CB, whilst the companies with environments of medium certainty accounted for only 26.2% of offences between them. The high definition of roles created a higher frequency of behaviour patterns which were defined as delinquent than would be expected.

The definition of delinquent behaviour varied with the definition of roles. Thus, on the ships with low role definition, drunkenness accounted for approximately 21% of all offences, though on ships with high role definition drunkenness accounted for 42% of all offences. Whilst alcohol consumption was slightly heavier on the ships of Companies AA, AB, and CB, the difference in the logging ratios is too great for this to provide a satisfactory explanation.[33] In the case of the cargo-liner companies of "A" group, the explanation is provided by the need of officers to enhance their status. The majority of officers (69%) thought it necessary to set an example, and so it was seen to be just and fair to log all offences.

> You must remember that most of the crew come from very poor backgrounds, and on the ship we cannot afford to have behaviour similar to their behaviour ashore. My officers do not drink to excess so there is no reason for a seaman to.[34]

> The operation of the engine room requires a great deal of responsibility from engineer officers and the greasers. If the juniors do their job properly, as they do for 99% of the time, I expect the greasers to do the same, and this includes showing proper respect for the engineers. We have qualifications and the greasers and donkeymen don't.[35]

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[33] Information from stores lists of all companies for the year 1968. The average consumption of alcohol for all seafarers was the equivalent of 1.83 pints of beer per man per day.

[34] Research Notebook 25, Interview with Master, AB Company.

[35] Research Notebook 22, Interview with Second Engineer, AA Company.

On the ships of Company CB, different attitudes prevailed:

> If you give one of the crowd an inch he will take over the whole bloody ship. The only way to get any work and respect from them is to hit them with the book [logbook] at the beginning of the voyage and keep on hitting them. You've got to show them who is boss here.[36]

> A happy ship is one where everyone knows their place and their job. If you cut the nonsense out it makes my job easier, and gives the mates a chance to do theirs.[37]

Here power is seen by the officers as the necessary value, and by using punitive measures against the ratings, they are able to meet the role definition that they could not meet in any other way.[38] The ships of Company CB and the trades engaged in are similar to those of Company CA. The difference in the human relationships on board are the definitions of the appropriate roles by the companies. Company CA adopted a loosely defined role and encouraged an organismic system of operation. Company CB defined the roles of the seafarers in great depth and had a highly mechanistic form of operation. These two styles are reflected in the disciplinary action considered necessary on board the ships.[39]

The emphasis on role definition leads to an emphasis upon the status and power of officers and reduces the role strain inherent in a technician undertaking a management role. When roles are loosely defined, as occurs on the ships operating in a moderately certain environment, the roles have to shaped by the incumbent to suit the system of organization of the ship and the group definition of the methods for attaining the goals set by the company. This requires a flexible approach to his job

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[36] Research Notebook 31, Interview with Chief Officer, Company CB.

[37] Research Notebook 30, Interview with Master, Company CB.

[38] G. Foulser (1961), esp. pp.90-106; R.A. Ramsay (1966).

[39] It should be pointed out that all the senior officers in Company CA had attended the B.S.F. Management for Senior Officers Training Course.

and shipmates on the part of the seafarer, and senior officers become managers in the true sense of the word, since they shape the operating organization.

The Time Orientation of Seafarers

We indicated in Chapter I that the time systems on board a ship are complex, and as a result, the seafarer is acutely aware of time. The span of time affecting seafarers was explored during interviews with officers and ratings, and in depth with forty-one officers (a sample drawn from one ship in each company). We were particularly interested in discovering the span of time for activities in which seamen were involved, and this time span, as it affected decision-making, is shown in Table 8.8.[40]

Table 8.8. Maximum length of time for a decision concerning operating action to be realized.*

Time	Personnel Affected
One hour	Junior Ratings, Apprentices, Ratings on day work
Four hours (one watch)	Junior Officers, Watch-keeping Ratings
One day	Bosun, Assistant Cook, Second Steward, Radio Officer, Electrician
Duration of passage	Engine-room Storekeeper, Chief Cook, Chief Steward, Second Mate, Third Engineer
Duration of voyage	Master, Chief Engineer, Mate, Second Engineer

*Interview data on maximum length of feedback.

The time span is quite short but is flexible at the upper end of the scale, as a passage may vary in length from a few hours to three or four weeks if a Pacific crossing or a voyage from the United Kingdom to

[40] This discussion follows the concept outlined in P.R. Lawrence and J.W. Lorsch (1967b), pp. 34-5.

the Persian Gulf, Far East, or Australia is undertaken. The passage is the time spent at sea between two ports. The voyage can also vary in length. The average length of voyage in Company AB, for example, was 4½ months, whilst in Company CB, it was 1½ months.[41] The time span also differed for work done in port and at sea.

The operating decisions were short-term ones and related to the technology. Chart 8.10 shows the decision span of ships' officers when dealing with cargoes. In this case decisions were made which had a span of up to 5.2 weeks, and were related to the certainty of the company's operating environment.

When the ship is specialized and is operating on a fixed schedule, decisions relating to ship operations and the handling of cargoes can be made as a matter of routine. When the ship is highly specialized — container ships, for instance — the decisions relating to cargo work are transferred to shore staff, although the sea staff are still legally responsible for the cargo. Thus, on the tramp vessels of Companies CA and CB, where the ships were not specialized and did not operate on a routine basis, decisions about the carriage of cargoes were usually taken by the ships' officers. The routineness of the operation allowed a shift in decision-making from ship to shore staff, reducing the components of decision available to the officer and his decision span, as these are related to the duration of passage when cargo work is involved.

The second factor is the degree of bureaucratization of the company. The companies with a "B" suffix tended to be relatively mechanistic, and in all these companies the time span of decisions for officers was shorter than those of the other companies in the sample category. This was because of the tighter control maintained by the companies over the individual ships regardless of the degree of specialization.

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[41] Length of voyages taken from logbooks and company records for 1967-69 and averaged over each company's fleet.

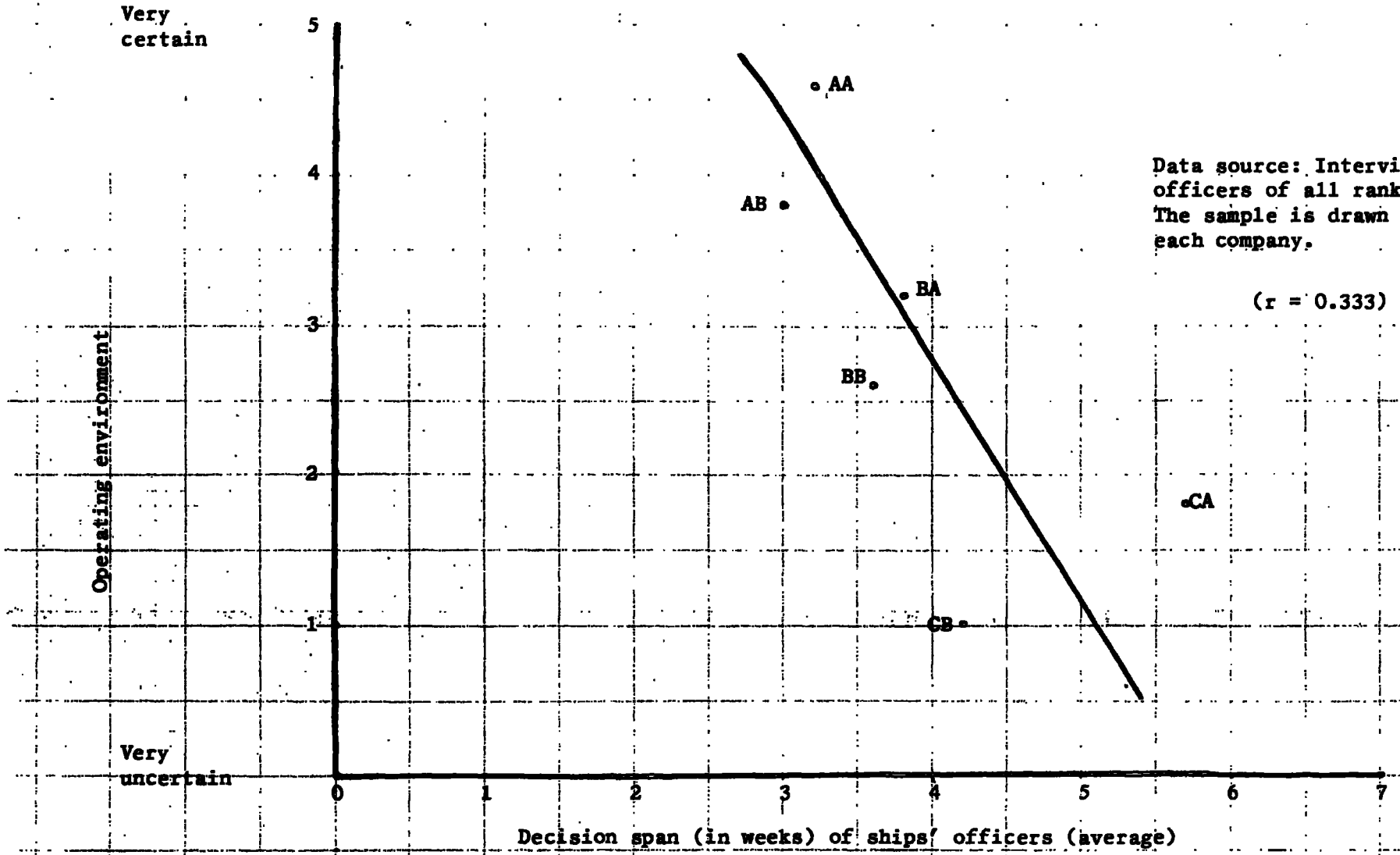

Chart 8.10. Span of decisions relating to cargo taken by ships' officers in relation to certainty of operations.

The quality of decision-making was not that of the managers cited by Lawrence and Lorsch.[42] The decisions made by managers in their study affected the operation of the business, but the average seafarer has no control over factors influencing business matters of deployment of capital and plant. The seafarer's decisions are concerned with operations only, and as such, the time span varies with the technology and its application and the type of cargo carried.

However, the time span does reflect the feedback of information. The deck officer has a longer time span of activity than the engineer officer because the period between the loading and out-turning of cargo is longer than the period involved in engine-room control. The same scale of time span and technology applied to the deck and engine-room ratings. Catering ratings, who have a high degree of autonomy in the workplace, had the longest time span and the least technical work amongst the ratings.

A sharp variation occurs in the planning of personal activities by seafarers. The majority of ratings planned ahead for a period of 10.27 months, whilst the officers, on average, planned their activities two years and ten months in advance. No significant difference appeared between subgroups within the ratings and officers groups, but there was a significant difference between types of company vis-à-vis operating environment. This relationship is shown in Chart 8.11.

The seafarers in the preferred companies, those with an organismic structure in the group of companies with an "A" suffix, showed a higher level of planning for the future. This is partly explained by the higher proportion of older and married men in these companies. The response of the full sample to the question of making the sea a career and shore alternatives reflects this.[43]

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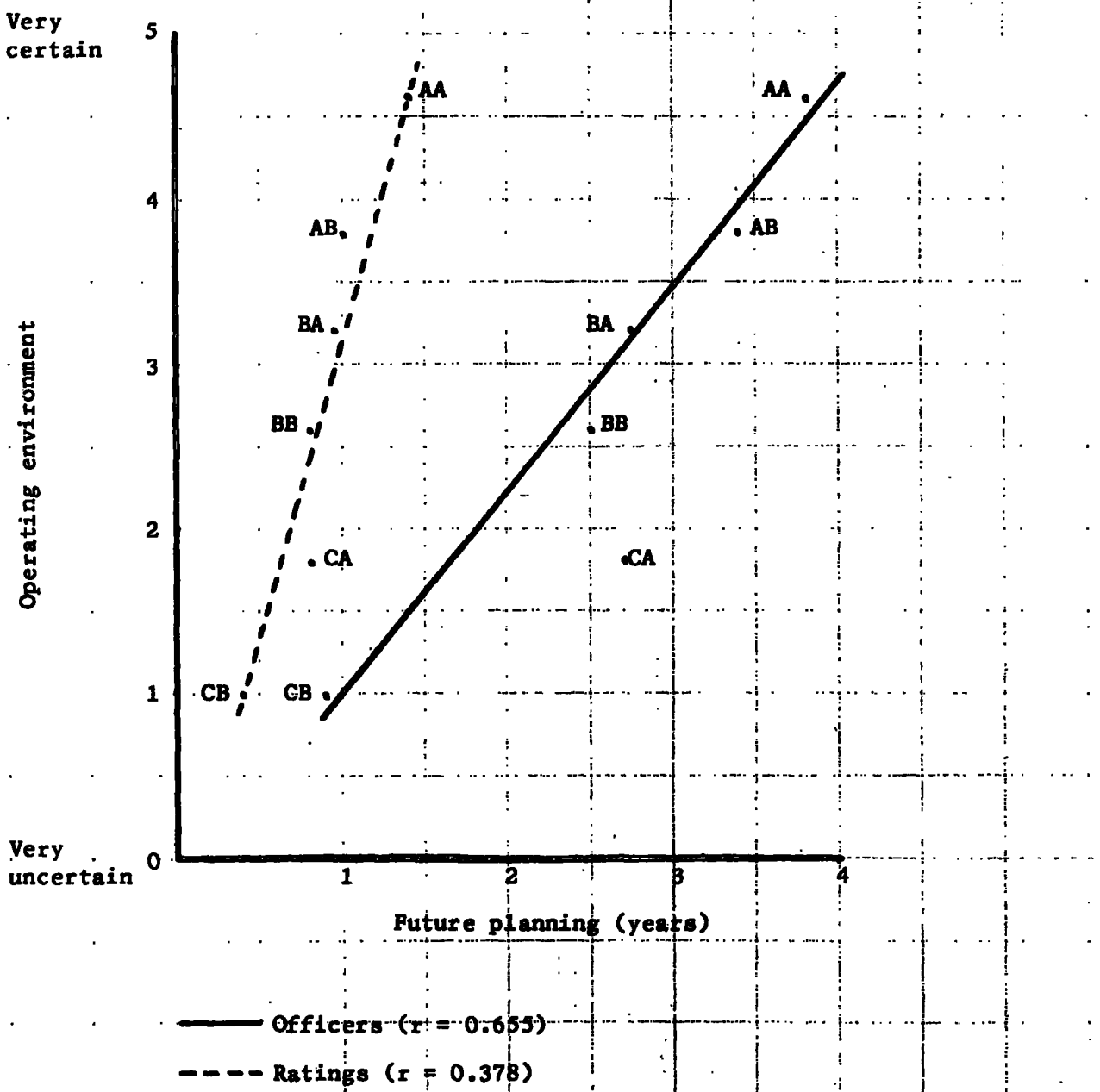
[42] P.R. Lawrence and J.W. Lorsch (1967b).

[43] Questions 24 and 24a in Questionnaires 2 and 3; Question 12 and 12a in Questionnaire 4.

Chart 8.11. The certainty of environment and planning for the future by individual seafarers.



Source: Interview data (N = 41 officers, 53 ratings) on future plans of seafarers, and what seafarers saw themselves doing in the future. Interviews averaged by company to give aggregate scores.

Personal planning was defined by career events such as the prospects for promotion and studying for and taking Department of Trade and Industry examinations, or by personal events such as marriage or starting a family. Personal events were not so important as career events for ships' officers (in a ratio of 1:4) in determining the career pattern. For ratings, family considerations were of greater importance than a career. The determinants of planning for the future by all seafarers were the length of voyage, type of company, and to a lesser extent, the age of the seafarer.

The Environmental Constraints on Seafarers: A Summary

We have discussed some of the effects of the operating and market environments upon the structure of the shipping company, and demonstrated that environments which are either very certain or very uncertain cause shipping companies to tend toward a structure that can be described as mechanistic. This mechanistic structure is marked by a greater degree of control by the companies over the day-to-day operations on the ship. In companies which had moderately certain operating environments, the structure of the system was relatively open and could be described as organismic. Within the categories of companies, the ones preferred by the seafarers showed a relatively organismic structure, whilst those not preferred by seafarers tended to be mechanistic.

This dichotomy of mechanistic-organismic structures is carried through into the social life of the ship. Owing to the need of the ship's officers to direct the day-to-day operations of the ship in the companies with a organismic form of structure, there is a greater need for communication and coordination of activities at the level of the subsystem of the ship. This, in turn, leads to the development of relationships between seafarers which are socially oriented and not

purely concerned with task accomplishment. These social relations are furthered by the relatively low definition of the seafarers' roles by companies in a moderately certain environment, and the opportunity arises for self-realization within the confines of the roles.

The ability to innovate in the operational sphere helps, as we shall see, to create a higher level of job satisfaction. This is paralleled by the personal planning of the seafarer for his future. Seafarers as a group, however, have little chance to engage in long-term decision-making, unlike management ashore. Decisions which are made by the seafarer are confined exclusively to technical and operating matters related to the ship, its cargo, and its safety. As the ships become more specialized, and particularly in the companies with a highly certain operating environment, the seafarer's scope for decisions is increasingly limited, and the time span of decisions is shortened.

CHAPTER IX

THE SEAFARER IN HIS WORKPLACE

Introduction

In this chapter we shall be concerned with the way in which the seafarer relates his role to the roles of other seafarers and to the goals of the ship and the shipping company. We shall start with the premise, following Hegel,[1] that any social behaviour is the result of the modification of conduct to conform to expected norms. That is to say, social behaviour is a compromise, or synthesis, derived from an individual's definition of his role and the definition of that role by others. It is this process of adaptation of role to fit normative patterns and goals that Goode has referred to as "role bargaining."[2]

The Seafarer and His Job

The socialization of young seafarers is carried out through the medium of induction courses at sea schools and nautical colleges. Few entrants to the Merchant Navy receive no form of preliminary training at the present time. These courses are aimed at fitting the boy to his future work, and those for the boys attending the Nautical Sea Training School, Gravesend, are no exception.

> They are encouraged to look upon themselves more as trainee seafarers than as pupils. Their instructors give orders in the same tone and manner as at sea. And they expect a similar response.[3]

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[1] G.W.F. Hegel (1959), pp. 117-21.

[2] W.J. Goode (1960, 1970).

[3] Merchant Navy Journal (March, 1967), p. 18; S.M. Dornbusch (1955).

As we noted earlier, this initial socialization frequently bears little relation to life on board ship. Since the work group on the ship is a much greater influence than the initial training, a problem arises: a period of intensive training which does not meet the goal requirements of the operating environment can, and normally does, lead to a period of intense anomie for the entrant as he adjusts his expectations to those of the environment.[4] We have remarked on the high levels of wastage from the industry, but it should be noted that 16% of all rating entrants and 8% of all apprentices leave the industry at the end of their first voyage. A third of all entrants to the Merchant Navy have left within a year of entry, and of deck officers who complete their indentures (70% of all entrants), only 56% (37% of all entrants) remain in the industry for a further five years.[5]

Stotland has argued that the greater the degree of support afforded by peer groups, the more will members tend to persist toward a goal recognized by the group.[6] The important criterion, therefore, is the ability of the seafarer to obtain access to a subculture from which he can draw skills, motives, and attitudes.[7] The seafarer enters an occupational group the moment he joins a ship. These groups are characterized in the main by a structure based on age and rank. Anderson has spoken of a love-of-occupation motivation for seamen:

> This type of job interest is found especially on ships where every man has his job and every job is precisely and traditionally defined. They move on and off duty with a clocked precision and they do the rounds of their work almost without supervision, and its only the amateur seaman who does not take pride in it but even he, under the social pressure of the crew, soon acquires the same attitude.[8]

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[4] E.A. Fleishman, E.F. Harris and H.E. Burtt (1955), esp. p. 58.

[5] Data obtained from B.S.F. and company records.

[6] E. Stotland (1959), pp. 53-68.

[7] E.H. Sutherland and D.R. Cressey (1955), pp. 77-80, in which the principle of differential association is discussed.

[8] N. Anderson (1961), p. 28.

In fact, socialization on board is very erratic. Because the average age of ships' crews is so low, there is not the bond of memories, traditions, beliefs, and skills of which MacIver has written[9] to provide the basis for in-depth socialization to take place. The love of occupation postulated by Anderson is only found to any degree amongst the deck officers, for the socialization process is the most intense in this of all the groups. This is recognized in the stereotypes and in the responses to the question concerning the most skillful job on board ship.

Table 9.1. Degree of acceptance of subsystem norms by seafarers. (Questionnaires 2 and 3)

	Deck Officers %	Engineer Officers %	Catering Ratings %	Deck Ratings %	Engine Ratings %
All norms accepted	58	20	26	39	18
Some norms accepted	36	42	55	38	64
Few norms accepted	6	38	19	23	18
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
N =	108	109	99	163	42

Inadequate socialization to the occupation contributes to the shallowness of the social relationships which develop in the subsystem. When the structure of the company is organismic, the socialization process and the satisfaction of the person are intensified owing to the relatively informal structure of the ship. Consequently, the crews show a greater group loyalty and recognition of group skills and individual abilities. Relaxation of the hierarchical crew structure permits a freedom for the individual to resolve his own dilemmas and frustrations in the occupational community.[10]

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[9] R.M. MacIver (1924), p. 85.

[10] M. Sherif (1948), p. 332.

Training and socialization are concentrated on techniques, on methods of ship operation rather than leadership skills because of the high level of wastage and the high cost of training. This has the latent effect of creating boredom amongst seafarers because of the lack of socialization into the ship's community. The short voyages, the hierarchical isolation from others, and differences in age and background do not allow the seafarer relationships with others in which a true community spirit, and hence a process of socialization, can be developed. A man can only be judged by his behaviour whilst working and is accorded status and respect accordingly. As a result, there is an emphasis, a pride, in working hard which compensates for the paucity of work content. The stereotype is thus supported of the "hard-living seafarer."

Table 9.2. Boredom in the workplace.

Scale	Deck Officers %	Engineer Officers %	Catering Ratings %	Deck Ratings %	Engine-room Ratings %
1*	11	9	17	21	19
2	35	39	34	42	40
3	42	37	34	30	39
4	10	19	11	6	2
5	2	6	3	1	0
Total %	100	100	99	100	100
N =	158	189	140	243	72

*The scale is based on a continuum from 1 ("All my shipboard work is extremely boring.") to 5 ("All my shipboard work is extremely interesting."). Data from Questionnaires 2, 3, and 4.

This orientation is found in the engine room in particular, and the use of alcohol serves to support the image. Within the work groups alcohol is used as a substitute for normal primary relationships and as an instrument to initiate facile social relationships. Status differentials

are such on board ship that the pervading authoritarian values can only be discarded when an obvious social activity is taking place. Alcohol provides an appropriate social "signal" for informal behaviour to take place.

> The Old Man [master] and the Steward [catering officer] used to run bingo and horse-race evenings once a week. Everyone 'ld come on to number 3 [No. 3 hatch] and the Steward always had four or five cases of beer out. Once we all had downed a couple of cans [of beer] things 'ld start to warm up and we'd have a good time.[11]

> The Chief [Engineer] came by this evening with half a dozen cans of ale. He was in a good mood and B. [junior engineer] and the Chief talked about the yard [the shipyard where both men trained] until ten [o'clock].[12]

The importance of the work group is a medium for displaying the capacity to work and play hard, to conform to the stereotype of seafaring discussed in Chapter IV, rather than as a meaningful context for the development of social relationships. In the course of coping with the strains of shipboard life, a "traditional" approach is defined which is then substituted for the "moral personality" which Durkheim described as the bond of society.[13] This traditional approach to work is dictated by the shipping company, since only the shore staff have a continuing definition of the approach for ship operation.

A definition of the goals of the work groups is thus related to the organization of the shipping company and the degree of freedom to innovate. Because of this, each group on the ship is isolated, for they do not have the continuity of service necessary to build up intergroup ties. The engineer officer, then, is concerned only with those tasks that he defines as his in the context of goals and socialization processes. This career

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[11] Research Notebook 13, Interview with Donkey Greaser, Ship "Z."

[12] Research Notebook 15, Diary kept by Fourth Engineer, Ship "Z."

[13] E. Durkheim (1956), p. 78.

is reflected in the choice of language, topics of conversation, and styles of dress of the different work groups on board ship. Differentiation of behaviour serves to reinforce the group's norms and creates a social milieu for the individual seafarer.[14]

Table 9.3. Definition of primary goals by seafarers. (Data from Questionnaires 2 and 3)

	Deck Officers %	Engineer Officers %	Deck Ratings %	Catering Ratings %	Engine Ratings %
Work group goals only	40	61	57	65	68
Some work group, some ship goals	22	8	21	11	13
Work group and company goals	29	14	3	1	2
Other	9	17	19	23	17
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
N =	108	109	99	163	42

The Seafarer and the Relationship between Ship and Shipping Company

The shipping company's relationship with the ship it operates is complex. The ship is operated to provide a return on capital on the one hand; on the other, the ship is a moving, waterborne carrier of cargoes functioning away from the control of head office. It is staffed by specialists who are jealous of their prerogatives and skills, and most important, it is surrounded by a web of myths and romanticism. In this section we shall attempt to spell out the problems of these specialists in relation to their skills and to the running of the ship as a whole.

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[14] See B. Schwartz (1968) in which privacy of group behaviour is a unifying function.

In spite of the advent of radio telegraphy before World War I, the ship's master still enjoys a high degree of operational autonomy. The period between 1955 and 1970 has seen a remarkable change in the traditional autonomy of the seafarer, a change which has come about with the impact of new ship technology and the changing nature of shipping companies. Janowitz has pointed out that the

> impact of technology has forced a shift in the practices of military authority. Military authority must shift from reliance on practices based on domination to a wider utilization of manipulation.[15]

This same shift has occurred not only in quasi-military organizations such as the Merchant Navy and the hospital service in which control is traditionally authoritarian, but also in other walks of life.[16] The ship operates on the basis of a hierarchy of personnel, but new forms of technology and changes in social forms ashore such as universal education are eroding the hierarchy and promoting a demand for similar and equal facilities for all on the ship.

Whilst this demand for parity emerges on the ship, the company is also drawing the ship more firmly into its organizational net. The master and officers are no longer rulersof all they survey but rather are subordinated to the company's policies in a way that is novel in the industry. Ships are now the scene of work-study exercises as a matter of routine; stores are planned and delivered to the ship by the company; maintenance and operations are also determined by the company. The ship's master, like ". . .the foreman, instead of being 'King of his own castle' and competent to decide most technical or administrative questions himself, depends increasingly on experts."[17]

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[15] M. Janowitz (1960), p. 211.

[16] See, for example, W.R. Rosengren (1967); E.O. Smigel (1964).

[17] C.R. Walker, R.H. Guest and A.N. Turner (1956), p. 35.

The relations between ship and company management have in the past been handled by the heads of the departments on the ship, usually co-ordinated by the master. Imposition of greater control by the company has fostered a new balance of power and a new awareness of the failure of both sides to handle operating decisions. This, in turn, has increased the pressure upon the seafarer. Thomas has pointed out that when units of an organization have low interdependence upon one another, little friction is engendered, whilst the converse is true of units with high factors of interdependence.[18]

Table 9.4. Relationship between ability to innovate and level of satisfaction of officers. (Questionnaires 2 and 3)

Degree of Satisfaction**	Degree of Innovation*		
	High %	Medium %	Low %
1	52	1	6
2	24	20	13
3	10	41	33
4	8	36	32
5	6	2	16
Total %	100	100	100
N =	59	62	96

*Based on perceived ability to choose ship, leave, etc.; data from Questionnaires 2 and 3; see Appendix II.)

**Based on the question, "When you think of the time you have spent at sea, would you say that you are (1) very happy with your job; (2) happy; (3) it's just a job; (4) unhappy; (5) very unhappy."

[18] E. Thomas (1957).

We mentioned in the last chapter that the ability to innovate was important to the seafarer and was related to the ability to plan his own future through the medium of the organismic company. This concept of innovation -- of being in control of his role performance -- is viewed as crucial by the seafarer. When he ceases to enjoy this freedom, he will leave the sea. Zander and his colleagues have maintained that "a person is secure if he perceives that he is able to satisfy important needs and he is insecure if he is blocked, or believes that he will be blocked, in the achievement of these aspirations."[19]

It is important for the seafarer to have his skills recognized. In the companies with a mechanistic structure, the seafarers feel relatively powerless. The ship's officers by and large have not been able to prevent the erosion of their power and status, and as a result, relationships with those companies with a higher bureaucratic component in their organization have tended to become hostile.

> When I joined this company as a cadet I was proud to wear the uniform and learn my trade. Now jumped-up office boys come down to the ship and tell me that the stores list is not "appropriate". None of them have been to sea and they tell me that I have to fill out the list again properly so that it will be processed by the computer.[20]

> [Head Office] send down all these instructions and papers for signature on the day when I have the BOT Surveyors here surveying tank tops. The messenger said he had to take them back with him, so I told him to take them back and tell the bastard [who sent them] to jump in front of a bloody tube train. About an hour later the Marine Super. came on board and asked me what I had done to the finance division so I told him and explained. He said it wasn't good enough and I should apologize, so I walked off the ship. They're short of mates so they had to take me back on my terms, but I have to watch all my pay and leave entitlements like a hawk or they'll diddle me.[21]

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[19] A. Zander, A.R. Cohen and E. Stotland (1959), p. 18.

[20] Research Notebook 18, Interview with Master, Company AB.

[21] Research Notebook 4, Interview with Chief Officer, Company AB.

Parsons held that the primacy of orientation to the attainment of a specific goal is the defining characteristic of an organization.[22] The seafarer views the goals of a shipping company primarily as the application of skills to move the ship and its cargo safely and efficiently between ports. The shipping company view their goal as the provision of an economic transport service between ports. The relationship between the professional and the administrator is the key to the relationship of ship and shore management. The problems of communication and coordination in this relationship are better achieved by companies with the organismic form of structure than in the other companies. Therefore, it is in the companies which have a structure flexible enough to allow innovation and to satisfy the seafarer's need for recognition that the goals of subsystems on the ship can be adapted to the needs of the ship within the organization.

In the non-innovatory companies, the subsystems on board tended to splinter into small empires with rights and privileges.

> The light bulb in the gyro room packed in, so I asked the Junior Electrician to change it when he came up to check the bridge gear. He said O.K., and he would fix it after smoke-o [coffee break]. The next thing I knew was that the Mate was on my back because the Chief Electrician said I'd been giving orders to his junior.[23]

This attitude was highly detrimental to the coordination of the ship's crew to meet any goals other than those of safety, and hence the primary goals were only those concerning safe operations.

On the ships of the innovatory companies, a great deal of adaptation of the primary goals of the subsystem members took place in order to achieve a harmonious working system. This was marked by a high level of consultation and communication between seafarers of all ranks concerning ship operation. An example was the frequent interaction between master,

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[22] T. Parsons (1961), p. 33.

[23] Research Notebook 17, Interview with Second Mate, Company AB.

chief engineer, and mate on Ship "Y" about operating matters. These three men had adopted the practice of meeting in one another's cabins in turn each morning for coffee. Information received at these meetings was rapidly passed to the other officers and to the crew in the course of the day.

> Well, there isn't a proper galley radio [information network through the stewards' overhearing conversations [24]] on this ship because the Mate tells us what's up before the Doc [Chief Cook] does. I'll say this for the Mate, for all he's a sly old dodger, he will listen when you want to tell him something.[25]

Consultation also included shore management who were looked upon as resource persons capable of passing on important information.

The successful development of a relationship between ship and shore management depends on the satisfaction of the needs of the seafarer as a responsible person. When such a relation exists, the goals of the subsystems can be adapted on the ship so that the goals of the company can also be met. We have seen that Companies AA, BA, and CA met these criteria and that they were relatively organismic in structure. Adaptation of goals often led to conflict between ship and shore management, and the ramifications of this will be explored.

Conflict between Ship and Company over the Definition of the Seafarer's Role

When the real goals of the ship-as-organization do not coincide with the real goals of the organization of which the ship is part, the members of the ship's crew will experience role strain. We have already seen in the comments of the chief officers with Company CB the felt lack of understanding of shore management of the task of ship operation. Burns and Stalker examined this problem in their study of electronics firms.

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[24] N. Monsarrat (1955), p. 60.

[25] Research Notebook 10, Interview with E.D.H., Ship "Y."

> Political issues arose not from the fact of change itself, but from the identification of change with one section of the concern, whose new role and expansion threatened the power and standing of other sections which were being treated as though they were unaffected by the new dispensation and could be left to accommodate themselves passively to it.[26]

The issues emerging from the change in the status quo occur within the social system and are conditioned by it. The problem is that two forms of social system operate in the shipping company. One, the ship, is a self-contained community with an authoritarian, hierarchical system. The shipping company conforms in its shore-based system to the structure of almost any white-collar administrative organization. The two systems do not share a common set of experiences and behavioural patterns. An action taken by one in the normal course of events may have no counterpart in the activities of other systems.

A person's occupation defines his role in functions and duties, and the seafarer's role set is not fully known by shore management. It is at this junction that conflict arises.[27] This problem is a function of size of a company as well as certainty of operating environment. The seafarer views changes in the design and trades of the ships he serves on with some trepidation, since these changes are perceived to involve the obsolescence of some of his skills, the dilution of other skills, and a demand for new ones.

The seafarer's response is to accept these role changes, and we have seen that acceptance does occur; to leave the company; to adapt to a course of blocking change on procedural matters relating to the running of the ship; or, finally, to initiate overt conflict over the redefinition of the roles. In our discussion of seafarers' trade union activity, we saw that the last course of action is rarely followed. Seafarers normally

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[26] T. Burns and G.M. Stalker (1961), p. 205; also see C. Sofer (1955), esp. p. 292; R.M. MacIver (1924), pp. 121-2; and A. Etzioni (1960), p. 293, for a discussion of Weber's arguments on this point.

[27] A. Zander, A.R. Cohen, and E. Stotland (1959), pp. 16-17.

respond to problems of conflict of role definition by either leaving the company or attempting to block change on procedural grounds.

In Company AA the role structure of the ships' hierarchy was organized for the carrying of four mates, as the cargo work required two mates on deck watch at any one time. Following a time-and-motion study in 1963, the fourth mate was withdrawn from certain ships. Within the next eighteen months, 37% of the junior deck officers had resigned from the company on the grounds of overwork. Previously, Company AA had a turnover of about 10% of its junior deck officers in any one year. The company reinstated the position of fourth mate, but the wastage level in 1969 was still 18% per annum.

All the companies, with the exception of BA and CA, experienced similar problems following the institution of work measurement or planned maintenance schemes. The Merchant Navy Journal noted that the lack of information available to the ships' crews from the shipping companies seriously impeded the implementation of schemes relating to technical innovation on the ships.[28]

The conflict lies in the definitions of purpose. We said earlier that the goals of the shipping company are to maximize profit and to run ships economically. For the seafarer the goals are to operate the ship safely and skillfully. These goals are not incompatible, but we have already said that those companies with a relatively high level of role definition found it difficult to attain a compatibility of goals. If a ship is to maximize its earning capacity, only a minimum of delay in passages can be tolerated. However, the International Regulations for the Prevention of Collision at Sea lay down specific instructions for ships in bad weather. If a ship's master ignores these rules in

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[28] Merchant Navy Journal (Winter, 1966), pp. 19, 29.

order to arrive in port on schedule and his ship is involved in an accident, he is likely to lose his qualifications and perhaps his life and the lives of crew members. Yet companies place pressure on seafarers to disregard regulations and thereby avoid delays.[29]

The goals of ship operation are transmitted through the socialization processes of the seafarer, but for some, notably engineer officers and deck ratings, the commitment to seafaring is short and the socialization process is incomplete. The movement of seafarers between ships after voyage and leave periods reduces the cohesiveness of shipboard groups and the opportunity for teamwork, and prevents communally defined goals and roles from emerging. This lack of community purpose is shown in Table 9.5 (a and b) and was characterized throughout interviews as being the effects of the "class" aspect of the shipboard hierarchy. On the ship this leads to multiple recognition of goals and presents its own problems in dealing with the shipping company, reinforcing the power of shore management to impose conditions upon the ship.

Table 9.5(a). Identification of common interests between all officers and ratings.*

Common Interests	Deck Officers %	Engineer Officers %	Catering Ratings %	Deck Ratings %	Engine Ratings %
None	51	73	48	60	90
Few	20	12	26	23	4
Some	22	6	17	11	6
Many	7	9	9	6	0
Total %	100	100	100	100	100
N =	86	81	75	116	28

[29] Merchant Navy Journal (Autumn, 1968), p. 13.

Table 9.5(b). Identification of common interests between officers and ratings of Companies AB, BB, and CB (mechanistic form of company structure).*

Common Interests	Deck Officers %	Engineer Officers %	Catering Ratings %	Deck Ratings %	Engine Ratings %
None	63	90	54	73	92
Few	24	8	26	19	9
Some	11	1	16	7	0
Many	2	1	4	1	0
Total %	100	100	100	100	101
N =	46	47	32	55	12

*Based on questions 45 and 46 in Questionnaire 3.

In our discussion we have illustrated the argument with examples drawn from interviews with officers and data from officers' employment sources. The ratings are equally involved in the conflict between ship and shore, although their reaction tends to be more diffuse since they are not usually employed by just one company. As Merton has stated,

> Men respond not only to the objective features of a situation but also, and at times primarily, to the meaning this situation has for them, and once they have assigned some meaning to the situation, their consequent behaviour and some of the consequences of that behaviour are determined by the ascribed meaning.[30]

When conflict arises between ship and shore management, it brings into question the relationship of the rating and the officer. In these situations the rating can play the goals of the officer against those of the company and seek to maximize personal role definition by doing so.[31]

Role strain is thus shown by the degree to which common interests are recognized and accommodated in the performance of roles. If there is difficulty in reaching a satisfactory role definition, the reaction of the seafarer will be one of withdrawal from the company or to a role

[30] R.K. Merton (1948), p. 194.

[31] G.C. Homans (1961), p. 49; G.M. Sykes (1964), p. 48.

bounded solely by occupational or professional norms. Neither of these positions is of assistance to the shipping company. Withdrawal from the company means the loss of skilled manpower to another company, or in the case of officers, a loss of trained manpower from the industry. The withdrawal to professional norms emphasizes the values of responsibility and skill amongst the seafarers and provides a common front in the form of hostility toward the functionaries of shore management.

The Rewards of Seafaring as an Occupation

In the last section we suggested that when the goals of the ship-as-organization and the company do not coincide, role strain would result and that it would be manifested in the degree of interests shared between members of the ship's crew and in overt expressions of hostility and conflict with management ashore. When the rewards of the occupation are worthwhile, however, conflict can be managed. The conflict between the goals of the ship as a subsystem of a company and the goals of that company will determine the level of the seafarer's satisfaction or alienation.

The rewards of seafaring fall intwo two groups which will be termed generalized rewards and tasks rewards. The rewards hierarchy is well-defined in the seafarers' own assessment of their roles, and monetary reward was always discounted from being a major factor in the reasons for staying at sea. It ranked fourth in the group of generalized rewards in Table 9.6. The reality of these rewards as seen by the seafarer and by shore management is, of course, the decisive factor. The perceived rewards depend on the social interpretation current amongst the actors involved. If the relationship is to be stable, differences in power available to one side or the other must be minimal, and mutual dependence on the accomplishment of the goals of the ship-as-organization and the company must be acknowledged.

Table 9.6. Perceived rewards of seafaring as an occupation.

General Rewards	Task Rewards	Rank Order
*Non-routine life	*Skill recognition	1
Travel	*Problem-solving	2
Open-air life	*Work satisfaction	3
Well paid	*Responsibility	4
*Meet new people	*Status through skill	5
Generous holidays		6

*viewed by seafarers in the relatively organismic companies as crucial to their role definitions and as legitimate areas of activity for their control.

Worthy noted that

> Where jobs are broken down too finely we are more likely to have both low output and low morale. Conversely, the most sustained efforts are exerted by those groups of employees who perform the more complete sets of tasks and these likewise exhibit the highest levels of morale and esprit de corps.[32]

We have seen that the levels of satisfaction relate to the degree of innovation and then to the degree to which the seafarer's role is defined. Alienation, on the other hand, is a function of the conflict between seafarer and company. It involves the remoteness of the seafarer from shore life and from normal community life; remoteness from the control of the operating policies for the ship; and the apparent disregard of seafarers' physical needs in the planning of the ship.

Some companies' lack of concern for the seafarers' conditions of work was shown unwittingly by the Owners' Chairman of the Joint Officers Panel of the National Maritime Board when he discussed the hours worked by ships' officers each week:

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[32] J.C. Worthy (1950), p. 174; also see E. Fromm (1941), p. 60.

> While some officers may well be required to work above the average number of hours [68 per week] I think that the position varies to a considerable extent according to trade, but not all officers are required to work more than average hours, and indeed in my view there are quite a number who might well be working less.[33]

Blauner defined alienation as powerlessness, meaninglessness, isolation, and self-estrangement.[34] We have discussed the limits of power available to the seafarer and the problems of isolation in Chapter VI. The problems of meaninglessness and self-estrangement are aspects of the reward system, and a positive relationship exists between them and problems of ship and company conflict.

The companies that were preferred by the seafarers had an organismic structure compared to similar companies which were not so preferred. In Table 9.6 we noted those rewards which seafarers in the organismic companies thought were crucial to their role definitions as seafarers and were legitimate areas of activity for their control. In the companies with the more mechanistic structure, these rewards were not available in the majority of cases because the companies encroached upon the role definition of the seafarers in the work situation.

Satisfaction and alienation are phrased in terms of control of operations by the company. When, as in the case of Company CA, the management ashore goes to great lengths to brief and consult with seafarers, a higher level of satisfaction results in spite of poorer operating and living conditions than as in Company AB, which briefed and consulted through its official channels:

> We believe that it is more important to let our chaps know what we are doing so we send a circular each month to all the masters letting them know where the ships are, what the schedules are, and things like that. [Do you or one of the other managers visit the ships or meet the crews?] No, I am too

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[33] Merchant Navy Journal (Summer, 1966), p. 14.

[34] R. Blauner (1964), pp. 2-3; ch. 2.

> busy obviously to visit the ports although I would like to. Ships' matters are handled by the manager of the marine department and by our marine superintendents.[35]
>
> The practice in this company for the past few years, since the War in fact, has been for the Engineer Superintendent and the office junior to visit the ship on arrival and departure from a local port. They conduct the business necessary and give the Master his instructions for the voyage. We are in touch with the ship by letter and telex, and of course, the Master has a copy of our Order Book. [Do you or one of the other managers visit the ships or meet the crews?] Good heavens, no. Why should I? If I want to see an officer we ask him to come here to see me.[36]

Seafarer and Community

In the preceding discussion we have been concerned with the relationship of the seafarer to his workplace. We shall now look at the seafarer's relationship with the community. One of the most important aspects of the seafarer's career is his adaptation to life on board the ship, and a feature of the experience of the Merchant Navy has been a growing rate of wastage in recent years. Some of this growth can be ascribed to shorter voyages which increase the opportunity to leave the ship and not return to sea.

However, we are concerned with the problem of the reality of the role of the seafarer both in relation to the ship and to the community. We believe that when the seafarer finds it difficult to reconcile the goals of the ship with those of the community, he will experience role strain or, loosely, anomie, which will be resolved in one of two ways. The seafarer will leave the occupation, or he will remain and reject the normative patterns of the community ashore.

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[35] Research Notebook 2, Interview with Director, Company AB.

[36] Research Notebook 2, Interview with Manager, Marine Department, Company AB.

Palmer has held that there is little correlation between liking a job and staying in it. She has suggested that after the age of 35, the worker's job experimentation ends and settled work patterns are established. Implicit in this argument is the workers' search for satisfactory social relationships.[37] For seafarers, life in the Merchant Navy is very rewarding at first. The ship is a new and strange environment, and travel and responsibility for tasks are part of the way of life. As the seafarer matures, he finds that he has grown out of his community ashore, and where formerly he had many friends and acquaintances who were interested in his adventures, these too have grown up and settled down. In addition, the excitement of travel has worn off; one port looks much like another, and the seafarer has little opportunity to meet and know persons from other walks of life.

When the seafarer went to sea, he was socialized into a unique form of industrial community. Like other societies, the seafaring community expects a commitment to the sea from all of its members and requires a pattern of behaviour imposing numerous rules to ensure conformity. The purpose of this can be said to exclude spontaneous action or outstanding achievement; in other words, it is necessary to become a member of the group.[38]

The goal of the ship-as-community is to train young entrants for a life at sea and to socialize them into a community in which they would never want so long as they remained at sea. Many of the responsibilities of life ashore -- the need for accommodation, for example -- are taken from the seafarer as long as he is afloat. One task of the ship, therefore, is simple: it is to provide all the necessary life amenities in exchange for a particular work pattern and skills. At the same time the

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[37] G.L. Palmer (1957), esp. pp. 20-26.

[38] H. Arendt (1958), esp. p. 40; A. Kornhauser (1954), p. 67; V. Aubert (1969).

seafarer enjoys a freedom of access to the occupation whenever he wishes. Thus, life at sea and life ashore become polarities for the seafarer; the former is undemanding, secure, and relatively tension free, whilst the latter demands commitments, is insecure and is fraught with problems of adjustment. The extreme between ship and shore becomes a problem of role identification, of divisions between ship and shore activities. Saenger and Flowerman have pointed out that the discrepancy between stereotype and reality is one of personality.[39] The authoritarian personality, in their estimate, relies more on the learning process than on experience and will persist in an endeavour when others have decided to leave.

We have seen that those who stay at sea fall into three groups. There are those seafarers who have not left the sea because of the lack of employment opportunities or other shore pressures such as the need to support a family, and they remain at sea because they are economically secure. The group accounts for almost 40% of our sample. A second group are those who remain at sea because they are unable to cope with the pressures of shore life. This group in the sample accounted for half of the seafarers remaining at sea. The third group of career seamen were those who genuinely liked the occupation. This group of men were found primarily in the companies with an organismic structure and were distinguished by the fact that they engaged in hobbies or other forms of adaptive behaviour.

The seafarers who leave the occupation, and in this sample those who said they were going to leave, were concerned with the increasing difficulty of adapting themselves to life ashore during leaves and study periods. As we noted, boredom is one of the major problems facing the

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[39] G. Saenger and S. Flowerman (1954).

seafarer; life especially in Companies AA, AB, and CB was routine and little initiative could be exercised or adaptive behaviour indulged in. Marriage played little part in the assessment of reasons for going ashore, and only 22% of all the seafarers interviewed mentioned marriage or their family as a primary or secondary reason for leaving the occupation.

Summary

In our discussion in this chapter, it is apparent that the promises held out to the entrant by the stereotype of the occupation rapidly become devalued. The possibility of true responsibility and adventure are no longer part of seafaring today, and consequently, the seafarer becomes alienated from his occupation. If he is working for a company with a moderately certain environment and one which is engaged in relatively non-specialized trade, he will enjoy greater job satisfaction and will be more likely to remain at sea. Moreover, the possibility of using his abilities to the full is greater in this form of company than in the others in the sample.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS

This study set out to look at the social structure of ships' crews in relation to their organization and environment. We looked at the role of the seafarer in terms of contingency theory and said that this was a concern with the way in which the internal states and processes of an organization are contingent upon the external requirements of the organization's environment and the needs of its members.

A study of this nature requires a considerable data base if it is to be of use. Although much has been written about seafarers and the sea, very little material of a sociographic nature was available when the study was started in 1967. Owing to this lack of data, the early part of the study was spent collecting and analyzing data about the seafarer and the ship-as-a-community. From the information gathered about seafarers and their life on board ship, we have attempted to synthesize the contingency theory outlined above.

The Reality of Seafaring

The ship as a workplace is marked by a confusion of roles in a rigid and authoritarian-based hierarchy. As in Goffman's total institution, every seafarer has his place, a specific role, and a defined system of behaviour. This rigidity of form coupled with the legal framework of the Merchant Shipping Acts of 1894 and 1906 created a situation at the time of the study in which companies and seafarers were largely bound by the traditional methods of operation. Management was very conservative,

and in the cargo companies, highly bureaucratic. The winds of change in the management of shipping have blown away many of the practices of the pre-Rochdale period, but the memory of these remains and colours the seafarer's assessment of his own and others' behaviour. Particularly, a structure remains created by the craft of seamanship and ship handling; a structure of skills and values which is taught to every seafarer in his training school and nautical college, and is generally irrelevant on the modern ship which requires the service of technicians on the one hand and manual labourers on the other.

This poses problems for the seafarer's own esteem. For the officer, the knowledge and training formerly required are no longer adequate or have been expanded. However, most officers have completed their training by the age of 28 and have little opportunity for a systematic upgrading of their skills. For the ratings, a devaluing of skills has taken place. Few of the "sailorizing" tasks are left on the ship, and the chances to display or learn skills are fast disappearing.

The efficiency of the ship depends upon the coordinated skills of all crew members which requires a community of effort and shared goals. Yet the authoritarian hierarchy of the crew still pervades, and as a result, this community is rarely found except when a crew has sailed together for some time, as in the case of the crew of Ship "X." Out-of-date equipment on older ships leads to comparisons between the lot of different groups of seafarers. The ratings in the sample felt that these comparisons confirmed their beliefs that they were "second class" citizens in the seafaring world. This belief was directed largely at the officers, the majority of whom (71%) were unaware of the ratings' feelings because the two groups led separate, compartmentalized lives.

The Images of Seafaring

The images of seafaring are gained through the mass media and through relationships with others. The stereotypes of occupations are based upon the perceptions of others. Since seafaring, by its nature, is carried on beyond the ken of the population, this leads to impressions based on information that can only be second hand. For the recruit to the occupation, a measure of culture shock invariably follows entry, and nearly a third of all recruits leave the industry before the end of their first year at sea.

For those men who stay at sea, a problem arises of adjusting the stereotype to the reality of the shipboard experience. It is difficult for the seafarer to model himself on the behaviour of others significant to his knowledge of, and socialization into, seafaring because the voyages are so short and the turnover frequent on any one ship or on subsequent voyages. Consequently, the imperfect stereotype can only be handled within an authoritarian frame which ensures, through the use of sanctions, that seafarers conform to what is considered appropriate behaviour.

The stereotype is dysfunctional on the ship, but it remains the only way of integrating the seafarer into the community ashore, and although adjustments are made in the community's attitudes to seafarers, it is still very difficult for a true image of the modern seafarer to emerge. The seafarer conforms to the community stereotype when ashore in order to fit in, and thus to display appropriate forms of behaviour. Since the majority of seafarers are young, the patterns of behaviour called for by the stereotype are accepted by the seafarers as a test of their manliness as well as a way to release tension caused by the authoritarian discipline of the ship.

The quality of shipboard life and the stereotypical images ashore result in anomalies in behaviour and contribute to the role strain experienced by the seafarers. The role strain comes about because of the constraint between the two spheres of life and the need to adjust behaviour accordingly.

The Officers

In our discussion of officers it became apparent that significant differences existed in education, socioeconomic background, and value system of the deck officer and the engineer officer who entered after a shore apprenticeship. The engineer officers who had served their apprenticeship at sea (9% of all engineer officers) did not differ significantly from the sample of deck officers. In the sample the deck officer tended to be grammar-school educated and had specialized in non-science subjects. He came from a predominantly lower-middle-class background and saw the sea as offering a secure career that would give him personal status ashore and afloat. He tended to identify with the goals of the ship and shipping company, and was vulnerable to the problems of role strain.

The engineer officer came from an educational background of secondary modern schools and technical colleges, and his family were predominantly skilled, blue-collar workers. There was a preponderance of engineers from the depressed regions of whom about a third had served their apprenticeships in shipyards. The engineer officer looked upon seafaring as an interlude in his work life, as a chance to spread his wings and to travel. The commitment to life at sea, then, was minimal, and values expressed were those of group membership based on a skill hierarchy. The engineer officer had considerable difficulty in adjusting to shipboard

life styles and to officer status. Clashes with other members of the crew, especially the catering department, over appropriate behaviour were numerous and served to emphasize the lack of socialization amongst the members of this group.

Both deck and engineer officers found it necessary to reinforce their authority and status by stressing their power over other members of the crew. There were, however, different reasons for this behaviour. The engineer officer, and particularly the junior engineer, was unsure of his role as an officer and was sensitive to any behaviour considered to be slighting. The mate was sure of his behaviour as an officer, but was conscious of the diminishing level of his authority and responsibilities as more of his tasks were transferred to or directed by shore management. His actions were aimed at blocking the loss of status by demonstrating the need for his role, and by implication, the need to preserve the status quo in the hierarchical systems on the ship. By doing so, the mates lessened the likelihood of innovative behaviour, and in the long term, their own job satisfaction.

On several ships close cooperation between company and seafarers had replaced the emphasis on the purely professional and ship-operating goals. These companies displayed an organismic structure in their shore organization and encouraged a similar, flexible approach to task accomplishment on board. Patterns of authority were created which differed for work tasks and workplaces but were centred on skill and merit. A dysfunction arose because of the discrepancy between the organismic approach and the socialization patterns.

The Ratings

With the exception of the engine-room ratings, all the sampled had entered the industry between the ages of 16 and 17½. All were drawn from

a similar background of secondary school education and working-class families. Catering ratings were better educated; they held a higher proportion of school leaving certificates than other groups and had a significant number of seafarers from families engaged in service or white-collar occupations. They were also distinguished by being virtually autonomous in the execution of their tasks and by having the heaviest physical work load of all seafarers. Many of these men entered the industry because they saw it as a means of furthering their education and achieving officer status.

The deck ratings were more outgoing and lived and worked as the largest group of seafarers on board ship. As a result, primary group formation was relatively frequent, and a higher level of satisfaction of social needs was reached than amongst any of the other groups. Deck ratings came from predominantly seafaring neighbourhoods such as the Hessle Road area in Hull and the Scotland Road-Dingle areas in Liverpool, and stereotypical behaviour was in greater evidence than amongst the other groups. These men had few, if any, skill components in their work with the general shift of rigging operations to shore establishments, and older deck ratings bitterly resented such actions.

The engine-room ratings were notable for the large number of men who had entered the industry because they were unable to get work elsewhere. They had a broader range of experience than any of the other groups, and tended to stay at sea for a much longer period. Few of them came to the Merchant Navy for adventure; rather they joined for a job. In the work-place and in the social life of the ship, they were isolated, and this isolation was reflected in their attitudes toward the engineer officers, their unions, and the company.

The authoritarian hierarchy of the ship engendered a great deal of hostility amongst the ratings, as they regarded themselves to be at the bottom of the ladder with little possibility of redress for wrongs, whether real or imagined. They were very conscious of the need for an effort bargain on the ship which would guarantee their rights and provide a measure of control over their work situation. This bargaining element produced severe difficulties within the social system of the ship, as it was, and is, not a recognized manner of handling group relations.

The Seafarer in Society

Nearly two-thirds of all seafarers interviewed had relatives who were or had been at sea. In spite of this family knowledge of the strains which seafaring places on family life, the married seafarers were as likely to make the sea their career as any of the single men. The determining factors were the relationships within the kin group. When the wife of a seafarer was able to enter into a supportive relationship with a relative living nearby, the pressure on the seafarer to go ashore to work was considerably reduced, especially for deck officers and deck ratings.

Before marrying, the majority of these wives had enjoyed occupational or professional independence and were able to look after their families and themselves for periods whilst the husband was at sea. The deck ratings married women from their own or a similar community and were able to remain within the supportive web of the community.

In the wider society the seafarer, for obvious reasons, played small part in normal community relationships. His sense of isolation was heightened by this and was reduced through the mechanism of conspicuous consumption, by means of which he sought to reinforce his status in the

community. In matters in which the seafarer could take part and affect his own life, he involved himself only slightly. The most important of these areas was his membership in a trade union.

All the ratings in the sample belong to the National Union of Seamen because of the closed shop operated in the Merchant Navy. Of the officers, 85% belonged to the Merchant Navy and Airline Officers' Association. Only a few of these men were at all active in union affairs, and the majority felt that union membership was not useful because the unions were thought to be in the pockets of the shipping companies. As a result, the seafarers did not make use of their major tool for handling the problems and difficulties of life on board ship, and opportunities for meaningful participation in the workplace were often lost.

The Shipping Company and the Ship

Let us turn our thoughts to the shipping companies and the industrial environment of the seafarer. In the discussion of shipping companies, a continuum of certainty/uncertainty of environment was derived. This continuum related to the size of the company, the nature of its trading patterns, and to the degree of specialization of its ships. Those companies at the poles of the continuum displayed systems that were highly bureaucratic, whilst the companies in a moderately certain operating environment were relatively flexible in their systems of management and approached the organismic form of consultation and innovation.

In the groupings of companies it was discovered that the companies preferred by seafarers as employers were relatively organismic, since they afforded opportunities for innovation and job satisfaction that were not available in the other companies. These preferences were reflected in lower wastage and deviancy rates.

Although role strain was heightened in coping with less certain relationships on the ships with a lesser emphasis on the authoritarian structure, these crews coped more successfully with the requirements of ship-operating goals than the crews on the other ships. The principal problem for the crews was created by the occupational stereotypes, for they affected the role performances and the coping activity required of ships operating in a changing environment. The stereotypes were functional, however; they reinforced the mechanistic system of the ships and companies which operated in very certain or very uncertain environments.

Summary

Our concern has been to demonstrate the relationship between the seafarers in the crews of British dry-cargo ships, their industrial organization, and their social environment. We have seen how these three elements of a social system interact at different levels, and how variations in any of them affect the others. The industry must grapple with this set of relationships in the years ahead as the 1970 Merchant Shipping Act and the increasing size and automation of ships affect seafarers and shipping companies.

In this study we have developed some ideas about differentiation and integration from the work of Lawrence and Lorsch and that of Etzioni. The major conclusion that can be drawn is that those shipping companies and their subsystems, the ships, which have a relatively organismic approach to management and operations are perceived by seafarers as affording greater job satisfaction. In our sample we discovered that the preferred companies displayed higher levels of integration than

companies that were not preferred by seafarers, and that this integration gave the seafarers increased opportunities for innovation because it was accompanied by relatively low role definitions.

We can also conclude that companies operating in very certain or very uncertain environments will tend to stress the formal structure of the organization and the processes of differentiation. With the large cargo-liner groups operating in very certain trading environments, this differentiation reflected the companies' tendency to standardize procedures in order to assure standard performances from the ship-as-subsystems. The companies operating in a totally uncertain environment also used bureaucratic procedures, but this was done in an attempt to reduce the level of uncertainty in environment and was dysfunctional, since the seafarers perceived these procedures as inappropriate.

This study of the social structure of ships' crews touched on some aspects of the social organization of the maritime community. It has become apparent during the course of the research that a limited study such as this one only scratches the surface of a multitude of areas of interest to the social scientist. It is hoped that further studies will follow, particulary of the impact of changing technology upon the seafaring occupation, and of the seafarer's family. The application of the contingency theories of Lawrence and Lorsch and of others in this study has shown that information concerning the external environment of an occupation and its milieu can provide useful sociological explanations of behavioural forms. The only drawback to such a conceptual framework is that it generates a great deal of information, and consequently, designs for research must concentrate on both qualitative and quantitative analysis. However, this opens the possibility of developing comparative studies of organizations and occupations which are truly comprehensive.

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APPENDIX I

RESEARCH METHODS

A. THE SAMPLES

In this study three samples were used. The groups sampled were managers of six shipping companies, B.S.P. officials, trade union officials, and persons connected with maritime education (N=108); the crews of 28 dry-cargo ships (officers N=317; ratings N=555) and the British officers of a further five Asiatic-crewed cargo liners (officers N=52); finally, the crews of two ships were studied in depth. Within these samples were sub-samples for specific aspects of the study.

The use of three questionnaires with interlocking sections provided these samples. Questionnaires 2 and 3 were similar in context and pursued the general aims of gathering sociographic data and information about shipboard life. Questionnaire 4 was concerned with general data to ascertain the comparability of the sample, questions about the family, questions about housing and political attitudes, and sought information about attitudes to the trade unions on the part of seafarers.

Table A1.1. Questionnaire sample sizes.

	Questionnaire			
	No. 2	No. 3	No. 4	N
Deck Officers	22	86	50(26)*	158
Engineer Officers	28	81	80(33)*	189
Other Officers	2	20	0(0)*	22
Catering Ratings	24	75	41(12)*	140
Deck Ratings	47	116	80(32)*	243
Engine Ratings	14	28	30(9)*	72
Seafarers' N =	137	406	281(112)*	824
Ships' N =	4	14	10(15)**	28(33)**

*Married seafarers sampled by Questionnaire 4.
**Five ships had British officers and Asiatic ratings; only the officers were sampled.

The information obtained by use of these questionnaires was amplified through the use of open-ended interviews with 41 officers and 40 ratings on the ships in the sample in an effort to obtain qualitative views of seafaring life. These interviews occurred entirely at random, and the only method of selection was to ascertain that the respondent would be free to talk to the author for at least one hour.

Pilot studies were carried out on a collier with a crew of nineteen, and Questionnaires 1A, 1B, and 1C were tested on this ship as were interview and observation techniques. These questionnaires were developed into the interview schedules used in the main study. All the members of the crew of Ship "X," as the collier is known in the study, were most helpful "guinea pigs" and a great debt of gratitude is owed to this crew.

Following the pilot studies voyages were carried out on two ships, "Y" and "Z." Research techniques used included participant observation, interviews, questionnaire interviews (using Questionnaire 3), and the keeping of diaries for a three-week period by 12 crew members on each ship. These men were chosen on the basis of their work in ten cases and because they were informal leaders in two cases on each ship. Diaries were kept by the second mate and third mate, chief, third and a junior engineer; an apprentice; an assistant steward; a second cook; an A.B., and a donkey-greaser on both ships. On Ship "Y," diaries were also kept by the electrician and the bosun; on Ship "Z," diaries were kept by the chief steward and a second A.B. Each person keeping a diary was briefed as follows:

> Ships' Crews Research Project
>
> The purpose of keeping this diary is to give us an idea of how the occupiers of certain ranks/ratings use their time, both on and off duty, when at sea. We would like you to complete at least a page a day, telling us about the work you have done, and the time spent on it, the people you have worked with and the feelings you have towards the type of work you were engaged in. In addition we would like to know about the things that you do when you have some free time. You may comment as freely as you wish about any aspect of seafaring, and anything you say will be treated in the strictest confidence.[1]

This exercise provided a very useful insight into the day-to-day operation of the ship. Furthermore, some other crew members kept diaries for interest only and made these available as well. The master of Ship "Z" wrote a long and detailed account of his views toward seafaring, as did an A.B. on "Y."

[1] Placed on the inside cover of each diary/notebook.

The Sample Frame

The sampling frame was drawn up by creating a series of criteria in relation to the theoretical concerns of the study. Shipping is marked by its diversity; consequently, it was decided to select participating companies on the basis of (1) size, (2) type of trade, (3) form of ownership, and (4) regularity of run. This would enable different types of companies to be compared in the study and would also permit variations in any of the criteria outlined to be controlled. At the same time we were concerned with problems of integration and differentiation within the companies, and assumed that those companies which were best integrated would also be more satisfying to work for. From the population of British dry-cargo shipping companies a list of companies was drawn up which is summarized in Table A1.2.

The companies shared similar characteristics within each of the three groups (A, B, and C), and operated similar types of ships under similar conditions to the other companies in their group. To obtain the final choice between companies and to distinguish between integrated and non-integrated companies, fifty ratings in South Shields and seventy-five ratings in Liverpool were asked to select the companies in each group with which they would most like, and least like, to sail on their next voyage. The company which scored the most "good" points and the one which scored the most "bad" points in each of the groups A, B, and C were selected for the sample. The well-integrated companies were given the suffix letter "A" to distinguish them from the less well-integrated companies which were designated "B." Thus, Companies AA, BA, and CA were chosen by size and trading characteristics and by popularity amongst ratings. Companies AB, BB, and CB were chosen on similar size and trading characteristics, but were less popular with ratings. All the companies were then approached by the writer and all agreed to take part in the study.

Table A1.2. Character of companies from which sample was selected.

Group	No. of Companies	No. of Ships	Trades	Company Characteristics
A	10	more than 30	Cargo-liners	Member company of a shipping group. Traditional trades. Member of shipping conference(s). Regular runs.
B	12	10 to 30	General-purpose tramps and bulk carriers	Between 25% and 50% of vessels on long-term charter; thus, regular runs. Balance of vessels on short-term charter; irregular runs.
C	9	less than 10	General-purpose tramps and bulk carriers	Most of vessels on short-term charter. Family firms. Irregular runs.

In drawing up the sample of companies, the following criteria were examined in relation to the companies' forms of organization. First, was the company an independent operating unit with clearly defined responsibility for its own success or failure? This was important because so many of the British shipping companies are part of larger groups, and their distinctively maritime interests are submerged and combined under overall corporate strategy. Companies AA, AB, and CB were all part of larger holding groups but had retained the shipping divisions as separate entities. Second, was the organization of the company ashore sufficiently well delineated for research to be easily carried out? In other words unless there was a division of labour in the organization, it was pointless to discuss integration and differentiation of systems and subsystems.

The sample was, therefore, broadly framed in a series of discussions with Captain Louis Martin (M.N.A.O.A.), Captain George Earl (South Shields Marine and Technical College), and John Kinahan (N.U.S.). This initial information was supported by library research into the ownership and operation of British ships.

Once the criteria for the division of the companies had been determined and the seafarers in South Shields and Liverpool had chosen the least and most preferred companies from the selection lists, the choice of ships remained to be made. Sixteen ships from group A, eight ships from group B, and four ships from group C were selected on a random basis within companies but stratified by company. That is, eight ships each were selected from Companies AA and AB, and so on. Within AA, the ships in the sample were chosen at random and were visited when they were in port in the U.K. The only replacement of a ship initially chosen involved a ship in a company which was sold in 1968 before interviews had taken place.

Interviews with Management Ashore

Altogether, 58 interviews took place with shore management (see Table 3). Unstructured interviews were conducted, and each lasted for about ninety minutes. The shortest, in Company CB, lasted for forty minutes. The longest, in Company AA, lasted for 185 minutes and cost the author £2 in parking fines. A further fifty interviews were held with persons connected with the industry, in the unions, nautical colleges, B.S.F., and the Seafarers Education Service. The purpose of these was to provide an overview of the shipping industry's management systems, and all proved extremely useful.

Each informant was questioned about the following general areas: the organization of the company or companies in general; the specific duties of the informant and his department; operating and personnel policies within the company or companies; methods of recruitment of seafarers and shore staff; career prospects of seafarers; the organization and operation of the ships; and finally, the coordination of activities between ship and company, and the specific roles of the informant and his department within this coordination. The interviews were free ranging and usually frank and relaxed. In Companies BB and CB, there were constraints posed by the companies' requirement that the author did not interview any member of shore management without a senior member of that management being present.

The material gathered in this way was used as a qualitative base for the assessment of bureaucracy, formality, environment and environmental coping, and the ability to innovate. The data were later used in conjunction with non-interview data and material gathered from the seafarers.

Unobtrusive Measures

Webb, et al., have argued that the only uncontaminated source of data concerning social activity are measures that record social activity but do not involve social contact with the informants.[2] The author accepted this premise, and much of the data was derived from shipping records. The most important part of this sampling was an analysis of the records of 2,500 seafarers who had left the industry. The purpose of this sample was to provide data for career patterns and to establish whether relationships existed between types of ships, deviancy detected, periods ashore (both on leave and sick or temporarily working ashore), and patterns of voyages. Some of this data was not relevant to this study and has been used elsewhere, but the prime purpose has been to corroborate and supplement information given by seafarers.

These records were selected as a random 20% sample of men entering the industry in 1949, 1954, and 1964. 1,700 records were obtained from Liverpool and 800 from South Shields M.N.B. offices, and the data were abstracted onto cards. Each card was laid out as below:

Table A1.3. Record survey card.

On front of card:

Code Number: Year of Entry: Rank/Rating:

Date of Birth: Port:

Place of Birth: Contract: CSC/GSC/No

Total length of service: Dates:

Voyages:

Ship type: Length of voyage: Ship type: Length of voyage:

On reverse of card:

Previous History:

Subsequent History:

Disciplinary Action:

[2] E.G. Webb, et al., (1966); also see D.L. Phillips (1971), esp. ch. 6.

This information gave a random sample of seafarers from each port in proportion to the number entering the industry at these ports in the years indicated. Particular attention was paid to seafarers who had worked for the companies we sampled.

This information was supplemented by an examination of logbooks and the rough logs of the ships in the sample. These gave information about voyage and passage times, discipline action, and so on. When possible, they were discussed with the master and/or chief officer of the ship concerned, which provided the flesh to clothe the skeleton of the entries.

Also when possible, company records were examined. Here the interest lay in assessing the social climate on board ship, and a useful indicator was found in the number of small stores -- paint brushes, chipping hammers, electric kettles, etc. -- issued to the ship. By deriving an average stores consumption for a given ship over a period of time, provided that heads of department had not changed, it was possible to compare this average with the number of disciplinary actions taken on board. It was found that when stores consumption was low, so was the number of men logged. As an indicator of job satisfaction/alienation, this was most useful.

Further information about company policy and operations was obtained through material circulated within the organization of the company ashore and afloat. In particular, attention was paid to personnel records and information. A very useful source was each company's ship order book which laid down the operating rules and procedures. Through these various sources, scores were derived which were equated with points of Weber's concept of the ideal-type of bureaucracy, and a scale was developed with high scores being the most (relatively) bureaucratic.

Similar techniques were adopted for the definition of relative certainty/uncertainty of environment. Here the measures were derived from the trading patterns and results of the company, and by a subjective assessment on the part of the author with the effectiveness of the organization in coping with market pressures, government constraints, and the pressures of the seafarers. These were scaled accordingly.

Methods of Analysis

Most of the information was recorded on Cope-Chat system record cards. These cards which were 6" x 4" and had five rows of 42 holes punched on each long edge and a single row of 15 holes on each short edge

were specially prepared for this study. Analysis was, therefore, confined to a certain extent by the need to code data in multiples or units of five. This allowed a degree of flexibility in predesigning the coding systems for the questionnaires, and although hand-needle sorting of the data was laborious, it did allow for cross references of data to take place easily.

From this system of analysis each group of data were analyzed by company; by age and marital status of seafarer; by rank/rating; by type of ship; and by the seafarers' expressed intention of staying at sea. These "prime" factors were coded at the ends of the Cope-Chat card, and the "secondary" factors were coded on the long edges and were derived from the questionnaires.

Simple statistical techniques were used. These were the student's "t" test of significance, the Pearson "r" regression coefficient, chi square, and tests of normality of population using standard deviation and mean of means tests. All these tests were done by hand, as the author did not have access to calculating or computing facilities until he moved to U.W.I.S.T.

Design of Questionnaires

The questionnaire design was based on (1) the need to obtain sociographic information about seafarers, and (2) the need to assess their attitudes to life at sea. The constraints were the limited time available (45 minutes) for administering the questionnaires on board ship, the need to economize in questionnaire material and to develop standard questionnaires to be used by officers and ratings. The questionnaires, then, were limited in length and depth of questioning possible. For this reason it was decided to use a mix of multi-choice and open-ended questions and to evolve a system of interlocking questionnaires which would each provide basic sociographic data and would tackle a different set of attitude problems.

Because of the small sample size -- potentially only 28 bosuns, for example -- it was decided to adopt this method in order to control for variations in sample "texture." In other words, to make sure that men who answered one questionnaire were comparable in sociographic terms with those answering the other questionnaires. Since no significant difference was found at the 0.001 level (students' "t" test), we were able to generalize from the subsample to the main population.

With the mix of questions it was possible, for instance, to corroborate open-ended questions about liking seafaring (Questionnaire 2, Q 18) with job satisfaction (Questionnaire 2, Q 21) and with whether the seafarer would allow a son to go to sea (Questionnaire 2, Q 59). This mesh of questioning provided the basis for a more detailed analysis and corroboration of data than a single question would give.

Summary

The methods chosen are eclectic because they have proved to be the only way to tackle a complex problem. For the same reason the sheer mass of data has made the choice of simple statistical methods necessary. It is planned, however, to place much of the data in a form ready for computing, and a more sophisticated analysis will be completed in the future.

B. COVERING STATEMENT ACCOMPANYING QUESTIONNAIRES 2, 3, and 4.

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

RESEARCH PROJECT INTO THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF SHIPS' CREWS

Questionnaire No. [2, 3, or 4]

Code no.:

The University of Durham is carrying out a survey amongst the men who work in the shipping industry. This questionnaire is part of this survey. We would like to know your feelings about certain things related to the shipping industry, and to know about you. This is not a test, and there are no right or wrong answers. All answers are confidential, and the separate identity of seafarers replying to this questionnaire will be lost when the data is processed.*

The survey is designed to increase the University's knowledge of life at sea, and is independent of the Trade Unions, the Shipping Companies, and the British Shipping Federation.

PLEASE ANSWER ALL THE QUESTIONS.

ALL ANSWERS ARE CONFIDENTIAL.

If you have any questions about this research project, or would like to give us any information you feel might help us, please write to:

P.H. Fricke, B.A.
Department of Social Theory
University of Durham
44 Old Elvet
Durham

*Covering statement for Questionnaire 4: Last sentence in first paragraph reads: All answers are confidential, and we do not want you to write your name and address on this questionnaire.

C. SPECIMEN QUESTIONNAIRE 2

CONFIDENTIAL

1. What is your name? .....

   What is your home address? .....

   Your place of birth? .....(Town)

   .....(County)

   What is your age?.....

2. What is your present rank/rating in the M.N.? .....

3. How many years have you served in the M.N.? .....

4. What is your father's job? (Please specify; e.g., if he is a fitter, please write in 'fitter', not engineer. If your father is dead or retired, please give his last job.) .....

5. If your father is, or was, a seafarer, what rank/rating did he have? .....

6. Are any of your relatives other than your father seafarers?

   (PLEASE TICK)

   Grandfather: .....
   Uncles: .....
   Cousins: .....
   Brothers: .....
   In-laws: .....
   None: .....

7. How many of your close friends from home are seafarers?

   (PLEASE TICK)

   One or two: .....
   Several: .....
   Most of them: .....
   All of them: .....
   None: .....

8. What type of school did you last attend? .....

9. Have you attended a pre-sea school? .....

   (PLEASE TICK)

   technical college? .....
   nautical college? .....

10. What was your age when you left school? .....

11. How old were you when you joined the M.N.? .....

12. Did you obtain a school-leaving certificate?

    (PLEASE TICK)

    G.C.E.: .....
    C.S.E.: .....
    Other: .....
    None: .....

13. Did any of the other boys at your school go to sea?

    (PLEASE TICK)

    One or two: .....
    Several: .....
    Most of them: .....
    All of them: .....
    None: .....

14. Which do you think are the two most important trades or skills necessary on board a ship?

    1 .....
    2 .....

15. If anyone said to you that you could have any job you wanted on a ship, which job would you select? .....

15a. Why did you choose this job? .....

16. Which three of the following reasons did you think most important when you chose your trade? (Please place a figure 1 opposite the most important reason, a figure 2 opposite the next most important reason, and a figure 3 opposite the third most important.)

    Varied and interesting work .....
    Good social position .....
    Important work .....
    Good pay .....
    Secure employment .....
    Scope to use your skills .....
    Good chances of getting on .....
    Being able to make your own decisions...

17. If you had not joined the M.N., what work do you think you would be doing now? .....

18. Why did you choose your present job on a ship, in preference to any other work at sea? .....

19. What aspect of seafaring do you like the most? .....

20. What aspect of seafaring do you dislike the most? .....

21. When you think of the time you have spent at sea, would you say that you are

    (PLEASE TICK)
    very happy with your job? .....
    happy with your job? .....
    it's just a job? .....
    unhappy with your job? .....
    very unhappy with your job? .....

22. Which of the following items do you think are the three most most important factors when you choose a ship? (Please place a figure 1 opposite the most important factor, a 2 opposite the second most important factor, and a 3 opposite the third.)

    Short voyages with quick turnarounds .....
    Short voyages with long turnarounds .....
    Long voyages on a regular basis .....
    Long voyages with unknown length .....
    Not much overtime .....
    A lot of overtime .....
    A safe and steady job .....
    A new ship .....
    You know someone on board .....
    You know the captain of the ship .....

23. Would you accept a company service contract if offered one?

    (PLEASE TICK)
    Yes .....
    No .....
    Don't know ....

24. Would you take a general service contract with the M.N. Establishment if

(PLEASE TICK)
- you were married? .....
- you wanted to get on? .....
- you liked independence? .....
- you wanted a steady job? .....
- for any other reason (please specify) .....

25. Do you intend to make the sea your career?

- Yes .....
- No .....

25a. If you answered 'no' to Question 25, how long do you think you will stay at sea?

(PLEASE TICK)
- A year or two .....
- For several years .....
- Until you get married .....
- Until you get your tickets .....
- Until you have seen the world ....
- Don't know .....

26. What was your major reason for joining the M.N.? .....

27. Have you every been employed ashore?

- Yes .....
- No .....

27a. If you have been employed ashore, what was your job? .....

28. Do you have any good friends who are not at sea?

(PLEASE TICK)
- One or two .....
- Several .....
- Most of your friends .....
- All of your friends .....
- None of your friends .....

29. What types of jobs do these friends have? .....

30. Did you have any contact with the M.N. before you joined it, through any of the following?

(PLEASE TICK ALL THE ITEMS THAT APPLY TO YOU.)
- Being on a ship .....
- Visiting the docks .....
- Reading books .....
- Watching TV or films .....
- Knowing seafarers .....
- Any other contact (please specify) .....
- No contact at all .....

31. Did any of the following people help you with advice when you decided you wanted to go to sea?

(PLEASE TICK ALL THE ITEMS THAT APPLY TO YOU.)
- Your parents .....
- Other relatives .....
- Friends .....
- Youth Employment Service .....
- School teacher .....
- Anyone else .....
- No help at all .....

32. Did anyone try to persuade you not to go to sea?

(PLEASE TICK ALL THE ITEMS THAT APPLY TO YOU.)

Your parents .....
Other relatives .....
Friends .....
Girl-friend .....
Youth Employment Service ..
School teacher .....
Anyone else .....
No one tried to stop you ..

33. Approximately how many ships have you sailed in for a full voyage? (i.e., from opening to closing of articles)? .....

34. How many ships have you stayed on for two or more voyages? .....

35. What kind of voyage do you prefer?

(PLEASE TICK)

a voyage of less than 3 months .....
between 3 and 6 months away .....
between 6 and 9 months away .....
between 9 and 12 months away .....
a voyage of more than 1 year .....

36. What type of ship do you prefer to sail in?

(PLEASE TICK)

home trader .....
tanker .....
cargo liner .....
bulk carrier .....
general trader .....

37. What types were your last two ships?

1 .....
2 .....

38. Do you prefer to sign on a ship with men you have sailed with before?

(PLEASE TICK)

Never .....
Rarely .....
Occasionally .....
Usually .....
Always .....

39. If one of your friends has a senior rank/rating on a ship, would you prefer to sign on with him?

Yes .....
No .....

40. When you have leave, do you prefer it at

(PLEASE TICK)

Regular intervals .....
Your discretion .....

41. When you are finishing your leave, do you prefer to go back to the company you have just sailed with?

(PLEASE TICK)

Never .....
Rarely .....
Occasionally .....
Usually .....
Always .....

42. What type of company do you prefer to work for?

(PLEASE TICK) a home trade company .....
a local company .....
a large company .....
a small company .....
a company with special trades ...

43. Have you been logged during your last three voyages?

(PLEASE TICK) Yes .....
No .....

43a. If you have been logged, what was it for? .....

44. What do you most prefer to do when you are off-duty at sea?

(PLEASE TICK) Read .....
Talk with friends .....
Play cards or darts in the recreation room .....
Write home .....
Work at a hobby .....

45. How many hours overtime (i.e., hours in excess of 40 per week) did you average in any week during your last voyage? .....

46. Who do you normally drink with at sea?

(PLEASE TICK) Only men in your department .....
Occasionally with men from another department .....
Men of your own age .....
Men of your own seniority .....
Anyone .....

47. It has been said that a ship is like a football team in which the officers and crew are on the same side, because good teamwork means a successful voyage and a happy ship. Would you

definitely disagree .....
disagree on the whole .....
agree on the whole .....
definitely agree .....

48. Some people have said that officers and ratings have nothing in common. Do you think this is

true .....
partly true .....
false .....

49. In which of the following ways do you think an officer should handle his work relationship with the crew?

(PLEASE TICK) A no-nonsense attitude .....
Strict interpretation of the N.M.B. agreements .....
'Be a good sport' .....
Leave everything to the P.O.'s .....

50. Do you think an officer should

(PLEASE TICK) be friendly with crew members? .....
be familiar with crew members? .....
be formal towards crew members? .....

51. How much overtime do you like to work at sea?

(PLEASE TICK) None at all .....
One or two hours a week .....
Four or five hours a week ....
One or two hours a day .....
Three or four hours a day ....

52. What was the most happy ship you ever sailed on? Can you tell us why you found it happy? .....

53. What type of ship, e.g., a bulk-carrier, do you prefer to sail in? Can you tell us why? .....

54. Some people have said that a seafarer's work is largely unskilled. Do you think that this is correct? .....

55. Would you prefer your shipmates on your next voyage to come from the same part of the U.K. as yourself? .....

56. What sort of men do you prefer to sail with? .....

57. What sort of men would you prefer to have as officers on your next voyage? .....

58. Are you married? Yes..... No.....

58a. Do you have any children?

(PLEASE TICK) No children .....
One child .....
Two children .....
More than two .....

59. If you have/had a son, would you

(PLEASE TICK) encourage him to go to sea? .....
let him go if he wanted to? .....
discourage him? .....
refuse to let him go? .....

60. What do you most dislike about living on a ship? .....

61. What do you most dislike about <u>your</u> job on the ship? .....

<u>THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION!</u>

D. SPECIMEN QUESTIONNAIRE 3

CONFIDENTIAL

What is your name? .....

What is your home address? .....

Your place of birth? .....(Town)

What age are you? .....

1. What is your present rank/rating in the M.N.? .....

2. How many years have you been going to sea? .....

3. What is your father's job? (If your father is retired or deceased, please write in his last full-time job.) .....

3a. If your father is, or was, a seafarer, what rank/rating does he have? .....

4. How many brothers or sisters do you have? .....

5. Are any of your relatives other than your father seafarers or ex-seafarers? .....

6. How many of your close friends from home are seafarers?

(PLEASE TICK)
- One or two .....
- Several .....
- Most of them .....
- All of them .....
- None .....

7. What type of school did you attend? .....

8. Have you attended a pre-sea school? .....
technical college? .....
nautical college? .....
(PLEASE TICK)

9. How old were you when you left school? .....

10. Did you obtain a school-leaving certificate?

(PLEASE TICK)
- G.C.E. .....
- C.S.E. .....
- Other .....
- None .....

11. How old were you when you joined the M.N.? .....

12. Did any of the other boys at your school go to sea?

(PLEASE TICK)
- One or two .....
- Several .....
- Most of them .....
- All of them .....
- None .....

13. Why did you choose your present job in preference to any other work at sea? .....

14. Which department do you think has the most interesting work on board ship? .....

15. Which department do you think has the most important job on a ship?
.....

16. Which job on a ship do you think requires the most skill?
.....

16a. Why does this job require the most skill? .....

17. Which job on a ship do you think requires the least skill? .....

17a. Why does this job require the least degree of skill? .....

18. What aspect of seafaring do you like the most? .....

19. What aspect of seafaring do you most dislike? .....

20. If you had not gone to sea, what work do you think you would be doing now? .....

21. When you think of the time you have spent at sea, would you say you are

(PLEASE TICK)
very happy with your job? .....
happy with your job? .....
it's just a job .....
unhappy with your job? .....
very unhappy with your job? .....

22. Do you have a Service Contract with either a company? Yes.... No....
or the M.N. Establishment? Yes.... No....

23. What do you think is the major reason why seafarers sign contracts?
.....

23a. Why would you sign a contract? .....

24. Do you intend to make the sea your career? Yes.... No.....

24a. If you answered 'no' to Question 24, how long do you think you will stay at sea, and why will you leave the industry? .....

25. Have you every been employed ashore? Yes.... No....

25a. If you have been employed ashore, what was your job? .....

26. Do you have any good friends who are <u>not</u> at sea?

(PLEASE TICK)
one or two .....
several .....
most of your friends .....
all of your friends .....
none .....

27. What types of jobs do your friends ashore have? .....

28. What was your major reason for going to sea? .....

29. Did you have any contact with the M.N., before you went to sea, through any of the following:

(PLEASE TICK ALL THE ITEMS THAT APPLY TO YOU.)
visitng a ship .....
visiting the docks .....
reading books .....
watching TV or films .....
knowing seafarers .....
any other contact .....
none at all .....

30. Did any of the following people help you with advice when you decided that you wanted to go to sea?

(PLEASE TICK ALL THE ITEMS THAT APPLY TO YOU.)

your parents .....
other relatives .....
friends .....
Youth Employment Service .....
school teacher .....
anyone else .....
no help from anyone .....

31. Did anyone try to stop you going to sea?

(PLEASE TICK ALL THE ITEMS THAT APPLY TO YOU.)

your parents .....
other relatives .....
friends .....
girl friend .....
Youth Employment Service .....
school teacher .....
anyone else .....
no one tried to stop you .....

32. When you first joined a ship, were you surprised or unprepared for the type of job which you had to do? .....

33. How many ships have you sailed in for a deep-sea voyage (approximately)? .....

34. How many ships have you been on for two or more deep-sea voyages (approximately)? .....

35. What kind of voyage do you prefer?

(PLEASE TICK)

a voyage of less than 3 months .....
between 3 and 6 months away .....
between 6 and 9 months away .....
between 9 and 12 months away .....
a voyage of more than a year .....

35a. Why do you prefer this length of voyage? .....

36. What type of ship do you prefer to sail in?

(PLEASE TICK)

home trader .....
tanker .....
cargo liner .....
bulk carrier .....
tramp .....

36a. Why do you prefer this type of ship? .....

37. Do you prefer to sign on a ship with men you have sailed with before?

(PLEASE TICK)

never .....
rarely .....
occasionally ...
usually .....
always .....

38. If one of your friends has a senior rank/rating on a ship, would you prefer to sign on with him? Yes ..... No .....

39. When you have leave, do you prefer it at

(PLEASE TICK)

regular intervals .....
your discretion .....

40. If you do not have a company service contract, do you prefer to go back to the company you have just sailed with when you finish your leave?

(PLEASE TICK) never .....
rarely .....
occasionally .....
usually .....
always .....

41. Do you prefer to work for a company that is

(PLEASE TICK) close to your home .....
a large company .....
a small company .....
no preference .....

42. Have you been logged during the past two years? Yes .... No ....

42a. If you have been logged, what was it for? .....

43. How much overtime do you like to work at sea?

(PLEASE TICK) none at all .....
one or two hours a week .....
four or five hours a week .....
one or two hours a day .....
three or four hours a day .....

44. How many hours in excess of 40 per week did you average for any week of your last voyage? .....

45. It has been said that a ship is like a football team in which the officers and crew are on the same side because good teamwork means a successful voyage. Would you

(PLEASE TICK) definitely disagree .....
disagree on the whole .....
agree on the whole .....
definitely agree .....

46. Some people have said that officers and ratings have nothing in common. Do you think this is

(PLEASE TICK) true .....
partly true .....
false .....

47. How do you think an officer should handle his working relationship with the crew? .....

48. Some people have said that the trouble with life at sea is that there are too many chiefs and not enough indians. Do you think that this is a correct statement? .....

49. Some people have said that a seafarer's work is largely unskilled. Do you think that this applies to your job? .....

49a. Do you think there are any unskilled jobs at sea, and if so, which jobs are they? .....

50. What do you most prefer to do when you are off-duty at sea? .....

51. Do you find that there are any distinctions between men from different departments in the way they use their free time? .....

52. Would you prefer your shipmates on your next voyage to come from the same part of the U.K. as yourself? Yes ..... No .....

53. If you were able to choose the other crew members for your next trip, what sort of personality do you think a rating should have? .....

53a. What sort of man would you choose for an officer if you could choose? .....

54. What do you think are the requirements for a ship to be a "happy ship"? .....

55. Are you married? Yes ..... No .....

55a. Do you have any children? .....

56. If you have/had a son, would you

(PLEASE TICK) encourage him to go to sea .....
let him go if he wanted to .....
discourage him .....
refuse to let him go to sea .....

57. What does your wife/girl friend think about your job? .....

58. What do you most dislike about living on a ship? .....

59. What do you most dislike about <u>your</u> job on a ship? .....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION!

E. SPECIMEN QUESTIONNAIRE 4

Section A

1. What rank/rating do you hold in the M.N.? .....

2. How many years have you spent at sea? .....

3. Have you ever worked ashore? Yes..... No.....

3a. If you answered "yes" to Question 3, what was your shore job, and how long did you have it?

First job	.....	Time	.....
Second job	.....	Time	.....
Third job	.....	Time	.....

4. What is, or was, your father's job? .....

5. Was your father a seafarer at any time? Yes..... No.....

5a. If you answered "yes" to Question 5, what rank/rating did he hold? .....

6. What is your present age? .....

7. What age were you when you first went to sea? .....

8. Which of the following types of school did you attend? (Please place a tick beside each one that applies to you.)

   a. Elementary .....
   b. Secondary Modern .....
   c. Comprehensive .....
   d. Grammar .....
   e. Technical College .....
   f. Private School .....
   g. "Public" School .....

9. Where did you have your pre-sea training? (Please state the name of the school and the course you took. If you had no training, please write "none".)

   School .....

   Course .....

10. Have you had any further education since you left school, other than pre-sea training? (Please state the name of the institution and the course. If you have taken a correspondence course, please state the subject.)

    Institution .....

    Course/Subject .....

11. When you think of the time you have spent at sea, would you say that

    you are <u>very</u> happy with your job? .....
    you are happy with your job? .....
    it's just a job? .....
    you are unhappy with your job? .....
    you are very unhappy with your job? .....

Section B

1. Are you married? Yes ..... No .....

2. Do you have any children? .....

3. Is the house you live in a detached house? .....
   (PLEASE TICK) semi-detached house? .....
   terraced house? .....
   flat? .....

4. Is this house your own? .....
   rented? ..... (PLEASE TICK)
   a council house? .....
   your parents'? .....
   your parents-in-law's? ....

5. Which of the following newspapers do you prefer to read when you are in the U.K.?

(PLEASE TICK)		
	Daily Express....	Sunday Citizen.....
	Daily Mail.....	Sunday Express.....
	Daily Mirror.....	Sunday Mirror.....
	Daily Sketch.....	Sunday Sun.....
	Daily Telegraph..	Sunday Telegraph.....
	Guardian.....	Sunday Times.....
	Sun.....	Observer.....
	Morning Star.....	News of the World....
	Times.....	People.....

6. Which of the following political parties expresses the views most similar to your own on major issues?

(PLEASE TICK)	
	Communist Party .....
	Conservative Party .....
	Labour Party .....
	Liberal Party .....
	Socialist Party .....

7. What jobs do three of your neighbours at home hold?

   1 .....
   2 .....
   3 .....

8. What are the jobs of two of your close friends who work ashore?

   1 .....
   2 .....

9. In your experience do people ashore know very much about the sort of life that you lead at sea? .....

10. What jobs do you think people ashore consider as socially being like the one you do at sea? .....

11. What jobs ashore do <u>you</u> think are most similar, socially, to the one you do at sea? .....

12. Where is your present home? (Town) .....
    (County) .....

Section C

If you are unmarried, please turn to the next page.

The purpose of this section of the questionnaire is to learn something about the life of your wife and family when you are away at sea. As you know very well, their well-being affects the way in which you look at your job at sea, and thus is of interest to the University. The questions which follow will help us to know how they manage when you are away.

1. What was your wife's job before you were married? .....

2. If she is still working, what job does she hold now? .....

3. When you are home and your wife and yourself spend an evening with other people, are these people most likely to be your

   (PLEASE TICK) shipmates .....
   neighbours .....
   relatives .....
   wife's friends .....
   old friends .....

4. When you are away, which women are the most frequent visitors your wife has for a gossip and cup of tea? (Please write in whether these are friends, neighbours, or relatives, and how far away they live from your home.)

   Visitor no. 1 ..... lives ..... mins. walk.
   Visitor no. 2 ..... lives ..... mins. walk.
   Visitor no. 3 ..... lives ..... mins. walk.

5. How far away do your relatives live from your present home?

   Parents live ..... miles away.
   Brother lives ..... miles away.
   Sister lives ..... miles away.

6. How far away do your wife's parents live from your present home? .....miles away

7. How far away does your wife's relative who lives the closest to you live? .....miles away

8. How frequently does your wife see her relatives? .....

9. Are any of your wife's friends the wives of seafarers?

   (PLEASE TICK) one or two .....
   several friends .....
   most of her friends .....
   all of her friends .....
   none of her friends .....

10. Does your wife belong to any organizations; e.g., the wives' group at your church? .....

11. What sort of things do you and your wife like to do during your leaves? .....

12. What does your wife think of your being a seafarer? .....

Section D

1. Which Union/Association do you belong to? .....

2. As a seafarer, what do you think are the three most important things that your Union/Association does for its members?

   1 .....
   2 .....
   3 .....

3. What do you think are the major weaknesses of the Union/Association?

   1 .....
   2 .....
   3 .....

4. How many times in a year do you participate in a Union meeting? .....

5. How many times a year will you normally meet a Union/Association official other than when you pay your dues? .....

6. Do you regard a Union/Association official as

   (PLEASE TICK)
   - one who can give useful information .....
   - someone to be tolerated .....
   - someone to avoid .....
   - someone who consumes time without giving a worthwhile return .....

7. What do you think are the major advantages of having shipboard representation? .....

8. What are the major disadvantages of having shipboard representation? .....

9. If you had to choose today between going to sea in a bulk carrier, a cargo-liner, or a tanker, which would you prefer and why? .....
   .....

10. Some people have said that certain types of men prefer to go on certain types of ship; e.g., older seafarers prefer home trade vessels. In your experience have you noticed whether this happens, or is this an old wives' tale? .....

11. What do you most dislike about your job at sea? .....

12. What do you most like about your life at sea? .....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION!

APPENDIX II

DATA DERIVED FROM QUESTIONNAIRE SAMPLES

Introduction

The 102 sets of tables shown in this Appendix are summaries of the data collected by use of questionnaires during the study. The tables are summarized on three variables: (1) they distinguish between officers and ratings; (2) they distinguish between departments on board the ship; and (3) the variables derived from the questions on the schedule are introduced in turn. In Appendix I we discussed the interlocking nature of the three sets of questionnaires, and consequently, N varies from table to table. For this reason the majority of values are shown as percentages to facilitate comparison between groups and within groups.

The tables shown in the body of the text are developed from the material summarized here. The analysis of data distinguished between the variables shown in this summary and also between age, marital status, wish for a career at sea, rank/rating, type of ship, and the company for which the seafarer was working at the time.

Composition of Samples

Table A2.1. Distribution of questionnaires to seafarers by number of ships.

	Questionnaire 2	Questionnaire 3	Questionnaire 4	No. of ships
Officers	4	14	15*	33*
Ratings	4	14	10	28

*includes 5 ships with Asian ratings

Table A2.2. Deck officers' sample size.

	Questionnaire 2	3	4	N*	% of N	Response Rate %
Master	0	6	0	6	4	18
Mate	4	16	15	35	22	106**
Second Mate	4	21	15	40	25	121**
Third Mate	8	17	20	45	28	98
Apprentices	6	26	0	32	20	98
	22	86	50	158	100%	$\bar{X}$ = 88%

*potential sample N=179

**17 men in the sample are relieving officers; the response rate is derived from the number of men responding divided by the number of men in the rank or ship's articles.

Table A2.3. Engineer officers' sample size.

Officer	Questionnaire 2	3	4	N*	% of N	Response Rate %
Chief Engineer	1	12	16	29	15	88
Second Engineer	3	10	14	27	14	82
Third Engineer	4	18	15	37	19	92
Fourth Engineer	3	14	16	33	17	100
Junior Engineer	11	21	19	51	27	77
Apprentices	2	3	0	5	3	100
Electricians	4	3	0	7	4	100
Potential Sample N=217	28	81	80	189	100%	$\bar{X}$ = 87%

Table A2.4. Other officers' sample size.

Officer	Questionnaire 2	3	4	N*	% of N	Response Rate %
Catering Officer	0	12	0	12	54	36
Radio Officer	2	8	0	10	46	30*
N =	2	20	0	22	100%	$\bar{X}$ = 33%

*potential sample N = 66

Table A2.5. Catering ratings' sample size.

Rating	Questionnaire 2	3	4	N*	% of N	Response Rate %
Chief Cook	3	16	5	24	17	84
2nd Cook	4	12	6	22	16	77
2nd Steward	3	10	9	22	16	77
Asst. Steward	10	22	13	45	32	90
Catering Boy	4	15	8	27	19	81
N =	24	75	41	140	100%	$\bar{X}$ = 82%

*potential sample N = 184

Table A2.6. Deck ratings' sample size.

Rating	Questionnaire 2	3	4	N*	% of N	Response Rate %
Bosun and Carpenter	1	24	20	45	18	90
A.B.	21	38	28	87	35	78
E.D.H.	10	34	28	72	30	85
Deck Boy	15	20	4	39	16	90
N =	47	116	80	243	99%	$\bar{X}$ = 84%

*potential sample N = 288

Table A2.7. Engine-room ratings' sample size.

Rating	Questionnaire 2	3	4	N*	% of N	Response Rate %
Storekeeper	0	3	6	9	13	50
Donkey/Greaser	14	24	24	62	86	69
Wiper	0	1	0	1	1	100
N =	14	28	30	72	100%	$\bar{X}$ = 60%

*potential sample N = 120

Age structure of sample (based on Questionnaire 2, Q1; Questionnaire 3, Q1; Questionnaire 4, Q6).

Table A2.8. Deck officers by age.

	Age in years 16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51+	N
Master	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	6
Mate	0	0	1	14	13	5	2	0	35
2nd Mate	0	2	29	7	2	0	0	0	40
3rd Mate	0	41	3	0	1	0	0	0	45
Apprentices	30	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	32
N =	30	45	33	21	16	6	4	3	158

Table A2.9. Engineer officers by age.

	Age in years								
	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51+	N
Chief Engineer	0	0	0	4	10	6	4	5	29
2nd Engineer	0	0	6	15	4	1	0	1	27
3rd Engineer	0	2	19	9	2	3	1	1	37
4th Engineer	0	18	12	2	0	1	0	0	33
Jr. Engineer	0	39	10	1	1	0	0	0	51
Apprentices	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Electrician	0	1	2	1	0	2	0	1	7
N =	3	62	49	32	17	13	5	8	189

Table A2.10. Other officers by age.

	Age in years								
	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51+	N
Catering Officer	0	0	1	3	3	4	0	1	12
Radio Officer	0	4	1	2	1	0	1	1	10
N =	0	4	2	5	4	4	1	2	22

Table A2.11. Catering ratings by age.

	Age in years								
	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51+	N
Chief Cook	0	2	6	6	3	2	2	3	24
2nd Cook	2	17	2	1	0	0	0	0	22
2nd Steward	0	0	8	9	3	1	1	0	22
Asst. Steward	21	13	5	1	2	2	0	1	45
Catering Boy	27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	27
N =	50	32	21	17	8	5	3	4	140

Table A2.12. Deck ratings by age.

	Age in years								
	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51+	N
Bosun and Carpenter	0	0	2	8	9	12	11	3	45
A.B.	0	18	17	9	18	15	7	2	87
E.D.H.	18	40	11	3	0	0	0	0	72
Deck Boy	39	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	39
N =	57	58	30	20	27	27	18	5	243

Table A2.13. Engine-room ratings by age.

	Age in years								
	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51+	N
Storekeeper	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	3	9
Donkey/Greaser	0	12	9	2	11	15	8	5	62
Wiper	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
N =	1	12	9	2	11	17	12	8	72

Socioeconomic background of seafarers: father's occupation (Questionnaire 2, Q 4; Questionnaire 3, Q 3; Questionnaire 4, Q 4).

Table A2.14. The occupations of the fathers of deck officers.

	Manual	Skilled	Clerical	Managerial	Professional	N
Master	0	1	3	1	1	6
Mate	5	2	11	14	3	35
2nd Mate	1	14	5	12	8	40
3rd Mate	3	14	12	11	5	45
Apprentice	0	13	4	8	7	32
N =	9	44	35	46	24	158
% =	6%	28%	22%	29%	15%	100%

Table A2.15. The occupations of the fathers of engineer officers.

	Manual	Skilled	Clerical	Managerial	Professional	N
Chief Engineer	3	9	11	6	0	29
2nd Engineer	10	9	2	5	1	27
3rd Engineer	17	16	4	0	0	37
4th Engineer	10	15	4	4	0	33
Jr. Engineer	16	17	8	8	2	51
Apprentice	0	0	1	4	0	5
Electrician	1	3	0	1	2	7
N =	57	69	30	28	5	189
% =	30%	37%	16%	15%	3%	101%

Table A2.16. The occupations of the fathers of other officers.

	Manual	Skilled	Clerical	Managerial	Professional	N
Catering Officer	2	3	2	5	0	12
Radio Officer	0	3	3	3	1	10
N =	2	6	5	8	1	22
% =	9%	27%	22%	36%	5%	99%

Table A2.17. The occupations of the fathers of catering ratings.

	Manual	Skilled	Clerical	Managerial	Professional	N
Chief Cook	12	7	4	1	0	24
2nd Cook	13	5	4	0	0	22
2nd Steward	10	9	2	1	0	22
Asst. Steward	31	11	3	0	0	45
Catering Boy	15	4	5	2	1	27
N =	81	36	18	4	1	140
% =	58%	26%	13%	3%	1%	101%

Table A2.18. The occupations of the fathers of deck ratings.

	Manual	Skilled	Clerical	Managerial	Professional	N
Bosun and Carpenter	15	18	6	6	0	45
A.B.	40	29	2	14	0	85*
B.D.H.	23	39	3	7	0	72
Deck Boy	30	8	1	0	0	39
N =	108	94	12	27	0	241*
% =	45%	39%	5%	11%	0%	100%

*Two A.B.s did not reply to this question.

Table A2.19. The occupations of the fathers of engine-room ratings.

	Manual	Skilled	Clerical	Managerial	Professional	N
Storekeeper	5	3	1	0	0	9
Donkey/Greaser	36	18	6	0	1	61*
Wiper	0	1	0	0	0	1
N =	41	22	7	0	1	71*
% =	58%	31%	10%	0%	1%	100%

*One Donkey/Greaser did not reply to this question.

Seafarers with relatives who are also seafarers (Questionnaire 2, Q 5 and 6; Questionnaire 3, Q 3a and 5; Questionnaire 4, Q 5).

The tables following are coded as below:

1 = Father seafarer
2 = Uncle seafarer
3 = Cousin seafarer
4 = Brother seafarer
5 = Uncle and Cousin seafarers
6 = Uncle and Brother seafarers
7 = Father and Uncle seafarers
8 = Father and Brother seafarers
9 = Father, Uncle and Cousin seafarers
10 = Father, Uncle and Brother seafarers
11 = No relatives at sea

Table A2.20. Family (seafaring) relationship of deck officers.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	N
Master	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	6
Mate	5	6	2	2	0	0	5	0	2	0	13	35
2nd Mate	8	4	0	2	2	1	1	1	4	1	16	40
3rd Mate	4	7	0	0	2	0	2	0	3	0	27	45
Apprentice	5	3	0	0	0	2	4	0	0	0	18	32
N =	22	22	2	4	4	3	12	1	9	3	76	158
% =	14%	14%	1%	2%	2%	2%	8%	1%	6%	2%	48%	100%

Table A2.21. Family (seafaring) relationship of engineer officers.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	N
Chief Engineer	6	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	12	29
2nd Engineer	4	3	2	2	0	0	2	0	3	0	11	27
3rd Engineer	4	4	0	3	2	2	3	0	2	0	17	37
4th Engineer	2	3	0	2	0	0	2	2	2	7	13	33
Jr. Engineer	14	3	0	4	1	3	3	1	1	2	19	51
Apprentice	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	5
Electrician	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	5	7
N =	31	14	7	11	4	5	11	3	11	12	80	189
% =	16%	7%	4%	6%	2%	3%	6%	2%	6%	6%	42%	100%

Table A2.22. Family (seafaring) relationship of other officers.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	N
Catering Officer	3	1	0	2	2	0	2	1	0	1	0	12
Radio Officer	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	6	10
N =	3	2	0	3	2	0	3	1	1	1	6	22
% =	14%	9%	0%	14%	9%	0%	14%	4%	4%	4%	27%	99%

Table A2.23. Family (seafaring) relationship of catering ratings.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	N
Chief Cook	3	3	1	0	0	1	2	4	2	1	7	24
2nd Cook	2	4	1	1	2	3	1	0	2	1	5	22
2nd Steward	2	2	0	0	2	0	2	3	0	1	10	22
Asst. Steward	7	5	0	4	0	2	4	4	6	0	13	45
Catering Boy	1	4	2	2	0	2	3	5	1	0	7	27
N =	15	18	4	7	4	8	12	16	11	3	42	140
% =	11%	13%	3%	5%	3%	5%	9%	11%	8%	2%	30%	100%

Table A2.24. Family (seafaring) relationship of deck ratings.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	N
Bosun and Carpenter	10	7	2	1	1	0	2	1	1	2	18	45
A.B.	22	9	1	2	3	2	4	4	2	1	37	87
E.D.H.	12	5	3	1	2	0	5	7	2	2	33	72
Deck Boy	7	4	1	0	0	2	8	4	1	3	9	39
N =	51	25	7	4	6	4	19	16	6	8	97	243
% =	21%	10%	3%	2%	2%	2%	8%	7%	2%	3%	40%	100%

Table A2.25. Family (seafaring) relationship of engine-room ratings.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	N
Storekeeper	1	2	0	1	0	0	2	2	1	0	2	9
Donkey/ Greaser	1	3	1	1	0	0	6	5	3	1	38	61*
Wiper	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
N =	2	6	1	2	0	0	8	7	4	1	40	71*
% =	3%	8%	1%	3%	0%	0%	11%	10%	6%	1%	57%	100%

*One donkey/greaser did not answer this question.

Table A2.26. "How many of your close friends from home are seafarers?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 7; Questionnaire 3, Q 6).

	Number of friends					
Rank	1 or 2	Several	Most	All	None	N
Deck Officer	26	4	0	2	76	108
Engineer Officer	48	2	1	1	57	109
Other Officers	.5	1	0	0	16	22
Catering Rating	28	3	3	4	61	99
Deck Rating	87	17	6	11	42	163
N =	207	28	11	18	279	543
% =	38%	5%	2%	3%	51%	99%

Seafarers' education (Questionnaire 2, Q 8; Questionnaire 3, Q 7; Questionnaire 4, Q 8).

Type of school:

1 = Elementary school
2 = Secondary modern school
3 = Comprehensive
4 = Grammar school
5 = Technical college
6 = Private school
7 = "Public" school
8 = Nautical school
9 = No answer

Table A2.27. "What type of school did you last attend?"

Rank	Type of school 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	N
Deck Officer	22	18	4	97	2	0	1	14	0	158
Engineer Officer	7	121	8	21	32	1	0	0	2	189
Other Officers	5	6	0	4	6	1	0	0	0	22
Catering Rating	9	103	10	12	4	2	0	0	0	140
Deck Rating	39	179	11	4	5	1	0	1	3	243
Engine-room Rating	36	23	1	3	7	1	0	0	1	72
N =	118	450	34	141	56	6	1	15	6	824
% =	14%	55%	4%	17%	7%	1%	-	2%	1%	101%

Table A2.28. "Did you obtain a school-leaving certificate?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 11; Questionnaire 3, Q 10).

Rank	School qualifications None %	GCE 'O' %	GCE 'A' %	CSE %	ONC/ OND %	HNC/ HND %	Other %	%	N
Deck Officer	21	65	3	7	4	0	0	100	108
Engineer Officer	38	32	2	6	16	6	0	100	109
Other Officers	34	8	0	8	46	0	4	100	22
Catering Officer	57	8	0	24	0	0	10	99	99
Deck Rating	76	2	0	13	0	0	9	100	163
Engine-room Rating	94	0	0	3	0	0	3	100	42
$\bar{X}$% =	54	22	1	11	6	1	5	100	
N =	292	119	5	62	32	7	26		543

Table A2.29. "Have you attended a pre-sea school?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 9; Questionnaire 3, Q 8; Questionnaire 4, Q 9)

Rank	None	Private School[1]	LEA School[2]	NSTS	Other[3]	N
Deck Officer	63	37	52	0	6	158
Engineer Officer	178	0	10	0	1	189
Other Officer	1	0	10	10	1	22
Catering Rating	13	1	9	115	2	140
Deck Rating	46	0	1	192	4	243
Engine-room Rating	3	0	0	69	0	72
N =	304	38	82	386	14	824
% =	37%	5%	10%	47%	2%	101%

[1] e.g., H.M.S. "Conway", H.M.S. "Worcester", Pangbourne, etc.
[2] e.g., South Shields Marine and Technical College, Reardon Smith Nautical College
[3] e.g., T.S. "Mercury", T.S. "Arethusa"

Table A2.30. Age of leaving school (Ques. 2, Q 10 and 11; Ques. 3, Q 9, Ques. 4, Q A7).

Rank	Age 13 %	14 %	15 %	16 %	17 %	18 %	N.A. %	%	N
Deck Officers	0	8	5	62	23	1	1	100	158
Engineer Officers	1	7	37	39	13	4	3	100	189
Other Officers	1	10	15	39	20	15	0	100	22
Catering Ratings	1	10	54	31	2	1	1	100	140
Deck Ratings	2	14	60	19	1	0	4	100	243
Engine-room Ratings	8	31	51	0	0	0	10	100	72
X̄% =	2%	13%	37%	32%	10%	3%	3%	100%	
N =									824

Table A2.31. "Did any of the other boys at your school go to sea?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 13; Question 3, Q 12).

Rank	Number of boys 1 or 2 %	Several %	Most %	All %	None %	N.A. %	%	N
Deck Officers	35	7	1	0	57	0	100	108
Engineer Officers	41	17	2	1	38	1	100	109
Other Officers	57	0	0	0	42	1	100	22
Catering Ratings	42	12	5	0	41	0	100	99
Deck Ratings	46	18	3	3	28	2	100	163
Engine-room Ratings	62	0	0	0	36	2	100	42
X̄%	47	9	2	1	40	1	100	
N =								543

Table A2.32. Married seafarers and their families (Questionnaire 2, Q 58 and 58a; Questionnaire 3, Q 55 and 55a; Questionnaire 4, Q B1 and B2).

Rank	Unmarried %	Married %	Has Children %	N.A. %	N
Deck Officers	47	52	31	1	158
Engineer Officers	57	41	41	2	189
Other Officers	54	46	44	0	22
Catering Ratings	67	29	21	4	140
Deck Ratings	64	33	27	3	243
Engine-room Ratings	49	50	47	1	72
$\bar{X}$% =	56%	42%	35%	2%	N=824

Choice of seafaring as a career

Table A2.33. "What was your major reason for going to sea?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 26; Questionnaire 3, Q 28).

Rank	Always Wanted to %	Seafaring Family %	Education %	Outdoor Life %	Work Available %	Travel %	N.A. %	N
Deck Officers	33	1	1	11	11	42	0	108
Engineer Officers	16	0	13	2	30	40	0	109
Other Officers	5	5	24	5	24	32	5	22
Catering Ratings	4	4	27	4	28	32	0	99
Deck Ratings	0	9	6	39	18	26	2	163
Engine-room Ratings	0	0	0	0	74	24	2	42
$\bar{X}$% =	10	3	12	10	31	33	1	N=543

Table A2.34. "Why did you choose your present work in preference to any other work at sea?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 18; Questionnaire 3, Q 13).

Reason	Officers Deck %	Officers Engineer %	Officers Other %	Ratings Catering %	Ratings Deck %	Ratings Engine %	$\bar{X}$ %
Family tradition	5	4	5	0	3	0	3
Training offered	13	10	56	49	26	2	26
Formerly in R.N.	0	2	5	2	0	6	2
Outdoor life	19	0	5	0	60	0	14
Work available	8	3	0	16	7	84	20
Quickest way to leave home	16	3	0	14	4	0	6
Travel	9	3	0	4	0	6	4
Already trained	0	57	5	8	0	0	12
Most interesting	25	17	24	6	2	0	12
Good status	4	0	0	1	0	0	1
% =	99%	99%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N =	108	109	22	99	163	42	

Table A2.35. "Which department do you think has the most interesting work on board ship?" (Questionnaire 3, Q 14).

Rank	Catering %	Deck %	Engine Room %	Radio %	All Equal %	%	N
Deck Officers	1	39	54	2	3	99	86
Engineer Officers	0	11	86	2	1	100	81
Other Officers	40	5	20	35	0	100	20
Catering Ratings	58	13	22	2	5	100	75
Deck Ratings	0	41	51	1	7	100	116
Engine-room Ratings	0	19	73	0	8	100	28
$\bar{X}$% =	17	21	51	7	4	100	N=406

Table A2.36. "Which department do you think has the most important job on a ship?" (Questionnaire 3, Q 15).

Rank	Catering %	Deck %	Engine Room %	Radio %	All Equal %	%	N
Deck Officers	16	35	31	0	18	100	86
Engineer Officers	2	4	82	0	12	100	81
Other Officers	51	10	15	20	5	101	20
Catering Ratings	64	12	21	1	2	100	75
Deck Ratings	6	41	52	0	1	100	116
Engine-room Ratings	0	18	78	0	4	100	28
$\bar{X}$% =	23	20	47	3	7	100	N=406

Table A2.37. "Which job on a ship do you think requires the most skill?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 14; Questionnaire 3, Q 16).

Rank	Job with the most skill: Master %	Chief Engineer %	Radio Officer %	Mate %	Cook %	Other %	%	N
Deck Officers	43	32	10	9	0	6	100	108
Engineer Officers	21	64	0	0	7	8	100	109
Other Officers	24	31	21	0	19	5	100	22
Catering Ratings	40	42	4	4	6	4	100	140
Deck Ratings	37	32	3	20	3	5	100	163
Engine-room Ratings	32	41	0	10	17	0	100	42
$\bar{X}$% =	33	40	6	7	9	5	100	N=543

Table A2.38. "Which job on a ship do you think requires the least skill?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 54; Questionnaire 3, Q 17 and Q 49).

Rank	Job with the least skill: Stewards %	Boys %	Chief Engineer %	Chief Steward %	Mate %	Other %	NA %	%	N
Deck Officers	4	30	2	14	0	13	36	99	108
Engineer Officers	28	26	0	21	4	0	21	100	109
Other Officers	0	39	0	0	0	9	53	101	22
Catering Ratings	0	18	20	0	10	12	40	100	140
Deck Ratings	18	12	6	30	2	9	22	99	163
Engine-room Ratings	18	0	19	0	0	0	61	100	42
$\bar{X}$% =	11	21	8	11	3	7	39	100	N=543

Table A2.39. "What do you most dislike about your job at sea?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 20; Question 3, Q 19; Questionnaire 4, Q D11).

Dislike	Officers: Deck[1] %	Eng.[2] %	Other %	Ratings: Cat.[3] %	Deck %	E.R.[4] %	$\bar{X}$ %	N
Rough weather	0	8	5	12	2	3	5	41
Not stimulating	42	7	9	14	29	16	20	162
Poor equipment	2	1	9	0	19	0	5	40
Lack of social life	15	28	14	11	16	31	19	154
Leaving family	12	26	23	21	13	8	17	138
Bad accommodation	8	0	14	18	10	12	10	81
Bad officers/ bad ratings	19	28	17	23	11	29	21	170
Irregular hours	2	1	9	1	0	2	3	24
% =	100	99	100	100	100	101	100	
N =	150	188	22	138	243	69		810

[1]Eight deck officers did not reply. [2]One engineer officer did not reply.
[3]Two catering ratings did not reply. [4]Three engine-room ratings did not reply.

Table A2.40. "What aspect of seafaring do you like most?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 19; Questionnaire 3, Q 18; Questionnaire 4, Q D12).

Aspect liked	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck[1] %	Eng.[2] %	Other %	Cat.[3] %	Deck %	E.R.[4] %	%	
Good weather	18	6	9	21	19	15	15	122
Lack of stress	9	1	0	0	2	0	2	15
Always learning	8	23	4	7	12	0	9	74
Travel	5	38	15	12	9	27	18	146
Coming home	21	16	15	12	19	31	19	154
My work	32	14	24	13	10	2	16	130
Time for oneself	4	3	19	17	6	13	10	81
Healthy	0	0	0	11	13	6	5	40
All aspects	3	0	14	8	10	5	7	55
% =	100	100	100	101	100	99	101	
N =	156	188	22	139	243	69		817

[1]Two deck officers did not reply.
[2]One engineer officer did not reply.
[3]One catering rating did not reply.
[4]Three engine-room ratings did not reply.

Table A2.41. "If you had not gone to sea, what work do you think you would be doing now?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 17; Questionnaire 3, Q 20).

Job ashore	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
Professional	6	4	4	1	0	0	3	16
Managerial	28	14	16	5	3	0	11	60
Non-managerial white collar	56	18	31	14	5	2	21	113
Service worker	2	0	31	69	11	2	19	102
Armed forces	6	2	14	1	9	7	7	37
Skilled	0	59	0	6	8	1	12	64
Manual	0	0	0	1	59	83	24	130
No reply	2	3	4	2	5	5	4	21
% =	100	100	100	99	100	100	101	
N =	108	109	22	99	163	42		543

Table A2.42. Job satisfaction (Questionnaire 2, Q 21; Questionnaire 3, Q 21; Questionnaire 4, Q A11).

Job satisfaction	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
Very happy	21	24	19	28	18	18	21	176
Happy	41	36	39	40	46	37	40	328
Just a job	32	34	29	30	27	39	32	262
Unhappy	4	4	9	2	4	4	5	37
Very unhappy	1	2	4	1	5	2	3	21
% =	99	100	100	101	100	100	101	
N =	158	189	22	140	243	72		824

Table A2.43. "Do you have a service contract?" (Questionnaire 3, Q 22).

Contract	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other* %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
Company Service Contract	78	64	40	22	14	8	38	153
General Service Contract (MNE)	3	1	10	47	41	52	27	104
No contract	12	22	45	28	44	36	31	127
No reply	7	13	5	3	1	4	5	22
% =	100	100	100	100	100	100	101	
N =	86	81	20	75	116	28		406

*Radio operators may have a contract with either a radio company or the shipping company. As there were 10 radio officers in this group, the figures given may not reflect the actual number of contracts held as the question did not specify contracts with radio companies.

Table A2.44. "What do you think is the major reason why seafarers sign contracts?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 24; Questionnaire 3, Q 23).

Reason	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
Married men	31	36	30	37	31	42	35	187
Increased opportunity	37	35	44	41	18	16	32	173
Wanted independence	6	0	5	0	3	0	2	13
Job security	21	29	20	21	45	42	30	162
Other reasons	5	0	0	0	3	0	1	8
% =	100	100	99	99	100	100	100	
N =	108	107	22	99	163	42		543

Table A2.45. "Do you intend to make your career at sea?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 25; Questionnaire 3, Q 24; Questionnaire 4, Q A12).

Career	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
Yes	48	25	50	40	34	61	43	354
No	49	73	50	54	63	36	54	446
No reply	3	2	0	6	3	3	3	24
% =	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N =	158	189	22	140	243	72		824

Table A2.46. "If you do not intend to make the sea your career, how long do you think you will stay at sea?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 25a; Questionnaire 3, Q 24a).

Length of time	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Others %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
A year or two	25	32	18	29	33	17	26	82
For several years	16	19	46	26	21	59	31	100
Until marriage	11	14	9	9	10	0	9	28
Until certificated	41	21	0	0	0	0	10	33
Until world seen	2	6	0	18	15	6	8	25
Don't know	2	3	18	16	19	12	12	38
No reply	3	6	9	2	2	6	5	16
% =	100	101	100	100	100	100	101	
N =	52	81	11	55	105	17		321

Table A2.47. "Have you ever been employed ashore?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 27; Questionnaire 3, Q 25; Questionnaire 4, Q A3).

	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
Yes	6	96	100	77	88	100	74	606
No	90	4	0	18	8	0	25	205
No reply	4	2	0	5	4	0	2	13
% =	100	100	100	100	100	100	101	
N =	158	189	22	140	243	72		824

Table A2.48. "If you have been employed ashore, what was your job?" (Questionnaire 2, Q27a; Questionnaire 3, Q 25a; Questionnaire 4, Q A3a).

Job ashore	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
Managerial	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	5
Non-managerial white collar	89	0	5	1	0	0	2	10
Service worker	11	3	90	94	12	0	26	156
Armed forces	0	1	5	0	3	5	2	12
Skilled	0	94	0	0	6	0	30	183
Manual	0	0	0	5	79	96	40	240
% =	100	101	100	100	100	101	101	
N =	9	181	22	108	214	72		606

Table A2.49. "Do you have any good friends who are not at sea?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 28; Questionnaire 3, Q 26).

Friends ashore	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
One or two	26	22	36	31	53	19	34	184
Several	29	19	45	40	39	24	33	177
Most	29	32	14	17	3	48	21	113
All	15	26	0	8	0	7	10	55
None	2	1	0	2	3	0	2	11
No reply	0	0	5	1	2	2	1	6
% =	101	100	100	99	100	100	101	
N =	108	109	22	99	163	42		543

Table A2.50. "What types of jobs do your friends ashore have?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 29; Questionnaire 3, Q 27; Questionnaire 4, Q B8).

Friends' jobs	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
Professional	19	8	5	1	0	0	6	46
Managerial	27	25	14	12	3	0	14	116
Non-managerial white collar	38	21	23	21	12	3	20	165
Service worker	7	11	45	46	19	24	20	169
Armed forces	3	2	0	4	6	0	4	30
Skilled	3	27	9	4	37	27	21	173
Manual	0	4	0	7	19	43	12	97
No reply	3	2	5	5	4	3	3	28
% =	100	100	101	100	100	100	100	
N =	158	189	22	140	243	72		824

Table A2.51. "What was your major reason for going to sea?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 26; Questionnaire 3, Q 28).

Reason	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
Travel/adventure	42	40	45	48	63	52	49	271
Open-air life	11	2	10	3	8	5	6	34
No other work available	11	30	41	14	15	31	19	104
Disliked job	1	13	0	10	10	7	9	46
Always wanted to	34	16	5	24	3	2	15	82
No reply	2	0	0	0	1	2	1	6
% =	101	101	100	99	100	100	99	
N =	108	109	22	99	163	42		543

Table A2.52. "Did you have any contact with the M.N. before you went to sea, through any of the following (items)?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 30; Questionnaire 3, Q 29).

Contacts	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
Visits to ships	1	1	4	1	2	2	1	8
Visits to docks	13	7	9	16	13	2	11	61
Reading books	20	8	0	7	0	0	7	37
T.V. and films	2	0	0	4	1	0	1	7
Knowing seafarers	54	53	74	56	64	81	60	326
Other contact	1	24	0	1	6	0	7	39
No contact	9	7	9	14	12	17	11	61
No reply	0	0	4	0	2	0	1	4
% =	100	100	100	99	100	100	99	
N =	108	109	22	99	163	42		543

Table A2.53. "Did any of the following people help you with advice when you decided that you wanted to go to sea?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 31; Questionnaire 3, Q 30).

Advice givers	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
Your parents	29	31	28	38	41	12	33	180
Other relatives	41	46	36	30	37	19	37	200
Friends	8	17	28	24	15	52	19	102
Youth Employment Service	1	0	0	2	0	2	1	4
Teacher	1	0	0	0	3	0	1	6
Others	4	2	0	2	1	7	2	12
No advice	16	5	9	5	3	7	7	39
% =	100	101	101	99	100	100	100	
N =	108	109	22	99	163	42		543

Table A2.54. "Did anyone try to stop you going to sea?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 32; Questionnaire 3, Q 31).

Advice against going to sea	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
Parents	33	39	27	41	29	10	32	176
Other relatives	19	21	23	16	17	10	18	96
Friends	17	9	0	3	1	24	8	43
Girl friend	14	18	9	8	11	14	13	69
Y.E.S.	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	2
Teacher	15	3	18	11	9	0	9	48
Others	0	3	5	4	1	7	2	13
No opposition	2	6	13	14	26	24	14	78
No reply	0	1	5	1	6	12	3	18
% =	100	101	100	99	100	101	100	
N =	108	109	22	99	163	42		543

Table A2.55. "When you first joined a ship, were you surprised or unprepared for the type of job which you had to do?" (Questionnaire 3, Q 32).

Initial Reaction	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
Very surprised	22	16	14	32	21	15	22	87
Surprised	51	52	55	46	51	50	50	203
Not surprised	26	32	32	21	28	35	28	112
No reply	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	4
% =	100	100	101	99	101	100	101	
N =	86	81	20	25	116	28		406

Table A2.56. "What length of voyage do you prefer?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 35; Questionnaire 3, Q 35).

Length of voyage	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
Less than 3 mos.	48	32	36	29	39	47	38	206
3 to 6 mos.	37	40	36	52	45	45	43	236
6 to 9 mos.	6	12	18	18	13	5	13	68
9 to 12 mos.	5	7	5	0	2	0	3	17
More than 12 mos.	2	1	5	0	0	0	1	4
No reply	2	8	0	0	1	2	2	12
% =	100	100	100	99	100	99	100	
N =	108	109	22	99	163	42		543

Table A2.57. "What type of ship do you prefer to sail in?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 36; Questionnaire 3, Q 36).

Ship	Officers Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Ratings Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	$\bar{X}$ %	N
Home trader	14	8	14	25	31	36	22	118
Tanker	12	9	8	16	11	7	11	62
Cargo-liner	27	23	36	32	34	21	29	158
Bulk carrier	20	23	14	14	13	16	17	92
Tramp	16	17	9	10	10	14	13	69
All	2	7	0	1	2	0	2	13
No reply	9	13	18	1	0	6	6	31
% =	100	100	99	99	101	100	100	
N =	108	109	22	99	163	42		543

Table A2.58. "Why do you prefer this type of ship?" (Questionnaire 3, Q 36a).

Reason	Officers Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Ratings Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	$\bar{X}$ %	N
Work more varied	6	2	9	4	26	14	11	46
Regular voyages	23	15	32	24	19	18	20	82
Better for family life	18	16	18	12	12	17	15	62
Longer stays in port	28	36	18	27	21	29	27	110
Better crews	24	28	23	19	22	10	22	89
Other	0	2	0	11	0	8	3	13
No reply	1	2	0	2	0	4	1	4
% =	100	101	100	99	100	100	99	
N =	86	81	20	75	116	28		406

Table A2.59. "Do you prefer to sign on a ship with men you have sailed with before?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 38; Questionnaire 3, Q 37).

Preference	Officers Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Ratings Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	$\bar{X}$ %	N
Never	5	15	5	2	8	12	8	42
Rarely	8	16	23	17	23	21	17	94
Occasionally	29	27	36	34	42	39	32	187
Usually	34	30	36	32	28	20	30	163
Always	11	11	0	14	0	0	7	38
No reply	13	1	0	0	0	8	3	19
% =	100	100	100	99	101	100	99	
N =	108	109	22	99	163	42		543

Table A2.60. "If one of your friends has a senior rank/rating on a ship, would you prefer to sign on with him?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 39; Questionnaire 3, Q 38).

Preference	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
Yes	27	42	28	38	18	17	29	155
No	64	56	67	40	72	80	62	336
No reply	9	2	5	21	10	4	10	52
% =	100	100	100	99	100	101	101	
N =	108	109	22	99	163	42		543

Table A2.61. "When you have leave, do you prefer it at (1) regular intervals, (2) your discretion?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 40; Questionnaire 3, Q 39).

Leave	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
Regular intervals	44	41	54	56	40	39	45	242
Your discretion	46	57	45	42	58	54	52	282
No reply	9	2	0	1	2	7	3	19
% =	99	100	99	99	100	100	100	
N =	108	109	22	99	163	42		543

Table A2.62. "If you do not have a company service contract,* do you prefer to go back to the company you have just sailed with when you finish your leave?" (Questionnaire 3, Q 40).

*See Table A2.43 for a breakdown of those with contracts.

Preference	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
Never	0	0	0	0	1	8	1	3
Rarely	0	0	0	8	14	16	10	23
Occasionally	0	0	0	14	43	35	27	61
Usually	44	47	33	43	31	31	36	81
Always	44	53	58	28	7	8	21	46
No reply	11	0	8	7	4	0	4	10
% =	99	100	99	100	100	99	99	
N =	9	19	12	58	100	26		224

Table A2.63. Type of company preferred (Questionnaire 2, Q 42; Questionnaire 3, Q 41).

Preference	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
Close to home	40	36	27	25	31	30	33	178
Large company	31	32	33	28	26	29	29	157
Small company	28	29	37	39	37	31	34	182
No preference	0	1	4	5	1	10	2	12
No reply	1	2	0	3	5	0	3	14
% =	100	100	101	99	100	100	101	
N =	108	109	22	99	163	42		543

Table A2.64. Disciplinary action taken against seafarers. "Have you been logged during the past two years/three voyages?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 43; Questionnaire 3, Q 42).

Logged	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
Yes	0	1	0	28	37	31	19	102
No	94	96	100	57	42	29	69	376
No reply	6	3	0	14	21	20	12	65
% =	100	100	100	99	100	100	100	
N =	108	109	22	99	163	42		543

Table A2.65. "If you have been logged, what was it for?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 43a; Questionnaire 3, Q 42a).

Offence	Engineer Officers %	Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
		Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
Drunkenness	0	7	17	38	17	17
A.W.O.L.	100	50	35	31	39	40
Disobeying an order	0	14	23	0	18	18
Late on watch	0	0	10	0	6	6
Other	0	0	7	0	4	4
No reply	0	29	8	31	17	17
% =	100	100	100	100	101	
N =	1	28	60	13		102

Table A2.66. "How much overtime do you like to work at sea?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 51; Questionnaire 3, Q 43).

Overtime	Officers* Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Ratings Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	$\bar{X}$ %	N
None at all	50	62	45	9	7	5	28	154
1 or 2 hours/week	35	15	18	12	11	7	17	91
4 or 5 hours/week	0	4	0	28	23	29	15	82
1 or 2 hours/day	3	2	0	27	38	38	20	110
3 or 4 hours/day	0	0	0	20	16	16	10	53
No reply	12	17	36	3	5	65	10	53
% =	100	100	99	99	100	100	100	
N =	108	109	22	99	163	42		543

*In none of the ships in the study were the officers paid overtime.

Table A2.67. "How many hours in excess of 40 per week did you average for any one week last voyage?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 45; Questionnaire 3, Q 44).

Hours	Officers Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Ratings Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	$\bar{X}$ %	N
0-10	0	1	0	0	0	0	*	1
11-20	3	8	55	14	16	12	13	69
21-30	45	37	36	32	39	48	39	213
31-40	48	44	5	42	41	33	41	224
41+	2	3	0	2	0	2	1	8
No reply	2	7	5	9	4	5	5	28
% =	100	100	101	99	100	100	99	
N =	108	109	22	99	163	42		543

*less than 0.5%

Table A2.68. "It has been said that a ship is like a football team in which the officers and crew are on the same side, because good teamwork means a successful voyage." (Questionnaire 2, Q 47; Questionnaire 3, Q 45).

Opinion	Officers Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Ratings Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	$\bar{X}$ %	N
Definitely disagree	31	37	27	22	32	43	31	171
Disagree on the whole	43	45	32	34	30	40	38	204
Agree on the whole	16	12	18	29	18	7	17	95
Definitely agree	7	1	14	11	9	0	7	38
No reply	3	5	9	3	11	10	6	35
% =	100	100	100	99	100	100	99	
N =	108	109	22	99	163	42		543

Table A2.69. "Some people have said that officers and ratings have nothing in common. Is this true?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 48; Questionnaire 3, Q 46).

Perception	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
True	7	11	18	18	18	24	15	81
Partly true	31	33	36	41	52	33	40	217
False	39	37	27	35	24	19	31	170
No reply	23	19	18	5	6	24	14	75
% =	100	100	99	99	100	100	100	
N =	108	109	22	99	163	42		543

Table A2.70. "How do you think an officer should handle his working relationship with the crew?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 49, 50; Questionnaire 3, Q 47).

Officers' relations with crew	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
Very firm	42	38	14	11	12	8	23	123
By letter NMB agreement	21	28	41	36	36	35	31	170
Informal	10	5	27	34	38	41	25	135
Delegate to P.O.s.	8	0	9	12	10	5	6	33
No reply	19	29	9	6	4	11	15	82
% =	100	100	100	99	100	100	100	
N =	108	109	22	99	163	42		543

Table A2.71. "What do you most prefer to do when you are off duty at sea?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 44; Questionnaire 3, Q 50).

Preference	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
Read	41	34	27	29	20	36	30	164
Chat with friends	37	45	32	38	42	40	40	219
Play cards, darts, etc.	12	9	32	14	23	7	16	85
Write letters	8	7	5	12	12	10	10	53
Hobby	1	0	0	2	2	0	1	6
No reply	1	5	5	5	1	7	3	16
% =	100	100	101	99	100	100	100	
N =	108	109	22	99	163	43		543

Table A2.72. "Who do you normally drink with at sea?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 46).

Drinking partners	Officers Deck %	Officers Eng. %	Ratings Cat. %	Ratings Deck %	Ratings E.R. %	$\bar{X}$ %	N
Only from own department	45	57	75	81	36	64	87
Sometimes from other departments	27	21	17	11	50	21	28
Usually from other departments	5	0	4	0	7	2	3
Men of own age	9	4	4	4	0	4	6
Men of own seniority	14	7	0	2	0	4	6
Anyone	0	11	0	2	7	4	5
% =	100	100	100	100	100	99	
N =	22	28	24	47	14		135

Table A2.73. Attitude to son going to sea (Questionnaire 2, Q 59; Questionnaire 3, Q 56).

Attitude	Officers Deck %	Officers Eng. %	Officers Other %	Ratings Cat. %	Ratings Deck %	Ratings E.R. %	$\bar{X}$ %	N
Encourage him	6	7	5	2	2	0	4	21
Let him go if he wanted to	43	51	41	54	40	50	46	252
Discourage him	42	38	36	27	52	36	41	220
Refuse to let him go	8	4	14	17	4	12	8	45
No reply	1	0	5	0	2	2	1	5
% =	100	100	101	99	100	100	100	
N =	108	109	22	99	163	42		543

Table A2.74. "What do you most dislike about living on a ship?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 60; Questionnaire 3, Q 58).

Dislike	Officers Deck %	Officers Eng. %	Officers Other %	Ratings Cat. %	Ratings Deck %	Ratings E.R. %	$\bar{X}$ %	N
No social life	46	58	50	61	53	67	54	295
No privacy	21	23	14	18	15	10	18	98
No family life	17	8	27	11	19	14	15	82
Class distinction	2	0	0	8	10	9	6	31
Other	13	9	9	1	3	0	6	33
No reply	1	2	0	0	1	0	1	4
% =	100	100	100	99	101	100	100	
N =	108	109	22	99	163	42		543

Table A2.75. "What do you most dislike about your job on the ship?" (Questionnaire 2, Q 61; Questionnaire 3, Q 59).

Dislike	Officers			Ratings			$\bar{X}$	N
	Deck %	Eng. %	Other %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	%	
Boredom	52	41	23	44	41	52	44	240
Irregular hours	6	14	59	26	11	19	16	86
"A lot of bosses"	1	5	0	15	28	24	14	77
Particular job components*	21	13	9	11	13	2	13	73
Other	6	8	5	3	6	2	6	30
No reply	14	18	5	0	1	0	7	37
% =	100	99	101	99	100	99	100	
N =	108	109	22	99	163	42		543

*e.g., deck officers complained about deep tank inspections; deck ratings complained about hatch cleaning; catering ratings complained of the mess left by engine-room boots and shoes.

Questionnaire 4 Sample

Table A2.76. Type of house lived in by seafarers (Questionnaire 4, Q B3).

House type	Officers		Ratings		
	Deck %	Eng. %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %
Detached	22	10	2	8	3
Semi-detached	34	54	24	23	18
Terraced	14	23	58	53	57
Flat	30	14	14	12	16
Other	0	0	2	0	3
No reply	0	0	0	0	3
% =	100	101	100	100	100
N =	50	80	41	80	30

Table A2.77. House ownership of seafarers (Questionnaire 4, Q B4).

Form of ownership	Officers Deck %	Officers Eng. %	Officers Cat. %	Ratings Deck %	Ratings E.R. %
Owner/occupier	30	29	10	12	6
Rented	18	6	21	20	26
Council house	4	10	56	47	34
Parents' house	48	50	10	15	15
Parents-in-law	0	5	3	4	13
No reply	0	0	0	1	6
% =	100	100	100	999	100
N =	50	80	41	80	30

Table A2.78. Daily newspapers read by seafarers (Questionnaire 4, Q B5).

Newspaper	Officers Deck %	Officers Eng. %	Officers Cat. %	Ratings Deck %	Ratings E.R. %
Daily Express	36	52	27	11	6
Daily Mail	8	9	4	6	0
Daily Mirror	12	27	56	53	50
Sketch	0	0	5	6	0
Telegraph	42	11	0	0	0
Guardian	2	2	0	0	0
Morning Star	0	0	0	1	0
Sun	0	0	2	14	11
Times	0	0	0	0	0
Local dailies	0	0	0	6	0
No reply	0	0	0	3	33
% =	100	101	100	100	100
N =	50	80	41	80	30

Table A2.79. "Which of the following political parties expresses the views most similar to your own on major issues?" (Questionnaire 4, Q B6).

Party	Officers Deck %	Officers Eng. %	Officers Cat. %	Ratings Deck %	Ratings E.R. %
Communist	0	2	0	2	33
Conservative	64	46	34	14	3
Labour	26	44	62	81	51
Liberal	8	6	2	1	0
Other	2	2	2	2	13
% =	100	100	100	100	100
N =	50	80	41	80	30

Table A2.80. "What jobs do three of your neighbours do?" (Questionnaire 4, Q B7). In this summary table, the mean of occupational ratings has been taken where there are neighbours with different occupational levels.

Occupation	Officers			Ratings	
	Deck %	Eng. %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %
Manual	4	23	28	48	66
Skilled	22	53	58	42	20
Clerical	18	18	12	10	3
Managerial	20	6	0	0	0
Professional	22	0	0	0	0
No reply/D.K.	14	0	2	1	10
% =	100	100	100	101	99
N =	50	80	41	80	30

Table A2.81. "In your experience, do people ashore know very much about the sort of life that you lead at sea?" (Questionnaire 4, Q B9).

Knowledge	Officers			Ratings	
	Deck %	Eng. %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %
None	80	75	64	50	33
Very little	12	15	28	35	33
Some	6	4	8	11	10
Quite a lot	0	0	0	3	0
No reply	2	6	0	1	23
% =	100	100	100	100	99
N =	50	80	41	80	30

Questionnaire 4 - Married Sample

Table A2.82. Sample size (Questionnaire 4, Q B1).

Married	Officers			Ratings		
	Deck %	Eng. %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %	N
Yes	52	41	30	40	30	110
No	48	59	70	60	69	250
% =	100	100	100	100	99	
N =	50	80	41	80	30	260

Because of the small size of this sample, the ratings' section of the following tables will show all ratings as a group, and deck ratings only as a separate group.

Table A2.83. "What was your wife's job before you were married?" (Questionnaire 4, Q C1).

Wife's job	Officers		Ratings	
	Deck %	Eng. %	All %	Deck %
Manual	0	33	19	28
Skilled	0	9	38	28
Clerical	65	48	26	22
Managerial	0	0	0	0
Professional	35	0	0	0
No job	0	9	17	22
% =	100	99	100	100
N =	26	33	53	32

Table A2.84. "If your wife is still working, what job does she hold now?" (Questionnaire 4, Q C2).

Wife's present job	Officers		Ratings	
	Deck %	Eng. %	All %	Deck %
Manual	0	3	0	0
Skilled	0	9	0	0
Clerical	42	24	0	0
Managerial	0	0	4	6
Professional	27	0	2	0
No job	31	63	94	94
% =	100	99	100	100
N =	26	33	53	32

Table A2.85. Persons with whom seafarer and his wife spend leisure time. (Questionnaire 4, Q C3).

Persons	Officers		Ratings	
	Deck %	Eng. %	All %	Deck %
Shipmates	7	18	0	0
Neighbour	7	15	55	62
Relatives	27	42	19	12
Wife's friends	31	24	17	16
Seafarer's friends	27	0	9	10
% =	99	99	100	100
N =	26	33	53	32

Table A2.86. "When you are away, which women are the most frequent visitors your wife has in for a gossip and a cup of tea?" (Questionnaire 4, Q C4).

Table (a)

Visitor No. 1	Officers		Ratings	
	Deck %	Eng. %	All %	Deck %
Friend	50	30	26	28
Relative	31	48	40	25
Neighbour	19	21	19	25
Don't know	0	0	7	12
No reply	0	0	8	10
% =	100	99	100	100
N =	26	33	53	32

Table (b)

Visitor No. 2	Officers		Ratings	
	Deck %	Eng. %	All %	Deck %
Friend	69	42	38	37
Relative	19	21	19	28
Neighbour	12	36	28	16
Don't know	0	0	7	9
No reply	0	0	8	10
% =	100	99	100	100
N =	26	33	53	32

Table (c)

Visitor No. 3	Officers		Ratings	
	Deck %	Eng. %	All %	Deck %
Friend	27	30	49	53
Relative	54	30	8	10
Neighbour	19	39	8	10
Don't know	0	0	8	3
No reply	0	0	27	24
% =	100	99	100	100
N =	26	33	53	32

Table A2.87. Distance wife's visitors live from her home (Questionnaire 4, Q C4; distance is given in minutes of travelling time).

Table (a)

Visitor No. 1 Distance	Officers		Ratings	
	Deck %	Eng. %	All %	Deck %
0-3 mins.	27	51	21	16
4-7 mins.	0	0	19	16
8-11 mins.	35	18	10	9
12-15 mins.	19	0	17	13
16+ mins.	19	30	14	21
No reply	0	0	19	25
% =	100	99	100	100
N =	26	33	53	32

Table (b)

Visitor No. 2 Distance	Officers		Ratings	
	Deck %	Eng. %	All %	Deck %
0-3 mins.	8	39	38	43
4-7 mins.	0	0	0	0
8-11 mins.	0	0	0	0
12-15 mins.	0	27	0	0
16+ mins.	92	33	40	32
No reply	0	0	22	25
% =	100	99	100	100
N =	26	33	53	32

Table (c)

Visitor No. 3 Distance	Officers		Ratings	
	Deck %	Eng. %	All %	Deck %
0-3 mins.	27	39	19	53
4-7 mins.	0	0	0	0
8-11 mins.	8	3	8	13
12-15 mins.	12	9	10	6
16+ mins.	53	48	30	0
No reply	0	0	33	28
% =	100	99	100	100
N =	26	33	53	32

Table A2.88. Distance (in miles) of seafarer's relatives from his home (Questionnaire 4, Q C5).

Table (a)

Parents Distance	Officers Deck %	Officers Eng. %	Ratings All %	Ratings Deck %
0-2 miles	38	15	26	25
3-5 miles	19	39	4	0
6-10 miles	8	12	2	3
11-50 miles	19	3	8	13
51+ miles	8	21	41	47
No reply*	8	9	19	12
% =	100	99	100	100
N =	26	33	53	32

*includes no relatives of this relationship

Table (b)

Brother(s) Distance	Officers Deck %	Officers Eng. %	Ratings All %	Ratings Deck %
0-2 miles	27	15	0	0
3-5 miles	8	21	0	0
6-10 miles	0	0	0	0
11-50 miles	19	12	0	0
51+ miles	19	12	55	63
No reply	27	39	45	37
% =	100	99	100	100
N =	26	33	53	32

Table (c)

Sister(s) Distance	Officers Deck %	Officers Eng. %	Ratings All %	Ratings Deck %
0-2 miles	0	18	10	12
3-5 miles	19	12	17	16
6-10 miles	19	21	2	0
11-50 miles	8	3	0	0
51+ miles	8	21	45	41
No reply	46	24	26	31
% =	100	99	100	100
N =	26	33	53	32

Table A2.89. Distance (in miles) of seafarer's home from those of his wife's relatives (Questionnaire 4, Q C6).

Table (a)

Parents Distance	Officers Deck %	Officers Eng. %	Ratings All %	Ratings Deck %
0-2 miles	46	63	40	41
3-5 miles	19	3	10	12
6-10 miles	8	3	0	0
11-50 miles	0	9	0	0
51+ miles	19	3	24	35
No reply*	8	18	26	12
% =	100	99	100	100
N =	26	33	53	32

*includes cases in which no relatives are alive

Table (b)

Brother(s) Distance	Officers Deck %	Officers Eng. %	Ratings All %	Ratings Deck %
0-2 miles	35	36	10	2
3-5 miles	27	6	10	10
6-10 miles	0	0	17	22
11-50 miles	0	9	0	0
51+ miles	19	3	40	44
No reply	19	45	23	22
% =	100	99	100	100
N =	26	33	53	32

Table (c)

Sister(s) Distance	Officers Deck %	Officers Eng. %	Ratings All %	Ratings Deck %
0-2 miles	8	12	51	64
3-5 miles	27	15	10	2
6-10 miles	0	9	0	0
11-50 miles	8	21	15	12
51+ miles	19	12	13	22
No reply	39	30	11	0
% =	100	99	100	100
N =	26	33	53	32

Table A2.90. "How frequently does your wife see her relatives?" (Questionnaire 4, Q C7).

Frequency	Officers		Ratings	
	Deck %	Eng. %	All %	Deck %
Every 1 or 2 days	62	75	34	25
Twice a week	19	12	26	25
Weekly	0	0	0	0
Monthly	12	9	0	0
Less frequently	8	3	34	44
No reply	0	0	6	6
% =	101	99	100	100
N =	26	33	53	32

Table A2.91. "Are any of your wife's friends the wives of seafarers?" (Questionnaire 4, A C8).

Number of friends	Officers		Ratings	
	Deck %	Eng. %	All %	Deck %
1 or 2	50	42	17	22
Several	19	21	36	22
Most	0	0	0	0
All	0	0	0	0
None	34	36	47	56
% =	100	99	100	100
N =	26	33	53	32

Table A2.92. "Does your wife belong to any organization, e.g., the wives' group of the local church?" (Questionnaire 4, Q C10).

Organization	Officers		Ratings	
	Deck %	Eng. %	All %	Deck %
Social club	20	0	8	6
Political or educational	19	12	0	0
Unspecified	12	0	9	3
Don't know	50	87	32	35
No reply	0	0	51	56
% =	100	99	100	100
N =	26	33	53	32

Table A2.93. "What social activities do you and your wife enjoy during your leaves (Questionnaire 4, Q C10).

Activity	Officers		Ratings	
	Deck %	Eng. %	All %	Deck %
Centred on house and garden	0	0	26	31
Attending sporting events	23	6	0	0
Social drinking	19	39	8	9
Visiting friends and relatives	27	24	9	3
Just being together	31	30	24	22
Don't know	0	0	11	13
No reply	0	0	22	22
% =	100	99	100	100
N =	26	33	53	32

Table A2.94. "What does your wife think of your being a seafarer?" (Questionnaire 4, Q C11).

Wife's feelings toward seafaring	Officers		Ratings	
	Deck %	Eng. %	All %	Deck %
Noncommittal	8	12	15	3
Prefer's husband home	46	33	17	12
Does not like husband away	27	42	36	44
Extreme dislike of seafaring	19	12	17	22
Don't know	0	0	9	12
No reply	0	0	6	7
% =	100	99	100	100
N =	26	33	53	32

Table A2.95. Union membership (Questionnaire 4, Q B1).

Union	Officers		Ratings		
	Deck %	Eng. %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %
A.E.U.	0	6	0	0	0
M.N.A.O.A.	84	74	0	0	0
N.U.S.	0	0	100	100	100
None	16	19	0	0	0
No reply	0	1	0	0	0
% =	100	100	100	100	100
N =	50	80	41	80	30

Table A2.96. "What are the three most important things that your union does for its members?" (Questionnaire 4, Q D2).

Table (a): First choice

Important Union Activity	Officers Deck %	Officers Eng. %	Ratings Cat. %	Ratings Deck %	Ratings E.R. %
Pay and benefits	24	25	41	25	0
Tax matters	0	0	2	5	0
Improvement in conditions	8	14	49	10	20
Legal matters	56	49	0	10	0
Handles grievances	0	0	0	0	0
No reply	12	12	8	50	80
% =	100	100	100	100	100
N =	50	80	41	80	30

Table (b): Second choice

Important Union Activity	Officers Deck %	Officers Eng. %	Ratings Cat. %	Ratings Deck %	Ratings E.R. %
Pay and benefits	38	25	36	11	10
Tax matters	18	0	5	0	3
Improvement in conditions	24	33	17	23	0
Legal matters	12	11	7	2	0
Handles grievances	0	0	2	0	0
No reply	28	31	34	64	87
% =	100	100	101	100	100
N =	50	80	41	80	30

Table (c): Third choice

Important Union Activity	Officers Deck %	Officers Eng. %	Ratings Cat. %	Ratings Deck %	Ratings E.R. %
Pay and benefits	18	9	2	0	0
Tax matters	10	0	2	0	0
Improvement in conditions	10	13	0	0	0
Legal matters	12	9	5	4	0
Handles grievances	6	14	12	11	0
No reply	44	56	78	85	100
% =	100	101	99	100	100
N =	50	80	41	80	30

Table A2.97. "What do you think are the major weaknesses of your union?" (Questionnaire 4, Q D3).

Table (a): First choice

Weakness of union	Officers Deck %	Officers Eng. %	Ratings Cat. %	Ratings Deck %	Ratings E.R. %
Inactive	16	30	47	30	40
Not all wish membership	64	35	12	5	0
Not controlled by membership	4	16	20	20	17
Too close to owners	4	14	5	5	23
No reply	12	5	17	40	20
% =	100	100	101	100	100
N =	50	80	41	80	30

Table (b): Second choice

Weakness of union	Officers Deck %	Officers Eng. %	Ratings Cat. %	Ratings Deck %	Ratings E.R. %
Inactive	12	19	22	14	0
Not all wish membership	8	15	10	6	0
Not controlled by membership	48	24	12	8	27
Too close to owners	0	19	10	5	23
No reply	32	24	47	67	50
% =	100	101	101	100	100
N =	50	80	41	80	30

Table (c): Third choice

Weakness of union	Officers Deck %	Officers Eng. %	Ratings Cat. %	Ratings Deck %	Ratings E.R. %
Inactive	20	9	0	4	0
Not all wish membership	4	16	0	0	0
Not controlled by membership	12	19	5	5	6
Too close to owners	12	1	0	7	3
No reply	52	55	95	84	90
% =	100	100	100	100	99
N =	50	80	41	80	30

Table A2.98. "How many times a year do you participate in a union meeting?" (Questionnaire 4, Q D4).

Number of times	Officers			Ratings	
	Deck %	Eng. %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %
Never	86	91	75	70	43
1 or 2	2	0	15	9	47
3 or 4	0	0	3	11	10
5 or 6	0	0	0	0	0
No reply	12	9	7	10	0
% =	100	100	100	100	100
N =	50	80	41	80	30

Table A2.99. "How many times a year will you normally meet a union official, other than when you pay your dues?" (Questionnaire 4, Q D5).

Number of times	Officers			Ratings	
	Deck %	Eng. %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %
Never	20	50	60	40	40
1 or 2	30	39	33	27	50
3 or 4	40	4	0	22	6
5 or 6	2	5	0	0	3
No reply	8	2	7	10	0
% =	100	100	100	100	100
N =	50	80	41	80	30

Table A2.100. Attitudes of seafarers towards unions officials. "Do you regard a union official as: (a) someone who can give useful information? (b) someone to be tolerated? (c) someone to be avoided? (d) someone who consumes your time without giving a worth while action?" (Questionnaire 4, Q D6).

Attitude	Officers			Ratings	
	Deck %	Eng. %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %
(a)	62	65	44	55	37
(b)	2	18	41	34	40
(c)	0	0	0	4	0
(d)	20	12	3	3	23
No reply	16	5	12	5	0
% =	100	100	100	101	100
N =	50	80	41	80	30

Table A2.101. "What do you think are the major advantages of having shipboard representation?" (Questionnaire 4, Q D7).

Table (a): First choice

Advantages	Officers		Ratings		
	Deck %	Eng. %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %
None	28	13	30	23	27
Complaints in open	44	50	30	40	67
Fosters teamwork	4	7	5	0	7
Immediate response to grievances	4	1	2	11	0
Information channel	0	15	2	6	0
No reply	20	14	32	20	0
% =	100	100	101	100	101
N =	50	80	41	80	30

Table (b): Second choice

Advantages	Officers		Ratings		
	Deck %	Eng. %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %
None	28	13	30	66	27
Complaints in open	8	21	5	23	3
Fosters teamwork	4	16	7	11	14
Immediate response to grievances	8	19	0	0	10
Information channel	28	0	5	0	3
No reply	24	31	53	0	43
% =	100	100	100	100	100
N =	50	80	41	80	30

Table (c): Third choice

Advantages	Officers		Ratings		
	Deck %	Eng. %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %
None	28	13	30	23	27
Complaints in open	0	1	0	0	0
Fosters teamwork	14	14	2	0	10
Immediate response to grievances	4	0	0	0	0
Information channel	14	8	0	0	0
No reply	40	65	67	77	63
% =	100	101	99	100	100
N =	50	80	41	80	30

Table A2.102. "What are the major disadvantages of shipboard representation?" (Questionnaire 4, Q D8).

Table (a): First choice

Disadvantages	Officers		Ratings		
	Deck %	Eng. %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %
None	8	16	40	59	64
Poor quality of representatives	40	30	35	7	3
Trivial complaints magnified	28	45	17	8	10
Not proper union representation	0	0	2	0	0
No reply	26	9	7	26	23
% =	100	100	101	100	100
N =	50	80	41	80	30

Table (b): Second choice

Disadvantages	Officers		Ratings		
	Deck %	Eng. %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %
None	8	16	40	59	64
Poor quality of representatives	26	18	15	0	10
Trivial complaints magnified	12	14	20	0	3
Not proper union representation	2	0	4	0	0
No reply	52	52	22	41	23
% =	100	100	101	100	100
N =	50	80	41	80	30

Table (c): Third choice

Disadvantages	Officers		Ratings		
	Deck %	Eng. %	Cat. %	Deck %	E.R. %
None	8	16	39	59	64
Poor quality of representatives	0	0	0	0	0
Trivial complaints magnified	0	0	0	0	0
Not proper union representation	6	0	7	0	0
No reply	86	84	55	41	36
% =	100	100	101	100	100
N =	50	80	41	80	30

APPENDIX III

SPECIMEN OF SUMMARY CREW AGREEMENT

The following is taken from Form U, issued by the Board of Trade and entitled "Copy of Agreement to be made accessible to the Crew." This summarizes the major points in the Ship's Articles, which each seafarer signs when joining the ship. The shipping company can vary the agreement by inserting the company and N.M.B. clauses. The document cited was used on Ship "AA7".

"THE SEVERAL PERSONS whose names are hereto subscribed, and whose descriptions are contained herein and of whom ..... are engaged as Sailors, hereby agree to serve on board the said Ship in the several capacities expressed against their ..... years duration to any ports or places within the limits of 75 degrees north and 60 degrees south latitude, commencing at ..... proceeding thence to ..... to end at such port in the United Kingdom or Continent of Europe (within Home Trade limits) as may be required by the Master.

"If the voyage is not ended within fourteen days after the vessel has arrived at the first port of call in the United Kingdom any member of the crew who has served under this Agreement for a minimum period of six months may give forty-eight hours' notice to the Master in writing, or verbally before a witness, to terminate his engagement at that port or a subsequent port of call before the final port.

"And the Crew agree to conduct themselves in an orderly, faithful, honest and sober manner, and to be at all times diligent in their respective Duties and to be obedient to the lawful commands of the said Master, or of any person who shall lawfully succeed him and of their Superior Officers, in everything relating to the said Ship and the Stores and Cargo thereof, whether on board, in boats, or on shore; in consideration of which Services to be duly performed, the said Master hereby agrees to pay to the said Crew as Wages the Sums against their Names respectively expressed, and to supply them with provisions according to the Scale printed herein.

"And it is hereby agreed that any Embezzlement, or wilful or negligent Destruction of any part of the Ship's Cargo or Stores shall be made good to the Owner out of the Wages of the Person guilty of the same.

"And it is further agreed, that if any Seaman enters himself in a capacity for which he is incompetent, he is liable to be disrated.

"And it is also agreed, that the additional clauses and the Regulations authorised by the Board of Trade which are printed herein and numbered ..... are adopted by the parties hereto, and shall be considered as embodied in this Agreement. And it is also agreed, that if any Member of the Crew considers himself to be aggrieved by any breach of the Agreement or otherwise, he shall represent the same to the Master or Officer in charge of the Ship in a quiet and orderly manner, who shall thereupon take such steps as the case may require; and it is also stipulated that advances on account and allotments of part of wages shall be made as specified against the names of the respective seamen in the columns provided for that purpose.

COMPANY'S CLAUSES

"AND IT IS ALSO AGREED THAT the Crew shall consist of, at least, Mate, Carpenter, Steward, Cook, Seamen, 2 Engineers and Firemen; Seamen and Firemen mutually to assist each other. If the Chief Steward's cash or liquors are deficient, the amount of deficiency may be deducted from his wages. Stewards and Cooks liable for lost plate and linen. No cash advanced or liberty allowed abroad except at the Master's discretion. No grog allowed. Also to assist in towage services to any vessels under the management of [Company AA]. The Crew or any member thereof may be transferred, if required, at any port, and at any time during the period of this agreement to any other vessel under the management of [Company AA], wages, capacity, and terms of service being the same.

"SUBSTITUTES - Should any member of the Crew fail to join at the time specified, or join and then leave the vessel without the Master's permission, he will not be allowed to join later, and the Master has the option of shipping a substitute at once.

"VACCINATION - The members of the Crew shall conform to the laws of any country within the territorial jurisdiction of which the ship may come in the course of the voyage and that in the event of such laws requiring the vaccination or inoculation of any members of the Crew, for the purpose of enabling a clean bill of health to be granted to the ship, such members of the Crew shall on the demand of the Master made at any time in the course of the voyage submit themselves forthwith to such vaccination or inoculation.

"The Crew will take all the necessary precautions against sickness as directed by the Master and Surgeon. If the ship has Mosquito Screens it shall be the duty of the crew, in mosquito infected districts, to see that all such protected doors and portholes are carefully closed by means of the screens.

"GOVERNMENT SERVICE - The vessel to be free to carry troops and/or horses and/or Government stores, or as may be required by the Master.

"UNIFORM - Crew to appear in Uniform at all times the Master may require.

"BED AND BEDDING - OFFICERS AND RATINGS - The National Maritime Board Agreement of 11th Feburary, 1949, with subsequent amendments applies to officers and ratings, as indicated therein. It is agreed that, if any item of bed and bedding is not returned at the termination of the voyage or engagement in good condition (reasonable wear and tear excepted), the officer or rating concerned shall be liable for the current cost of replacement.

"OVERTIME - Crew to work overtime when and where required.

"SOAP - 3 oz. Toilet Soap or 4 oz. Washing Soap per man per week to be supplied free by the Master.

N.M.B. CLAUSES

1. "'RETROSPECTIVE' CLAUSE. Notwithstanding the statements appearing in column 11 of this Agreement, the amounts there stated shall be subject to any increase or reduction which may be agreed upon during the currency of this Agreement by the National Maritime Board or the appropriate Panel thereof as applying to the rating to which the statement appertains and such increase or reduction shall take effect from such date as the Board or appropriate Panel may decide.

"It is further agreed that any alteration of any of the printed clauses contained in this Agreement which may be agreed upon during the currency of this Agreement by the National Maritime Board or the appropriate Panel thereof shall take effect from the date agreed by the Board or appropriate Panel.

2. "COMPENSATION FOR LOSS OF EFFECTS BY MARITIME PERIL. The National Maritime Board Agreement applies to officers and ratings.

3. "MERCHANT NAVY OFFICERS PENSION FUND. The Trust Deed and Rules constituting "The Merchant Navy Officers Pension Fund" shall be deemed to be incorporated herein to the effect and intent that such of the parties hereto (including the Master) who are or are eligible to be members of the said Fund hereby agree for the purposes of this Agreement to be bound by all the provisions of the said Deed and Rules and to authorise the deduction from the wages payable to them hereunder of the contributions payable by them respectively to the said Fund. And the Master hereby undertakes that the contributions payable under the said Deed and Rules by the employer shall be paid to the Fund in respect of such members.

4. "KEEPING QUARTERS CLEAN. The crew individually and collectively agree to keep their quarters clean and tidy and in readiness for inspection by the Master or officer deputed by him. Further, it is agreed that at the time when the crew or any individual member finally leaves the ship at termination of the contract, they shall leave the quarters in a clean and orderly condition, to the satisfaction of the Master (or his authorised deputy). When the crew are ready to leave the ship they may request the Master (or his authorised deputy) for a certificate that the quarters are clean.

"For each breach of the foregoing the Master may, at his entire discretion, impose on each member of the crew concerned a fine not exceeding two days' pay.

5. "UNCONSUMED PROVISIONS. All stores and provisions issued to the crew are only for use and consumption on board the ship and any unused or unconsumed stores or provisions remain the property of the shipowner.

"Any member of the crew taking ashore, selling, or destroying or giving away any such stores or provisions renders himself liable to prosecution.

6. "HOURS - OFFICERS AND RATINGS. It is an implied provision in every Hours Agreement that hours, both ordinary and overtime, shall be worked at sea and in port by officers and ratings as may be required by the Master.

7. "HOURS - NAVIGATING AND ENGINEER OFFICERS. Section 'A' of the Officers' Hours Agreement, adopted by the Navigating and Engineer Officers' Panels of the National Maritime Board, applies.

8. "HOURS OF DUTY AND OVERTIME OF RATINGS shall be regulated in accordance with the appropriate National Maritime Board Agreements.

9. "COMPANSATION FOR WEEK-ENDS AT SEA - EXTRA LEAVE FOR SUNDAYS. The National Maritime Board Agreement applies to officers and ratings.

10. "PROLONGED SERVICE ABROAD - OFFICERS AND RATINGS - FOREIGN-GOING VESSELS. A Prolonged Service Abroad allowance shall be paid as follows:

(a) 10% additional pay for periods in excess of 12 months but up to 18 months;

(b) 15% additional pay for periods in excess of 18 months.

Provided always that where special company rates are already payable, these companies shall only be obliged, by virtue of this Agreement, to pay so much, if any, of the foregoing allowances as may be necessary to bring these rates up to National Maritime Board standard rates plus the allowance.

"RETURN FARES CLAUSE. In the event of the engagement of any member of the crew originally made in the U.K., through no act or fault of his own, at a port other than the port at which he was engaged, he shall be entitled upon notifying of his desire at the time of his discharge, to a free ticket by such train as may be selected by the owner or his representative to his port of engagement, or, if preferred, to his home, when nearer.

PROVIDED THAT:

(i) A seaman who is discharged by mutual consent before completion of the voyage is not entitled to a free railway pass.

(ii) If the Master, on the termination of a voyage in the United Kingdom which has not exceeded 3 months offers a seaman immediate and continuous employment in the same, or in a not inferior capacity on board ship, under the National Maritime Board wages and conditions, the seaman shall not be entitled to a railway fare, if he refuses the Master's offer. If the Master terminates the seaman's employment otherwise than through the seaman's act or fault before the voyage begins, he shall then be entitled to his railway fare.

SHORT SUMMARY OF THE PROVISIONS OF SECTION 2 OF THE MERCHANT SHIPPING (INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONVENTIONS) ACT, 1925, WHICH IS REQUIRED TO BE INCLUDED IN EVERY AGREEMENT WITH THE CREW BY SECTION 2(3) OF THAT ACT

"The employment of a person under the age of 18 in a ship as fireman or trimmer is prohibited except in school ships or training ships specially authorised by the Board of Trade or in ships which are mainly propelled otherwise than by means of steam (e.g., auxiliary sailing ships) or under special conditions in ships exclusively engaged in the Indian or Japanese coasting trade.

"Where in any port a fireman or trimmer is required and no person over 18 years of age is available, young persons over 16 may be employed, but in such cases two young persons must be employed to do the work which would otherwise be done by one person over 18 years of age.

"The Agreement with the crew must contain a list of all members of the crew under 18 years of age with the dates of their birth.

"This summary must be included in every agreement with the crew."

APPENDIX IV

The following is taken from Form U, issued by the Board of Trade and entitled "Copy of Agreement to be made accessible to the Crew." Form U is a summary of the main points contained in the Ship's Articles or voyage contract signed by each seafarer. The document cited was used on Ship "AA7."

"REGULATIONS FOR MAINTAINING DISCIPLINE SANCTIONED BY THE BOARD OF TRADE IN PURSUANCE OF SECTION 114(2) OF THE MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894

"These Regulations are distinct from, and in addition to, those contained in the Act, and are sanctioned but not universally required by Law. All or any of them may be adopted by agreement between a Master and his Crew, and thereupon the offences specified in such of them as are so adopted will be legally punishable by the appropriate Fines or Punishments. These Regulations, however, are not to apply to Certificated Officers. These Regulations are all numbered, and the numbers of such of them as are adopted must be inserted in the space left for that purpose in the Agreement, page 1, and the following copy of these Regulations must be made to correspond with the Agreement by deleting such of the Regulations as are not adopted. The signature or initials of the Superintendent or Consular Officer before whom the Agreement is made, must be placed opposite such of the Regulations that are adopted.

"For the purpose of legally enforcing any of the following penalties, the same steps must be adopted as in the case of other Offences punishable under the Act: that is to say, a statement of the Offence must, as soon as possible after its commission, be entered in the Official Log-Book by the direction of the Master, and must at the same time be attested to be true by the signatures of the Master and the Mate, or one of the Crew; and when the log entry has been made a copy of such entry must be furnished, or the same must be read over to the Offender before the ship reaches any Port or departs from the Port at which she is, and an entry that the same has been so furnished or read over, and of the reply, if any, of the Offender, must be made and signed in the same manner as the entry of the Offence. These entries upon discharge of the Offender must be shown to the Superintendent or Consular Officer before whom the Offender is

discharged; and if he is satisfied that the Offence is proved, and that the entries have been properly made, the Fine must be deducted from the Offender's wages, and paid over to the Officer.

"If, in consequence of subsequent Good Conduct, the Master thinks fit to remit or reduce any Fine upon any Member of his Crew, which has been entered in the Official Log, and signifies the same to the Officer, the fine shall be remitted or reduced accordingly, an entry being made of the fact in the Official Log. If wages are contracted for by the Voyage, or by Share, the amount of the Fines is to be ascertained in the manner in which the Amount of Forfeiture is ascertained in similar cases under Sec. 234.

No.	OFFENCE
1	Striking or assaulting any person on board or belonging to the Ship (if not otherwise prosecuted).
2	Bringing or having on board intoxicating liquors.
3	Drunkenness.
4	Taking on board and keeping possession of any fire-arm, knuckle-duster, loaded cane, slung shot, sword-stick, bowie knife, dagger, or any other offensive weapon or offensive instrument without the concurrence of the Master, for every day during which a seaman retains such weapon or instrument.
5	Insolent and contemptuous language or behaviour to the Master or any officer, or disobedience of any lawful command (if not otherwise prosecuted).
6	Absence without leave (if not otherwise prosecuted) for each day on which such absence occurs.

"Each of the above offences shall be punishable by a Fine equal to one day's pay, for the first occasion on which such offence is committed during the currence of the Agreement, and two days' pay for the second or any subsequent occasion."

APPENDIX V

MEDICAL AND WELFARE STUDIES OF SEAFARERS

By far the largest number of studies are those dealing with the health of the seafarer, and these can be conveniently divided into three sections: health and accommodation, general health and accidents, and studies of alcoholism. The seaman poses a special problem with regard to the health of the communities he visits, for he can carry disease with him, and on a modern ship, can infect two or three communities before the disease is recognized. The ship can pose further problems in that its cargoes may be tainted, causing illness if they have not been properly loaded or carried, or the cargo may be a health hazard by its nature; for example, benzene, acrylotrite, or tuolene. In addition, the cargo may harbour animals or insects which carry disease or are poisonous.

Because of these problems, stringent medical controls are applied on ships entering and leaving port. Yet little has been done to provide medical care for the seafarer at sea -- the Department of Trade and Industry requires masters and mates to possess a first-aid certificate -- except on those ships carrying more than a hundred persons or more than twelve passengers.

Scurvy and bad food were long recognized as the prime causes of mortality at sea[1] together with poor accommodation. Both Plimsoll and Brassey argued that poor accommodation, in some cases non-existent accommodation, was a chief cause of dissatisfaction in the merchant service.[2] Admiral Somerville's description of the fo'c's'le of a passenger liner taken over by the Navy as an armed merchant cruiser in 1914 is worth repeating:

> The first, and worst, and rudest shock reached us all on the first Sunday on which we went "rounds" of the living quarters allotted to the deckhands and firemen of the ship's original crew. . . .We were conducted into the very eyes of the ship -- to the forecastle and the narrow triangular depths beneath it. . .

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[1] G. Blane (1785); T. Trotter (1793).

[2] S. Plimsoll (1871); T. Brassey (1877).

> There were three decks, one beneath the other, each divided into steel walled compartments, whose sides had once (long ago) been daubed over, first, with thin red lead and afterwards with thick and sticky white paint. The decks, also steel, were thickly bedded with cement. . . .Round the filthy sides of each den there were riveted as many iron bed-frames one above the other, as spaces could be found for them, to the number of about fourteen. Regardless of the solemn hour of Captain's Sunday Rounds, each bedplace contained its proper human occupant dirty and sweaty, just as he had come from the stoke-hold . . . .Each man was couched on a "Donkey's Breakfast." This consists of a coarse brown sack, tightly stuffed with hard straw. . . .As for the rest of the furniture or fittings of this pleasant home from home on the sea, there was none! No table, no chair, no bench: and as a receptacle for clothes, a little shelf that scarce would hold a cap. . . .The long-sanctioned custom was that each man, as he came off watch, whatever the day or hour, threw himself down on his bunk, just as he was, and there remained until it was time for him to go to his next turn of watch in the stoke-hold.[3]

Conditions have improved considerably for seafarers since 1914, and much of the improvement is due to the work of the International Labour Organization together with the articles of Wilson, Collingridge, Black, Carr, and Ellis, which fostered a climate of public concern about the health of merchant seamen and led to steps taken in 1937 to alleviate the conditions.[4] Until 1950, tuberculosis was the major cause of death amongst seafarers, and Wood viewed overcrowding in living quarters as the main cause of the disease and the reason for its persistence.[5]

Section 210 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, laid down the amount of cubic space (72 cubic feet) and superficial space (12 square feet) required for living quarters of seamen. The Act of 1906 bettered this scale in overall space, but the sleeping accommodation remained the same, whilst the additional allowance of 48 cubic feet and 3 square feet per man was allocated to washing spaces and mess rooms.

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[3]B. Somerville (1920).

[4]J.G. Wilson (1936, 1953); W. Collingridge (1894); S.A. Black (1945); G.J. Carr (1945); F.P. Ellis (1948). Also see W.E. Home (1922), especially ch. 11; W.E. Home (1934).

[5]J.B. Wood (1942).

In 1937, the Board of Trade issued instructions to its surveyors concerning crew accommodation in new ships. These indicated that, where practicable, no more than four men should share a room; crews should be housed amidships or aft; cabins should have metal bulkheads sheathed to prevent moisture condensation and heat loss or transmission, and heating and some mechanical aid to natural ventilation; each man should have a locker providing 5½ cubic feet of space with use of a drying room and oilskin locker. The instructions made the provision of washrooms and a bath or shower compulsory, and a water closet for every ten men was recommended.[6] Today it is recommended that each man have his own cabin, and conditions have been ameliorated.

Seamen's health was discussed at all the Special Maritime Sessions of the International Labour Organization,[7] and Evang makes the point that these meetings were crucial in improving the conditions of service of seafarers.[8] The World Health Organization and the I.L.O. set up a joint consultative committee in 1950, and the reports of this committee have supplied much information about the lives of seafarers.[9] Initially, the concern of W.H.O., as was the concern of its predecessor, the Office Internationale d'Hygiène Publique, lay with the treatment of venereal diseases amongst seamen.[10] Many port clinics were established under the aegis of these bodies, and pressure was exerted upon governments to provide treatment for seamen of any nationality for any disease or illness.[11] The purview of these two bodies, the I.L.O. and W.H.O., has thus been with health services ashore, health services on board ship, particularly in the training of medical auxiliaries, and provision of proper equipment; mental health problems, dental health, and social services for seamen.[12]

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[6] Board of Trade (1937). In addition, each man was to be issued a mattress, blankets, towels and linens by the shipowner.

[7] The Special Maritime Sessions met in 1920, 1926, 1929, 1936, 1946, 1951, 1960, and 1970. For a summary of the work of the I.L.O. to 1950, see I.L.O. (1950).

[8] K. Evang (1951).

[9] W.H.O. (1959a and b).

[10] W.H.O. (1959a), p. 117; for the problem of veneral disease in the Port of New York, see F.P. Burow (1943).

[11] See, for example, H.B.G. Breijer (1957) about the training and provision of paramedical personnel and equipment on Dutch ships.

[12] W.H.O. (1959a), p. 147.

The work of Wilhelm Reich on personality types and their transmission through the socialization process[13] was expanded by Gronseth and Tiller to explain the effect of the mother-dominance in a seafarer's family, which functions as a single-parent family during the father's absences, about four-fifths of the year. Thus,

> by going to sea the youth escapes from the ambivalence-provoking presence of his mother (and father), from the scornful girls and their forbidden, bewildering sexual attraction. By the protest often implied in going to sea, the economic independence, and by the outer air of masculinity and adventure rendered to the sailor, his (however weak) ego is probably considerably bolstered. For the passive feminine character it may be greatly satisfying at the same time to enter the bottom level of an extremely authoritarian, small, simple, isolated and exclusively men's society on board the ship, where the Captain is the motherly woman carrying him in her womb.[14]

With regard to the process of identification, the researchers assumed that because of their clinical experience supported by psychoanalytic theory, a child will tend to indentify with the person who is the source of its most severe frustrations. In normal practice this person will be the parent of the same sex as the child, but because of the father's absence, the son of a seafarer will tend to identify with his mother, and Gronseth and Tiller argued that men who have developed in this way as a passive-feminine personality type will find life at sea to their liking.

This analysis fits the need for a structured occupational role on board the ship. All the seafarer's material wants are taken care of, his work is routinized, and he has little responsibility for the organization and consequences of his work. Further, his personality defects, in Gronseth and Tiller's analysis, are not important on a ship, since the seafarer does not have to relate to women. Usually none are on board, and he can maintain a stereotypical view of a woman. Those women with whom he has contact are usually "good-time girls" (amateur or professional) in foreign ports who are available because of his money, not his attractiveness.[15]

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[13] W. Reich (1947).

[14] E. Gronseth and P. Tiller (1958), p. 4.

[15] E. Gronseth and P. Tiller (1958); J. Tunstall (1962), pp. 138-41; E.P. Hohman (1952).

> On occasional visits home, he can surround himself with his impressive, but to a large extent rather easy adventures in foreign harbours and generously distribute exotic gifts. . . .To maintain his feeling of masculinity and his ability to have it accepted by others, he must, however, typically remain in his sailor role.[16]

The studies of the mental health of seafarers will be mentioned briefly. Powdermaker's work in New York was the first systematic exploration of the problems of the mental health of seafarers.[17] She found that of the seamen treated who had been at sea for a long time, the majority had few family ties in the sense that

> the family appears to be supplanted by the ship. It offers a life with companionship but without social or personal responsibilities except for the job, which is very clearly defined and set. Food, shelter and recreation are provided, even clothing if necessary. The ship is also thought of as a refuge if a man gets into trouble ashore.[18]

The studies of the Norwegian sociologists and social psychologists referred to earlier re-emphasize this notion of low emotional involvement with other persons. It is in this context that studies of seafarers and the use of alcohol are important. If, as suggested by Gronseth and Tiller, Tunstall, and Irgens-Jensen, the seafarer uses alcohol as a means of bolstering his "image" in the community and facilitating casual social relationships, alcoholism is the unintended result of behaviour designed to aid the fostering of an informal social pattern as well as being a depressant capable of shutting out the harsher realities of seafaring.[19]

There is a high correlation between alcoholism and neuroticism amongst seafarers,[20] and also between these factors and the accident and death rates. deWalden and Dolmierski showed that nearly 92% of all fatal

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[16] E. Gronseth and P. Tiller (1958).

[17] F. Powdermaker (1945); also see F.J. Braceland and H.P. Rome (1946); D. Curran (1943), p. 65.

[18] F. Powdermaker (1945), p. 652; also see S.K. Weinberg (1950), especially p. 604; W. McCord and J. McCord (1962), pp. 415-6.

[19] D. Horton (1943), p. 223, suggests that "the primary function of of alcoholic beverages in all societies is the reduction of anxiety." (Emphasis in original.)

[20] S. Brun-Gulbrandsen and O. Irgens-Jensen (1964), pp. 164-7; (1967), pp. 22-3; A. Otterland (1960), p. 155ff; there is also a high correlation of neuroticism/anxiety and ulcers; see G. Alsted (1954); J.M. Jellinek (1952), pp. 676-7.

accidents to seafarers were the result of psychic disturbances. Of these, 30% were alcoholics, 20% were persons suffering from acute psychoses, 20% were seafarers with slight psychoses, and the balance occurred to seafarers displaying irrational behaviour for the first observable time.[21] Rose and Glatt also noted this phenomenon in their study and held that in the ship-community, there may be a relatively high incidence of psychosexual immaturity and instability, but the institutional aspects of the ship compensate for these, the only noticeable symptom being the high consumption of alcohol and the high rate of alcoholism.[22]

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[21] K.T. deWalden and R. Dolmierski (1970), p. 123; also see O. Arner (1970).

[22] H.K. Rose and M.M. Glatt (1961), especially p. 23; also see J.I.F. (1943), p. 498.