Voyages from the Centre to the Margins:
An ethnography of long term ocean cruisers

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This thesis is presented for the degree of
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1999
I declare that this thesis is my own account of my research and contains as its main content work which has not previously been submitted for a degree at any tertiary education institution.

Gayle Ruth Jennings
Foreword

Research is an experience not unlike an epic voyage. Along the way, challenges test the researcher in her or his quest for knowledge. These challenges can lead the researcher on a circuitous path or in a new direction. My initial attempts at writing this thesis were certainly circuitous. For I discovered that the experience of research was also like another genre; it was like theatre. I realise such a metaphor is not new – William Shakespeare claimed its use long ago and within this century, social phenomena have been metaphorically described using various dramaturgical devices, see for example the work of Erving Goffman (1953).

However, in the process of my research, I observed that the world is indeed a stage. The participants and myself were social actors wearing a variety of masks and adopting a variety of roles, as the social settings required. All this was done in an attempt to negotiate the multiple realities of our worlds. For a time sociological theories and theorists directed the masks, the roles and the scripts. Finally and thankfully, however, the masks, the roles and the scripts were directed by the social actors themselves, the cruisers, the co-researchers. When this occurred I was able to resume my voyage. My path took me through new ground and to a new destination arriving with a deeper understanding of the people I was co-researching. I say co-researching, as I, along with the cruisers who were participants in this study, co-negotiated the social reality of their worlds and their lives and their meanings.

And so in accordance with my co-researchers’ directions and scripts, metaphors relating to maritime voyaging are used to organise the thesis and to guide readers in their subsequent passage through its texts as well as to reaffirm the setting of this study. For non-sailors, a glossary of terms is provided at the end of the thesis. Vignettes are also used at the commencement of each of the ethnographic chapters
to highlight the main themes, and images punctuate the text to reiterate these themes.

As a whole, the thesis is organised into three parts. The first part is an introduction to the study and my researcher ‘situatedness’, the second part is an ethnographic portrayal of the cruisers, whilst the third part develops the theoretical analysis of the cruisers’ narratives and experiences. This latter part is constructed from grounded theory analysis and constitutes the theoretical component of this voyage of research. As a consequence, the reader will note that there is no separate section entitled the ‘Literature Review’, it is subsumed into the theoretical analysis in the second part of the thesis. Specifically, each of the theoretically informed chapters apply an inductive approach to the presentation and analysis of the cruisers’ narratives. Furthermore, as is the case in grounded theory analysis, it is the cruisers’ voices which orchestrate and direct the discussions and analysis as well as the selection of voices from the theoretical cast. A cast in the end drawn from the disciplines of sociology, social psychology and tourism studies.
Abstract

Long term ocean cruisers are self defined as people who have accepted, adopted or chosen a cruising lifestyle, who live aboard their own sailing vessels, have independent means, are self sufficient and have been away from their port of departure for an extended period of time. As a group, cruisers, constitute a subculture (Macbeth, 1985).

Why do people choose to adopt a cruising lifestyle? Using the principles of grounded theory analysis, this study found that cruisers were motivated by a variety of extrinsic and intrinsic motivations as well as by their social background and status in society. Cruisers were motivated by a need to escape the pressures and constraints of their home society as well as to pursue a lifestyle which offered freedom and a sense of personal control, a need to add some adventure or challenge to their lives or to fulfil a dream. They were also motivated by relationship commitments and a desire to travel and experience new cultures, people and settings. Their age, gender, family life cycle stage, education, income and former lifestyle pursuits also motivated them. In setting about and maintaining the fulfilment of their motivations, cruisers exhibited personal agency in their choice to move from a life in the centre of mainstream western societies to one in the margins.

Overall, cruisers were found to be social actors who exhibit agency and self governance in decision making as to whether or not to maintain a sense of ‘connectivity’ with and without various social settings. Cruisers’ responses to feelings of anomie and alienation in their home societies, to their feelings of under- or non-actualisation at the individual level, and to their need for belonging with a partner activated these people to make choices and decisions regarding the negotiation and direction of their own social realities. Based on the cruisers who
participated in this study, such agency and self governance can be described as 'empowered connectivity'. Empowered connectivity is the action of exhibiting agency in order to achieve connectivity with the space in which an individual currently finds her or himself. It can be both a holding on to and a letting go of connections. Empowered connectivity is not a 'theory' *per se*, but rather a generic representation of a process that accounts for 'plurality, multiplicity and difference' (Tong 1989) in the actions of both women and men as they negotiate the spaces they choose to occupy.

Moreover, this study informed by the interpretive social sciences paradigm and a 'feminist methodology' enabled an in-depth understanding of cruising women's experiences to be counterpointed against cruising men's experiences. Subsequently, cruising women became subjects in their own right rather than 'other'. Further, the interpretive social sciences paradigm and 'feminist methodology' emphasised the need for tourism research, in particular, to use both emic and etic perspectives in data collection and analysis.

This ethnographic study of cruisers was conducted between 1985 and 1999 on the eastern seaboard of Australia. The study involved participant observation, semi-structured in-depth interviews and self-completion questionnaires relating to sociodemographics, vessel inventories, budgets and touristic experiences.
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Acknowledgments

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Secondly, to my supervisor, Dr Jim Macbeth for sharing a similar interest in long term ocean cruising and agreeing to work with me as my supervisor. Your understanding, support and style were critical to the completion of this thesis.

Thanks must also go to Dr Bill Metcalf, my co-supervisor, for reminding me what is 'real' social anthropology and what is not, he will be pleased I hope that I have returned to my roots. To Dr Les Killion, for support at work so that I might be able to finish the thesis and complete my study. To my colleagues, who provided words of encouragement at the appropriate times, thank you. Thanks also to Jan Smith who assisted with transcriptions of tapes where such transcription was not in conflict with cruisers' informed consent. Sincere thanks to Mr David Hallsey and the staff at the Byte Centre, Rockhampton for your technical support and hardware when things started and continued to go seriously wrong as this thesis neared completion.

Knowledge, learning and understanding are power, they enable one to negotiate the world. I learnt these tenets as a child. My parents, Viv and Alma Jennings, were my first teachers and instilled in me a strong desire for knowledge and understanding and an insatiable urge to learn about the world. My grandparents and great grandfather also contributed to my education by answering questions and allowing me to take risks in a safe environment. My sister's pride in my achievements is humbling.
And to Ross Ryehart, my friend, my significant other, my partner to all of you and just the one you, my gratitude and thanks, you have been all sustaining. My stepson, Robbie Jack Ryehart, I could not have done it without your support. You are a joy and thank you for your encouragement and soon, perhaps you will be able to stop asking me am I finished yet?
An ethnography of long term ocean cruisers

Part One: The Manifest
Introduction

The purpose of this study is to investigate the reasons why people move from the centre to the margins of everyday life, specifically, why people leave a land-based lifestyle and move aboard small vessels called yachts in order to pursue a cruising lifestyle. In the course of this investigation, feminist perspectives will be used so that reasons of both women and men may be more clearly understood. As such, this study moves beyond Macbeth’s (1985) study which considered cruisers as an amorphous group without any gender specificity.

The limitations of this study are its temporal, geographical and researcher ‘situatedness’. Temporally, the research was undertaken informally and formally between 1985 and 1999 and so the findings only reflect the observations conducted throughout that period and the realities of those participants who engaged in the fieldwork process during 1992 and 1999. Geographically, the formal fieldwork was conducted on the north eastern seaboard of Australia and so only reflects those cruisers embarking on a circumnavigation which incorporated Australia as part of their journey and who also agreed to participate in the study. Researcher-wise, the study was undertaken by a white, middle-class woman of Anglo-Celtic background who had been a member of the cruising subculture prior to undertaking formal fieldwork. As a consequence, despite negotiation with the co-researchers, the cruisers, the interpretations of the social realities of the cruisers who participated in this study are ultimately mediated by her own cruising background and life experiences.

The purpose in putting all this in writing early is that having said it once, you do not have to repeat it every time you introduce a new topic or propose some interpretation.

(Harry Wolcott, 1990: 30)
Having addressed both the purpose and limitations of this study, the remainder of this section, 'The Manifest' will commence the task of recording and reporting the details of the travellers on this voyage and the course selected. 'The manifest' consists of four chapters. The first chapter introduces the captain or skipper of this voyage of discovery, the researcher, myself. The second chapter outlines the methodology applied for the conduct of this research, and the third chapter introduces the crew, the cruisers themselves. The fourth chapter is a construction of a logbook to immerse the reader vicariously into some to the life experiences of cruisers.
Aboard any vessel, there must nominally be a captain. It is with this person that the responsibility of the vessel and the crew is charged. In some instances, the title may be a nominal one with the responsibilities and decision making being shared amongst members of the crew. In other cases, the captain’s authority may be absolute.
Mid-morning on 16 July, 1986, whilst walking through the warrum heath on my way to Tallows Beach, Byron Bay, on the north coast of New South Wales, Australia, I committed to two things: one consciously and one subconsciously. The first was to join the subculture of long distance ocean cruisers and the second was to commit myself to the study of long distance ocean cruisers as a subculture. The latter was conducted informally at first and was not formalised until I had returned from cruising during 1992.

The commitment to join the subculture took me through various stages of participation: the pre-cruising stage, the cruising stage and the exit stage. Currently, my partner and I are planning and preparing for our re-entry into the sub-culture, though, in all probability, this will be some time in the future because of familial obligations and due to our wish to be financially independent when we resume the cruising lifestyle. For the present, we must be content to live in the margins of the subculture and experience the lifestyle vicariously through our cruising friends and acquaintances.

Essentially, I entered the pre-cruising stage as a novice. My partner introduced me to the world of long term ocean cruising. At first it was through vicarious experiences such as reading cruising magazines crammed with cruising tales, technical reports and advertisements; reading historical and contemporary books of cruisers’ voyages; purchasing and reading cruising guides; procuring yacht design books and comparing designers’ concepts; as well as daydreaming as we ‘cruised’ the boardwalks of marinas and harbours – scouting for our dream boat. We also undertook several yacht charters in order to determine whether both I (my partner had a sailing background), and we as a partnership, might be suited to a cruising lifestyle. Armed with all these prior experiences, our decision was easily made. We settled on our boat design and chose a boat builder to
construct the hull and deck of our yacht. We decided on this course of action as we had observed that other pre-cruisers who were building their own boats from scratch seldom achieved the fruition of their dreams to go cruising. Evidence of these unfulfilled dreams can be seen around boat yards and marine industrial estates as well as in suburban housing estates in western nations.

When the hull and deck were completed, we transported this ‘shell’ of our boat from the boat building yard some three hours away to a boat building yard in a marine industrial area adjacent to a creek in northern New South Wales. This yard was to be our home for the next four years whilst we continued to complete the yacht along with other similarly minded people intent in ‘sailing off into the wild blue yonder’. It was here in this yard, that I became aware that we were not all seeking a cruising lifestyle for the same reasons. My partner and I were doing it to escape the insanity of our working lives and to achieve some balance back into our lives, especially self-control. We also thought it was sensible
to be able to retire early and have an active retirement which some of our colleagues did not seem able to achieve. In fact, several were dying within a short time of retiring, this was not what we wanted for our future. Some of the boat building community were in pursuit of a romantic dream only and in reality would never set sail in their boats (the passage of time has proved this statement true). Others were determined to sail off into the sunset and fulfil their romantic dream; others wanted to follow in the footsteps of cruising icons, such as Miles Smeeton, Hal Roth, the Hiscocks, the Pardys. Others wanted to travel and see the world and a boat seemed like a good way to do it; and some were going because their partners would leave without them if they did not go. Thus, within this microcosm of a ‘cruising-oriented’ community, the seeds of my study commenced their germination.

Our pre-cruising stage lasted four years after which we set sail on our voyage after an initial shake-down cruise of one month. Our initial plan was to undertake a circumnavigation, however, the Gulf War and the associated political instability it was generating in countries through which we needed to travel caused us to re-examine our cruising plan. In the end, our participation in the cruising stage lasted for two and one half years. We departed our homeport on 8 July 1990 and concluded our cruise in Townsville in November 1992. During the course of our cruise, we covered some 15,000 nautical miles as we travelled up the Queensland coast, crossed to Papua New Guinea and Indonesia, re-entered Australia through Darwin, cruised the coastline between Darwin and Thursday Island, sailed south to Brisbane and north again to Townsville. (see map 1.1 on next page).

In Townsville, my partner and I became live-aboards, that is, we were no longer long term cruising yachties or cruisers, we were now using our boat as a home base within a marina whilst we sought re-employment and study options. In reality, we were entering the exit stage of cruising. During this stage, I commenced my study, as the marina in which we had established ourselves was one of the primary locations through which
cruisers pass on their passage north or south. This marina was to be the key location for the gathering of interview data and further observations of cruisers and of live-aboards. This base in Townsville afforded me my credibility with cruisers. It was evident from my appearance, my yacht and my discourse that I had indeed been a long term ocean cruiser.

Map 1.1: Cruising Route of Researcher

Influences from the field

In the pre-cruising stage, which commenced for me in 1985, cruising literature was predominantly written by men for men. Although cruising magazines, had some articles which were written by women, these usually entailed recipes or provisioning guides, such as, ‘Food for cruising’ by Jenny Room (1987), ‘Nutrition and provisioning’ by Susan Dumbrell (n.d.: 92 – 94). Cruising World also had a section in its pages for ‘People and Food’ which was edited for a time by Lynda Childress. Many of the contributors were women, such as Floy Williams (1990: 35) who wrote ‘Pick a peck of pickled ....’ in which she describes pickling recipes. In the same issue, Christine Perri (1990: 36) describes how to make ‘Perfect Pasta’. Care of children was also a focus with
articles such as ‘Coping with Kiddies’ by Colleen Reilly (n.d.: 34 – 40), ‘Boating Babes’ by Riki Vitko (n.d.), ‘Neptune’s Classroom’ by Jennee Davidson (n.d.: 53 – 58), ‘Starting young – a general guide for parents of infant yachtsies’ by Susan Barrett (1986). Occasional cruising reports were also penned by women such as ‘A woman at sea’ by Betty Warner, (1989: 12-13, 62). Moreover, during my pre-cruising stage, the gendered nature of the cruising world was iterated by the following ‘androcentric’ and ‘gender insensitive’ (Margrit Eichler, 1991) text penned by Eric Hiscock, a male cruising icon:

A word to female readers

I well understand that many of you are quicker to learn and are more skilful in the arts of sailing and navigation than are your male counterparts, and that you do not normally make such a fuss about it; I also know that without your company seafaring for males would be a savourless occupation. Nevertheless, it does seem to me to be clumsy, tiresome, and rather absurd to insert the words ‘she’ or ‘her’ each time after ‘; he’ or ‘his’ is used, and surely even the most feminist of you would not wish me to change ‘seamanship’ to ‘seapersonship’. I therefore hope that you will not regard me as a chauvinist, and will appreciate that although they are couched in traditional masculine terms, my remarks are addressed equally to you.

(Hiscock, 1981: xi)

Throughout the pre-cruising stage, my view of women within the cruising community based on cruising literature was 'as passive objects rather than subjects in history, as acted upon rather than actors' (Eichler, 1991: 5). In some cases, it reflected the invisibility of women within the cruising subculture and their relegation to the domestic sphere. Examples of passivity and invisibility are evident in the following quotes:
Exactly who the average cruising man is I have not the foggiest idea, but increasingly, he appears to be the man in his thirties to forties with a young family who is determined to do his thing before old age grinds him back into conformity. He often has the complete backing and enthusiasm of his family but sometimes – all too often I am afraid, he is dragging them along by the hair hoping they will enjoy the experience once it starts. How deceived he is! If a family doesn’t want to go in the first place, they are not likely to shriek for joy when they feel the first lift of the ocean and are told that this is it for the next few years. Most such attempts fail within weeks.

(Alan Lucas, 1979: 108)

Though the above quote indicates some sense of agency on the part of the rest of the cruising man’s family, either in wanting to go sailing or not wanting to go; there is also a sense of passivity as it is the ‘typical cruising man’ … ‘who is determined to do his own thing’. Similarly, in the following quote, which indicates that despite the partner’s non-acceptance of a cruising lifestyle, the cruising man will press on regardless to achieve his goal.

Are you off the idea yet? [building your own cruising boat] How about your partner? The latter is a very pertinent point. If there are two of you involved enthusiasm must be a joint thing, otherwise you are heading for disaster. A divorce could cost the price of a new mast, or hold up the supply of plywood for the bulkheads! This could be quite a set-back to the building programme, and think of all the haggling over who owns the echo-sounder, the ten-gallon drum of resin, etc. It has been known to happen.  

(David Everett, 1982: 11-12)

Technical books also tended to describe the optimum layout for a boat based on male physiology until the discussion moves to the galley - ‘the woman’s realm’!
If the proportions of the human body are clearly understood, the fitting out of a hull to accommodate it becomes much easier and more logical. And, as stated, if those who cannot think metric yet will think of the human measurements in Imperial, logic becomes that much easier again.

The human body tends towards those proportions shown opposite. If we take a tall person of say, six feet without shoes, and use his measurements as the maximum, a comfortable average seat, table, standing and sitting spaces will be established.

It can be seen that the crutch is roughly the vertical centre of the human frame, giving us an ideal standing workbench height of three feet. If the galley bench is to be used by a short woman then it would be wise and diplomatic of her husband to ask her opinion first before accepting three feet as the ideal height. But the measure will be found to be extremely close to the ideal.

(Lucas, 1979: 14)

Other texts, also focussed on the domestic sphere as the women’s sphere:

My wife, Patricia, donates the chapter on educating children at sea, giving us the benefit of her kindergarten training and five years as correspondence school tutor to our son Ben. She also checked through her voluminous handy-hints notes and swelled my chapter of the same name from a plain old maintenance section to one covering the whole business of life afloat. [The chapter is subtitled 'Boat maintenance and galley hints galore.]

(Lucas, 1985: 1)
Thankfully, this view of women as the cooks and child rearers was to be counterbalanced somewhat by the texts of Julia Hazel and Tania Aebi. I welcomed the reports by Julia Hazel, an Australian cruising woman, who was a single-handed sailor who had built her own steel boat *Jeshan.* In building her boat, Julia challenged the patriarchal hegemony of the cruising and boat building world. She learnt to weld and ordered and purchased materials for herself. Julia Hazel initially supplied cruising reports to *Cruising World* in 1989 and these were also complemented by technical reports such as ‘Night Watch’ which appeared in *Cruising Helmsman,* July 1990.

Tania Aebi was a young American woman, whose father offered her the choice of a college degree or a yacht in which to sail around the world. She opted for the latter. Her cruising exploits were reported in the American cruising magazine *Cruising World.* These two women, for me, demonstrated that women were able to navigate and could be taken seriously rather than to be solely seen as objects of adornment to male cruisers or only the latter’s source of sexual gratification whilst making a passage:

I and others, not only women, object strongly to the offensive part of an article “Reunion to Durban”, pg 25, Nov 91. To quote: “Puller John arrived in Durban with a female crew. But she was the ugliest woman Jeff and I had ever seen ... poetic justice.”

(Gillian Ellis, 1992: 6)

Also during my pre-cruising stage, there was a change in editorship of *Cruising Helmsman.* The new editor was a woman, Linda Wayman and despite the change in gender of the editorship, the name of the magazine remained phallogocentric. Since Wayman, the magazine’s editorship has been held by two other women (Trish Murphy and Caroline Strainig) and the magazine’s name remains unchanged. Women were starting to demonstrably make inroads into the bastion of male dominated cruising literature and discourse. In presenting this discussion, I am mindful of the women sailing pioneers such as Ann Davison Billheimer, the first Englishwoman to cross the Atlantic
sailing east to west in a 23 foot vessel (Betsy Holman, 1990: 65); or Naomi James, who in 1978 became ‘the first woman to circumnavigate the world singlehanded via Cape Horn breaking Sir Frances Chichester’s record for speed’ (Cruising World, 1989: 54). Yet these potential role models are few and far between and certainly do not permeate the discourse of malestream cruising literature, their feats are more or less invisible; eclipsed by the feats of the men, such as John Guzzwell, Bernard Moitessier, Miles Smeeton, Tristan Jones and Joshua Slocum. As Judith Cook and Mary Fonow (1990: 72 - 80) have argued, the achievements of women such as these have been silenced through the social construction of knowledge being primarily framed by men about men. By the late 1980s and the early 1990s, women were starting to be represented in the cruising community in more than traditionally cast women’s roles of boat provisioning, cook and cleaner. Women were being recognised and presented as social actors and not just as being acted upon (Eichler, 1991: 5). This trend has continued into the 1990s. Since commencing my research in earnest, several books by women have been published which provide other women (and men) in the pre-cruising stage with some insight into cruising from a woman’s perspective:

If someone had told me ten years ago that one day I would sail round the world, I would have laughed. Nothing would have seemed less likely. Now it seems difficult to imagine that there was ever a time when we didn’t live on a yacht.

...

I have to confess that I hadn’t thought much about sailing until I met Michael. Michael had sailed from almost the time he was born. It was expected of him. His father, Jack, and grandfather before him have been brought up with the sea and on the sea.

...

I decided that no matter how lovely the anchorages were, sailing was not for me.

...
We climbed up on Oxygène, as she was then named. I decided in the car that I wasn’t going to be impressed by this yacht, however beautiful she was. I was tired from the night feeds and broken sleep. I really thought Michael had taken leave of his senses. As far as I was concerned, at that point in my life ideas of sailing around the world were idiotic.

...

I sensed instinctively that one day this yacht would be ours. I sat down on the sofa nursing Christian. My body felt tired, but my mind began to fill with a thousand images of distant islands and faraway places. I had always found travel intoxicating and addictive.

...

'Just because it sailed out from Europe with children doesn't mean it has to go back with children. Anyway, I want to know why they quit.' Barry looked at Michael in conspiratorial silence. 'Business commitments.'

'Ha, I bet the wife got fed up.' I sounded cynical, but, as I later found out, I was right.

...

The house began to fill with magazines, pamphlets and brochures. ... I scanned the magazines for articles about families at sea. Somewhere in the hundreds of thumbed magazine pages I hoped I would find a family like ours. I never did.

(Elizabeth Thurston, 1991: 8, 9, 11, 13, 14)

Thurston writes with a sense of honesty regarding entering into the cruising lifestyle and of cruising with children. Olma Mignacca (1998) more recently has written about her instigation of the cruising lifestyle and of the voyage she and her partner undertook. Such books were not available when I was in the pre-cruising stage.

A decade ago I took no interest in boats and sailing, my experience being limited to trips on the Manly ferry. The sea, however, becomes a
subliminal element for those who live beside it as I have done for a large part of my life.

Standing beside Pittwater with my partner one sunny afternoon in December 1985 I said, 'Alan, let's buy a boat and sail around the world.' Alan remained motionless, as if he had not heard. I was so shocked by what I had just said that I dared not repeat it.

Time passed. We stood in silence. Finally Alan looked at me and spoke. ‘I’m probably dreaming but I could have sworn you just said that you wanted to buy a boat and sail around the world.’ That is how it all began.

(Mignacca, 1998: 1)

Further, the realities of a cruising life have become less romanticised as Aebi’s (1992) article printed in Cruising World described the life of cruising as a family which Thurston so earnestly sought to discover:

Dreary watches were frequently interrupted by familiar wails bursting through the companionway, as Oliver’s tired face would look out mouthing the magic words, “Nicholas is awake.”

When all was well, I simply catered to my Boticellii cherub’s feeding demands, but at the beginning of the trip, it wasn’t so easy. I was overtaken by let-me-die seasickness, I couldn’t eat; I couldn’t drink; I was, consequently, a dry well from which Nicholas could get little sustenance, no matter how much he tried. The more time I spent at the rail, it seemed, the more aggressively hungry he became. Imagine the scene. Now add to that the stench of dirty diapers. A nightmare.

(Tania Aebi, 1992: 46.)
Literature is now being written by women and is being published which covers the whole gamut of cruising: Beth Leonard (1998) has written a book starting from choosing the right boat to being out there cruising; Anne Hammick (1990, 1995) describes cruising based on eight Atlantic crossing and the refitting with her sister of a boat which had undertaken two Atlantic crossings; Jeannine Talley (1990) encourages women to dream and to go cruising or sailing; Liza Copeland (1996a; 1996b; 1997) reports on her family’s cruising experiences and offers advice to cruising ‘would-bes’.

The need for a counterbalancing in the perspectives presented of cruising was evident to me from the start of my initiation into the cruising community. It became more evident when I read Jim Macbeth’s (1985) study of long term ocean cruisers. In his study, Jim Macbeth interviewed 37 men and 22 women. Within his text male voices predominate. In drawing from the sailing and cruising literature, Macbeth quotes from J.R.L. Anderson (1967), Vicki Carkhuff (1981), Robert Carter (1978), Quen Cultra (1978), Bob Griffith (1979), John Guzzwell (1963), Matt Herron and Jeannine Herron (1974), Eric Hiscock (1968), Colin Isles (1975), Tristan Jones (1982), Zane Mann (1978), Sheila Martin (1977), Sam Merrifield and Kathryn Langlois (1978), Bernard Moitessier (1960), Larry Pardey and Lyn Pardey (1983), Herb Payson (1980), Hal Roth (1972), and Guss Wollmar (private correspondence, 1983). In all, his study records 1276 lines of literature-based text drawn from men’s experiences and 62 lines based on women’s experiences. Whilst his presentation of interview data appears more balanced, his interview texts are analysed without consideration to gender, cruisers are presented amorphously. Consequently, this study is informed by feminist research methods throughout its course in an attempt to provide a balanced view of the experience of cruising by men and women and to make more visible women’s participation in the lifestyle.
Chapter 2

Plotting the Course:

The Methodology used to study long term cruisers

One of the duties of a captain is to ensure the safe passage of the vessel under her or his control across the oceans of the world. This, on a small vessel, includes plotting the vessel's course between destinations, selecting the appropriate sail configurations for the prevailing conditions and ensuring safe 'work' and 'leisure' behaviour patterns are followed. Aboard some vessels these responsibilities may be shared. Such is the case with this voyage: the construction of this thesis - the research involved the participants as co-researchers and now as a reader you are involved as a co-analyst.

In this thesis, I chose to begin by locating myself as a participant within the subculture of long term ocean cruising. I did this in order to demonstrate that 'my vantage point' is grounded on 'the same social relations that structure the everyday world experiences' (Cook & Fonow, 1990: 73) of the cruisers I had studied. Furthermore, I needed to emphasise that my own experience was and is gendered by my being a woman who had participated in the subculture of long-term ocean cruisers and who now lives in the margins of that subculture, a subculture which has traditionally been dominated by men. In locating myself, I acknowledge my 'biases and preconceived notions about how people behave and what they think' (David Fetterman, 1989: 11). I also acknowledge my subjectivity. My subjectivity, as already stated, is situated in my biography: a white, middle-class, Anglo-Celtic Australian woman who chose to study white, middle-class, Western women and men in heterosexual relationships in the process of pursuing a
cruising lifestyle. However, my biography is problematic for Sandra Harding argues that:

It is necessary to decenter white, middle-class, heterosexual, Western women in Western feminist thought and yet still generate feminist analyses from the perspective of women's lives.

(Harding, 1991: 13)

I am unable to decentre myself in this study, I can not change my biography nor can I change the biographies of the actors of the social setting, consequently, the study carries with it a white, middle-class, western and primarily heterosexual bias. However, while I am unable to decentre myself, I can ensure that the voices of both men and women are heard; and that I am consciously guided by the principles of feminist methodology as espoused by Cook and Fonow (1990: 69 - 93). I understand that another woman is undertaking a study of women who cruise in homosexual relations and I consider her insider knowledge will contribute significantly to the voices of these women being heard as well as the decentering of women’s experiences as cruisers from a solely heterosexual perspective.

**Underlying paradigm of my research: an insider’s perspective**

I have just commented on the ‘social-situatedness - the historicity’ of me (Harding, 1991: 138). As noted, this history provides me with inside knowledge of the social world that I am studying. Such a sharing of knowledge and experience between social actors and researchers are principles of the interpretive social science and ‘feminist’ research paradigms. Indeed, the:

feminist critique of conventional social sciences methods intersects with the Marxist and interpretive criticisms at the points where their
methodologies reflect women's experience. The idea of grounding
inquiry in concrete experience rather than in abstract categories is
reflected in women's historical identification with the concrete, everyday
life of people and their survival needs.

(Marcia Westkott, 1990: 62)

Similarly, Franz Boas (1943: 314) noted that '[i]f it is our serious purpose to understand
the thoughts of a people, the whole analysis of experience must be based on their
concepts, not ours'. Consequently, in grounding the findings of this research in the
everyday experiences of the cruisers involved, the research was also grounded in and
informed by two methodological paradigms: the interpretive social sciences and 'feminist
research methods'.

Interpretive social sciences paradigm

Firstly, my research has been guided by the interpretive social sciences paradigm or the
constructivist paradigm as Egon C. Guba (1990: 25 - 27) describes it. Specifically, this
'paradigm assumes a relativist ontology (there are multiple realities), a subjectivist
epistemology (knower and subject create understandings), and a naturalistic (in the
natural world) set of methodological procedures' (Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln,
1994: 13-14). Sotirios Sarantakos (1993: 30) distinguishes between a paradigm, a
methodology and the methods used in a study. Primarily, a paradigm is 'a set of beliefs
that guides action, whether of the everyday garden variety or action taken in connection
with a disciplined inquiry' (Guba, 1990: 17). A methodology, on the other hand, 'is a
model, which entails theoretical principles as well as a framework that provides
guidelines about how research is done in the context of a particular paradigm'
(Sarantakos, 1993: 30; see also Liz Stanley and Sue Wise, 1990: 26). Finally, methods
are 'the tools or instruments employed by researchers to gather empirical evidence'
(Sarantakos, 1993: 30; see also Stanley & Wise, 1990: 26).
Therefore, to frame my methodological position, my study into the subculture of cruisers used an interpretive social science paradigm with a predominantly qualitative methodology and complementary methods. Each of the three elements will now be considered in turn. An interpretive social science paradigm was selected because of the belief that the insider's view provides the best lens through which to understand the phenomenon being studied and because the insider's view or the 'emic perspective' allows for the identification of multiple realities (Fetterman, 1989: 31). Furthermore, an 'emic perspective' asserts that:

... cultural behaviour should always be studied and categorized in terms of the inside view - the actor's definition - of human events. That is, the units of conceptualization ... should be 'discovered' by analyzing the cognitive processes of the people studied, rather than 'imposed' from cross-cultural (hence, ethnocentric) classifications of behaviour.

(Perti Pelto and Gretel Pelto, 1978: 54)

Consequently, as Herbert Blumer noted, the researcher is obliged to enter the social setting and to become one of the social actors acting in that social setting. He recommends this action so as to:

... catch the process of interpretation through which [the actors] construct their actions. ... To catch the process, the student must take the role of the acting unit whose behaviour he [sic] is studying, since the interpretation is being made by the acting unit in terms of objects designated and appraised, meanings acquired, and decisions made, the process has to be seen from the standpoint of the acting unit ... To try to catch the interpretative process by remaining aloof as a so-called 'objective' observer and refusing to take the role of the acting unit is to risk the worst kind of subjectivism - the objective observer is likely to fill
in the process of interpretation with his [sic] own surmises in place of
catching the process as it occurs in the experience of the acting unit
which uses it.

(Herbert Blumer, 1962: 188)

Furthermore, this subjectivist epistemological approach to the construction of knowledge
regarding the social reality of the cruising women and men involved in this study is
founded on the belief that:

the sociology of knowledge must first of all concern itself with what
people ‘know’ as ‘reality’ in their everyday, non- or pre-theoretical
lives. In other words, common-sense ‘knowledge’ rather than ‘ideas’
must be the central focus for the sociology of knowledge. It is precisely
this ‘knowledge’ that constitutes the fabric of meanings without which
no society could exist.

(Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman, 1981: 27).

Put more simply ‘[i]f [women and] men define situations as real, they are real in their
consequences’ (William Thomas and Dorothy Thomas, 1928: 572). A principle also
reflected in feminist thought as Harding noted: ‘all scientific knowledge is always, in
every respect, socially situated’ (Harding, 1991: 10). Such socially situated knowledge
is described by Donna Haraway (1988) as ‘situated knowledges’ to remind us as
researchers that multiple realities exist within the one social setting.

A paradigm of feminist inquiry

Now to the second paradigm, a ‘feminist’ one. By now, the reader will no doubt be
aware of the referencing style being used in this thesis. It is one which fully identifies the
authors of the referenced works and which does not silence the gender of the writers. In
the first presentation of a reference, full names will be presented if this has been possible
to determine. In second and subsequent presentations surnames only will be used. Such an approach has been informed by feminist methodology. The principles of feminist methodology are listed below based on those promulgated by Cook and Fonow (1990: 72 - 80):

- acknowledgment of ‘the pervasive influence of gender’ by correcting the silencing of women’s voices by analysing women’s experiences, recognising that social knowledge has been primarily framed by men about men, and locating the researcher whose gender influences the ‘research act’;
- ‘focus on consciousness-raising’ of the researcher and the research subjects as well as use of consciousness-raising techniques in the research process;
- ‘rejection of the subject/object separation’ in the research act (Harding, 1991: 138 - 163; Westkott, 1990: 60 - 61);
- ‘examination of ethical concerns’ (Cook & Fonow, 1990: 72 - 80);
- ‘emphasis on empowerment and transformation’ (Cook & Fonow, 1990: 72 - 80).

In presenting such a list I do not mean to assert that there is either a ‘hegemonic feminist theory’ (Chela Sandoval n.d. in Katie King, 1990: 90, 99) or a ‘hegemonic feminist methodology’. For as Shulamit Reinhart (1992) comments ‘the fact that there are multiple definitions of feminism means that there are multiple feminist perspectives on social research methods’ (Reinhart, 1992: 241). More specifically, the singular form is used to ‘emphasize the generic and transitive nature of both’ (Marianne Hirsch and Evelyn Fox Keller, 1990: 2) theory and methodology. In using the term, I am attempting to outline to you, the reader, the standpoint I adopted for this research which is a synthesis of ‘the world of the discipline, academy ... and the world of feminist scholarship’ (Reinhart, 1992: 243).
Qualitative methodology

As well as a feminist methodology, due to the study's interpretive paradigm, a qualitative methodology has also been used. Specifically, my qualitative methodology has drawn on the domains of:

- symbolic interactionism which aims to understand how people interpret and give meaning to everyday life interactions (Norman Denzin, 1992: xiv);
- phenomenology which aims to understand the taken for granted assumptions of everyday life (Sarantakos, 1993: 55);
- ethnomethodology which aims to understand the taken for granted structures of the world (Sarantakos, 1993: 55);
- and ethnography, the study of groups or people in their natural setting (Fetterman, 1989). Ethnography was the predominant domain used.

These domains were used in order to achieve what Max Weber calls *verstehen* - empathic understanding (Max Weber, 1978) of the cruisers I chose to study. Verstehen or 'empathic or appreciative accuracy is attained when, through sympathetic participation, we can adequately grasp the emotional context in which the action took place' (Max Weber, 1978: 5). In using both a feminist methodology and an interpretive methodology, I was trying to ensure that 'in attempting to do a social science, sociology [did not] become alienated from the social' (Hugh Mehan and Houston Wood, 1975: 63).

Each of the previously noted domains will now be briefly described.

**Symbolic interactionism**

Symbolic interactionism is founded in the works of William I Thomas (1919 and 1928), George Herbert Mead (1934) and the latter’s concept of the ‘looking glass’ image of self
as well as the work of Herbert Blumer (1962 and 1969). According to Blumer, symbolic interactionism is founded on three premises:

first, that “human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them” [Blumer, 1969: 2]; second, that the meanings of things arise out of the process of social interaction; and third, that meanings are modified through an interpretive process which involves self-reflective individuals symbolically interacting with one another.

(Norman Denzin, 1992: xiv).

In reality, there are a diversity of forms of symbolic interactionism with an equally diverse number of interpretive and qualitative methodological approaches (Denzin, 1992: xiv - xv) such as, ethnography, grounded theory (Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, 1967), participant observation, feminist perspectives, interviewing and conversational analysis (Douglas Maynard, 1987). One of the methods Blumer used was group discussions and interviews in the research process (Michael Patton, 1990:76). Group interviews have also been used in this study and will be discussed in the methods section of this chapter.

Phenomenology

Phenomenology is firmly grounded in the subjective meanings which social actors construct to explain their social reality. Phenomenology is attributed to the work of Edmund Husserl and his student Alfred Schutz (1972). ‘By phenomenology Husserl ([1913] 1962) meant the study of how people describe things and experience them through their senses’ (Patton, 1990: 69). In particular: ‘[p]henomenological research focuses on the ways in which social actors make situations meaningful. It focuses on the way people interpret the actions of others, how they make sense of events and how,
through communication, they build worlds of meaning’ (Gary Bouma, 1996:178). The chief method used by phenomenologists is participant observation.

One type of phenomenological research is heuristic inquiry. Works, which exemplify this approach, are Abraham Maslow (1956, 1966), Carl Rogers (1961, 1969, 1977), Clark Moustakas (1961), and Michael Polanyi (1962). ‘The uniqueness of heuristic inquiry is the extent to which it legitimates and places at the fore [the] personal experiences, reflections, and insights of the researcher’ (Patton, 1990: 72). The process of heuristic research involves six phases: initial engagement, immersion, incubation, illumination, explication, and creative synthesis (Moustakas, 1990). Methods used in heuristic research include the conversational interview, semistructured interview and the standardised open-ended interview (Moustakas, 1990: 47). Interviews may be supplemented with the use of personal documents such as journals and diaries (Moustakas, 1990: 49).

According to Bruce Douglass and Clark Moustakas (1984: 40):

The power of heuristic inquiry lies in its potential for disclosing truth. Through exhaustive self-research, dialogues with others, and creative depictions of experience, a comprehensive knowledge is generated, beginning as a series of subjective understandings and developing into a systematic and definitive exposition.

Heuristic inquiry also:

affirms the possibility that one can live deeply and passionately in the moment, be fully immersed in mysteries and miracles, and still be engaged in meaningful research experience.

(Craig, 1978: 20)
Ethnomethodology

The third qualitative domain is ethnomethodology. Ethnomethodology is grounded in the work of Harold Garfinkel (1967), who coined the term, as well as the work of Donald Zimmerman (1971). Ethnomethodology is an extension of the phenomenological work of Schultz applied to everyday life. From an ethnomethodological perspective, there is no order to social life, only that ascribed by the social actors. Essentially:

Ethnomethodology gets at the norms, understandings, and assumptions that are taken for granted by people in a setting because they are so deeply understood that people don’t even think about why they do what they do. (Patton, 1990: 74)

The methods which ethnomethodologists use are indepth interviews and participant observation (Patton, 1990: 74).

Ethnography

The fourth domain, which guided this study, is ethnographic research. ‘Ethnography is the art and science of describing a group or culture’ (Fetterman, 1989:11). Since I was studying a group of people who choose to go long term ocean cruising, my study was predominantly, an ethnography. Macbeth (1985) has already classified these people as a subculture:

[t]his subculture is one which people enter by choice, by choosing to move from a lifestyle that is no longer satisfying to one which may be or is satisfying. The subculture is not illegal nor morally abhorrent, is not stigmatised by labels to any significant degree and people are not ‘forced’ into it by circumstances of economic or social deprivation or
discrimination. It is a subculture people enter by choice, one where they choose to construct a new reality for themselves. The cruising subculture is similar in this way to the ‘intentional communities’ of contemporary society, communities set up as alternatives to an unsatisfying modern state.

(Macbeth, 1985: 209)

The conduct of ethnography is guided by several principles (Robert Burns, 1997: 300 - 301):

- a focus on ‘understanding and interpretation’ (Burns, 1997: 300, 301);
- a focus on process or negotiation of meanings (Burns, 1997: 300);
- research is undertaken in natural settings (Burns, 1997: 300; Fetterman, 1989: 29);
- social phenomena are studied within the social context in which they occur, in order that a holistic perspective is gained (Fetterman, 1989: 29; Burns, 1997: 302);
- emic and etic perspectives may be jointly utilised (Fetterman, 1989: 30 - 32);
- multiple realities/perspectives need to be identified (Fetterman, 1989: 30; Burns, 1997: 302);
- use of multiple methods which include participant observation and interviewing (Burns, 1997: 302);

According to David Fetterman (1989: 21):

"[T]he ethnographer's task is not only to collect information from the emic or insider's perspective, but also to make sense of all the data from an etic or external social scientific perspective."
Moreover, feminist ethnography is guided by the combining of ‘disciplinary and feminist theories’ (Reinharz, 1992: 249).

**Triangulation**

‘Another feminist methodological strategy is that of triangulation, or the use of more than one research technique simultaneously (Robert Merton, 1957)’ (Cook & Fonow, 1990: 82). Triangulation was not used in order to correct any bias nor to improve validity (Norman Blaikie, 1991: 115), for that is not the purpose of triangulation (Denzin, 1989a, 1989b: 244; Nigel Fielding and Jane Fielding, 1986: 33; Flick, 1992: 194). Triangulation was used because:

no single method ever adequately solves the problem of rival causal factors ... Because each method reveals different aspects of empirical reality, multiple methods of observations must be employed.

(Norman Denzin, 1978: 28)

Denzin (1978) identifies four types of triangulation: ‘data triangulation’, ‘investigator triangulation’, ‘theory triangulation’, and ‘methodological triangulation’. Researchers concerned with data triangulation will draw on various sources of data in the research process. The second type of triangulation, investigator triangulation, refers to the employment of several researchers or evaluators in a study. The third type of triangulation, theory triangulation, will involve researchers engaging several theories or perspectives to analyse data. The fourth type of triangulation, methodological triangulation, will involve researchers in using several methods to gather data relevant to a study. Valerie Janesick (1994: 251) suggests a fifth type of triangulation should be added to Norman Denzin’s list: ‘interdisciplinary triangulation’. For Janesick believes that other disciplines can inform the research process and thereby broaden understanding of method and data. Subsequently, triangulation becomes ‘... a heuristic tool for the researcher’ (Janesick, 1994: 215).
In this study I have relied on data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation, methodological triangulation and interdisciplinary triangulation. Specifically, I have used a variety data sources: my own autobiographical materials, participant observations, cruisers, and secondary sources, particularly cruising literature and academic and non-academic studies of cruising folk. I have worked with several different researchers, as I consider that the cruisers who participated in the study of long term cruisers were in fact co-researchers and several cruisers have acted as evaluators of my data analyses. I have also drawn on several perspectives/theories to interpret the data, such as work/leisure theories from sociology, motivation theories from social psychology and tourism studies, and various feminist perspectives. Consequently, in undertaking theory triangulation, I also applied interdisciplinary triangulation as I drew upon the disciplines of sociology, social anthropology, social psychology and tourism to inform my study. Finally, I used ‘methodological triangulation’, specifically the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods. By applying the five types of triangulation in my study, I was able to ‘add[s] rigor, breadth, and depth’ to my study (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994: 2; Flick, 1992: 194).

Methods

Having identified the overall paradigm of this study as interpretive and the methodologies as feminist and qualitative, with the latter being particularly informed by symbolic interactionism, phenomenology, heuristics and ethnography; the next task is to discuss the qualitative methods selected in more detail than the general references made in the preceding methodologies sections. As mentioned before, methods are the tools used to gather empirical data (Sarantakos, 1993: 30; Stanley & Wise, 1990: 26). My research used multiple methods as Burns (1997: 303) notes ‘[e]thnographic ‘fieldwork’ is not a homogenous method, but involves a variety of techniques for data collection’. Further,
feminist research also involves multiple methods - triangulation (See Reinharz, 1992: 197 - 213). Particularly, I used participant observation, indepth interviews and feminist research methods to gather empirical data. Some quantitative based questionnaires were also used. In commencing a discussion of the qualitative methods I used, I am mindful of Wolcott’s statement:

[i]n the past two decades, qualitative methods - ... - have come to be widely known and accepted. There is no longer a call for each researcher to discover and defend them anew, nor a need to provide an exhaustive review of the literature about such standard procedures as participant observation or interviewing.

(Wolcott, 1990: 26).

Therefore, I shall not rediscover and defend them as ‘[t]he methods of qualitative inquiry now stand on their own as reasonable ways to find out what is happening in programs and other human settings’ (Patton, 1990: 90). I will however, outline my use of them.

**Entering the field**

I have already discussed my social-situatedness (Harding, 1991: 138). However, ethnographers are required to detail their “ethnographic presence” in order to indicate to the reader how close the researcher was to the people being studied. Consequently, ‘ethnographers openly describe their roles in events during the fieldwork’ (Fetterman, 1989: 116). So I shall begin my ‘confessional’ (J. Van Maanen, 1988; M. Hammersley, 1990) wherein my ‘[m]ethods are “unmasked” through frank, fallible description’ (Matthew Miles and Michael Huberman, 1994: 300).

Initially, my intent was to conduct my study whilst simultaneously participating in the cruising lifestyle. In hindsight, I am glad that this did not occur. Engaging in the role of researcher whilst simultaneously engaging in the role of cruiser would have caused a
blurring of roles, confusion and dissatisfaction. For example, my partner and I chose to go cruising to enjoy quality time together and to get away from people, routines and expectations imposed by others. Therefore, when choosing an anchorage, we would search for isolated anchorages with no other boats around. Had I been a researcher, I would have been motivated to find anchorages with a number of cruising boats at anchor and therefore possible research participants. What then would have become of the goals of my partner’s and my cruising lifestyle? What would have become of my study had I avoided such anchorages? Assuming that the researcher in me won out more times than the cruiser in me did, what then happens to my non-passage time? Do I spend it chasing interviews and observing cruisers or do I pursue activities with my partner? Furthermore, what of the cruisers? Do they want to be interviewed in such locations as well? Would talking to me be considered quality of lifestyle for them? Based on my exit stage experience, I would suggest that such an approach would have been problematic. As a live-aboard, I became known as the cruiser who was doing research. In social situations associated with cruising folk, people would ask which hat was I wearing: my researcher’s hat or my cruiser hat? I successively had to reassure people until they knew me and considered me trustworthy that if I wanted to gather data, I would formally request an interview in which they could either agree or refuse to participate. In the end, these cruisers became ‘lookouts’: informing me if they knew about other cruisers who would be coming into port or checking whether I had ‘seen the vessel which came in last night or not’. In my opinion, the mixing of the two roles would have seriously impacted on both the quality of our cruising lifestyle and the quality of the research as I would constantly have been considered the ‘other’ (Goffman, 1959). William Metcalf (1986: 28) drawing on Abrahamson noted this dilemma ‘[t]he danger is very real that the researcher can feel stranded between these two social worlds, with a foot in each camp, and no comfortable place to rest (Abrahamson, 1983: 260).’ In the end, thankfully, time was against me, I was unable to enrol and complete the required literature reviews and preparatory fieldwork prior to our departure so my decision to conduct my formal fieldwork whilst cruising was in a sense decided for me.
Participant observation

The primary method of ethnographers is participant observation in the tradition of anthropology. This means intensive fieldwork in which the investigator is immersed in the culture under study.

(Patton, 1990:67)

Participant observation has been described in research literature in a variety of ways. Buford Junker (1960), Raymond Gold (1969), Herbert Gans (1982) and Patricia Adler and Peter Adler (1987) have variously presented either a four or a three role, model for participant observation fieldwork. Junker (1960) identified four roles regarding participant observation: the ‘complete observer’, the ‘observer as participant’, the ‘participant as observer’ and the ‘complete participant’. Gold similarly identified four roles. Gans identified three roles: the total researcher, the researcher participant, and the total participant. Adler and Adler similarly identified three roles: peripheral membership, active membership and complete membership.

During my own experience as a cruiser, I was a ‘complete’ or ‘total participant’ (Junker, 1960 and Gans, 1982; respectively) having ‘complete membership’ (Adler & Adler, 1987) of the subculture of long term cruisers. To draw upon social anthropology, my own experience enabled me to successfully pass through the ‘rites of initiation’ (van Gennep, 1960: 11, 20) to become a full member of the subculture, that is the ‘preliminaries’, the separation from mainstream society, ‘liminaries’, the threshold rites, and the ‘post liminaries’, the aggregation rites. In regard to alternative communal subculture participation, these ‘stages’ are described as recruitment, socialisation and commitment (Metcalf, 1987) and by Macbeth (1985: 219) in regard to the cruising subculture as introduction to the subculture norms, acceptance of subculture norms and subculture participation respectively. I return to Macbeth’s stages in Chapter Fifteen, to discuss their relevance to the cruisers who informed my study.
Having 'complete membership' during 1986 to 1992, I was able to learn the language, norms, behaviour and cultural patterns and acquire the values of a cruiser. During that period, I passed through the 'preliminaries' stage, in which I commenced my separation from mainstream norms, values and society. In this stage, which Metcalf (1987: 245) calls recruitment 'whereby people come to see themselves as part of a social movement, and then how some of these people seek to join an alternative lifestyle group, and conversely, the process whereby groups seek new members; ...' However, within the cruising subculture, there is no process whereby cruisers seek new members as Bill Metcalf (1987: 245) reported was the case in communal alternative lifestyle groups which he studied. For Macbeth (1985: 210 - 214) the 'preliminaries' equate with the introduction to the subculture norms. From my own experience, I reduced contact with friends and family. My time became concentrated on acquiring cruising knowledge and also in building a boat as well as living in the boat building community and the community of cruisers who were waiting out the cyclone season in our creek and were engaged in boat maintenance and touristic activities.

The next stage, using van Gennep’s liminal stages, is the preliminaries, the threshold stage, or as Metcalf describes it, the socialisation stage, or as Macbeth describes it the acceptance of subculture norms (1985: 215 - 216). Metcalf (1986: 245) described socialisation drawing on Charles Cooley (1909: 23), for one, to describe the state as:

\[
\text{a certain fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one’s very self, for many purposes at least, is the common life and purpose of the group. Perhaps the simplest way of describing this wholeness is by saying that it is a ‘we’; it involves the sort of sympathy and mutual identification for which ‘we’ is the natural expression.}
\]

(Cooley, 1909/1962: 23)
For me, it involved learning the language with which to talk with cruisers, the norms and the acceptable behaviour patterns and everything which occurred until our departure day, 10 July, 1986 such as, fitting out our boat, crewing for other cruisers and undertaking shake-down cruises.

The liminaries, the threshold rites, from our perspective also involved all our cruising experience along the coast of Queensland to our departure off shore Australia. I include an excerpt from our logbook, purely to demonstrate that our initiation was at times extremely testing:

20 August, 1990

We’ve chosen our anchorage, though my partner is not entirely sure, he feels uncomfortable about it. Things look okay, so we go ashore and find some oysters, which we collect and return to the boat just before sunset. His doubts are later to be confirmed by the weather report, which notes that the expected change tomorrow has come through faster than anticipated and will hit tonight. It’s too late to move now as we need visual sight to leave this anchorage. We will have to wait it out which we have had to do before.

What an evening - it’s pitch dark, no stars or moon showing through, the sea constantly rolls, the boat pitches and lurches. The wind has changed direction and we are sideways to the swell with the wind around 30-35 knots. It’s extremely uncomfortable as the boat is not rising over the swells and settling back down but is being knocked sideways back and forth in short staccato movements. What a fury! I managed to eat the seafood marinara my partner prepared using the oysters we gathered earlier when everything was calm which is surprising as I am usually the one not to face food in these conditions. He can’t even face the food having cooked it in these appalling conditions. The rest of the food and cutlery and crockery is shoved into the cockpit, it will have to wait, we
can’t even face cleaning it up. All we can do is listen to the stuff catapulting around in the cockpit, and inside the boat. We daren’t go forward to look at the mess or even to try to clean it up. Things are coming out of cupboards that are hard to open, and shelves despite cover netting are disgorging their contents with gay abandon.

My partner is doing half to three quarter hour checks on the anchor to make sure we are not going to drag back onto the beach. We have 35 metres of chain out so we shouldn’t drag and we don’t. All we can do is to lie prone and wait for morning and some daylight so we can get out of here. Finally it is time for the first radio schedule for the new day, we tune into the weather, conditions are supposed to be easing mid-morning, we decide to wait for the change, half an hour later we have had enough we prepare to leave. We are flat out doing 3.5 knots at 1500 rpm the engine is working over time. Talk about ride-a-cock-horse. We are exhausted, we do hourly watches and try to catch some sleep in between watches. We approach the lee of an Island and the swell begins to ease. Things are comfortable again, but it is short lived, as we clear the island the swell returns. The seas gradually ease as we approach a larger island we have chosen for shelter. We start to feel hungry; we eat our lunch ravenously. We decide to head for one of the beach anchorages mindful of the wind conditions. We choose our beach and drop our anchor and again the swell rolls again, things start flying, our humour is shrinking. He decides unilaterally that we have had enough and we leave for a harbour two hours away. Everyone is tired. Our information on the harbour is a little dated and when we reach it, we find it is not an open roadstead as we thought, but it has a groin wall and it is sheltered inside and the boat does not rock. We anchor and sleep and sleep. Tomorrow we tidy the boat. Surely, we must have passed the test.
Our movement into the liminaries, from our perspective, commenced the morning we left Cairns in northern Queensland and set sail for Papua New Guinea and thereby became blue water sailors – ocean crossing sailors. It was the point my partner and I had decided that we had become long term cruisers having left the coast and the ‘security’ of our home location¹.

In terms of the participant observation models previously presented, I believe that Adler and Adler’s model best describes my fieldwork. I was a complete participant in the subculture from 1986 through to 1992. From 1992 to 1994, I maintained ‘active membership’ within the cruising community. However, my status changed in two ways: I was no longer a long term ocean cruiser; I was an ex-cruiser who was now living aboard my yacht and I was also known as a student doing research into the cruising lifestyle. My cruising experience maintained my credibility and the recency of my experience was useful to cruisers as I had travelled through the areas most cruisers were entering for the first time and desired some first hand knowledge regarding various locations. Consequently, interviews became a site for reflexivity.

In October of 1994, we sold our boat and from that date I maintained peripheral membership of the cruising community. However, since I no longer had a boat, I lost the ascriptive characteristics, which ensured my active or complete membership. This also enabled me to exit the subculture and to reorient myself fully to the role of a researcher.

Essentially, my role as a participant within the subculture has enabled me to generate autobiographical text. Such text enables me to retell my experience and inform my interpretation of the social reality of long term cruisers using insider knowledge. These autobiographical texts are founded on my private correspondence to family and friends, my vessel’s logbook-cum-diary, audiotapes made for family and friends, photographs

¹ You will be aware that I have emphasised that this was our deeming of our transition to the liminaries. As I discuss in Chapter three, blue water sailing is not a requisite for being labelled ‘a long term cruiser’.
and slide collections, and souvenirs. These personal records of my cruising experience supplement my 'lived' experience and together, constitute my autobiography upon which I can draw to analyse the texts and actions of cruisers. My autobiography and the literary licence used in creating the vignettes at the start of each chapter based on amalgamating several cruisers' texts enables me to mediate the 'tension between self and others, of generating a reflection on the fluctuating place of the subject within its community' (Sylvia Molloy, 1991: 9).

Interviews

... , in-depth interviewing focuses on, and relies on, verbal accounts of social realities. This is somewhat different from participant observation, which relies on participation in, and observation of, behaviour or action in the context in which it occurs. It is often argued (Taylor and Bogdon 1984) that the participant observer is in a better position than the interviewer to gain access to the everyday life of the informant or group of informants because the participant observer directly experiences the social world which the informant inhabits, rather than simply relating second-hand accounts.


Rather than being an either-or-debate, in my study, both participant observation and interviewing were used. In combining participant observation and interviewing, distortions and discrepancies could be discovered. As Howard Becker and Blanche Geer (1970: 139) commented:

... participant observation makes it possible to check description against fact and, noting discrepancies, become aware of systematic distortions
made by the person under study; such distortions are less likely to be discovered by interviewing alone.

Interviews have been described as conversations. They are ‘merely one of the many ways in which two people talk to one another’ (Mark Benney and Everett Hughes, 1970: 191). Lewis Dexter (1970: 149) elaborates a little further on the nature of interviews as conversations; he saw interviews as conversations with a purpose. However, Ann Oakley considers these views of interviews as simplistic. For Oakley, interviews are pseudo-conversations which traditionally have set rules to follow (Oakley, 1981: 32). According to Oakley (1981: 56), interviews need to be established on ‘a relationship of mutual trust’ otherwise the outcomes of the interview will be ‘particularly dismal’. Further, Oakley (1981: 41) noted that interviews should be ‘non-hierarchical’ with the interviewer adding ‘his or her own personal identity in the relationship’. In regard to the latter, Oakley stated:

I have found, in previous interviewing experiences, that an attitude of refusing to answer questions or offer any kind of personal feedback was not helpful in terms of the traditional goal of promoting ‘rapport’. A different role, that could be termed ‘no intimacy without reciprocity’, seemed especially important in longitudinal in-depth interviewing.

(Oakley, 1981: 49)

‘No intimacy without reciprocity’ was something I encountered as the following excerpt from an interview indicates:

There are some people who would like to do what you are doing but never do it. Why do you think they don’t go? (Interviewer)
You share! (Cruising woman 357)
You want me to share my thoughts? (Interviewer)
Yes, it is only fair, you are being very professional asking questions, now I want to know what you think! (Cruising woman 357)

I think it is because they do not feel they can leave the safety of land, and the security of a land based life. (Interviewer)

I disagree. You mention both. I think the reasons for men are different to women. The men do not go because ... (Cruising woman 357)

Furthermore, in understanding the social reality of cruisers, sometimes the interviews became a site for personal reflection by the cruisers. As Patton (1990: 353 - 354) wrote:

The process of being taken through a directed, reflective process affects the persons being interviewed and leaves them knowing things about themselves that they didn't know--or at least were not aware of -- before the interview.

This was particularly true for some of the cruisers, as intimated in the conclusion of the following interview:

Okay, that’s all of the interview, are there any comments or suggestions you want to comment about it? (Interviewer)

No, not really, it’s just difficult to answer the questions spontaneously, there is a lot of questions that you want a lot of the reasons for doing things but I never really actually, I know I must be doing things for a reason, but I’ve never really tried to identify the reason and consciously consider why I’m doing it. (Cruising man 330)

So do you think I am asking people things that are difficult to respond to? (Interviewer)

Yeah, in a way, but I suppose personally I’ve never really tried to analyse why I’m doing things. (Cruising man 330)
Consequently, interviews became sites for learning for both cruisers and myself. Interviews were also a site for reciprocity. As bell hooks commented:

Part of what makes me feel that you and I are subjects together is reciprocity and the sense that you have something to give me as well as me having something to give you. (bell hooks ?n.d.)

The following questions and comments by cruisers demonstrate this aspect of reciprocity:

I think you’ve been more informative to us! (Cruising man 362)

Such as answering:

How many sailboats do you think you could get anchored in there without ... is it big enough for a lot of boats?
Is it secure?
Any problems safe anchorage for an island?
24 hours a day there’s somebody sitting on the boat?
How do you feel about the cyclone season up here?

(Cruising man 362)

Or:

Do you know anything about going out the Endeavour Channel from Cape York instead of going on up to Thursday Island? ... I was just... If you’ve got an extra minute, let me show you what I had in mind. ... Let’s see. From Cape York from over here somewhere you can go up Thursday Island and on out. One of these routes, anyway. I was wondering about just going straight out Endeavour Straight here. Out this way. Some people said this was poorly surveyed and shifting sands
and it's not a good idea, but I think I've not talked with anyone who's really knowledgeable, or who has done it. (Cruising man 364)

Or:

I'm a bit worried about Mabo. 368m saw the t-shirt that's got to be the best. It was a map of Australia today and it was 100% Mabo! I'd love to be able to talk about that when I'm done with you!

(Cruising woman 367)

Or:

I know that this is kind of diverting, but what is the tonnage of your boat? (Cruising woman 371)

Were you a sailor as a child or did you? ... So what kind of boat do you have? (Cruising woman 373)

Indepth interview details

I conducted in-depth interviews with long term cruisers at two locations along the Queensland coast in Australia during 1993 and 1994. Those locations were Brisbane and Townsville. Both locations were stopover points for the cruisers while waiting out the passing of the cyclone season or for the taking on of provisions or both. The in-depth interviews were semi-structured in nature and were supplemented by some questionnaire-based material relating to cruising and yacht inventories, as well as tourism activities and budgetary items. I had no difficulty in accessing the cruising subculture. As mentioned previously, I had been a participant observer of cruisers for seven years, had ocean cruising experience and was living aboard my yacht whilst engaging in fieldwork. I was also accepted as a member of the cruising subculture.

I would monitor yacht arrivals on a daily basis, long term ocean cruisers were discerned either by the flying of a courtesy flag from the yacht's rigging if an overseas yacht or by
the general appearance of the boat, its equipment and the crew, or through yacht gossip. All yachts, which entered in to the study area, were approached on the second day of their arrival to ascertain whether the crew would agree to participate in my study. The second day of arrival was chosen as the crew would have been rested from the previous day's passage and planning for the time in port would have been organised. During the first contact with the cruisers, ethical considerations as outlined by Earl Babbie (1990), Joan Sieber (1992) and David de Vaus (1995) were discussed. These considerations included purpose of the study, institution to which I was attached, voluntary nature of participation and confidentiality and anonymity issues. Of all cruisers approached only four refusals occurred. One because the cruiser thought the interview would be used ultimately by government sources. Another because the yacht was departing that day. One because the cruiser failed to appear at the agreed time despite a follow-up, which I interpreted as the cruiser not really wanting to participate. The last one because the mechanical repairs had not been completed and time available for an interview was no longer existent.

At the first contact with the cruisers, questionnaire material was left for completion prior to the interview time. On the day of interviews, the cruisers were re-acquainted with the purpose of the interviews and any queries were answered. The semi-structured interviews were taped recorded in all but three cases where consent was refused and hand transcription was used. The interviews lasted from two to three hours depending on each cruiser and had a break point in the middle. The interviews focussed on cruisers' motivations for cruising, the cruising lifestyle, touristic experiences, cruising impacts and cruisers' attitudes to regulation of yacht travel and more specifically for those who indicated that they adopted a cruising lifestyle in order to travel, why they chose a boat as the means for travel. [See Appendix One for a list of themes dealt with in interviews.]

As the focus of my research was on long term cruisers who were in the cruising stage (the post liminaries) at the time of the formal fieldwork, these cruisers were my key
informants. However, apart from this group of long term cruisers, three other groups were also included. Although these groups were smaller in sample size, these three groups were included in order to provide counterpoints to the cruisers who were in the cruising stage. The other three groups were constituted of cruisers who were classified by me as pre-cruisers (that is, not yet involved in full-time cruising), exit cruisers (those cruisers who had been full time cruisers) and exit-reentry cruisers (those cruisers who had been cruisers, had left the lifestyle and had reentered the lifestyle at the time of being interviewed).

Interviews were conducted with each of the four groups. As noted previously, the interviews with long term cruisers who entered the study areas were conducted during the period 1992 - 1994. I attempted to achieve an interview with at least one person aboard each vessel in this category. In all, 54 men and 42 women were interviewed from 53 vessels. Within this group, 15 women and 23 men were individually interviewed while 22 interviews were conducted as group interviews because of time constraints or choice by participants. Twenty group interviews were couple based whilst two were not. Sometimes, individual interviews were conducted with both genders aboard crewed vessels. Other times, aboard crewed vessels, it was either the man or the woman; whoever had the time or inclination.

In the precruiser group, eight women and six men were interviewed from 10 vessels. Snowball sampling was used to access these precruisers. All interviews were conducted on an individual basis. In the exit cruiser group, six women and eight men drawn from 10 vessels were interviewed. All interviews were conducted as one - to - one interviews between the exit cruiser and the researcher. Again, snowball sampling was used to access this group. In the fourth group of exit-reentry cruisers, four men and four women drawn from seven boats were interviewed on an individual basis. The exit-reentry cruisers like the exit and precruiser groups were accessed using snowball sampling. The pre-, exit and re-entry cruisers were all based in Australia and therefore have an
Australian bias. These interviews were conducted during a field trip between Ballina in northern New South Wales and Mooloolabah in southern Queensland. Within the cruiser group, I only accessed travellers, who entered into the marina area. Consequently I may have missed those who did not come into the marina because of limited funds or time schedules.

In all groups, semi-structured interviews were used. These ranged from one and one-half hours to three hours in duration with the average duration being around two hours. The interviews usually started with grand tour questions (James Spradley and David McCurdy, 1972: 63) in order to make the cruisers feel comfortable and set the context for the interview. Readers will be aware from the previous discussion, that I sometimes used group interviews. Reinhartz (1992: 41) reported that ‘sociologist Lillian Rubin wrote that involvement in the women’s movement showed her the need to interview husbands and wives separately and privately because “women tend to discuss their feelings about their lives, their roles, and their marriages more freely when men are not present”.’ Reinhartz goes on to say that Judy Wajcman (1983) also agrees with Rubin ‘that separate interviews are preferable, although fruitful discussions can occur if both spouses are present. Interviewing husbands and wives separately has the disadvantage of obscuring how interaction occurs in the couple. The views the researcher hears expressed separately may rarely be expressed when the couple is together’ (Reinhartz, 1992: 41).

Amongst the long term cruisers, the group in which group interviews occurred, the comments of Wajcman proved true. In the process of interviewing women and men together elements of their transactions were able to be observed and additional information regarding types of roles and relationships was able to be ascertained through participant observation and through the cruising men and women’s verbal exchanges with each other as they sought to clarify opinions, issues or events. I was also able to observe the nature of power and equality evident in their exchanges whilst bearing in mind that those may change when I left the social setting.
Surveys

Apart from participant observation and indepth interviews, seven written surveys (questionnaires) were used to gather descriptive data on cruisers' personal details; yacht details, an 'in-port' budget and four surveys, based on tourism literature were used to gather touristic data on cruisers. Personal detail questions used closed-ended questions measured at the nominal level (nationality, sex, education qualification achieved, occupation prior to cruising), the ordinal level (level of education achieved), and the ratio level (age). Response sets for these were short answers or checklists. The yacht detail questionnaire was designed to use nominal levels of measurement, and some ratio levels (year launched, year acquired by present owner, approximate cost, and annual cruising budget), response sets included short answers or checklists. Cruisers were also asked to complete a budget for the period they were in port. This budget included items related to boat maintenance, mooring or harbour/port fees, boat and travel fees, provisioning, travel and leisure costs, and personal care. [See Appendix Two: Cruising questionnaires. Appendix Three: Tourism questionnaires, Appendix Four: Questionnaires in French (These were constructed to aid comprehension when necessary.)]

The tourism questionnaires included three checklists and a ranking scale, which drew on tourism literature for their criteria. One list focussed on reasons for cruising based on Robert McIntosh's (1977) list of travel reasons. This list contained an 'other' option so that McIntosh's list might be expanded if the criteria were not relevant to cruisers. A second list was used to determine the types of attractions which drew the cruisers. This list was constructed from Peters' (1969) classification of tourist attractions. The response sets were forced choice to allow comparison with mass tourists. However, cruisers were able to add to the list if the criteria were, again, not relevant. The third list presented a range of activities in which cruisers could engage in at destinations and utilised a Likert scale to determine the frequency of engagement. The activity list was constructed from Philip Pearce's (1982) role-related behaviour of traveller types. The
fourth tourism oriented survey, related to aspects of Australia, which cruisers most enjoyed and this used a ranking scale response set. This was based on aspects noted in Peter Brokensha and Hans Gulberg (1992) report on cultural tourism in Australia.

Each of the surveys was piloted with cruisers within the cruising subculture prior to incorporation within the study. Instructions for the questionnaires and checklists were orally given to the cruisers. One of the problems noted of surveys is that ‘[s]urvey research typically excludes, and interview research typically includes, opportunities for clarification and discussion’ (Reinharz, 1992: 18). And that further, ‘...it is argued that the provision of sets of response options may cause respondents to give answers which they would not think of if they had to supply answers themselves’ (William Foddy, 1993:16). However, since I was present or available for consultation in the completion of the questionnaires, the cruisers and I were able to engage in ‘joint “sense-making”’, that is, we were able to reflexively ‘negotiate the meaning of questions on the one hand, and the meaning of answers on the other’ (Foddy, 1993: 23).

**Ethical considerations**

Ethics are important to feminist and interpretive research as well as qualitative methodologies. This section serves to reiterate the ethical principles which were utilised by me in the study of long term ocean cruisers: voluntary participation, informed consent (provided orally), no harm to the participants, anonymity and confidentiality, as there were several methods of data collection (de Vaus, 1995: 330-350). Transparency regarding the purpose of study (Babbie, 1990: 343-344), respect and justice and debriefing were also part of my research ethics (Sieber (1992: 18). My research also followed the requirements of Australian National Health and Medical Research Council’s (NH&MRC) guidelines and standards of research.
The researcher as ‘Other’

‘Women stand in the position of “the Other” to men of the dominant groups.’ (Harding, 1991: 134)

During my fieldwork at various times, I had to prove that I was not an ‘other’ especially to cruising men. Obviously, I was an ‘other’ in that I was a woman, however, I had to prove that I was not an ‘other’ who was a woman who was an ‘academic’ and who may have no idea about cruising. I was tested by the men to see if I knew anything about cruising or whether I was just an academic. Questions would include passages undertaken, type of boat, what sort of electrical system, solar power, type of refrigeration, engine, gear box, and various other technical systems and questions. Having sailed through Indonesia, an area into which most cruisers were heading, also assisted as I was able to share cruising information, some language terms regarding boats and charts if necessary. This was part of the reciprocity and the exchange of information required in feminist research and in a feminist methodologically based study. I have also kept touch with the cruisers from time to time regarding the progress of the study. I have also asked several cruisers to read parts of the thesis to check the validity and reliability of my statements.

Essentially, the testing enabled men to determine the degree of my ‘otherness’ – woman, researcher and experienced cruiser. The men’s testing also enabled me to ‘prove’ I was worthy of sharing their time, that I was a ‘past cruiser’ and that I carried with me an empathy which would enable me to understand what they were talking about in regard to the technical aspects of cruising. Basically, I demonstrated that I ‘could mix it with the males’ regarding technical, mechanical and sailing operations. Once, I passed their tests, the men became more forthright in their transactions with me. I was accepted as a past
cruiser and my ‘otherness’ as a woman was temporarily suspended as we shared our experiences as cruisers.
Analysis

Since 'ethnographers look for patterns of thought and behaviour' (Fetterman, 1989: 92), the challenge for me was 'to seek the essence of the life of the observed, to sum up, to find a central unifying principle' (Severyn Bruyn, 1963/1970: 316). Data was collected until a 'qualitative isomorph' (Julienne Ford, 1975) was reached. More specifically, when a 'qualitative informational isomorph' was achieved, that is, when 'redundancy with respect to information' occurred (Yvonna Lincoln and Egon Guba, 1985: 233-234). This is also called 'theoretical saturation' (Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, 1990: 188) or 'theoretical sampling' - a cyclical process of data collection and analysis, which continues until no new data is found only confirmation of previous themes/'theories' (Keith Punch, 1998: 167).

Experiential interpretation assisted me in data analysis and also the determination of when to cease collecting data. Experiential interpretation involves 'the researcher, as a full participant, uses her/himself as a gauge of the significance and meaning of an event, by subsequently looking inward to examine personal feelings' (Metcalf, 1986: 40). This is similar to self-dialogue described by Moustakas (1990: 16) as one of the processes associated with heuristic research. Of self-dialogue, Moustakas writes:

In addition to the significance of becoming one with what one is seeking to know, one may enter into dialogue with the phenomenon, allowing the phenomenon to speak directly to one's own experience, to be questioned by it. In this way, one is able to encounter and examine it, to engage in a rhythmic flow with it--back and forth, again and again--until one has uncovered its multiple meanings. Then one is able to depict the experience in its many aspects or foldings into core themes and essences. Self-dialogue is the critical beginning; the recognition that if one is going to discover the constituents and qualities that make up an experience, one must begin with oneself. One's own self-discoveries,
However, most data analysis was primarily undertaken through content analysis of cruising literature, grounded theory analysis and comparative analysis of empirical data. The following software packages were used to record and analyse the qualitative data. Nudist was used to analyse the semistructured interview transcriptions. Use of Nudist was complemented by the review of full transcriptions and some manual coding to ensure that I did not lose sight of the cruisers' full texts due to distillation of their texts into excerpts located in categories and subcategories. Clarisworks spreadsheets were used to record the quantitative data from the yacht details and the tourism related surveys. Clarisworks databases were used to record and analyse the data relating to cruisers' personal details.

**Grounded theory**

'Grounded theory is both a strategy for research, and a way of analyzing data' (Keith Punch, 1998: 163). Specifically it is a systematic qualitative research method (Strauss & Corbin, 1990: 24) which enables the researcher to inductively generate theory from the phenomenon being studied. Grounded theory depends on four criteria: 'fit, understanding, generality, and control' (Strauss & Corbin, 1990: 23). However, like all qualitative research, '[y]our final theory is limited to those categories, their properties and dimensions, and statements of relationships that exist in the actual data collected …' (Strauss & Corbin, 1990: 112). Consequently, grounded theory is ideographic (W. Lawrence Neuman, 1994: 64) - it provides a symbolic representation or 'thick' description; and 'limited generalisation is warranted' (Wolcott, 1990: 30).
Essentially, ‘... “grounded theory,” depends on participant observation (see Schatzman and Strauss, 1973) and a method of comparative analysis aimed at constructing theories inductively. Their “constant comparative method” of analysis involves four stages: (1) comparing the data applicable to each conceptual category; (2) integrating the categories and their properties; (3) delimiting the emergent theory; and (4) writing up the theory (Glazer [sic] and Strauss, 1967, pp. 105-115).’ (Danny Jorgensen, 1989: 113).

Furthermore, grounded theory is action based and demonstrates action and change, specifically, ‘A (conditions) leads to B (phenomenon), which leads to C (context), which leads to D (action, including strategies), which then leads to E consequences’ (Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, 1990: 125 and 123). The conclusion of the process, involves ‘[v]alidating one’s theory against the data completes its grounding’ (Strauss & Corbin, 1990: 133). In my case, cruisers read the thesis and validated the texts. By validity, I mean ‘“validity is the extent to which it gives the correct answer. [This concept applies] equally well to qualitative observations’ (Jerome Kirk and Marc Miller, 1986: 19).

My use of grounded theory has been particularly informed by the approach advocated by Strauss and Corbin (1990). This approach to grounded theory has been criticised by Barney Glaser (1992), the co-originator of grounded theory along with Strauss. Glaser (1992: 101) contends that Strauss and Corbin present a technique which is ‘full conceptual description by a preconceived model’ whereas Glaser purports that grounded theory is ‘a systematic model of induction and emergence’. Glaser (1992:89) further argues that Strauss uses a ‘verificational method which forces the deducting and testing of preconceptions in the service of full conceptual description.’ Throughout his text, Glaser repeatedly identifies the inadequacies in the Strauss and Corbin text. Glaser does not recognise Corbin’s input into the text. Subsequently, Glaser (1992: 80) notes:

In consequence, his book is a low level, detailed (even fractured) verificational effort at qualitative description using a quantitative
mentality. This mentality uses preconceived paradigms that force the data to arrive at integration of a story. Whereas grounded theory uses emergent sorting by theoretical codes to relate categories and their properties into an integrated theory around a core category.

For grounded theory to work, according to Glaser (1992: 31), the researcher should not begin the literature review prior to the data gathering as this would cause the researcher to have preconceived ideas about the data to be gathered and may result in data being forced. Glaser (1992: 58) is also critical of Strauss' mention that 'the personal experience, professional knowledge, and technical literature' assists in analysing the data. Again, Glaser (1992: 56-57) reiterates that this will force the analysis rather than have it emerge through the use of constant comparisons of data.

I agree with Strauss and Corbin that the personal experience, professional knowledge and technical literature assists the researcher. Indeed, the entire theoretical thrust of my thesis acknowledges this. However, I also agree with Glaser, that this experience, knowledge and literature can force the emergence of grounded theory. For example, in the beginning of my research, despite using grounded theory, I lost my way because I was working in an environment which was mostly positivistic. I tried several ways of approaching my data, initially, each time I approached the data I would try examining them from a theoretical construct, each time I came up short and my supervisor would say so what? Well, exactly, so what? Along with his voice were the voices of the cruisers whom I had interviewed and surveyed. They all seemed to be saying what about us, haven't we got something to say, can't you hear our voices? And hear them I could not. I was too intent on applying existing theories to what the cruisers were saying and analysing them from other people's standpoints.
Finally, they started shouting at me to be heard and fortuitously, three events happened around the same time. One event occurred at a sociological conference, when a colleague having listened to a paper I had presented and in which I was trying to analyse cruisers from an existing theory, suggested to my supervisor that I return to Strauss and Corbin (1990) and to ‘read up on’ my methodology again. The second event occurred when I returned home and started to reread responses from my supervisor to earlier writings I had presented to him. One of the comments said, ‘Sometime soon you will have to develop the theory according to Jennings!’ The third event, I read and reread again on qualitative research and particularly, on data analysis and especially on grounded theory method including the seminal works of Glaser and Strauss (1967a, 1967b) and Strauss alone (1978, 1992). As I was reading, the cruisers' voices were screaming and I was listening, and there it was, the theory, the cruisers' theory - 'empowered connectivity'. It was that moment which (Strauss & Corbin, 1990:28-29) refer to as ‘creative’ ‘discovery’ ‘intuition’. Or which Glaser (1992: 18) refers to as the ‘eureka syndrome’. And finally I realised that having conducted an ethnographic study with only broad themes in mind the best method of analysis was grounded theory analysis.

No longer, were the theories of others orchestrating and constraining the analysis, the creative moment had occurred and there it was, my theory had emerged and had taken centre stage, the cruisers were back in the foreground, back where they belonged. And the theorists, what of them? They still have a role but it is a supporting one, they provide the lighting and the shades of colour which provide greater clarity and depth of understanding to the cruisers' experiences (text) instead of directing their dialogue.

I suspended my experience, knowledge and reliance on technical literature until I had used the constant comparative method to ensure that what I was reporting was the experiences of the cruisers whom I was studying. Furthermore, to ensure that I had suspended my background knowledge and experiences, I asked cruisers to read my analyses and to determine whether they were indeed the experiences with which the
cruisers identified. I also commenced this thesis by outlining my background so that readers would be able to determine the impact of my experience on the analysis of the data in order to determine whether or not I had forced the 'theory'.

To complement my use of grounded theory, I have also used Barbara Pamphilon's (1999) zoom model of analysis which she developed for analysing life histories. Her analytical framework is explained using a photographic metaphor. The framework contains four levels of analysis. Her first level of focus is the 'macro-zoom' level of analysis which defines the dominant discourses in texts. The second level, the 'meso-zoom' level of analysis gives clarity to themes and phrases and taken-for-granted assumptions. This level also investigates the silences and the absences in textual accounts. The third level of zoom is the 'micro-level' and this level concentrates on the pauses and the emotions evident in text. This level in particular highlights 'linguistic incongruence' (Marjorie DeVault, 1990: 97) or the inability of language to suitably express a person's experience. The last level is the 'interactional' zoom level and this focuses on transactions and reactions during indepth interviewing. As Pamphilon (1999:3) comments 'so much can be lost when an oral account is transcribed into text, it is crucial that oral sources are always acknowledged as oral sources'. The role of the researcher in oral interactions is important - as noted earlier by bell hooks the participant and the researcher are subjects together. The researcher needs to identify her personal and 'political' role (MacKinnon, 1982: 20) in the research act. The interactional level demands that the researcher must write him or herself into the text. This is also an expected position 'within a postmodern analysis [for] it is crucial to acknowledge whom it is that is speaking, the site from which they speak and the positions available to them as speakers within that relationship.' The interactional zoom reiterates the discussion which commenced this chapter wherein I outlined my 'social situatedness'.

Finally, to conclude my 'confessional', I am mindful of what Janesick (1994) calls 'methodolatry'. That is:
[t]here is a danger in becoming so taken up with methods that the substantive findings are obscured.

I use the term ‘methodolatry’, a combination of ‘method’ and ‘idolatry’, to describe preoccupation with selecting and defending methods to the exclusion of the actual substance of the story being told.” ... In my lifetime I have witnessed an almost constant obsession with the trinity of validity, reliability, and generalizability. It is always tempting to become over-involved with method and, in so doing, separate experience from knowing. Methodolatry is another way to move away from understanding the actual experience of participants in the research project. ... Qualitative research depends on the presentation of solid descriptive data, so that the researcher leads the reader to an understand [sic] of the meaning of the experience under study.


With that in mind the following section of this chapter outlines the structural presentation of the product of my research.
The Portrayal of the findings

An ethnographic study is constituted of two elements: process and product (Punch, 1998: 162). Process being the approach used to gather data, and product being the research report. To this point, we have been considering ‘process’ now I want to turn our attention to ‘product’. After this chapter, you, the reader, and I become ‘co-analysts’ (Frederick Erikson, 1986).

When considering the appropriate genre to construct this thesis, that is, my report of an ethnographic study into long term cruisers; I like other qualitative researchers am aware that:

- the conventional formats long familiar to quantitative researchers,
- something like this, are too schematic and constraining:
  - Statement of problem
  - Conceptual framework
  - Research questions
  - Methodology
  - Data analysis
  - Conclusions
  - Discussion

(Miles & Huberman, (1994: 298)

Webb and Glesne (1992: 803) assert there are three sets of questions a qualitative researcher must consider in relation to her or his writing

- power, voice, and politics
- authorial authority, assemblage of evidences, researcher – participant relationships
- first or third person voice, tone used for data and theory, overall genre applied.
On the other hand, Miles and Huberman (1994: 298 – 306) suggest the following issues require address when preparing a research report: audience; voice genre and stance; style; and format and structure. Further, Denzin and Lincoln (1994: 479) indicate that writing due to its interpretive nature is a personal and political act.

'There are, ..., many different styles of writing and no absolutely "right" way' (Jorgensen, 1989:119). John Lofland (1974) provides a description of the various styles, which could be used in the development of a qualitative report. As ethnography was the primary process and grounded theory was utilised, '[I] will introduce the literature later than might otherwise be done' (Punch, 1998: 168). The literature in itself becomes further data for analysis and this is the purpose of chapters eleven through to sixteen. The presentation of the literature at the end of this thesis is in accord with the principle of grounded theory where theory is developed and grounded in the data (Punch, 1998: 168). Obviously, the data must be presented to the reader first so the reader too may be grounded as noted in the preceding section.

Bear in mind that '[d]escription and quotation are the essential ingredients of qualitative inquiry. Sufficient description and direct quotations should be included to allow the reader to enter into the situation and thoughts of the people presented in the report' (Patton, 1990: 429 - 430). Descriptions should be thick rather than thin, as 'thick description sets up and makes possible interpretation'. Denzin comments:

[a] thick description does more than record what a person is doing. It goes beyond mere fact and surface appearances. It presents detail, context, emotion, and the webs of social relationships that join persons to one another. Thick description evokes emotionality and self-feelings. It inserts history into experience. It establishes the significance of an experience, or the sequence of events, for the person or persons in question. In thick description, the voices, feelings, actions, and meaning of interacting individuals are heard. (Denzin, 1989a: 83).
Becker and Geer (1970) also state:

[t]he most complete form of the sociological datum, after all, is the form in which the participant observer gathers it: an observation of some social event, the events which precede and follow it, and explanations of its meaning by participants and spectators, before, during, and after its occurrence. Such datum gives us more information about the event under study than data gathered by any other sociological method.

(Becker & Geer, 1970: 133).

In this thesis, the thick description appears first followed by the interpretation so that the reader may be a co-analyst. This is the predominant approach adopted when using grounded theory analysis. I have not adopted the approach of the post realists where ethnographies allowed the participants’ voices to be heard but only with heavy editing (Marcus and Cushman, 1982: 34). Instead I use ‘[t]hick description and verbatim quotations ... the most identifiable features of ethnographic ... reports ... [to] help convey a sense of immediacy to the reader [and to] provide the reader with sufficient data to determine whether the ethnographer's interpretations and conclusions are warranted’ (Fetterman, 1989: 114, 115). Reinharz (1992: 267) supports this intention, ‘[m]any feminist researchers who interview include quotations from the interviews in the research product in order to give the reader a sense of these people. When the interviewees “speak for themselves” or “use their own voice”, the reader is better able to understand.’ As a consequence, I have included hesitations in speech using em dashes – and ‘uhms’ and ‘arrhs’, although I have borne in mind Corrine Glesne and Alan Peshkin’s (1992:169) advice: ‘[l]eave in enough of such sounds and words to capture the person’s speech, authentically but not so much as to impose on a reader’s patience’. Moreover, such inclusions and the use of direct quotes allows the reader to engage with the text, hearing the voices of the participants in an ‘unmediated’ form (Jane Marcus, 1986: 3). Furthermore, in presenting thick description and quotations, as Laurel Graham (1990 in
Reinharz, 1992: 268) states through deconstruction, readers can find in each text the information to construct oppositional readings.’ Subsequently as mentioned previously, the reader is a co-analyst and the overall thesis undergoes investigator or analyst triangulation (Patton, 1990: 468).

Within the first section, I have adopted a ‘confessional style as already explained. In the second section of the thesis, I have adopted a ‘protocol’ style where the ‘data speak for themselves’ within a ‘novel frame’ which is accompanied by ‘vignettes’. Vignettes are used at the commencement of each chapter to provide the reader with an overview of the narratives he or she is about to encounter.

A vignette is a focused description of a series of events taken to be representative, typical, or emblematic in the case you are doing. It has a narrative, storylike structure that preserves the chronological flow and that normally is limited to a brief time span, to one or a few key actors, to a bounded space, or to all three. As Erickson (1986) suggests, it is a “vivid portrayal of the conduct of an event of everyday life, in which the sights and sounds of what was being said and done are described in the natural sequence of their occurrence in real time” (pp.149-150).

(Miles & Huberman, 1994: 81).

I have chosen the narrative genre as ‘[a] good story is like a journey [voyage], in which we travel with the characters through the intricacies of the plot, to arrive at the conclusions’ (Ian Dey, 1993: 239).

This second section is then followed by the third section in which a ‘variable-oriented’ approach is adopted. In this section, the literature is introduced and ‘excerpts’ are used in the examination of the literature and the themes or variables identified. Patton (1990: 430) noted that description should be ‘balanced by analysis and interpretation’ and to that end, the third section commences the ‘analysis and interpretation’ having previously
provided the reader with enough description in the second part to understand the people and the setting being analysed and interpreted. ‘Description [must be] balanced by analysis and [lead] to interpretation’ (Patton, 1990: 430) – that is, the final chapter … my grounded theory and the weaving of chapters 11 to 14 into an overall interpretation.

In reality, the overall structure is a story, for as Dey (1993: 240) notes:

Stories are also accessible because the separate elements of the story blend together into a satisfying whole which is more than the sum of the parts. … the story is not just a juxtaposition of individual parts, for these have to be organized in a way which makes it in some sense holistic and indivisible. The story moves us in it entirety.

The story of this thesis draws on the metaphor of a voyage and has the following structural pattern:

- confessional
- narrative
- variable-orientation
- conclusion.

To iterate, in adopting this approach, I have separated the ethnography (the data) from analysis. An approach adopted by Paul Willis (1977) [See M. Hammersley and P. Atkinson, 1983 for a discussion of this approach.] I have also used extensively the verbatim texts of cruisers with minimal editing. Hammersley (1990: 21-22) reports Krieger’s study of a women’s community consists of the women themselves reported in indirect speech. Earlier I mentioned that there was no one way to present an ethnography. In writing this thesis, I have tried to innovatively represent my data and my ‘grounded theory’. Reinharz (1992: 239) comments:
One of the many ways the women’s movement has benefitted women is in freeing up our creativity in the realm of research. And one of the ways feminist researchers, in turn, have benefitted the society in which we live is by the spirit of innovation. Although I have listed several types of “original” research and writing, there is room for many more.

Authorial authority, assemblage of evidences and voice

‘I’ is used as any other form indicates ‘a passive voice that elides agency from the endeavour of thinking and writing’ (Hirsch & Fox Keller, 1990: 3). I have chosen to use the active voice rather than the passive voice as Becker (1986) advocates that such an approach adds specificity to the written texts. Following Becker’s (1986) suggestion I have also included examples and images to add more meaning to the written texts. In most of the ethnographic chapters photographs have been incorporated as well as maps and diagrams. The entire thesis is predicated on the metaphor of a voyage and as Becker (1986) cautions I have tried to use the metaphor to complement the text rather than detract from it. ‘Ethnographies are usually written in the ethnographic present. The ethnographic present is a slice of life – a motionless image’ (Fetterman, 1989: 116). Whilst use of the ethnographic present is a convention based on ‘linguistic convenience’; it ensures ‘consistency in description’ and serves ‘to keep the story alive’ (Fetterman, 1989: 116). Similarly, I have incorporated my social-situatedness (Harding, 1991: 138) and my ethnographic presence (Fetterman, 1989: 116 and Pamphilon, 1999). As Jane Haggis (1990: 77) states ‘[d]oing feminist research demands that my participation and presence – my voice – within my research project must be explicitly admitted and included in the product of that research.’ Stanley and Wise (1983: 162) also suggest that locating oneself and one’s emotions should be noted in the writing up of research. This ethnographic presence had to be carefully managed for as Fetterman (1989: 117)
commented \textit{the ethnographer's signature should [not] be in every word or on every page.} As Dorothy Smith (1979) comments on her own research and which is applied to feminist researchers, the study of long term ocean cruisers \textit{started from [my] ... own experience}. Having this 'standpoint' and my use of feminist research means that at times the texts will be 'informal' (that is not following any particular canon), 'personal' (based on my social situatedness) and at times 'even confessional' (since this thesis is partially an autobiography when my experiences are incorporated). Like Diane Bell's (1983) account entitled \textit{Daughters of the Dreaming}, parts of this thesis are presented as a personal narrative - a personal account. \textit{we prefer the term others, as suggested by postmodernists, as well as the commonly used research participants, respondents, and interviewees} (Corrine Glesne and Alan Peshkin, 1992: xi).

To iterate, chapters three to ten lead the reader on their own voyage of discovery of the participants and their experiences using thick descriptions constructed as 'scenes' not 'data' (Zeller, 1991 in Miles & Huberman, 1994: 298) with minimal interpretation by the researcher in order that the multiple realities of the cruisers are revealed in their most complete sociological datum (Becker & Geer, 1970). These chapters reflect the macro-zoom level of analysis by identifying dominant discourses in their overall organisation. The chapters are presented in a narrative form as if the reader was participating within the social settings with the cruisers. The theoretical constructions commence in chapters eleven and conclude at chapter fifteen. These chapters utilise the macro-, meso-, micro- and interactional zoom levels of analysis. In taking such an approach, I hope to provide you, the reader, with a grounding so that you become \textit{a co-analyst, experiencing the original setting vicariously, looking at the evidence} in order that later you can \textit{weigh up [my] ... interpretations and perspective – and [note] how they have changed along the way} (Erikson, 1986 in Miles & Huberman, 1994: 299).

Finally, in adopting the overall style of my thesis, I was able to draw upon 'multiple "I's"': woman, research participant, researcher, student, narrator, and theoriser (See Jean
D. Clandinin and F. Michael Connelly, 1994: 416; and Anne Williams, 1990: 260 regarding the negotiation of multiple ‘I’s’). Here ends the ‘confessional, next begins the narrative.
Cruising yachtyes or cruisers can be self-defined as people who have adopted a cruising lifestyle, who live aboard their own yachts, have independent means, are self-sufficient and have been away from their port of departure for an extended period of time. As a group, people who engage in cruising, that is, cruisers can best be described as a subculture (Macbeth, 1985, 1986, 1992, 1993). As a subculture, cruisers have their own mores, language, values and avenues for access. It should be noted that whilst cruisers are a subculture they differ from the land-based alternative lifestyle participants in that cruisers do not adopt a communal lifestyle (Macbeth, 1985). A semblance of community occasionally occurs when cruisers choose to travel loosely together through questionable waters, such as the Straits of Malacca or around Hong Kong. Both areas are renowned by cruisers as pirate areas. In these situations, the cruisers travel in the company of other vessels for safety reasons rather than for a sense of community. Sometimes a communal lifestyle of a short-term nature eventuates when cruisers are in port or at a mooring and fortune brings kindred souls together. However, in the main cruisers do not demonstrate communal lifestyle living patterns.

The number of individuals who sail and live aboard their own yachts/vessels, that is, who go cruising, has been increasing. Jimmy Cornell (1989) suggests that there are some one thousand cruising yachts in the Pacific Ocean at any one time. Of those 1,000 yachts, only 300 are long distance cruising yachts (Cornell 1989: 27). Given that each yacht must have at least one person aboard the minimum number may be estimated as 300 long term cruisers. Macbeth (1992), on the other hand, estimates an upper limit of 1500 people being committed to long term ocean cruising, though
Macbeth does not indicate boat numbers only cruiser numbers. This study does not attempt any estimation of the number of long term cruisers currently engaged in cruising as this was not its intention. However, a comment can be made based on cruiser narratives. Those cruisers who have been cruising for more than ten years indicated that the number of cruisers who have joined the subculture was steadily increasing especially during the late eighties and early nineties. Economic and political circumstances over the last few years may have served to temporarily reduce that number or to at least restrict the waters which are cruised or the duration of cruises.

According to cruiser narratives, the number of cruisers has been increasing due to:

- improvements in yacht design, especially sailing efficiency and live aboard comfort;
- the increased affordability of navigation equipment due to innovation costs being carried by earlier adopters of technological advances;
- developments in telecommunications equipment, particularly, wider ranging satellite coverage which provides greater contact with home bases and linkages to search and rescue facilities;
- greater freedom and finances to travel resulting from early retirement packages, investments, and improved income bases of the middle class, particularly during the late 1980s and early 1990s; as well as
- a change in values regarding work and leisure relationships and the notion of active retirements and early retirements.

Essentially, cruising by individuals can be undertaken using either of two types of vessels: those which are predominantly powered by sail(s) or those which are predominantly powered by engine(s). One way of differentiating cruisers then is based on the main source of energy used to drive the boat: either sail or engine powered. The sail powered vessels being the focus of this research. Further sub-
categorisation is however, possible. These subcategories may be determined based upon boat design, for example:

- material of construction
- number of hulls.

And for sail-powered vessels:

- the number of masts
- mast location and configurations.

Other ways of differentiating cruisers is by:

- the number of people aboard the vessel
  - solo or single handed
  - double handed - two people
  - crewed - more than one person aboard

- the duration of the cruise
  - short term, for example, three months
  - long term, for example, eighteen months or more

- the geographical location of the cruise
  - coastal
  - off-shore, also known as blue water cruising
  - circumnavigations or around the world cruising.

Map 3.1 demonstrates the long and short term cruising routes of the Pacific. Map 3.2 portrays the two alternative routes for circumnavigations. Cruising may also be undertaken as part of cruising 'races' in defined geographical areas such as the Sydney to Noumea Yacht Race or the Darwin to Ambon Yacht Race.

Apart from the work of Macbeth (1985, 1986, 1992, 1993) cruisers as they call themselves, have not been examined in any detail. To date then, studies into the
cruising community and subculture have been limited with Macbeth being the main researcher. There have been studies undertaken into yacht chartering (Harold Richens, 1992; J. Lett, 1983 and Richard Linington, 1998) though this is essentially a different activity as the charters are usually short term in nature and the vessel is owned by someone else.

Long term ocean cruisers: some background

A person’s gender, age, family life cycle, education, income and lifestyle impact on the propensity to travel (Dennison Nash and Valene Smith: 1991; Nelson Graburn: 1983; Andrew Yiannakis and Heather Gibson; 1988; and Erik Cohen: 1972: 167 and 1984: 3771). My research found that the socio-economic background of the cruising yachtyes, their ages, educational backgrounds, work experiences and life experiences in western societies also facilitated their ability to afford and enter a cruising lifestyle. Previously, Macbeth (1985: 73 - 74) made a similar observation:

Given the average age of the cruising respondents (43 years) and the histories presented in interviews, many cruisers appear to have already had 'successful' careers of some sort. It is, therefore, reasonable to say that the desire for such success or a career is less dominant than in, say, a 20-30 year old age group. Careers given up by cruisers include electronics, civil engineering, medicine, photography, commercial art, law, academia, and business. Cruisers are often people who have been in a successful [sic] career, who given the financial rewards of it, have been able to move into a different kind of life.

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1 Cohen (1984: 377) also noted that the 'democratisation of travel' displayed significant class differences between tourists from western countries. In relation to cruisers, such class differences might be considered true when analysed from the perspective of their varying degrees of conspicuous consumption (Yeblen (1973 [1899]). Certainly, my study found that between cruisers there was a great disparity between the costs of boats and the amount and quality of equipment carried as well as the levels of cruising budgets. However, cruisers' narratives indicated that while 'class differences' might be visually established, these differences tended to disappear at the interpersonal level. Most cruisers interviewed suggested that no class differences existed within the cruising community of long term ocean cruisers, in fact, 'class' was considered irrelevant compared to cruising experience and knowledge.
Map 3.2: Cruising routes for a world circumnavigation

Sociodemographics of cruisers

The specific sociodemographics circumstances of the cruisers who participated in this study will now be presented. Aboard the 53 vessels, there were 42 women and 54 men. The mode for women was the 45 - 54 year age group, while for men it was the 55 - 64 years. The women's ages ranged between 33 and 62 years and the men ranged between 20 and 77 years. Table 3.1 displays the distribution of cruising women and men by age brackets.

Table 3.1: Distribution of Cruisers by Gender and Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Total for age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 - 24</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 34</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 44</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 54</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 - 64</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 - 74</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 +</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>91*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Not all cruisers provided their age.

Most women had received a tertiary education whilst most men had received either a tertiary or high school education. Work experiences and occupations varied between the women and the men. Cruising women had previously been employed at the lower professional level (for example, teachers, editors, educational advisers) and in the service industry while the men's employment histories included employers and managers, lower level professionals (teachers, school counsellors, art directors, stockbrokers) as well as workers in the service industry.

Very few of the cruisers who were interviewed were travelling with young families, most were 'retired' people travelling without children. Self reports of the cruisers indicated that they were able to sustain their lifestyles through investments in real estate and also with shares, early retirement and retirement packages, superannuation pay-
outs, and long service leave payments. Very few of the cruisers who were interviewed indicated that they would try to work their way around the world. The predominant nationalities of the cruisers were Australian, American, New Zealand or British.

**Capital Investment**

Cruising requires a substantial capital investment. The price of most boats was between the AUS$50,000 to AUS$100,000 with the range including boats from AUS$30,000 up to AUS$600,000. The former vessel being purchased in 1973 and the latter in 1989. See Table 3.2 below.

**Table 3.2: Summary of the Purchase Price of Vessels by Number of Vessels in each Price Bracket**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purchase price of vessels in AUS$</th>
<th>Number of vessels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$0 - 50,000</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,001 - 100,000</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$100,001 - 150,000</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$150,001 - 200,000</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$200,001 - 250,000</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$250,001 - 300,000</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$300,001 - 350,000</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$350,001 - 400,000</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$400,001 - 450,000</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$450,001 - 500,000</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$500,001 - 550,000</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$550,001 - 600,000</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The range in vessel prices noted in Table 3.2 is related to purchase date of the vessel, the size of the vessel, the material of construction, the type of construction, the age of the vessel, whether owner built or purchased new or second-hand as well as to the equipment purchased with the vessel. The above figures have not been indexed to account for changes in the value of the Australian dollar over time. That being said there is still a substantial range between the vessel purchased for AUS$30,000.
(purchase date - 1973) and the vessel purchased for AUS$600,000 (purchase date - 1989). This range in vessel prices appears to indicate the existence of a 'mass' and a 'luxury' segment within the cruising yachts' subculture. Such segments in the cruising yacht subculture mirror similar segments identified by Adrian Bull (1996) within 'cruise tourism'.

Cruising budgets

In 1976, Hal Roth (1978: 197) noted that the cost of long term cruising for two people, was US$690/month (US$520/month based on 1997 exchange rates) or AUS$8,250/year (US$6,240/year). This included food, miscellaneous personal costs (mail, travel costs, souvenirs, medical costs, clothes) and boat maintenance costs (including fuel, charts, clearance, mooring fees, maintenance and repairs). Roth (1978: 196) noted that the largest cost was the upkeep of the vessel. In 1989, Kellogg Fleming and Diana Fleming (1989: 43) reported that the cost of long term cruising for two people was AUS$797/month (US$600/month) and AUS$9,560/year (US$7,230/year). However, based on Fleming and Fleming's calculations food and miscellaneous personal items were the largest costs instead of the boat related expenses identified by Roth (1978). This difference appears to be related to a more extensive personal list recorded in the Fleming and Fleming list which included entertainment, sporting equipment, photography and education. These items were not noted by Roth. Cornell (1989:172), on the other hand, suggested a budget of AUS$13,220 (US$10,000) for two people engaged in long term cruising within the North Atlantic, slightly more than that estimated by the Flemings.

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2 As noted in footnote one, whilst a mass and luxury segment may be ascribed by vessel cost and fitout, cruisers did not report income stratification as a means for distinguishing themselves from other cruisers, rather differentiation was based on yachting experience and knowledge.

3 Exchange rates for 1976 and 1989 have not yet been obtained. The AUS$ equivalents for US$ expressed in this paragraph have been based on the exchange rate 0.7563 obtained in mid-August, 1997 instead of the exchange rates for 1976 or 1989.
Within the group of cruisers studied between 1993 and 1994, of the 53 vessels undertaking circumnavigations, only 38 vessels provided details of their yearly cruising budgets. Annual cruising budgets ranged from AUS$4,000 to AUS$73,000 with the average budget for a cruising vessel being AUS$19,500 (see Table 3.3 below). This increased budget may be a direct result of the increased sophistication of the vessels’ technology and the subsequent costs of repair and maintenance when compared with 1989 and 1973. Again, the budget figures presented in Table 3.3 below are only raw figures and have not been adjusted to take into account the size of the vessel nor the age of the vessel which have resultant impacts on cruising budgets. Usually the larger the boat and the older the vessel, the greater the cruising budget contribution to the boat maintenance section of the budget. However, cruisers also reported that new vessels experience a series of gear and equipment failure in the first year of cruising and this can contribute to an inflated budget for that year.

Table 3.3: Summary of Cruising Budgets and Weekly Expenditures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BUDGETARY ITEMS</th>
<th>AUS$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average cruising budget/vessel</td>
<td>$19,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average weekly expenditure based on annual cruising budget/vessel</td>
<td>$400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average weekly expenditures in a fully serviced port**</td>
<td>$400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gross annual cruising budget for the 38 vessels surveyed</td>
<td>$741,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All figures have been rounded up to the nearest hundred.
** Average time in a fully serviced port was 6 weeks.

As mentioned before, Cornell (1989: 27) estimated that ‘[a]pproximately one thousand cruising yachts are to be found spread out among the islands of the South Pacific at any one time’. He also noted that most cruising yachts take ‘two or even three seasons to cross the Pacific’. Given this time period, cruising vessels have the ability to contribute AUS$19,500,000 (AUS$19.5 million) to Pacific Rim economies in one
year. However, this must be considered an upper limit, as it appears that Cornell (1989: 27) clusters together the 'milkrun' segment with the circumnavigators. This assumption is based on the fact that Cornell indicated that during any one year approximately 300 long distance cruisers, that is, circumnavigators, cross the Pacific Ocean, thereby leaving 700 vessels which were not undertaking a circumnavigation. Applying Cornell's lower limit of 300 vessels to the average cruising budget/vessel, a lower level estimate of AUS$5.85 million is achieved as the potential for the economic contributions of long term cruisers to Pacific Rim economies.

To summarise the preceding discussion, cruisers' propensity to travel aboard their own yachts is attributed to their mature ages, their current stage within the family life cycle, their education, income and western lifestyles and resultant attitudes to work and leisure. The women's ages ranged from the early twenties through to the late 60s while the men interviewed ranged from the early twenties through to late seventies. Most of the women and men were aged between 40 - 59 years, with the mode for both genders being 50 - 59 years. In regard to family life cycle, very few cruisers were travelling with young family, most were 'retired' people travelling without children. The majority of both genders had completed tertiary education, with women being employed primarily as lower level professionals and the men as employers and managers, or lower level professionals or skilled manual workers. The outlay by cruisers in their vessels represents a substantial investment, vessels prices ranged from AUS$30,000 to AUS$600,00 while cruising budgets ranged from AUS$4,000 to AUS$73,000. Based on calculations of the number of cruisers and the average cruising budget, cruisers have the potential to contribute between AUS$5.85 million and AUS$19.5 million amongst the economies of the Pacific Rim. The cruisers were primarily Australian, American, New Zealand, and British citizens or citizens from other European countries.
Having just described the background of people who go long term ocean cruising and the means by which they are able to adopt a cruising lifestyle, the next chapter portrays some ‘slices of their lives’. Specifically, Chapter Four serves to provide you the reader with some insight into the cruising lifestyle using stylised entries from cruisers’ logbooks-cum-diaries. A logbook differs from a diary in that the logbook records sea, wind, and weather conditions, vessel position, engine hours if appropriate, and any events the crew considers worthy of noting in the logbook.
Chapter 4

Several Days in the Life of a Cruiser

The cruising lifestyle varies from day to day. It depends on the weather conditions and sea conditions and it depends on the location - both geographically and temporally. Specifically, whether the cruisers are in the tropics, or in the higher latitudes, or in the Pacific or in the Mediterranean; or in a developed nation's territorial waters or a developing nation's waters; or whether on a passage, in a port or at anchor. It also depends on the crew and if there are any passengers.

The following log entries provide the reader with some insight into the lifestyle itself. The entries have been constructed and ‘grounded’ using cruisers’ descriptions and participant observation knowledge. This differs from the approach Macbeth (1985) adopted in his study. Macbeth used long verbatim quotes from literary sources to convey a sense of the cruising lifestyle. The names of the cruisers used in the log entries are fictitious.

For the purpose of this thesis, the logbook entries and format have been stylised and abbreviated. They are snapshots of sea and wind conditions and as such, represent examples of daily activities on an ‘easy’ and a ‘challenging’ passage as well as a day at anchor and a day in port. Specifically:

- Log entry one represents an 'easy' passage. A passage when the weather and sea conditions are kindly and the crew is in good health and spirits.
- Log entry two portrays a day's activities on a 'challenging' passage. A passage when the weather and sea conditions are not pleasant and some crew may be feeling unwell or poor in spirit.
• Log entry three describes a day in port in which the crew must attend to various bureaucratic requirements, maintenance and provisioning details.

• Log entry four reports on a day in an anchorage adjacent to a local village. The day is one during which the 'captain' has to attend to 'clearing out'. Clearing out is the procedure of completing bureaucratic requirements prior to departure from a country and includes 'clearing' customs, quarantine, and immigration as well as clearing out through the harbour master in some countries such as Indonesia.

To further allow the reader to engage in the experience, the diagram on the next page represents the internal layout of a 'typical' cruising yacht (Figure 4.1). It is not too dissimilar from the basic layout of the yachts of many of the cruisers who were interviewed. The overall length and width may differ, however, to provide some dimensions to the layout below, the overall length of the vessel is 12.12 metres with a width of 3.9 metres at the widest part. Head room (distance between cabin sole – floor and cabin ceiling) is 2.2 metres. A further understanding of this living space (both internal and external) is evidenced in the images on the five pages following Figure 4.1.
Figure 4.1: Typical layout of a yacht

Chain or Sail Locker

V-berth (bed for two people)

Hanging Locker for clothes

Saloon (Living Area)

Navigation Area (Planning journeys)

Head (some boats have only one)

Aft-berth (Sleeping)

Sleeping area

Galley (kitchen)

Sink, Stove, Fridge

Wet Weather Locker

Table & Seats

Sink, Stove

Aft-berth

Chain or Sail Locker

Locker (cupboards for storage)
View of navigation station, radar, GPS, VHF, 27 Meg, HF radios, weather fax. Refrigeration is located under this table.

Head is located amidships adjacent to the galley on the starboard-side. Hot and cold shower, and handbasin, toilet behind door, engine box located between head and galley-way access.

View forward to saloon, starboard-side showing stereo, TV, video located under stereo.
Photographs clockwise:
View of double bunk located on starboard-side beside companionway.
View of single berth on port-side beside the companionway and position of satellite compatible EPIRB, fire extinguisher and fire blanket located in the galley section.
View looking aft from the galley showing engine box cover on lower left hand of the photograph, access doors (from starboard to port) for batteries, steering, and wet weather locker, the inverter and 240 volt power double plug positions. Above the latter are the amp and volt metres (refer to top photograph).
Anticlockwise:
Photograph One, looking aft from the bow. Forward hatch is over forward V-berth. Other two hatches are over the head on the starboard-side and the galley on the port-side;
Photograph Two, 'Warriuka of Ballina' at anchor, radar and radar reflector positioned on mast, mast steps provide ease of access for mast work;
Photograph Three, cockpit view showing engine instruments on the port-side and depth/log/distance run/speed Digipac and autopilot controls on starboard-side.
Three views of 'Warriuka of Ballina' showing hull fairness, steering position, liferaft position, stowage position of dinghy on foredeck, boom tent, foredeck tent, bimini, lee-cloths, cockpit bags, cockpit cushions, folding cockpit table, autopilot, magnetic compass and lazerette access.
Looking at the photographs from top to bottom:
View forward to saloon and forward V-berth. The two areas are divided by two full-length hanging lockers. Saloon table has only one of the side flaps raised. Water tanks are located under saloon seats and storage lockers behind the seats.
View of galley located amidships on port side, showing position of sink and three burner kerosene stove and oven.
View of the navigation centre when set up as a study centre with desk extension for keyboard and paperwork. Computer and printer located to left of desk extension.
Log Book Entries
Log entry one: an easy passage

Passage, Pacific Ocean, Sea conditions: 0.5 metre, no swell; wind: NE 10 - 15 knots, clear weather.

12.00 am
Change of watch, Cassie reads entries in log book, kettle on, hot midnight drink. Sam to bed, Cassie assumes watch responsibility.

1.00 am
Check compass heading and sails regularly. Clear sky, brilliant stars, phosphorescence streams in the wake. Log book up-dated, dead reckoning position marked on chart. Listen to walkman and intermittently scan the horizon whilst taking in the nightscape.

2.00 am
Check compass heading, scan horizon, check sails, monitor autopilot workings, make log entry. Tropic seabird is cruising in the slot behind the spreaders, doesn't seem to want to land, just keeping abreast of the boat, perhaps it's the light that is attracting it.

3.00 am
15 minute checks, compass heading, scan horizon, wind shifted to SE 10 knots, sails adjusted. Log entry on the hour. Walkman batteries have gone flat, new batteries needed at change of next watch. Saw a satellite pass over us.

4.00 am
Tropic seabird decides to leave the company of the boat. Check compass heading, check sails, scan horizon, container ship to starboard, radar estimates 16 nautical miles away. Activate 10 nautical mile alarm circle around our vessel on radar. Make log entry.
5.00 am

Container passes behind us, approximately 10 nautical miles off the starboard side. Sun's rising, bathing the sea in pink and gold. Turn navigation lights off. Turn off radar. Set the mackerel trawling line out. Sextant shot taken, position worked out and plotted. No current appears to have taken the boat off-course. Dead-reckoning not far off the sextant position.

6.00 am

Mackerel strike, land mackerel in cockpit. Sam wakes at the same time when the mackerel starts thrashing in the steel cockpit, who needs an alarm clock? Sam's head appears in the companionway, 'Did you have to?' They've been catching mackerel at this time for some weeks now and it is always when Sam is coming on watch, not his idea of fun being woken by a thrashing fish and the mess the mackerel makes in the process of becoming food. Cassie trades an hour's watch for Sam making breakfast - fresh fish of course. Sam listens to the radio sched at the same time and records the weather forecast. Weather and sea as they were yesterday - perfect. Sam reviews past 6 hours' log entries. Dead reckoning position plotted.

7.00 am

Breakfast together, discussion of the last watch, average of 5 knots per hour, distance made 30 nautical miles from midnight position. Cassie goes to bed. Sam on watch, starts reading a new novel.

8.00 am

Log entry made. Another wind shift, coming from the south now, autopilot turned off, hand-steering in wing and wing position of sails. Clear skies.
9.00 am
Wind shifted to SSW. Change sail configuration. Reset the autopilot. Plot position on chart and make log entry. Reading.

10.00 am
Cassie wakes up. Both on watch. Both make some repairs to the boom tent ready for its use at the next anchorage.

11.00 am
Both on watch. Sam makes bread, Cassie writes letters. Log and chart up-dated.

12.00 pm
Sextant shots, calculations made, positions recorded on the chart. Log entry made. Lunch in cockpit.

1.00 pm
Cassie on watch, reads. Sam snoozes. Log and chart entries made.

2.00 pm
Dolphins playing in the bow wake, they stay for about half an hour then suddenly shoot away and don't come back. Log and chart entries made. Cassie on watch, reading, Sam snoozing.

3.00 pm
Salt water bath on the foredeck to cool down, bucket dropped over the side of the boat on a rope, when filled with salt water it's hauled back on deck and poured over hot bodies repeatedly. Log and chart entries made.
4.00 pm
A large hammerhead shark passes off the stern. Locate new batteries for the Walkman. Catch radio sched, note up-coming weather. Log and chart entries up-dated. Both on watch.

5.00 pm
Sextant sights, complete calculations, compare sights, plot position on chart.

6.00 pm
Sam on watch, Cassie prepares dinner, dinner in cockpit together. Cassie off-watch goes to bed.

7.00 pm
Sam resets sails to adjust to a minor wind shift to SW. Navigation lights on and radar on set at stand-by. Chart and log up-dated.

8.00 pm
Sam checks autopilot, sails, heading, horizon up-dates log and chart, listens to Walkman’s radio.

9.00 pm
Sam makes routine checks and entries. As out of major shipping lanes, cat-naps for 10 minute intervals.

10.00 pm
Sam makes routine checks and entries. Cat-naps for 10 minute intervals between checks.
11.00 pm
Sam makes routine checks and entries. Cat-naps for 10 minute intervals between checks.

12.00 am
Change of watch, read log entries, Cassie puts kettle on, hot drinks in cockpit together, Sam to bed.
Log entry two: a ‘challenging’ passage

Passage, Heavy rain, sea conditions, 1-2 metre swell on 2 metre seas, wind 35 knots, wind close to on the nose. Engine on. Tidal flow 5 knots, current running at 4 knots.

12.00 am
Cassie on watch.
Wet weather gear and safety harness a must for these conditions. All watch keepers must clip on immediately on entering the cockpit. Horizon scans are difficult – the night’s really dark, navigation lights on mast are making small arc shaped crescents of light as the boat pitches and rolls with each swell that hits the boat. Waves crash over the bow and sides of the boat and race back to swamp the cockpit. The drain holes are managing to cope with the onslaught of water though only momentarily until the next rush arrives. Hand steering, the autopilot could not handle conditions – the drive cog was made from plastic and fractured and broke. Each watch is down to 50 minutes with the last ten minutes of the hour before change of watch with both people up, one up-dating the log and chart and checking the radar which already has the alarm ring set and the other hand steering.
12.50 am Change of watch

1.00 am
Sam on watch.
Conditions are becoming worse; things which had previously been secured in the boat are starting to shoot around it. Bunks are getting soaked with the waves forcing water between the previously impenetrable seals on the hatches. The diesel fumes from the engine and the dampness are making being inside almost as bad as being on watch. Sleep is almost impossible, the engine is thumping away, sounds of water roaring by the boat and waves crashing on it are magnified by the steel hull, the mast is humming and the inside timber is creaking. We have put the engine on as we have to make our
way through an unmarked passage between submerged reefs and a series of small islands. The engine is enabling us to make some leeway against the tidal flow and prevents us from ending up on one of the leeshore of the islands and also away from the submerged reefs.

1.50 am Change of watch and up-date of log and chart. We are not making much headway.

2.00 am
Cassie on watch.
Lightning snakes the sky and thunder booms, and the rain continues to pelt down. We’re wearing rubber soles boots and hope that the Faraday cage principle works. Water invades between layers of the wet weather gear. Call up Sam to add a third reef to the main sail and we pull in the jenny. Pump up fuel into the header tank. Distance made 3 nautical miles.
2.50 am Change of watch and log and chart entries made.

3.00 am
Sam on watch.
Alter course slightly to ease forces on the boat, not much room to manoeuvre however between these islands and reefs. The boat is more abeam to the swells and is less comfortable that when we were bashing straight into the swells, the rolls are greater. Sea and wind conditions the same, the lightning and thunder have stopped, though the rain continues to deluge us.
3.50 am Change of watch, it’s too rough to do the log, the chart position is checked only.

4.00 am
Cassie on watch.
Alter course to bash into the wind and sea, it’s more bearable than rolling from side to side as well as up and down as each swell is breasted. We are tiring of looking into the red light of the compass and darkness, and the hand steering is taking its toll after three days of such conditions.

4.50 am Change of watch. Cassie uses the head, and the diesel fumes from the engine inside the cabin are overpowering. Cassie barely clips on before launching her head over the side of the boat to ‘feed the fishes’. Returns below and chart position only checked.

5.00 am
Sam on watch.
Conditions continue to be foul.
5.50 am Change of watch. Sam complains of a headache, feels like he is running a temperature, and he has a sore throat and joint pains.

6.00 am
Cassie on watch.
No sextant sight, too overcast. Daylight seems to exaggerate the conditions we are sailing in; it was much better in darkness. 6.50 am Change of watch. Pump up more fuel into the header tank, head down in the lazerette, boat rocking and rolling, Cassie has to ‘feed the fish’ again.

7.00 am
Sam on watch.
Rain not so heavy, seas still confused. Hand steering continues. Neither of us wants or is prepared to try to cook breakfast. We drink soft drink and eat sweet biscuits.
7.50 am Change of watch, turn off navigation lights.
8.00 am
Cassie on watch, rain continues, seas lumpy, wind has not eased. Progress slow. Off-watch person given up going below, sits in the companionway trying to keep the on-watch person awake. Sam feeling unwell, headache still there. 8.50 am Change of watch.

9.00 am
Sam on watch.
Sea and weather conditions continue unabated. Manage to get a position fix, abeam lighthouse. We are not as far along our course as we thought, the current is against us. 9.50 am Change of watch.

10.00 am
Cassie on watch
Sam goes below and tries to tune into the radio weather broadcast. Fuel pumped into header tank. 10.50 am Change of watch.

11.00 am
Sam on watch.
Rain, wind begins to ease. Sea still confused. Boat motion still uncomfortable. 11.50 am Change of watch.

12.00 pm
Cassie on watch.
Rain shows no sign of easing. Wind around 20 knots, swell dropping. Oil gauge reading is of concern. Engine check, everything okay. 12.50 pm Change of watch.

1.00 pm
Sam on watch.
Soft drink and sweet biscuits for lunch. Sun briefly breaks through a patch of cloud.

1.50 pm  Change of watch.

2.00 pm
Cassie on watch.
Fuel pumped up into the header tank. 2.50 pm Change of watch.

3.00 pm
Sam on watch. Fan near chart table ‘dies’, makes plotting positions uncomfortable.
3.50 pm Change of watch.

4.00 pm – 5.00 pm
Watches alternated between Cassie and Sam. Wind starts to ease 15 knots; seas loosing swell and rain easing.
5.50 pm  Change of watch.

6.00 pm
Cassie on watch.
Rain stops. Wind has turned off the nose and we ease the jenny out and undo the third reef. Catch weather forecast. Wet weather and winds may return so leave two reefs in the mainsail to save having to reef down again over the night.
6.50 pm Change of watch, chart and log position.

7.00 pm
Sam on watch.
Skies are clearing slightly; we even catch a glimpse of a star. Open the hatches. Fresh air blasts the stale and diesel fumed air from below.
7.50 pm Change of watch.
8.00 pm
Cassie on watch.
The bunks are wet to lie in, but it's a relief to lie down. It seems like only five minutes of sleep have passed before it is change of watch time. Sam is still feeling unwell. 8.50 pm Change of watch.

9.00 pm
Sam on watch.
We have made some progress; we are now making 5 nautical miles an hour so we are inching our way across the chart to our planned port of call. The weather and sea conditions continue to improve and our spirits improve exponentially as a result. We are tired and Sam is ill, not seasick, but perhaps malaria? 9.50 pm Change of watch.

10.00 pm
Cassie on watch.
We decide to turn the engine off. The silence is overwhelming. Sam sleeps the full 50 minutes. 10.50 pm Change of watch.

11.00 pm
Sam on watch.
The sky is clouding over and the forecasted bad weather is definitely on the way. The bunks are still wet but fresh air is coming in the hatches, Cassie sleeps her off-watch time. 11.50 pm Change of watch.

12.00 am
Cassie on watch.
Lightning snakes the sky; thunder rumbles and heavy rain begins to fall. Sam closes the hatches, and the wet weather gear is donned again. We have another ten days to
go. Hand steering every nautical mile of it unless the conditions ease enough to jury-rig a self-steering device. Still we are under sail power for the moment and we are catching at least 45 minutes of sleep each of our off-watch periods.

12.50 am Change of watch, chart and log entry made, wind and seas increasing.
Log entry three: In port anchorage

Day prior to departure, a Port in the Indonesian archipelago.

6.00am
Quick breakfast, check the kerosene level in the tank for the stove, check the water level in the batteries, give the engine a once over - oil, filters, connections, secure the inside of boat for tomorrow’s passage, cover the bookshelves with nets, lock all the cupboards, stuff towels in the crockery cupboard, organise the charts for the passage. Course already decided and plotted yesterday.

8.00 am
Immigration office, waiting to see the immigration officers and customs officers as required prior to our departure from port.

10.00 am
Immigration office, still waiting to see officers.

11.00 am
Immigration office, finally we have our interviews. We need to get some more papers photocopied for their records, so search for the nearest photocopier and make 12 copies of each document, just in case. We return, they are satisfied and we collect our papers for the next port. Arrange a time for later this afternoon to have the boat inspected by them.

12.00 pm
Call by the markets on the way back for fresh supplies of fruit and vegetables. Catch local transport back to the boat. Stow the fresh produce on board.
1.00 pm
Meet with the young man who is going to help us ferry our 20 litre fuel cans backwards and forwards from the fuel depot 10 kilometres away and back to the boat. We need five trips in all, thankfully the local transport we have hired is cheap. It is tedious, the cans have to be lifted onto the boat and poured individually into the through-hull fittings connected to the diesel tank, it takes as long to empty the cans as the return journey to the depot. Last trip to fill the containers is undertaken to gain extra fuel to stow in the containers as we are not sure of our ability to buy fuel at the next location. Everything and everyone stinks of diesel. We have to wash and get dressed to visit the Harbour master who has our ship’s papers.

4.00 pm
We are getting tired and hungry (no lunch yet). We call by the Police Station to inform them that we are leaving, and are taken to various offices - in the end we think it is so they may practise their English, we oblige. However, we have an appointment with the Harbournmaster at 5.00pm and must leave. Arriving on time, we have a half-hour's rest while we wait for our interview with the Harbour Master. He decides to exchange pleasantries with us so he can keep another cruiser waiting while he deals with us. The Harbour Master considers the other cruising man is rude and not well dressed. The other person was there before us, despite our indication that the cruiser should have his turn first, he is made to wait until we are dealt with. After the pleasantries, we are dealt with expeditiously and leave armed with our boat’s papers and all the necessary forms for the next Harbour Master. We return to our boat and check and try to catch a radio schedule to check the weather for the next five days.

6.00 pm
We hear yelling on the shore, and go out to look as sometimes it means that someone wants to summon us. And it is as well we went out, the immigration and customs officers are here and we have to go ashore in our dinghy as they have no transport to
reach our boat. The officers come on board, our decks are immediately scuffed by their regulation work boots. We feel it would be inappropriate to ask them to take them off as we would any other visitors. The officers inspect the boat and settle down in the saloon area. We make cups of coffee and serve some cake we prepared for the passage. We chat for two hours. When they decide they must leave, we take them ashore.

8.00 pm
While ashore, we call by and say our goodbyes to some of the local people who have befriended us. We decide that we are both too tired to cook a meal and choose to eat at a local eatery before returning to the boat. It is an outside eatery near the shore and we dine and look at the path the moon has reflected on the water across to our boat silhouetted against the sky. It has been a long and taxing day, and yet as we sit here and eat amongst people who have become friends and in such an idyllic setting, the trials of the day wash away. We relax.

10.00 pm
On return to the boat we haul and secure the dinghy on board and stow the dinghy’s outboard engine and the oars. We clean up the coffee and cake debris and fall into bed so we can meet the next day's daylight hour start.
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10.00 pm

On return to the boat we haul and secure the dinghy on board and stow the dinghy’s outboard engine and the oars. We clean up the coffee and cake debris and fall into bed so we can meet the next day's daylight hour start.
Log entry four: At anchor near a village

Sunday, Daniel's Mother's Sister's Lagoon, North east coast of Papua New Guinea

6.00 am
We awaken to the sound of church bells ringing. Well actually, the shell of a bomb with another piece of war wreckage hanging inside it being struck, along with the sound of kundoe drums. Not long after, we hear the clunk of wood knocking our steel hull and know that Daniel is here in his canoe. When we accepted the invitation to go to church with Daniel and his family, we had thought that it would be at 10.00 in the morning that had been the pattern of the preceding weeks. Daniel's voice is urgent 'Quickly you must hurry the pastor is holding church early he has to go to another island to do another service today. We shall be late, hurry hurry, are you up, are you dressed?'

Well actually no, we are not, Sam dresses quickly and goes out into the cockpit to speak with Daniel. Quickly the rest of us dress. Obviously a leisurely breakfast is out of the question this morning, breakfast will have to wait until lunch. We leave the boat open, since asking permission of Daniel's aunt (his mother's sister - the matriarch of the village) to anchor here and use her waters, we have no fear of the boat being boarded or of things being taken. She has given her assurance that everything is safe. This is a sign of our trust in her and the villagers. If we had locked the boat, it would have been an affront and relationships would have changed dramatically. People only come on board if they are invited, mostly they will 'stand off' about 10 metres and talk to us from their canoes.

The noise of our outboard engine cuts the silence of the morning, Daniel has told us there is no time to row and we must tow his canoe. Only a few villagers are up and moving. However, we have no time to stop and chat says Daniel, we must hurry to
the church. We take the track which wends it way through the rainforest - past the yam houses, around the villagers' gardens being careful to pay attention and not cross past the warning stones so as not to upset the spirit of the gardens. We skirt past the sacred and magical area where the boys are preparing for their initiation. We heed the warning of the palm frond flags not to trespass, especially the women with whom the boys must not have contact lest their manhood 'be stolen away'.

8.00 am

The church appears empty and is. Daniel is obviously embarrassed, he commences to apologise, he has lost face. We assure him there is no problem. He decides to take us to the home of his father's sister and to get us some tea. We tell him again it is all right we are happy to wait. Daniel, however, is not pleased. The village of Daniel's father's sister is beyond the church and people are stirring and readying for the service. We are made welcome and are given hot tea and receive an invitation to attend the coming-out ceremony for the boys from the haus tamboran which Daniel's mother's sister, the matriarch of the village later ratifies.

10.00 am

The church 'bell' rings again signalling we had better hurry ourselves along. We enter the church, this time we all get to sit together, the last service we went to the women sat on one side, the men on the other and the 'dim-dim' (white skinned) men sat up the back on the only pew! The pastor is happy to see such a large congregation who have arrived on time. He will use his trick again which is to ring the bell early to make sure everyone has time to reach the church in good time. The service is conducted in pidgin english and we partially follow the thread of things. The singing sends goose bumps up our spines. The hymns commence when the oldest man of the congregation begins the opening bars as a solo, another older woman joins in and then everyone sets their own harmonies. The pastor welcomes us and our voyage is blessed and the service is
over. We mingle with the villagers whom we are getting to know now after three months living around their land and on their water.

12.00 pm
Daniel returns with us to the boat and has breakfast/lunch with us and then leaves. We decide to go snorkelling on a nearby reef later in the afternoon, so we variously decide to read, write letters, or rest while the heat of the day is at its most intense.

2.00 pm
The reef is spectacular, the coral and the fish are vibrant and varied, two hours pass quickly before we don enough covering to protect us from the sun. We spend an hour fishing in an area for which we have permission from Daniel's mother's sister. Two coral trout decide they like our bait. On the way back to the boat, we call by Daniel's hut (actually his mother's sister's hut) and leave the largest fish.

6.00 pm
Relaxing in the cockpit as the sun goes down, we light the anchor light and the mosquito coil at the same time. When the mosquitoes get unbearable we go inside. The fish is a welcome addition to our diet, which has been high in vegetables and fruit from the local markets but a bit low in protein.

8.00 pm
The heavens open up and everyone rushes outside. The boom tent has been hung so that any rainwater will immediately pool adjacent to the water tank inlets on the deck. The rain is heavy and we are able to fill the tanks to overflowing and still there is more. Everyone gathers a bucket of water for themselves - this is a luxury night - a whole twenty litres of fresh water to bathe in per person instead of the one litre ration per person from the water tank stores. We bathe in the cockpit and splash liberal amounts
of water around with gay abandon. The boat receives a good wash down at the same time.

10.00 pm

In the distance we hear the kundoe drums start, they will go on for hours, it is part of the initiation process. Daniel says it is to deprive the boys of sleep and make them learn how to endure hardship. The drums are far enough away from us not to disturb us. We lie listening to the crackles of the micro-organisms attached to our hull, and the well known creaks of the boat and the gentle lapping of water on the dinghy as it dances about in the tidal flow on the end of a rope which secures it to the yacht. One by one we fall off to sleep.
The Voyage
Preparing for a voyage can be as challenging as the voyage itself. There is much to consider, remember and do. Initially, all the charts and cruising guides have to be bought or borrowed, inside information from other cruisers gathered, cruising permits and visas obtained, passenger and crew lists formalised, vaccinations and medical requirements organised, passports stamped. Educational requirements also have to be determined and financial arrangements made. Provisioning of food, fuel and organisation and purchase of spare parts completed. Final checks of rigging, sails, ropes, ground tackle and mechanical and electronic equipment conducted. Regardless of the time plan for the cruise, all of these things and more must be done.

Once under way, the boat is like a small city, all the essential roles and services provided in a city must be present aboard a yacht. You need an engineer, a mechanic, a doctor, a dentist, a plumber, an electrician, an educationalist, a diplomat, a mayor. You need general stores, a fresh water supply, an energy supply, accommodation and transport. You also need emergency services in cases of fire, theft, acts of 'god'. You need a library, you need entertainment, you need privacy and you need company. All these needs, services and roles are provided within the confines of the vessel and within the skills and abilities of all the crew. When preparing for a voyage all this must be taken into account, especially if you want to have a successful voyage.

With the preparation completed, the next task is to ensure that the crew and passengers are ready, that the track to be taken is plotted on the chart, that all are in accord and that the logbook is open ready to record the progress of the voyage.

In preparing to report my research, there was also much to be done, many participants to be considered and much to be recorded. As mentioned previously, the following chapters, five to ten, present you with ‘scenes’ which capture the dominant discourses demonstrated at the macro-zoom level of analysis. Remember, you will not encounter
any theoretical discussions until you reach chapters eleven to fifteen as the following chapters (five to ten) have been constructed in narrative/story form.

As you move forward on your voyage through the ethnographic chapters, you will note that some of the cruiser narratives contain a number of mesolevel themes, I have refrained from editing them out for several reasons. Firstly, in doing so, the resultant text becomes ‘contained’ and imposes a ‘rigid structure’ which reflects masculine writing but not feminine writing (Rosemary Tong, 1989: 225). The former, masculine writing, is ‘boring’ in its ‘pointedness and singularity’ (Hélène Cixous, 1981: 262). On the other hand, feminist writing breaks from the ‘phallocentric’ tradition of writing and is open and multiple in its representations. Since I am using a feminist research paradigm, I have also chosen to use a feminine writing style. Moreover, an approach which does not represent full verbatim quotes belies the nature of ethnographic writing as previously discussed. Furthermore, reducing verbatim quotes to one or two sentences, essentially a reductionist approach, can misrepresent a cruiser’s intent as the resulting ‘narrative’ is removed from its overall context and thereby prevents the social-situatedness of some texts from being presented. Postmodernists argue that the speaker and the speaker’s position must be recognised. Further, brief quotes can omit the cadence and subtleties of speakers’ voices and the richness of their stories. You will recall that em dashes ‘-’ are used to indicate short pauses or hesitations. I also use ellipses ‘...’ to indicate when text has been omitted which is not directly germane or related to the theme being discussed, although conflicting and supporting texts are maintained as suggested above. Further, I have also decided not to edit the verbatim quotes as the focus of this study investigates the reasons why people go long term ocean cruising – reasons which are multiple and complex in nature.

In presenting cruiser narratives, you will note that I have not used cruisers’ real names nor pseudonyms. Cruisers were more comfortable with being a number and being anonymous. I used the descriptors - cruising man or cruising woman, pre-cruising
woman or pre-cruising man, exit cruising man and exit cruising woman, and exit-reentry cruising woman and exit-reentry cruising man throughout the course of this thesis to indicate from which group the speaker is drawn. The numbers after these descriptors also represent the cruising ‘group’ to which the speaker also ‘belongs’. The 100 series relates to pre-cruisers, 300 – 400 series relates to cruisers, 600 series to exit cruisers, and 800 series for exit-reentry cruisers. Within cruiser narratives, if reference is made to a partner, a number from the relevant series is used followed by an ‘m’ to identify a man and a ‘w’ to identify a woman, for example 801w refers to an exit-reentry woman who is the partner of exit-reentry man 802.

I mentioned earlier that I intend to balance the voices of men and women. In the following ethnographic chapters you will notice that sometimes women are under-represented in the chapter and men are over-represented or vice-versa. This imbalance is reflective of the gender identity of the cruisers who promulgate discourses relevant to the foci of the chapters rather than quantitatively ensuring every chapter has an equal numbers of cruising women and men’s voices.
Chapter 5
Casting off the ropes: Freedom and Escape

The idea to go cruising was borne as a way to achieve freedom and some sense of personal control in our lives and to escape the hectic pace in which we were living. We were working 80 hours a week and spent the weekends preparing for the next week's work as well as doing our domestic chores. There was not much time off for rest and recreation.

We looked at people around us, and who were older than us and their lives seemed to prophesise our future: work, work and more work. For what end? They seemed to be becoming very sick, some were dying of heart attacks and cancer. We were working at the same pace they were. We knew that this was not the way we wanted to live our
lives. We needed to escape the clutches of society, take control of our own destiny and to be free - to do what we wanted to do. We wanted to slow the pace of life down, to have health and to have a future that was what we wanted. We wanted to be stress free, to be in control of our lives, selfishly and satisfyingly, to do what we wanted when we wanted and with whom we wanted. We wanted to be in charge - to be free and we decided that cruising was the way for us to escape and to achieve freedom.

‘Casting off’ is ‘the act of letting go’. You usually ‘cast off’ ropes which secure a boat to a fixed point in order to prevent the boat from drifting away. Within this chapter, the metaphor of ‘casting off the ropes’ is applied to the undoing of ‘invisible ropes’ which tie cruisers to their society (a fixed and constraining point in their lives).

Why do some cruisers want to ‘cast off the ropes’? In this chapter, the insights of thirty five cruisers inform us as to the ‘why’. Seventeen cruisers (10 men and 7 women) seek to escape, ten cruisers seek freedom (2 women and 8 men), and eighteen cruisers seek an alternative lifestyle to one at the centre (of these 18 cruisers, 10 also sought freedom or to escape, while 4 men and 4 women simply sought an alternative in the margins). As noted in the vignette, the ‘why’ is found in the pace and style of life in which some cruisers were living prior to adopting a cruising lifestyle – a lifestyle which was hectic, stressful, devoid of personal control and routinised. The key contributor to their hectic lifestyles was ‘work’. Essentially, work placed increasing demands on their discretionary ‘free’ time, interfered with relationships and impacted on personal health and well being. For those with a long history of working, the option of retirement proved similarly stressful, particularly the vision of a passive retirement. In fact, cruisers were aware that both work and retirement could stultify personal health and the achievement of long term goals for self satisfaction and self
actualisation. Society with all its checks and balances, its role expectations and societal obligations was directly responsible for these cruisers seeking an alternative lifestyle in the margins: an alternative to a life in the centre which was anomic and alienating and which denied individual freedom.

Evidences of such macrolevel discourses and the cruisers process of 'casting off' in order to move from the centre to the margins follow. As you progress through the chapter, you will note that the act of 'casting off' in order to achieve 'freedom' or to 'escape' requires organisation and at times is hindered by societal obligations and expectations. Although the 'work' theme permeates cruiser narratives, the specific reasons for wanting to be free or to escape work and society vary.

Casting off the ropes: freedom and escape:

As previously noted, some cruisers seek a cruising lifestyle in order to gain freedom. But what exactly in mainstream society are they seeking freedom from?

I imagine disillusionment with the modern lifestyle I guess, and the modern lifestyle really gives the ability [for] what [we] are doing but [we] are disillusioned with it, you know. It's the modern lifestyle that gives [us] money that lets [us] afford the boat. Maybe in the old days you had to be really wealthy people [to have] cruised around. In one way, [we] wouldn't be able to do it unless [we] had [our] modern lifestyle but on the other hand it makes you want to get away as well.

(Cruising man 334)

Subsequently, the desire to 'cast off' from society and 'to go cruising' is paradoxical. Although cruisers seek to escape society, without society they can not achieve the wherewithal to cruise. The modern lifestyle provides both the 'push' and the means - the finances for cruisers 'to get away'. However, for most cruisers the connections
are not completely severed as financial and familial linkages are generally maintained and organised to achieve a ‘relative’ freedom from the centre.

For some cruisers, ‘freedom’ in the margins means ‘getting away’ from their usual environment – in getting away from city life, hectic routines, lives with no adventure, or challenge or fun:

I just wanted to get away from the city. I didn’t want - I just wanted to have some adventure. I’ve always really liked to travel. We’ve done a lot of travelling without being on the boat. And I love tropical islands and we love scuba diving and swimming, and just experiencing different cultures and different challenges and - I just wanted to get out of town! I just wanted to get away from [my home town] and then have it be a lifestyle. It’s fine going away for a two week vacation to the Bahamas or something but that’s just a little blast of unreality. I wanted to change my lifestyle completely. ... I just wanted to have some fun, to get away. We worked a lot, a long time, worked hard and we just wanted to get away and cruise, just change our lifestyle.

(Cruising woman 399)

Similarly, the following cruisers articulate a need for ‘change’ as well as an identification that cruising is a cheaper alternative for them to pursue a life in the margins. A life which enables long term ‘freedom’ of movement as a result of travelling with all their belongings aboard and vested in the boat:

I think the sailboat is more a means to an end than it is. The sailing experience is not quite as important to us as just the ability to go some place. And we wouldn’t financially be able to go and live in these countries without a place to stay. And everything we own is on the boat and so, at least we have our belongings here and - ... and it just
gives you an opportunity to see things that you wouldn’t be able to financially or physically see, probably.  

(Cruising man 400)

The ‘push’ for other cruisers was the ‘dis-ease’ of modern living. In fact, one cruising man indicated that he had had a wake-up call, regarding the stressful life he had been living:

Well, I feel that stress is a major problem in our lives today and I feel that getting away on a boat, there’s only one thing you can worry about and that’s the weather and you can’t do anything about that anyway, so I think it’s a great stress reliever. I had the misfortune to have a melanoma [diagnosed] in [one of the ports we entered] and I spent - I had two major operations [there] and I’m quite sure the situation was caused by - stress so once I got over that, I was determined to do more and more cruising.

(Cruising man 392)

Cruising can also be pursued because of a dislike of bureaucracy and conformity to centre values and norms. For some cruisers, it enables you to ‘beat the system’:

Uhm, it’s a relatively simple lifestyle as well; I sort of get a feeling of beating the system to some degree. Like you are able to live on a fraction of the costs - that it would cost you in suburban life, yeah.

(Cruising man 334)

And it can also be a means to ‘escape’ political instability:

Well we started sailing in South Africa, 366m decided to build a boat and mainly for the purpose of getting out of South Africa and leaving the country. We did a bit of dinghy sailing just to get the feel of what it was all about and which way the wind was blowing. Then 366m
built the boat and I hadn’t had much experience in sailing at all and we just set off. … we sold up everything and [we left].

(Cruising woman 365)

While cruisers identify society at large as a ‘push’ factor, many of the 35 cruisers directly targeted ‘work’ as an institution which specifically caused disillusionment, as well as stress and illness. In particular, one cruising woman implicitly commented that work habits associated with the ‘Protestant work ethic’ was the trigger for her ‘escaping’ society and a premature death:

372m is a workaholic and I’m inclined to be that way too and I know if we stayed on land that we’d just work ourselves into a grave. And I didn’t want to go that way. I’d rather die at sea doing something fun!

(Cruising woman 371)

A disparagement of work habits and of work is iterated in cruisers commentaries, particularly work which is boring and routinised as well as stressful:

The ideal of [the cruising] lifestyle appeals to me and the idea of having long extended holidays instead of working in a dull routine job is more appealing. … It’s healthier and not only physically but mentally as well. There is a lot less stress. As far as the 9 to 5 [mundane job goes], at least while we are cruising we have set goals for when we go into - mundane jobs. We can say well, this is only going to be three months before we see the end to it, so it’s not so tedious. And we have a goal to work towards.

(Cruising man 330)

Consequently having autonomy, responsibility and connection with ‘work’ is more satisfying for cruisers than mainstream types of ‘work’. Further a better balance
between ‘work’ and ‘leisure’ time reduces dis-ease (stress and illness). Cruising also enables flexibility and removes time wasting activities such as commuting:

Flexibility that this can - in my case - every job - it doesn’t matter how interesting has very boring periods and when you get really bored on a boat, you say, “Where else can we go?” You’ve got that great flexibility of ... you don’t have to be there! ... You can’t do that any near as easy with a job! And another aspect which has occurred to me is I hate commuting! I loathe sitting in queues morning and night. That’s been one extremely refreshing thing, invigorating!

(Cruising man 398)

One of the specific appeals of cruising, is that it enables cruisers direct control of and association with the outputs or the achievement of the goals of cruising, there is no alienation as you are your own boss:

I’m my own boss. I don’t have to listen to anybody dictating to me. If I do, it’s the Customs, or the Immigrations, or something like that! They dictate to you but they’ve got their rights to dictate to you because you’re a visitor to their country. They’ve got to make sure that you know the rules of the country, etc. So you just have to abide by that, listen to these wallies and once you’re clear of them, you sort of go your own way again. But here [Australia], I must confess that Big Brother is watching you and I can see that it’s - I’m not going to feel as easy here, as I did in New Zealand. I’ve heard horror stories where to hire a car, you have to let the immigration know that you’re moving ...

(Cruising man 416)

In reality, from time to time, as just noted cruisers still encounter the bureaucratic constraints they experienced in their former societal setting. This for some is one of the disadvantages of a cruising lifestyle:
Being under the control of foreign governments and foreign people.
You're not quite at the liberty as people think you are; to come and
go as you wish.  

(Cruising man 400)

Cruisers clearing customs and immigration aboard their own vessel

In general, however, most cruisers consider that:

... The only thing that dictates anything is weather! That's it! Other
than that, for most people, that's the only reason why you move from
point A to B, unless it's your personal desire. ... the weather - that's
the only thing that dictates what we have to do!

(Cruising woman 399)
According to cruisers, cruising does provide self determination, particularly in regard to cruising related work tasks and choice and flexibility in the 'enterprise' of cruising overall. However, cruisers are quick to intimate that whilst cruising is an alternative lifestyle it is also one which does include 'work' rather than avoids it. But it is work which enables cruisers to take charge of the tasks and when they are able to do it, as these two cruisers articulate in the following conversation:

Well it certainly compares to like the work you do out there [nodding towards an urban setting] if you could call it work; if you could call it work at all. I mean we have done work now in New Zealand for somebody else; [we were] paid to do that. But now in our daily life, as a cruising person who is working on the boat, you decide to work for yourself, …

(Cruising man 378)

To make a go of it yourself, a kind of a hobby [Laughs]

(Cruising woman 377)

It doesn’t feel like work at all.

(Cruising man 378)

Yeah.

(Cruising woman 377)

Although it is hours of work especially for me, I’m a boat builder and maintaining boats was my - should be my work. But it doesn’t feel like work out here and I can decide when to start or when to stop. And when I feel like working or don’t feel like working. That’s the big advantage. That’s almost like being like being on vacation, a three year vacation.

(Cruising man 378)

I think it is great to have a lot of time to decide whether you want to go shopping now or in an hour you want to go for coffee or things, you know there’s just a lot of time, you’re just doing what ever you feel like.

(Cruising woman 377)

[These cruisers were interviewed in a marina situated close to the centre of the city rather than in an isolated anchorage.]
Whilst some of the preceding cruisers discussed cruising as an escape from alienating work tasks, some cruisers sought the lifestyle because they did not work – they had either been made redundant or had reached 'retirement' age. Cruising for these individuals became a means to 'escape' a life of boredom and non-fulfilment, although even then, some perceived barriers were constructed as to why not leave the centre life:

I'd lost my job. ... Everything was privatised etc and they didn't want [to maintain my position] and so suddenly I was without a job and at my age. It was, obviously with the recession, especially as most of my experience, 90% of my experience, is in [large scale construction and], there was nothing going on. So I was bored, wandering around with my hands thrust in my pockets, moaning! And I was walking along the marina one day and my brother [was] apologising for getting me to do [a job for him] and I said, "For gods sake, it's what I want to do! I'll go mad I haven't got something to do!" and he said, "If I was you, I'd go offshore. You've got the right boat!" And I said, "Come on! It'd cost too much money. I need a life raft!" And he said, "I got one of those under the bed!" He's done so much off shore racing and I said, "I need a good radio!" "Got one of those!" "And I need ..." Every time I tried to put up a problem, he zonked it. So within 10 minutes he convinced me I'd be a fool to hang around with nothing to do and going quietly mad; so I went home and put it to you, and you got all keen!  

(Cruising man 398)

Simultaneously, his partner was:

I was still working part time and I found 398m was trying to take over my kitchen which is also a part of what I like to do. So we knew we had to sit down and look at [options] so we thought, "Right, we'll do this!"

(Cruising woman 397)
I was probably getting bitchier and bitchier through boredom!

(Cruising man 398)

No, you weren’t really, but it was time we - it was really - sometimes you think about these dreams and you don’t actually do it.

(Cruising woman 397)

These cruisers actualised a dream to make their lives fulfilling and meaningful through shared decision making and for cruising man 398 a life which was no longer boring! Boredom was also the reason given by some cruisers who were approaching retirement age and retirement itself was something that they sought to escape. In the main, concern for physical and personal well being in retirement was a ‘push’ factor:

[Laughs] We are a bit further down the track and if we don’t go cruising now we will never go. So we need to go while we have our strength and our body fitness and while we can still enjoy it. And I suppose while we’ve got the motivation to do it because I suppose that as you get on, you don’t want to do these things. You don’t want to do these things, you want to grow roses, well we don’t want to do that yet, we don’t want to grow roses or whatever people do in gardens.

(Cruising woman 317)

For several cruisers, passive retirement, as evidenced in some western societies, was not acceptable. These cruisers wanted a challenging rather than boring retirement:

I think that is maybe the real answer. Is that you look at the alternatives for a retired person … (Cruising man 374)

Yeah, we see what some of our friends are doing, and it looks awfully boring. (Cruising woman 373)

However, as a retirement option or a general lifestyle option, again some cruisers iterate, that cruising is not a ‘romantic’ or an easy option as some might think:
It was kinda, I considered it - what I do at the end of my life, I got my act together and tried to retire, I thought I'd like cruising as opposed to playing golf some place or whatever! - I think we initially felt because I'd made up my mind to do it and there's an awful lot more to it that I ever imagined. However, the longer I've been doing it, the happier I've been with it so this is the kinda lifestyle I like now! Whereas its had its moments …

(Cruising man 362)

On the whole, for the thirty five cruisers who informed this chapter, cruising provides a satisfying 'style of life' compared to one lived at the centre of mainstream western societies.

Casting off the ropes: Constraints to going

As noted earlier in this chapter, the ability to adopt a cruising lifestyle can be delayed due to the 'invisible ropes' which tie cruisers to the society. Peer pressure can try to make an individual accept the social values and mores of the centre:

Uhuh, ja, they said - they said that I am crazy, yeah. Definitely, best friends said that you can't do that. I was on my own I had my business going, building up this business of my own, it was you know making a profitable situation. You know, you shouldn't give up something like that, that is in our society, uh-uh [no-no]! So it is also not in Germany, so they simply called me crazy, I sold the whole damn thing and said well, we have to take off.

(Cruising man 404)

Yeah [Laughs]  (Cruising woman 403)
Family life cycle patterns can postpone ‘casting off the ropes’, such as child rearing which delays some cruisers departures:

When I met 360m, he was about to retire and go cruising and it was just never anything, which had ever occurred to me before that. Then when we first got married, we were going to do just that and then I got pregnant with my youngest son. So that put paid to that until he was about 2 and 1/2 and then we took off.

(Cruising woman 359)

Moreover, accumulating sufficient finances to fund the cruising lifestyle can take some years to achieve:

We got this boat and we planned it. It took us 10 years basically to get everything together to go. And I think it started out as kind of, well, let’s buy this boat and go cruising. But it was just like, it’s going to be 7 or 8 years before we can retire and go and it’s wasn’t even real for years. We’re working toward it but pretty soon there it was and after 8 years of talking about it and thinking about it and planning it and everything and we were just - I was ready to go! ... We worked a lot, a long time, worked hard and we just wanted to get away and cruise, just change our lifestyle. (Cruising woman 399)

Then again the organising of personal finances to maintain the cruising lifestyle can also take time to ‘set up’:

Yes, well, we decided that we really enjoyed the cruising and would like to go to the South Pacific, but there was a number of things. I had been in business and sold my business but I had some rental property and different things that were not really - I hadn’t left them in a manner that would be self functioning so to speak, [particularly] over
a long period of time. And so rather than trying to do it over the telephone or letters whatever, we decided we would go back home and get that put to bed and put it in order. ... We put 10,000 miles on our map on that little triangle to Mexico to Hawaii back to Canada. ... An absolutely prefect shake-down cruise because we had every aspect of sailing that you can encounter and when we got home decided that it was great and so we made longer term plans.

(Cruising man 388)

However, the biggest hurdle in adopting a cruising lifestyle is:

And as I say, the biggest sever point of the whole lot is chucking up your job, chucking up your friends, chucking up every darn thing and letting those lines go! The last time in your home port and you’re just going off out into the big wide world but not knowing when you’re going to come back, which, now I know, now I’ve seen the other side of the fence, I don’t want to go back!

(Cruising man 416)

Conclusion

In their actions in adopting a cruising lifestyle, cruisers provide a variety of social critiques of aspects in their ‘home’ society which they do not like and the elements in the cruising lifestyle which are so much more appealing:

I like the lifestyle, and I enjoy the seasons. It’s great to start the cruising season again because it is the feeling of adventure and it’s the feeling of freedom. And you are not really totally, what should you say, part of this society that we don’t really want. The world is getting over populated - it is over populated, and with all laws and things on shore and things like that - it’s really isn't what one really wants, you
know. And I just like the sea, it's wonderful to come home on your boat, if you have had a couple of days ashore or three or four days you have stayed at friends' places and things like that; it's wonderful to get back to your boat. Even if you look at the four, three lines, if you have a springer one, well you think if I don't really like this place I can just cut these lines. Well, I mean undo them, and I can go and you don't go but you know that you can if you had to. And it's a nice feeling and you feel the sea connects you with even your own home town in the UK or The States or Germany or Holland or Vladivostok. It doesn't matter where it is, this line leads all the way there and if you want to go you can go. So there is nothing to stop you, it's only up to you. So it is almost a feeling of freedom, it's the last frontier where I think man [sic] can sort of get away from it all; be his or herself.

(Cruising man 332)

What sort of frontier was he referring to:

Well it's the last frontier of total freedom where, laws I mean laws do exist for the sea obviously. But it's a freedom and you are really in touch with the elements; this is what it is really about. When you are out at sea, it is only you or the people aboard this vessel itself. You are in the hands in the mercy [laughs] of the sea. And you really are in touch with nature. Nobody can help you out there; either the boat helps you if you are knocked out or whatever.

(Cruising man 332)

Explicit and implicit in his narratives are the notions of self control, freedom and variety in life experiences. Essentially, in 'casting off the ropes', cruisers sever the ties which contain them in the centre and its 'traditional mould' of life:
Most of them [cruisers] to me, seem to be doing it because it's the less hassle sort of life and that's one thing that I think ... it's very obvious, isn't it? If you're doing it, you don't want to fit the traditional mould of going to work and that sort of stuff.

(Cruising woman 407)

Specifically, cruisers in this chapter, articulated that they wanted to escape mundane and regulated lives and untenable ‘working’ conditions or destinies in mainstream western societies. Some wanted ‘freedom’ in order to gain a sense of personal control, a healthier lifestyle, and self determination. Some sought a last frontier to test themselves in away from the certainty and regulation of centre life. This notion of ‘testing oneself’ is a dominant discourse in various cruisers narratives and will be overviewed in Chapter Seven in regard to challenges and adventure.

Not all cruisers, however, went sailing to escape or to gain freedom. Some cruisers were interested in the cruising lifestyle because of a love of sailing or because of a long held dream. In the next chapter, cruisers’ movements from the centre to the margins are shown to emanate from past sailing experiences, encounters with sailing icons, chance encounters and vicarious experiences.
Chapter 6

Setting Free the Sails: The Dream, a Love of Sailing and Life Flows

I guess it has always been my dream since I was a small child, I had stories read to me of far away places and exotic locations, places that one got to by journeying by boat and having exciting travels along the way. I guess those stories kind of sparked off my interest and involvement in sailing from when I was a kid. I had a small boat and my friends and I used to have lots of fun together, we would race and just muck around with boats. As I grew older I
kept sailing, I joined the local sailing club. Sometimes we have some overseas cruisers tie up to the jetty and stop over at the sailing club and they would give a slide night, I used to go along and it was wonderful to hear about their lives and their adventures. And then I thought, they are no different to me, I could do that. And so I decided I would make my dream a reality. I had to save for a while and change a few things, in the end I got there, I'm living my dream.

Setting free the sails means unlashning then hoisting or unfurling the sails so the sails may fill with wind and thereby power the boat along its designated course. Setting free the sails also means setting off after some inability to sail, either lack of wind or being ‘holed’ up in port. For this chapter, the metaphor is related to an inability to make forward progress being overcome – the vessel is now underway due to a dream being fulfilled, sailing skills being actualised into a lifestyle, or as a result of a natural progression in a person’s life flow.

In particular, sailing ‘off into the sunset’ or ‘away into the wild blue yonder’ for some cruisers has been a long held dream. A dream that was nurtured from childhood storybooks or from childhood imaginings. A dream which took people to warmer climates and away from cold ones. A dream that was ‘romantic’ that encompassed the exotic and visions of paradise. Some dreams were stirred by contact with cruising heroes, others through vicarious experiences with cruisers observed from the peripheries of the subculture.

For others, the cruising lifestyle was inspired by sailing experiences drawn from childhood, teenage years or early adulthood. Still others progressed through a variety of sailing experiences, which culminated in the adoption of a cruising lifestyle. Some who had sailing experiences in their past had to postpone or halt their involvement in
sailing for various reasons only to resume their participation in it at a later date. For each of the previous two groups, sailing was not a dream, but rather a 'life flow' or 'natural progression' stemming from a variety of sailing experiences into long term ocean cruising and subsequently self actualisation as a result of taking charge of their life's path. However, the dream or lifestyle were not always easily obtained - financial independence needed to be achieved, families required energies and attention, relationships had to eventually be broken, new relationships started, the dream boat had to be found.

The experiences of twenty four cruisers have informed this chapter. Essentially, it was men who voiced cruising as the fulfilment of a lifelong dream (11 men and 2 women). Greater balance was evident between the women and the men who sought to cruise based on a love of sailing (4 women and 4 men) although it was men for whom cruising was a natural progression from previous sailing experiences (3 men).

Setting free the sails: the dream

Childhood experiences can have long lasting affects on our psyche. One cruising man described his childhood in a northern European country as involving the painting of images of sailing boats in tropical locations:

I think it started when I was in my childhood, I mean I was crazy with water, I was crazy with boats, - when I was five, I was painting for my mother a little palm island with a sailing boat in front of it but I had never seen one. It was a kind of adventurous thing, yeah, something like that. (Cruising man 404)
9. I used to go on the luggers, a great big 45 foot open boat, clinker built, huge open boats. They used to haul them up the beach with caps [winch] and a horse! I’m that old!! Used to have old Dobbin [the horse] running around the capstan [a winch] and I used to go hare-ing around, drifting out to the English Channel with these guys. They were huge, had tan coloured sails well, they were treated canvas in those days, ... they were huge big dipping lugsails. I was really interested and I saw that that was my life. I wasn’t going to change my life to be a hotel manager or whatever! But that was what really got it into me. And then, as I say, I got my own little boats. Then I went to sea, saw the world and saw that’s a better place than I was living in, in England. So the ultimate was to get my own boat and go tracking off around the world and do my own thing. So I just worked for that ultimate aim after I got rid of the missus, or she got rid of me! I suppose we parted on agreeable terms, she wanted divorce, I wanted divorce and she wanted her freedom and I wanted mine, so that suited both of us.

(Cruising man 416)

Sometimes the dream, is a reflection of childhood experiences with a significant other:

It’s been his dream. His biggest dream was to get a boat like his father. To build a boat and this was in [a country where there were] - not really a lot [of boats]. It’s not really a sailing country. It is more so now. He saw that built [his father’s boat] and you know, they went on family holidays with the family and everything. And after his father died, you know he continued it. He literally was brought up in the engine rooms, elbows armpits in grease that sort of thing. So he really got it in his blood - so he introduced me.

(Cruising woman 303)
And sometimes although based in childhood memories, the dreams have no apparent basis. They are just there. That is until one day when the opportunity to achieve the dream is presented and the dream can be either seized or rejected:

Oh no, it was just very simple, just a dream I had for since I was small. I was always dreaming about that. And when I met 314 - he was looking for crew for company for long term cruising. ... Because I had a bad experience [working on a charter boat] I was thinking no - but 314m said “Come on, try once more” and that was it. [She chose to go cruising]. (Cruising woman 313)

Then again unexpected events, such as contact with a sailing hero early in one’s life can etch an experience deep in one’s mind and provide the seed which will later germinate as the dream and reality of long term ocean cruising. Organising the necessary finances to fund the cruising lifestyle also takes some time as well as attending to other life obligations:

When I was nineteen I saw err, Eric Hiscock and his wife in our home town in the middle of winter. One winter, and I got two tickets for his lecture. I went along and I saw his first colour slides of the West Indies that he had taken on his first trip in ‘Wanderer’. I think it was the West Indies and that was the spark. But of course the economics and sort of your life, it’s taken all these years to get there.

(Cruising man 316)

For some cruisers, the dream is more formulated than just ‘sailing off into the distance’. It may specify a goal such as a circumnavigation and serendipitous events can present themselves and precipitate the realisation of such dreams:
I don’t know, …, as far back as I can remember I’d always wanted to go sailing around the world not necessarily building a boat to do it. When I was sailing on [a] 36 foot tri, [one of] the guys [in the crew] also wanted to build an ocean going yacht. So we started talking about it and he probably had a few more ideas about it than I did. We went into partnership and started to build the two boats … and so [cruising] sort of developed from [there].

(Cruising man 312)

At other times, it requires more planning in order to achieve the dream. In which case, delays and the ‘normal’ course of life are not accepted well, commitments are not made, houses are not purchased. No physical ties to land are established. The dream becomes all pervasive in the pre-cruising lifestyle:

Oh, no it was always going to be a sail around the world sort of thing. Always that sort of dream, you know, you get all the magazines and you buy them and you read them and stuff like that, you look at the price of boats. You plan to build things and really I think probably for me, I don’t believe I am a very good dreamer. I mean I am not a very good dreamer in the sense that I don’t unless it’s got some practical - unless I can do something with it - I don’t hang onto it for very long. It’s got to go somewhere so I found that when I was looking at plans for [the boat], uhm it wasn’t enough for me. The first thing I wanted to do was reduce that dream, I guess into something that was manageable. Something that I could do at the time. And we actually spent EIGHT [emphatically stated] years saying to ourselves, we are going to buy a boat soon, so we are not going to buy a house. We’re going to buy a boat soon, we’re not going to buy a house! And uhm, we actually kick ourselves these days that we didn’t buy a house. We could have bought a house sold it, uhm, bought and sold a couple of times. And probably would
have made some money. But we never did that because it was always the thought that if we bought a house; ..., it would tie us down. We wouldn’t be able to complete this goal that we had - there’s just something about it that says well you sort of leave all hope behind sort of thing. You now, it’s probably a narrow view but that’s how I thought about it. So eventually, I think it was only when I started to [work at a new location]. I had one year that I just hated it and hated it. I said to 335w that’s it, we’ve got to do something about it. 335w wasn’t enjoying it much very much either. So we decided that we were going to buy the boat. ... and we’d go sailing and that’s what we did.

(Cruising man 336)

Sometimes the fulfilment of the dream has strict timelines due to other life commitments. The opportunity comes once and must be seized despite the limitations:

When I was a small boy I had a small boat and when I went to work I worked on tanker ships, so the sea has been a part of my life but not always sailing and now I am on this boat with 384m2.

(Cruising man 384.1)

For me boats have always been a part of my life too, when I was 12 years old I had a little canoe, and when I was 19, I went on a training ship. After that, I got my own boat when I was 25 an AB sailor. I joined the commercial ships as a deck officer and navigator and I studied to be an engineer. Then I became a teacher of navigation and I am now retired and sailing around the world. To go cruising was not always a possibility because we have been working but now I am retired and I can do it. (Cruising man 384.2)

I use to dream about it and because I am alone I can spend the three years with 384m2 to do this trip. (Cruising man 384.1)

So you have been cruising for three years now? (Interviewer)
No, no, in three years we will be back in Europe, in July, 1994. ... I am married, I have a family back home, sometimes my wife comes and joins me when I reach a place but she does not like sailing and I do, so I have three years to do this trip in only.

(Cruiser 384.2)

For some cruisers, the dream may be unrelated to childhood experiences, or previous sailing experiences. It may be related to a vicarious experience of the cruising lifestyle, an observation of the 'other' from the peripheries:

I'd been in Real Estate and I could see a recession coming and I said to 409w one day, "We've put all the good work in - in the next few years - we should be doing what that boat's doing, it's slow going though. It's a cruising boat." (Cruising man 410)

We had a couple of drinks and I said, "Why not!"

(Cruising woman 409)

So we did! So we started. That's how it happened!

(Cruising woman 409)

It's something that 401m must have always wanted to do because his kids said in the past that he would do that down the track, "Oh, this is what you've always wanted, dad!" Remember them saying that?

(Cruising woman 409)

I've spoken about it many times over the years.

(Cruising man 410)

It must have been something deep within him.

(Cruising woman 409)

Yeah, probably as a kid you sort of get these sort of dreams, don't you. (Cruising man 410)

And I was the same. I knew people who had big high sort of boats, cruisers, and they used to go up to the Whitsundays to the winter time and I used to think to myself, "Oh, that sounds so romantic!" All
that sort of stuff! That was my reason so separately we probably both
had the dream but, I don't know. Then we did it!

(Cruising woman 409)

And in reality, some dreams will never be achieved and neither will satisfaction with
life:

It started with a dream they had. I think they need this kind of dream
and they have some kind of illusion what it is all about - cruising.
And they are seeking some kind of paradise, that's why they took off
because they got fed up with the society, definitely. They find out
later that this paradise never existed, nowhere is it existing.

(Cruising man 404)

[Laughs]  
(Cruising woman 403)

So did we! [Laughs].  
(Cruising man 404)

But we were not looking for paradise.  
(Cruising woman 403)

Well, no maybe not straight [out] but hoping that we would find some
place that is close to paradise. To be honest with you, this is not the
case - never nowhere [There is no paradise]. There are a lot of
dreamers - if they dream only, they stay at home. They keep their
dreams until they die, but [those who are] ready, they are prepared to
do something for it - with the dream and here they are. [Cruising and
fulfilling their dream like us.]  
(Cruising man 404).

Setting free the sails: a love of sailing

Cruising can also be an attempt to successfully recapture a special moment occasioned
out of a love of sailing. A love which does not diminish with experience:

We moved to [a west coast city], we bought a 35 foot boat, a wooden
classic, beautiful boat. We took it up … and we explored Canada in it
and the islands and it was on that boat when that picture was taken, [cruising woman 339 points to a framed picture on the saloon bulkhead of an idyllic setting] 340m and I were alone. We had had such a magic day and we looked at each other and said wouldn’t this be wonderful just to do this for the rest of our lives? That was the seed for cruising. That’s when - we had thought we could do it in that boat. It was a really good boat, but it had - it wouldn’t have been a good boat for what we are doing now. So then we decided that we needed a bigger boat. So we bought this hull and here we are.

(Cruising woman 343)

So it was just that experience that triggered off? (Interviewer)

We really did love sailing, just the act of sailing was so much fun …

(Cruising woman 343)

Instead of a love of sailing, a background of sailing experiences and enjoyment of sailing can also move one into a cruising lifestyle.

**Setting free the sails: a life flow**

A significant background of sailing experiences throughout one’s life can also cause one to flow from localised sailing experiences to a cruising lifestyle and ocean crossings. Again, life experiences and relationships can either serve to facilitate or hinder the achievement of such a flow:

Let’s see we had uhm, a 17 foot deck racing canoe that was called a Suicide appropriately enough, you sat out on sliding seats to - this is before they had invented trapeze and that was a really fast little boat. And then we had an 18 foot cabin sail boat, well, the family had that. Then I bought a - mostly they were cabin sail boats but I raced. I had a 24 foot sail boat that I raced [back home]. I was an officer in a ... Yacht ... Association [back home] and Fleet Captain of several
years .... Then I had a fast cabin sail boat but it was basically much more a racer, and uhm, I had that for four or five years. After I was divorced from my first wife, I lived on that boat in California. For about a year until I couldn't stand it any longer and then I got this boat which would be bigger. But I never really had any intention, I mean there was never any explicit idea in my head to go ocean cruising. Uhm, maybe it was - maybe just an understood life flow - I don't know. I mean - but I never remember saying at the age of forty or fifty uhm, saying - oh boy I need ten years on my boat to go cruising. Or even at anytime of my life, it was always just - I had other things to do. And uhm, when I bought this boat to live aboard uhm - it was the first time it ever occurred to me seriously that I might end up going ocean cruising because it was the right kind of boat, pretty much the right kind of boat to do that it. It seemed more plausible so I think that's the first time for me that it really started to gel. And I was single at the time, and then I met 373w the villain of the piece [Laughs] and I was ready to go before I met 373w really. I was ready to retire from where I worked but 373w had at that time a 14 year old daughter and I kept trying to get her lie about her age and claim that she was 16 [so] she might leave home [Laughs]. Anyway we got married at any rate, and we just stayed around for another two years and finally when the poor child, when the youngest daughter, turned 18, we said that's it. We got her all squared away in college and said we're gone. (Cruising man 374)

On reflection the above cruising man commented that the fulfilling of one goal, opened the way for other goals to be determined or identified:

You know, it's not, it use to be that I would imagine when asked that question [why do you go cruising?] that I would say well, because we
love sailing. Well you know you do a few ocean crossings and you soon learn to not love sailing [Laughs]. So it’s not that.

(Cruising man 374)

We don’t go out for weekends any more like we used to if we were just to sail we don’t do that any more do we?

(Cruising woman 373)

No

(Cruising man 374)

It’s transportation now.

(Cruising woman 373)

No it’s almost by process of elimination, … I think, I think, part of it is, that on a pretty limited income you can live pretty darn well.

(Cruising man 374)

Some individuals pursue a romantic dream which involves sailing off into the sunset, others aim at a circumnavigation, still others love sailing and want it to be a significant part of their life because of the enjoyment and rewards it brings, still others progress through sailing experiences into a cruising lifestyle. For all the cruisers, life courses and life cycle commitments impacted on their actualising a cruising lifestyle. However as some cruisers mentioned in their narratives in this chapter, cruising was also seen as an adventure.
Chapter 7

Sailing Close to the Wind:

The Challenge – The Adventure

The wind is howling and screaming through the rigging, the headsail is furled so much it is more like a handkerchief, the main sail is reefed right down, we are sailing close to the wind trying to make some forward motion. Things are not going well. This is not what
cruising in the tropics is supposed to be like. Where is the sun, the
downwind sailing, the carefree lifestyle?

We are exhausted, I am seriously thinking why am I doing this, this
is not fun, or enjoyment. Here we are humans battling against the
weather and here is the boat. She rises and meets each wave, each
blast from the wind, she is measured and she is sure, yes, she falters
but only momentarily as she reasserts her forward motion and her
speed, her direction. And then I realise that she and I are one, she is
the vessel but her path is only sure because I am also orchestrating
our forward motion, I am holding her nose up into the wind, I am
helping to bring her back on course each time a wave knocks us off,
together we are battling this storm, and I am humbled, an inanimate
object does not loose her cool, it keeps on. Well, I am not inanimate,
and yes I am tired and yes I am exhausted, but if my boat can endure
then I can too and endure I will. The waves continue unabated, the
seas hiss, the wind in the rigging screams, the boat shakes, we
continue our path forward.

My partner's head pops up with a cheery smile and a hot cup of tea,
time for change-over, and in those few moments, in the juxtaposition
of images of a furious sea, the purity in purpose of the boat, the smell
of tea and the smile of my partner, I know that this is life and this is
living and yes, it is hard and at times I wish I was elsewhere, but
together we are facing challenges and we are having an adventure and
this passage we will share with others who have travelled similarly
and we will all smile knowingly, we have been tested and not found
wanting, we have endured and we have yes, in hindsight, we have
had fun.
In ‘sailing close to the wind’, cruisers risk moving into a ‘no go’ zone in which the sails of the boat will start to flap and forward movement will be compromised. In the ‘no go’ zone, a zone described within 30 degrees either side of the wind’s direction, the sails depower due to the angle of the wind on the sails being reduced which subsequently results in a reduction in sailing efficiency. Cruisers may choose to sail close to the wind to hold a course without having to tack (undertake a zig-zag course across the path of the wind) in order to ‘save time’ as tacking takes longer, or because of hazards in the water preventing a tacked course being undertaken. This type of sailing requires skill to keep the sails filled and not flapping and the boat moving forward efficiently. It is thus a challenge for the cruiser to keep the boat moving. Another interpretation of the term is behaviour which is approaching the borderline of acceptability. In this chapter, the notion of ‘sailing close to the wind’ as the overall challenges associated with cruising, and behavior which is borderline as in ‘adventuresome’ (the ‘no go’ zone) rather than ‘normal’ (life at the centre) have been applied.

Of the long term cruisers, who were interviewed twenty described challenge and adventure as reasons for pursuing a cruising lifestyle. Specifically, 7 cruisers (5 men and 2 women) were motivated by the challenges cruising provides and 13 cruisers (4 women and 9 men) were motivated by the adventure of a cruising lifestyle. From these cruisers’ perspective, cruising provides an opportunity to live a lifestyle, which is simultaneously challenging and adventurous. It involves hard work and taxes the ability, skills and knowledge of cruisers and sometimes even their endurance - their ability to survive. The challenges and adventures can cause self-doubt and even questioning of the lifestyle. However, having met the challenges of their adventures, cruisers describe feelings of euphoria, and self-satisfaction. These feelings of accomplishment and the thrill of success, sustain them and cause the memories of the difficult times to fade and the memory of their achievement in their quests to dominate.
Thus, this chapter provides further insights into why people choose to go cruising, particularly, why some cruisers seek challenge and adventure. In their quests, their ultimate goal is success and in the process they receive clear and unambiguous feedback concerning their efforts – the sea as some cruisers state is unforgiving with mistakes. In achieving their goals, cruiser narratives evidence a sense of self satisfaction and feelings of accomplishment even euphoria in achieving the goals they set themselves. The chapter concludes with one cruiser’s self-reflection on the personal gains obtained from meeting challenges and pursuing adventure in a cruising ‘style of life’.

**Sailing close to the wind: the challenge – the adventure**

Challenges in the cruising lifestyle can come from various sources, such as personal goals, boat maintenance, the lifestyle, and navigation. Specifically, challenges can be self-imposed through personal goal setting:

> For me it’s because of the challenge, it’s a personal goal, it’s a challenge for me to go to Papua New Guinea, I’ve got to do it, I want to do it. It’s my goal.  

(Cruising woman 351)

For others, the challenge is all pervasive in the entire cruising experience, no matter whether underway or at anchor or in port:

> It’s hard to maintain the boat in some of these exotic spots. You can’t just go down to your local boat repair and buy a pump part or something, so I kinda think I had to organise - you have to organise yourself a little bit. Well, I kinda enjoy that. I like the challenge of the whole thing!  

(Cruising man 362)
Challenge can also be more definitive, such as the challenge in navigating one’s vessel to the desired location without relying on technology to do it for you or to support you:

To some extent technology takes a lot of the challenge out of it. It applies particularly with the navigation if you’re using a GPS [global positioning satellite equipment which fixes a boat’s geographical location on the world’s surface]. It’s so easy. It takes an awful lot of the challenge out of it. It takes a lot of the point of doing it out of it. The challenge is - you’re going off and doing it on your own. You’re not doing it on your own [with all that technology]. ... A lot of people are doing it because they’ve got that bit of security [with technology], or they think they have! Actually, you’re still on your own, very much so, but ... I think the technology is what is encouraging people to do it and that’s why you’re getting more people doing it ...

(Cruising man 368)

Challenge can also arise from the fact that you have to rely on your own skills to get yourself through challenging events in the lifestyle. In meeting challenges, sometimes cruisers move into a ‘flow’ state in being in balance with nature and their surroundings, other times they are conscious of their surroundings and their lack of ability, though mostly this does not deter them from going to sea again. In meeting such tests, the cruisers learn and improve their self competence:

...When you are out at sea, it is only you or the people aboard this vessel itself. You are in the hands in the mercy [laughs] of the sea. And you really are in touch with nature. Nobody can help you out there; either the boat helps you if you are knocked out or whatever. But it is this sense of being in touch with the elements. It’s I suppose it’s an adrenalin high or it can be another thing. It can be so stupid that you don’t really realise what the sea is capable of doing - I mean
if you get out in gales. I have been in some terrible ones in the Bass Strait and I have sworn I would never go to sea again but I know that is stupid. I'll always have another crack at it. It's a great sense of achievement to reach that port when you have been out in that gale for two or three days. And people talking to you on the radio and you are thinking, oh my god, am I ever going to see land again or a car? Not that I want one, I hate cars but even I wouldn't even mind seeing one of those. And suddenly out of the blue there you are and it's a great [feeling]. It's - you feel you - oh, I've really - I've made it.

... it is not a sense of self destruct. I mean it's - I'd rather sail in a 15 knot breeze any day with a nice clear sky ... I mean nobody wants to be out in a force ten gale [48 – 55 knot winds and 9 metre waves] but when you come in after having been in one there is nothing better, even though you hate the day, is to come into port, light the oil lamp [signifies a ship at anchor] and put the kettle on and by then you have forgotten all about it. But that's the love – hate relationship of the sea.

(Cruising man 332)

This love-hate relationship, makes cruising an adventure. An adventure, which can test your ability and move you out of comfort zones (and challenge you at the same time). Such reasons for going cruising are evidenced in this cruising woman's narrative in which she describes why she went cruising in the first place:

For the adventure I think, for the adventure, it interests me to push myself, and because I am with like a person like 336m if he was quite content to - It's not something that I think I would have ever initiated myself, I think I will probably slot into suburban life as well. Well, I would have whether I will now or not, I don't know. But I think I have come to realise that - that you do get a lot of benefit out of doing things that are a little bit hard basically. ... I think so and the other
thing for me personally, it makes me get out of my comfort zone as 336m calls it. ... that is a big plus for me, but basically yeah, that’s it in a nutshell.

(Cruising woman 335)

In a sense, moving outside a personal comfort zone, is similar to undertaking an adventure because of the risks involved. Taking risks in ‘no go’ areas can enhance one’s life experiences, as cruising woman 339 states:

I think the reason why I started and the reason why - is because I am always game to do anything. I always have been and I hate sitting anywhere for any length of time. I just want to meet people, I mean that would be the reason why I did it in the first place. I’d like to go hot air ballooning, I’d like to go flying - yes I’m one of those people who likes to give anything a go, but cruising now - I love the lifestyle.

(Cruising woman 339)

Towards the end of her narrative, cruising woman 339 makes a poignant point which is true of other cruisers and that is, cruising motivations change over time. When she started cruising it was for the risk taking nature of the activity, now it is for the lifestyle. Further, motivations for cruising may be multiple in nature, as suggested earlier, and reflected in preceding and following narratives. For example, cruising man 406 notes that the need to enhance one’s life experiences through adventurous pursuits was also linked to a need to experience different things and peoples:

Well, errr, you get to see new things and get to meet new people and have mild adventures in this lifestyle and you get to met a lot of people with a great deal of common interests. (Cruising man 406)
For a number of cruisers, the quest for adventure is coupled with enjoyment of the lifestyle - a lifestyle which provides diversity in experiences and adventure in an 'exotic' life in the margins, and sometimes the need to make compromises in stop-over locations:

I guess [I go cruising] because of the adventure and something new. And it's an exotic life so - and it turns out that it really is that, you know? And the chance to meet a lot of different people and see a lot of different places, and to be by yourself, I like to be by myself so - we have enjoyed - at least I enjoy the secluded places better than when there is people. A few people is okay. I'm not a people person, like 343w is. So I like the anchorages where we are by ourselves and I like days where I don't have to do anything but do what I want to do.

(Cruising man 340)

To reiterate, the reason for going cruising can be manifold. Primarily, for the cruisers who inform this chapter, diversity in experiences along with adventure and challenge were complementary discourses:

The travel, the adventure, ... Having just a tremendous mix of things and sights and, yeah. ... Do you say those are the reasons we go? [To her partner] The adventure, the excitement of the travel, blending in with the communities and seeing things you can't see any other way?

(Cruising woman 389)

Oh, the challenge of doing it, the adventure of doing it. You get to see the new things and meet the new people I suppose are primary motives for me.

(Cruising man 406)
However, as was noted in Chapter Five and by cruising man 332, the challenge and the adventure of a cruising lifestyle are not easily won. It involves hard ‘work’ even for simple tasks such as grocery shopping. Whilst this hard ‘work’, may be considered as a disadvantage, most cruisers accept them as part of the cruising lifestyle and its challenge:

Yeah, I think you do it accept the [disadvantages] in the main, objectively you say you shouldn't really accept this because it is such hard work - I mean it is certainly harder than living in a house and having a car and all that. But you know, speaking from a more emotional level - it’s sort of fun, and a challenge and an adventure, to feel real thrilled about the fact that you got a bag of groceries back to the boat and it’s …

(Cruising man 374)

A real accomplishment …

(Cruising woman 373)

It’s kind of silly but arh, it still is rewarding …

(Cruising man 374)

I think it is so outweighed by getting to spend so much time in each country that nothing seems like much of a negative.

(Cruising woman 373)

Whilst cruising can be hard work, one of the advantages of a cruising lifestyle which makes the quest for adventure and challenge and associated pursuits bearable as a long term venture is the fact that cruisers are traveling with their own home. They travel in a sense with their own ‘environmental bubble’, their boat buffers them from some of the challenges and provides a sense of security:

Why do we go cruising? I think it’s a wonderful opportunity to see and discover the world and still have your home around you and the adventure and challenge is a part of it as well. We find it exciting and we enjoy meeting people which is a big part of cruising because you
meet a lot of people. And it’s great to be able to learn how other people live and a little bit about their culture.

(Cruising man 388)

Cruising then is tempered by security by travelling with one’s own boat, at the same time, cruising provides a lifestyle of diversity, of challenge and adventure which results in feelings of excitement, thrills, and satisfaction.

**Sailing close to the wind: Self satisfaction and self actualisation**

Satisfaction is experienced by cruisers by being in control of their own destinies and in achieving personal goals. It is achieved by assuming self responsibility and by taking charge of their lives. It is achieved by meeting the challenges a cruising life places in format of them and not finding themselves wanting. Satisfaction is also experienced as the they seek adventure in a cruising lifestyle in the margins. In fact, self achievement and self satisfaction are part of the ‘thrill’ of a cruising lifestyle:

There were two big milestones, for me, I think maybe for 372m too, I don’t know, I think so. But we were sailing into San Francisco under the Golden Gate Bridge. That was such a thrill. I’ve been across that bridge untold times by car but the first time to see all under it was just, oh! I can still feel how I felt and then crossing the Pacific and spotting that little, teeny hump of an island on the horizon was such a thrill. All of these electronics that we have and to know that we did make it. It’s so stupid, I mean, how can we miss it, but it was thrilling. It was absolutely thrilling and you felt a real empathy, a feeling of closeness with the old sailors but without a sextant and a compass. It’s just, oh!

[Sighs with self-satisfaction].

(Cruising woman 371)
Self actualisation is also part of the ‘reward’ for seeking challenges and adventures. Quite early in the cruising experience one becomes accustomed to the fact that cruising is not an easy past-time nor is it the romantic past-time people envision it to be:

The romantic ones are still talking about it and, ’cause I think that after the first week out, you realise that there’s a lot of baloney going on and it’s not easy! It’s not very - it’s not at all like the books. Well perhaps when you read those books, you ignore the hard parts and just pick up on the nice romantic things but when reality sinks in, it’s uncomfortable! It’s expensive! It’s worrisome! I mean, you could actually get killed out there, you know, it’s muck! It’s not a piece of cake, but there’s something there. I don’t know, a sense of accomplishment or meeting these different people that are all doing the same thing is great and you sure like it when you get some place finally! (Cruising man 362)

The sense of accomplishment was referred to by several cruisers, particularly in regard to navigation and how landfall felt:

Oh, good, yeah because it was a test of navigation skills all that, we didn’t have any electronic navigation or anything that was a good feeling of accomplishment I suppose, and it was a good test for the boat and all that. … whenever it gets really bad, you often think about whether it is worth it. I think the experiences so far have been such that they have overcome that, that feeling is it worth it.

(Cruising man 334)

Further, the sense of accomplishment, appears to be particularly heightened when cruisers are challenged in difficult times:
... I think it was only after we bought our Compass 28, and we did our trip to Papua New Guinea, that we thought, we just enjoyed it so much and we liked it. Even the difficult times we found that, that gave us certain satisfaction getting out of that, you know and that's where we are now. It's sort of extending out a little bit now.

(Cruising man 336)

However, the challenge should not be beyond the skills and abilities of the cruisers. Otherwise the feeling of euphoria, from having met the challenge and from not finding yourself wanting, subsides into a feeling of relief that one was in fact able to endure:

I think that was, I think I might have mentioned this before but I think that was, I hadn't had very many moments like that in my life where it was a tremendous feeling of self satisfaction, when I said to 335w we knew it was there, but there was an enormous tropical haze, and you knew that somewhere through there, there was this enormous bloody great big island and I said to 335w we are going to see this Brumar Island at about 2.00pm this afternoon and at about ten to two there it was out of the haze this little island, here we are, we are here. And as we approached it we were able to pick out landform on the chart and off we went. And that was a tremendous sense of satisfaction, I still have a photograph of myself putting up the Practique flag and the Papua New Guinea flag and all that sort of thing and that was great. I would have loved to, I don't know whether you do experience it every time you do it but maybe you don't. But I know that I would love to be able to capture that moment that feeling again. It was really satisfying. There was a different sort of feeling coming back because coming back it was just a sense of this is not a movie this is real life and things don't always come out. There was always the expectation, I was always thinking things will work themselves out. Then you realise hey, no this is not a movie, they don't always work themselves out and
every now and again you get hit with that. And you get a bit worried, you know, fear is not the word. On the way back, we had worse conditions than on the way over. Other things occurred that made the situation even worse and there was more to it than that. There wasn’t a sense of satisfaction, it was just a sense of relief that this is over, but not even a sense of relief, I don’t know what it was. Maybe 335w felt differently about that but I felt, I guess you expect things to work out. And that’s what I’m saying and when they do, you just think that’s the way it is and if they didn’t work out I’d be feeling “Oh, shit” why didn’t that work out. So I suspect that I won’t get that feeling of elation again but it was great the first time, I would like to be able to bottle that feeling. (Cruising man 334)

So the quest for challenge and adventure produces a feeling worth ‘bottling’ or at least causes the ‘bad’ times to fade from memory for some cruisers. Part of the quest for adventure and challenge, as described by several cruisers in this chapter, was also linked to the need to escape their ‘usual’ social setting: a need for change and diversity in life’s experiences. In reality, a quest to escape and to gain freedom and self control – the focus of the Chapter Five. For some cruisers, the joint sharing of the challenge or adventure of cruising enhanced their relationship. As we shall see in the next chapter, the experience of cruising may neither enhance or strengthen relationships. Cruising may merely serve to maintain the status quo which existed prior to the adoption of a cruising lifestyle or for others, cruising can serve to end the relationship.
Chapter 8
Caught in the Irons or Sailing Wing and Wing: Relationships

Caught in the irons

Boat under construction

It has always been his dream, to build a boat and to go sailing. So he is happy, he has his true love with him all the time. She gets all his attention now where as before he only got to see her outside work hours. I can't compete with her; it is hard for me. He is happy but I am not. I have dreams too, but they are unfulfilled, to sail around the world is not my dream, we have three more years until we return home and then we shall see. He says he will sell the boat, sell his true love, I think not. But we shall see, we shall see.
We went cruising so that we might be able to spend our time together, to experience life together and to meet challenges together. We have suffered together and we have been scared together and we have been terrified together. We have faced many challenges and we have become closer, we are more like a unit than a couple. I guess having been through what we have been through was either going to make our relationship stick or be the undoing of it. We work the boat together, we each have our roles and responsibilities, we check each other and that is important to us. If my partner should become ill and not be able to sail the vessel then I am able to get us to our next port of call. This is very important to us, that we each know all the roles and responsibilities to keep our cruise going.
'Caught in the irons' or 'sailing wing and wing' are two distinctly different sailing metaphors which capture both ends of a continuum regarding sailing relationships. At one end are partnerships which are 'caught in the irons' - one partner does not want to go cruising and the other does. At the other end are 'sailing wing and wing' partnerships in which the adoption of a cruising 'style of life' is a jointly shared goal. The decision to go cruising in both circumstances is based on relationships, although for those who are 'caught in the irons', only one person is going because of the relationship, the other is usually going for either one or a variety of reasons, such as, a dream, a love of sailing or for challenge and adventure or to travel or for freedom. In 'wing and wing' relationships, the shared goal of cruising is usually articulated in relation to having quality time with the partner whilst pursing a satisfying lifestyle.

As a sailing metaphor, what exactly does 'caught in the irons' mean? There are two meanings which have relevance to this chapter. The first refers to when a boat has moved into the 'no go' zone, already described in Chapter Seven. Essentially the boat has come up to face the same direction from which the wind is coming, resulting in the wind passing over the sails at an insufficient angle to enable the boat to make any forward motion or to move off the direction of the wind. Primarily, for some cruising women, this describes their position, because of their partner, they perceive that they are in a 'no go' zone and can not move off in any other direction apart from cruising (a direction in which they do not want to go). Another meaning is derived from the use of leg shackles as a punishment to encourage conformity aboard vessels. For some cruising women, cruising is a punishment as a result of 'conforming' with their partner’s desire to go cruising! On the other hand, 'sailing wing and wing' is applied in this chapter to mean the same as 'downhill' sailing or 'cruising down the trades'. The boat is travelling in the same direction as the wind, two sails are drawn out either side of the boat (like two wings) and balanced and the boat moves forward with relative ease, well away from the 'no go' zone. In 'wing and wing' relationships, the partnership is in balance and both partners are working to achieve a shared goal.
Subsequently, cruising relationships can be described using the two oppositional sailing metaphors: 'caught in the irons' and 'sailing wing and wing'. 'Caught in the irons' relationships exhibit conflicts between personal aspirations and personal and private space requirements, sailing ability and access to sailing and cruising knowledge. Such conflicts serve to precipitate two events. Either, the termination of both or one partner's participation in the subculture; or the reaching of a compromise. Compromises such as a specific time limit being placed on the overall cruising plan. 'Sailing wing and wing' relationships on the other hand, exhibit joint aspirations, joint value systems and cohesion. Furthermore, it appears that cruising empowers and strengthens the relationships rather than resulting in their dissolution. Obviously between these two extremes, there are other positions which relationships may adopt depending on their proximity to either end of the continuum.

In the cruising community, relationships can contribute to the determination of crew compositions aboard vessels. Specifically, whether a vessel is 'crewed' by a solo cruiser, double-handed (two people as in a partnership) or 'crewed' with either 'family' or unrelated individuals aboard the vessel. Amongst the long-term cruisers who were interviewed there were eight solo men. There were thirty nine double handed vessels (relationships) and six 'crewed' (family) vessels travelling with children aboard and two 'crewed' vessels with unrelated individuals aboard.

Solo cruisers cruise the world obviously by themselves. They do this for a variety of reasons. Some travel because they can not get anyone to travel with them; others because their partners have died. Several are alone because their partners did not want to join the cruising lifestyle. Others are alone because their partners would not undertake passages and flew to meet them in the next port of call. And some travel solo because they prefer their own company. Occasionally, some may take on board crew for the duration of a passage, though in doing so, these cruisers cease being solo cruisers for the duration the crew is aboard.
This chapter however, focuses primarily on double-handed vessels. Firstly, the chapter considers relationships as a reason for going cruising and then it focuses on relationships in general, in order to present further ethnographic data on the lifestyle itself, such as, roles and responsibilities aboard cruising vessels. The chapter also considers the degree of participation by partners in all aspects of cruising as this has ramifications for continued participation in the lifestyle and how the knowledge of cruising is constituted. Furthermore, interwoven into the chapter, are demonstrations of socio-economic factors which also influence decision making regarding the adoption of the lifestyle.

Caught in the irons? Or not?

Amongst the cruisers interviewed, there were ten women who were cruising purely because of their relationship with their husbands:

Okay, I guess I chose to go cruising because I married 306m, quite frankly, it wouldn't have been a choice if I were single or if I'd married a non-sailing person. I wasn't the sailor first in our relationship so uhm, I went cruising because that was 306m's dream, and I like sailing now and you know, I thought the idea sounded good and I was willing to give it a try. But it wasn't my life long dream. [Spoken matter-of-factly].

(Cruising woman 305)

It appears that the need for love and belonging can override all other needs in decision-making regarding cruising:

Love is the biggest and the strongest thing, I love him and he wanted to do it, so I followed. [Spoken with emotion].

(Cruising woman 357)
Sometimes it may not have anything to do with love, it may be more a need for belonging and the result of the other partner’s power to shape another’s ‘life plan’ as evidenced by cruising woman 371’s narrative, wherein she reflects on cruisers who travel down the West Coast of America before travelling west across the Pacific on a circumnavigation:

I think that most of the females were talked - coerced in some instances - and those are the ones who have left the boat before Australia. - In fact, quite a few of them left the boat by Mexico. - The women have [just] left [they just didn’t like cruising or sailing].

(Cruising woman 371)

In order to actualise a cruising lifestyle, a compromise may be reached – to enable both a relationship to endure and the adoption of a cruising lifestyle to be achieved. The following woman describes her need to be with her husband but her need not to be involved in the sailing or passage-making component of the lifestyle. She also identifies the ties, which bind her back to her home setting, in this case, not a job but familial responsibilities and property management. She also expresses her hope that he will stop cruising:

Why do I cruise? There’s more than one reason. The main reason is to be with 362m and of course I love all the places that he’s travelling but … I don’t like for instance Singapore and the next scary part, I’m not going! He’ll have somebody though, with him, so … He’ll be - He’s coming home when he reaches Singapore - he’s just coming home. [spoken assertively without looking at her partner.]

... I’ll fly home, we still have family and somebody there and cats and all kinds of things that need to be attended to and we have a daughter that’s there right now but she’s going off to school in August so we’ll
sort of trade places. I'll get home and she'll go. Somebody needs - one of us should be there [Spoken defensively]. We don't have a man - a proper manager that's there so I feel real - I feel - I'd want to leave then anyway - when we get to Bali and [I will have] really been on the boat - and then I will have been on the boat three months. So that's mainly why I go is to be with 362m and just enjoy it where he's travelling. This is the first time really, the last couple of trips that he's done alone. I've been on the boat when he gets there. He does the passages and I've usually flown to meet him wherever he happens to be and we stay and travel where ever it is by car, whatever.

(Cruising woman 361)

In the preceding relationship, a compromise has been struck, he wants to cruise, she does not like the passage making so she flies to meet him at his ports of call. Other compromises are also struck, such as time conditions being set:

[This trip] has a TIME FACTOR of two years and I know my husband is working on me to extend it to three years, he is LUCKY to have two years. [Spoken assertively]

(Cruising woman 333)

Or role responsibilities are clearly delineated:

We have a contract which is, I only go on the foredeck for recreational purposes only for short periods of time. The deck must of course be dry and as I say, I bought the inside, he bought the outside. He's sailing around the world. I don't like living without him, so I'm here. But he says I know a lot more about it than I do, but I say I don't know anything about sailing!

(Cruising woman 367w)
She says [that] - she does know quite a bit about it.  
(Cruising man 368m)

I've been sailing 35 years, but no, 368m does the sailing and I go where 368m goes.  
(Cruising woman 367)

Compromises also have to be established which enable women to have port time instead of passage time and being always on the water:

314m was just interested in being on the water in a nice anchorage, he did not [like] to be on the continent [land] to visit before meeting me. And I obliged him to go to countries, to go not only to islands, 314m ... [he] makes the tour of the world, Caribbean, Panama, Tahiti, North Australia and that's all. So I obliged him to make some stops.  
(Cruising woman 313)

This notion that men prefer sailing and boat work to port visitation was reflected by several cruisers:

I mean 377m is much better at arriving at a place and wanting to get out and see the place, I am ready to start working on the boat when I get there, get the boat in a good shape.  
(Cruising man 378)

And get sailing. [laughs]  
(Cruising woman 377)

And get ready to leave.  
(Cruising man 378)

Compromises are also made regarding life cycle patterns and related lifestyles:

Well, I'm perfectly happy with this lifestyle. I was never terribly happy living in a house. My wife was very fond of children. We had four of them and I put up with earning a living and raising kids, and she put up with going to sea and travelling by boat instead of by plane after I retired.  
(Cruising man 364)
Sometimes the compromise may seem somewhat extreme. Usually, because of maintenance factors, boats are kept to a technical minimum and energy and resources are used conservatively. However, depending on the need to achieve the dream and maintain harmonious relationships, some cruising values may be modified as in the case of one man, whom one cruising woman reported, was cruising with his wife who:

... Said she would stop sailing [if] there was no dishwasher on board.

(Cruising woman 301)

A dishwasher on a boat is considered a luxury item by most cruisers. Perhaps this woman was trying to ensure that she also had time to enjoy the locations in which she found herself; rather than being tied to galley duties and the domestic sphere of a cruising lifestyle. Or perhaps she did not want to give up the lifestyle which she was use to in her land-based lifestyle. She wanted to maintain that connection. As I was unable to interview her, her reasons for wanting a dishwasher are pure speculation.

Even with compromises, the lifestyle may not be successful for a partnership. Relationships may terminate and one of the cruisers becomes a solo sailor because the other partner does not like sailing and cruising. During my fieldwork, I had organised to meet with an American cruising woman to talk with her about the cruising lifestyle. On the day of the interview, she said that she would prefer not to be interviewed as she would not provide a positive view of cruising, that she had had enough and was leaving the boat and her husband and was going home to America. I indicated that if she felt like talking I would still like to hear her story as it provided a counterpoint to other women's stories. She declined and I did not pursue the issue as she was becoming distraught in talking about her decision to leave and I changed roles from interviewer to friend. The next day she left Australia bound for home.
Part of the dislike of the cruising lifestyle can emanate from fear, especially when women set off with their partners knowing that their partner does not know enough about sailing or has not adequately prepared for the journey:

I've met so many people who want to go cruising and forget it's sailing. The success rate in that group is very low compared to the success rate, and the reason being, that when a woman gets on a boat with a man that doesn't know about sailing she knows he scared and how is she going to cope with that? (Cruising woman 307)

He instinctively knows he's uptight or uncomfortable or … (Cruising man 308)

So it isn't that the couple don't go along together it's that the man is asking the woman to do something that she knows is inherently unsafe, so wouldn't you say that? [to 308m] (Cruising woman 307)

Well, I, it's a bit like ending up in an aeroplane with a guy who apparently doesn't know how to land it. [Laughs] Yeah, so in the back of their mind it's always the security thing there's always this security thing, they are thinking ahead, you know if he gets sick can I sail this boat and my two children back to land. And if they can't they know they can't because the husband is barely handling it himself, and he's a strong bloke, physically, the women know they can't and that's where it's at. (Cruising man 308)

Part of the dislike of cruising can also arise from being in close living conditions with a partner for twenty four hours a day, week in and week out. Subsequently, close and constant living lead to some cruisers becoming solo cruisers en-route. Such a lack of individual space and time is the direct cause of this cruising woman's impending departure from cruising:
Oh, I’ll finish in South Africa, [Laughs nervously] I don’t know what 366m is going to do. I will finish, I don’t know, we have the wind between us [Laughs nervously]. You know they get the sailing bug and that’s it. I’ll just have to wait and see maybe, he’ll sail the boat back by the Roaring Forties back to New Zealand and — … you have to adapt to being with your husband 24 hours a day [Laughs] there is no, like if you are land based, you can get away into your garden or go out to go shopping or something, you know there is a sort of tension. I miss my animals, I miss my garden, and - other things, but I enjoy the cruising and seeing the different countries. But in the end I still felt I wanted a base, because in the end all the touristy parts get a bit much. You know.

(Cruising woman 365)

Whilst the above cruising woman is able to return to her own personal ‘space’ and her own sense of ‘place’, others can not and subsequently continue to cruise ‘caught in the irons’:

... some women are being dragged out and really don’t want to go and they’ve been forced to sell their homes, their only security, to go out on this boat [with] nothing to go back to. We see time and time again where people sell up everything with nowhere to go, nothing to fall back on.

(Cruising man 390)

Then within some relationships, there are partners who will not even embark on a voyage at all:

It’s rare when you find two people who are keen on an idea. I mean some women go under sufferance we found, but ... others just simply won’t, [they] refuse to go at all. (Cruising woman 319)
The reason for not going is sometimes related to previous sailing experiences with their partners, such as weekend sailing and racing both in the active and passive modes:

I’ve heard a lot - it’s mainly from the wife’s point of view that even with racing every Saturday, it’s a big commitment for some to go down and their wife doesn’t go. Most of those don’t want to have a bar of racing which is understandable with all the yelling and screaming that goes on. But they then resent that the husband is booked up every Saturday to go down and sail and that’s bad enough without thinking of selling up and going away to do it for a long period.  

(Cruising man 320)

Generally however, the goal to go cruising is not shared:

I’d always [had] a boat afloat of various sizes or various stages and then, I made the fatal mistake of getting married and settling down afloat. Sorry to say I stayed married for 12 years. In the meantime, I’d had a couple of boats much to my missus’s dislike. She just completely refused to accept the fact that there was a boat. She looked on it as another woman. She was jealous of it. She wouldn’t even look at the boat, even if I went down and said, “I’ve got to pick up something off the boat!” she would turn away from the boat, you know!

... so then the inevitable happened. You know, divorce after 12 years and a couple of kids. She fortunately left me the house of which I had a few thousand quid to pay off and that was the sort of - my passport to selling up everything and buying a boat but that happened many years later. I stayed afloat working shore side, as I say, - but always with this, “I’m going to get away! I’m going to get away as soon as I’ve got enough money and a proper boat to do it!”

(Cruising man 416)
However, in order not to present a biased perspective of only men ‘influencing’ women to adopt a cruising lifestyle, I need to acknowledge in some partnerships the lifestyle was orchestrated by women:

I met a couple … and the woman had owned the boat when the man met her and they got married and did some cruising around Alaska and now they’ve taken off.  

(Cruising man 364)

Look at me! I’m the one that wanted to go see the world. You didn’t care. [Spoken emphatically at her partner].  

(Cruising woman 371)

Furthermore, there were relationships in which the cruising lifestyle is a shared goal.

Sailing wing and wing

Whilst some cruisers’ relationships may be akin to being caught in the irons, others are sailing wing in wing. Several cruising partnerships adopted the cruising lifestyle in order to be together:

Well in a few words, … wanting to spend more time with a partner. We found out after about ten years or so that which we have done in the last ten years was not that, what we expected to do before we married. … [We wanted] to spend more time with a partner. Which might be an unusual reason but in our case it was one of the major reasons because we figured out - We divided out – husband - for example, 80 hours a week for my job and she did almost the same. We meet each other on Saturday, and on Sunday, … we already had to prepare for the [next] week, so that was one of the major reasons. Another one based on a solid financial situation. We reduced expenses; we wanted to choose another lifestyle. We realised that we did not have to spend that much
money for doing something, which might be fun for us, which we would enjoy.

(Cruising man 302)

For some, the need to be together and to enjoy quality time together was an important motivator:

To be together? [Laughs] It is really, to be together, and to do things together and to have time enough to be together, yeah, that’s mine [reason for going cruising].

(Cruising woman 377)

Cruisers also noted that being together and moving through challenging experiences together heightened their relationship:

I do think a bit of romance comes back into the relationship. I think we found on our last trip we - we - when we were coming back we had a really horrible trip back a lot of things went wrong. We ended up having to steer by hand and we found that we could count on each other when the chips were down. You know that neither one of us went to pieces and that was something I don’t think that we would ever have found about not in that sort of way - just living the way we were.

(Cruising woman 335)

Whilst some cruisers articulated the desire to be together, others referred to the need to be together in the pursuit of the cruising lifestyle:

I think it would be dreadful to be away on your own and not have your partner with you that you can share everything with. I think for me that’s optimum. Uhm, on your own, I just couldn’t visualise that.

(Cruising man 316)
Successful cruising relationships appear to be based on the decision to cruise being a joint one and the duration open ended or containing some qualifiers:

We decided that before we left [our home country] and started cruising, our new life, that we would stop that in that moment where one of us doesn't like it any more. Wherever that is. We have the opportunity to do that. We will sell the boat - we would fly back immediately and sell the boat later or whatever. Because if that would happen - if one of us wouldn't like it any more – then the main reason why we are doing it wouldn't be there. (Cruising man 302)

Another cruiser also considers that ‘the dream’ to go cruising must be a joint one:

It is his dream, and I think that most people dream alone and then they just dream alone and don't involve their partners. It is out of the question, [then] they can not go together [and be successful] and [then that] was - realistic for us, when he knew that I liked sailing.

(Cruising woman 347)

**Cruising: From the centre to the margins**

Moving from the centre into the margins to adopt a cruising lifestyle, is not as easy for some as it may first seem, as noted before living with each for 24 hours a day can be quite trying;

We are still learning living twenty four hours together. And so we learn to live and accept, tolerate the habits and the faults of the other partner. - We have to learn to live with more compromises together. There is no space to run away, you have to fight it out.

(Cruising woman 301)
For others, the transition to a cruising lifestyle was easier based on their former life experiences together:

We enjoy being together. I guess we'd given ourselves a good test before we went on the boat because we worked in business together twentyfour hours a day for many years. And a lot of people I think they get on the boat together and they suddenly find they can't stand each other's company. And they don't really like their own when it is up to themselves to devise things to do and that's the beginning of the end of their relationship either with each other or with boating. I think also a lot of men enjoy the sailing, the ruggedness of it and when they get somewhere the port's about as far as they go. And then they are off to the next port. Whereas women perhaps need to get on land a bit. And even if it's just wandering around the shops and not having enough money to buy things I think women need that kind of thing as well as the sailing.

(Cruising woman 309)

In order to make the move, some women without sailing or cruising knowledge prepare by reading various cruising related literature. This can be helpful or not so helpful:

I was more sort of interested in the magazines which had articles about sailing with children and how to provision and you know we bought a few books which sort of said recipes in the galley and things like that. But I found the more I read, sort of frightened me a bit so I had to be in the right mind to - to you know all the things that could go wrong. That they didn't always mention in the nice side of it and the people that you'd meet it was more sort of like that. Maybe it was that I chose
to read those bits. Safety at sea and rough weather sailing and things like that. Maybe I did choose to read them?

(Cruising woman 301)

Some cruising women adopt a more physically participatory role in their preparation for cruising. For example, cruising woman 311 noted:

Well, we started first of all with a builder with a plan ... But I couldn't stay twiddling my fingers and doing nothing so from you know later on, I was full time boat building.

(Cruising woman 311)

She also went to a sailing school amongst other courses to learn about navigation and boat handling:

I went to a sailing course run by a woman, and that was a help. How to take the boat to sail it and you know because I had never taken lessons
or done any sailing. ... Oh it was great because before I always looked to 312m before to teach me how to learn to sail and all those things. And when I learned from her other little tricks that she knew and I sort of taught all my knowledge to 312. And I felt great, and I learned that you do not necessarily have to heel the boat full to get more speed out of it. And I told 312m and the boys, they use to take the boat hard. And I use to say "listen, there's no need to do that, let's do it this way and the boat will go faster the way I try to tell you." So that was a great lesson, the most important lesson, there were ten classes I think.

(Cruising woman 311)

Some women come to the cruising lifestyle with sufficient background experiences to enable them to participate in all areas of the cruising lifestyle and others do not.

**Relationships: Roles and responsibilities**

The type of relationship a cruiser has with a partner will at times determine the roles and the responsibilities adopted aboard cruising vessels, although these tend be gendered as the following cruiser's quote indicates:

Okay 301w's job is to do the pantry, purchase the food, and store it and make a book keeping, a kind of book keeping, for the stored food so you find it in the locker. Book keeping for our expenses except in a few columns; food, telephone, mail and others. My responsibility is major boat repairs, purchase of spare parts. I am the captain and we both do navigation and the planning of the trip.

(Cruising man 302)

In a majority of the cruisers, who were interviewed, women were associated with roles and responsibilities in the domestic sphere and the men with roles and responsibilities in the public sphere. In some cases, there was joint sharing of planning and navigation
and helm-work. However, for some women, participation in sailing-related activities was prevented due to their partner's association of women's roles and responsibilities primarily within the domestic sphere and/or the women's previous socialisation into such roles and responsibilities:

I don't do any deck work or I don't do any navigation or any of those things that I'd like to, but I've always said I would, you know, try and do it when the children are a little bit older. Because when we started our daughter was only one and it was really full time then but now they're getting a bit more into spending time with themselves. But food, the stores, and I do my bit, we definitely share our night watch that's very important for 304m, we do two hours on and two hours off. I am the anchor chief, putting the anchor down and 304m always is at the helm. I don't have to do the helm. So we've got our set roles.

(Cruising woman 303)

Her partner verifies these roles somewhat, though indicates that his role is more overarching:

I have to be responsible for everything, to be honest with you [Spoken with resignation and disappointment]. And she is supposed to be responsible for the children mostly, and she's trying and I think she is doing her best. But err, still I have to be responsible for everything. ... Well, of course now, provisioning is completely my wife's job. And of course cooking and washing, I never touch it [spoken with disgust]. That's all.

(Cruising man 304)
The sexist nature of roles and responsibilities is explicitly articulated by some cruisers:

We had a very sexist society. I ran the boat and my wife ran the galley. We always had someone on watch 24 hours a day. She sat out in the cockpit during her watch period and played the radio and she could, in case she decided to shove me overboard, she would be able to run the engine and sail the boat to get it back to port. - She could do that but she did the cooking and I did the sail handling and boat running and navigation as a matter of course. And she wrote the letters and did the galley work.  

(Cruising man 364)
And I guess we are traditional if you want to call it. She does all the cooking and that sort of thing and I take care of the engine and various things on the boat. (Cruising man 406)

Engine work is men's work

In some relationships there is a move towards equity in the roles and responsibilities, and sound reasoning for why this should also be the case:

I can do anything on the boat, but many of them I do slower, than 308m, but yes we do fall into quite traditional roles in many ways,
because we are particularly skilled. ... I take care of all the navigation gear and charting and making sure all the provisions are on board. It's safer to have one person completely in charge of, when we go cruising I'm completely in charge of provisions, he's completely in charge of mechanical provisions because we, you know, we divide the roles the way we are best. So yes we do choose our own roles but feel very, but ...

(Cruising woman 307)

The more you can overlap ...

(Cruising man 308)

Yeah the more you can overlap, and if something goes wrong on the boat it's both our responsibilities, we accept that because I could have been watching or he could have been watching.

(Cruising woman 307)

This notion of overlapping and checking was referred to by other cruisers, for example:

... And I do most of the navigating, she is capable of doing it, because she usually checks me to make sure I don't screw up.

(Cruising man 406)

And:

I don't know we share a lot of the responsibilities as far as cooking we both cook just as we did at home, the upkeep of the boat, I tend to do more of the kind of traditional housekeeping things and 306m does the heavier maintenance types of things. As far as when we are making a passage we both do navigation and we both stand watch. And I tend to, if it's a choice between doing deck work or having to be at the helm, I'm at the helm, really because 306m is stronger. And I would say that he is definitely the captain, in that he makes the final
decision on what we are going to do. Though a lot of times, I’d suggest reefing or making a sail change and he’ll say yeah, I think you are right. And I think he does that more now than when we first started sailing. Because I don't know, I tend to be right sometimes, he always use to be if the wind ...

(Cruising woman 305)

I use to hate to reef

(Cruising man 306m)

Yeah, well because of racing you don’t want to go slower. But what we’ve found with just the two of us it's a lot more relaxing and it makes a lot more sense to go maybe a little slower and reef earlier when you have twenty knots of wind before you have thirty knots of wind. So uhm, we kind of provide checks and balances for each other.

(Cruising woman 305)

I think it is real important to check the other person's work. And because we make errors, I make errors and she makes errors and when you are looking at numbers at night you know, plotting positions and stuff like that it's real easy to get confused and so we try to share that one I think it's important. I've heard of people where only one person does the navigation and I think that's not a real good idea when there's only two on the boat. So we try to talk it over.  

(Cruising man 306)

A mixing of gendered roles was also noted:

Oh yes there are, uhm, I’m generally responsible for captaining the boat, if you like, the navigation, uhm, most of the rigging and the sails are my responsibility, the electrics, the electronics, radio work and that sort of thing, I generally do. 311w is responsible for the food and supplies for a lot of the repairs and maintenance particularly in the fibreglassing and plumbing uhm areas, and maybe to some extent the mechanical areas, uhm, for better or for worse she, mainly for the better, does the cooking. [Laughs]  

(Cruising man 312)
This was confirmed by cruising woman 311:

NO, for example, there are some things, when I see something, looking at the engine and I see that a hose came out of the engine I will go and get my hand in there, I don’t expect 312m to come and see it. When I see electrical stuff he’ll do it, I’ll go to 312m and say have a look at it. And I, if I don’t, suppose, I don’t feel well, he’ll do the dishes or cooking. 312m he does the cooking when I am seasick he does the whole lot. I don’t think we have a specific role, everything in the boat is ours, both our responsibility, I don’t give it more I did this so you do that. *(Cruising woman 311)*

In particular, cruisers tended to share boat maintenance tasks associated with hauling out the boat on the dry, such as preparing and painting (antifouling) the hull:
Cruising and constituted knowledge

The gendered nature of roles and responsibilities is also related to who is the holder of the knowledge or in some cases who is supposed to be the holder of the knowledge of sailing and cruising. There are often barriers to women being able to gain access to this knowledge. For example, in response to how many nautical miles travelled in the four years, cruising woman 303 replies she keeps a travel diary not a technical diary:

304m knows the technical details, I've always, I do, I do always keep a diary and write everything down. It's the only thing I've really been good at. [Quiet and unconfident tone] I've written everything down. I've written every day and the anchorage and what we did and you know even the bad days, the seasick days and stuff. The only thing I could say I've really got but I will get round to it.

(Cruising woman 303)

She is barred to gaining access to overall knowledge, and her esteem suffers from this. Her major barrier is her husband's attitudes to roles and responsibilities and her specific role as key child carer of two small children.

In the process of learning how to access the knowledge required to become a cruiser, women without sailing experience, are often ‘turned off’, as they are sometimes thrown into the deep end. They enter a world in which the language is foreign and incomprehensible. When a rope is no longer a rope but a halyard, a sheet or a line. When there is not only one rope but many ropes of different thicknesses and materials and colour braidings connected to varying sails (all with different names), or cleats, or winches or block and tackles or bollards; or to other items on the boat which in turn are all assigned different locational points on the boat such as port or starboard, forward aft, to the stern. In the main, it is a world, where men have been used to sailing as part of a well practised team, who know the language, who understand the principles of
sailing and who are able to anticipate things and react within a split second of having to do something. Mostly, the woman enters this world as a novice, with a willingness to learn, often with trust in her partner to be good teacher. Sometimes the partner is a good teacher. Sometimes not, as in this cruiser's recall of learning to sail from her partner rather than at a sailing school:

No I didn't go to a sailing school [Strong tone] but I was very tempted but he was very offended. [Laughs] And in truth he did know everything I should know but often it was shouted at me. However, my daughter and I fixed him up very nicely because every time he shouted, the crew disappeared. [Laughs] But he only needed it a couple of times. (Cruising woman 309)

Whilst some women can weather the harangues or re-educate their partners to better teaching patterns others are perhaps not so lucky:

And I think, I've always maintained that it's the men that make, put the women off sailing anyway (Cruising woman 319)
Ooh yes. (Cruising man 320)
I mean their attitude that they have all this yelling and screaming and carrying on, and I mean probably in my case if I had have had a husband I probably would never have taken it up. It's just because I didn't, it was just something that I did on my own through my own efforts and by the time I had meet 320m of course, I had already established mine. But I am sure that a lot of those women if they had been encouraged by their husbands in a different way would have been interested in sailing. (Cruising woman 319)
I think it also comes down to the fact that if the woman learnt first like you did, then it's a different matter. But normally, ...

(Cruising man 320)
She's an equal partner. (Cruising woman 319)

Yeah, but they go down and they don't know anything and then you get ratty husbands, 'pick that up', 'hold what rope?', 'that rope there', 'pull on that one' and you end up with a nice argument and of course the women don't know what they are doing they have not done it before. And they are put off from that point.

(Cruising man 320)

Some cruising women have achieved a knowledge of navigation and sailing using electronic and mechanical means. Some lack the basic rudiments of sailing such as setting sails and use of sextants:

As long as my GPS gives me my fixes and as if for example the battery ran down and I couldn’t get the engine started and I, you know, the GPS quit working and if something happened to him then I would have a hard time. ... I don’t know how to navigate by stars, he does, but I don’t, so I’ve been negligent. And I know that I wouldn’t continue doing it if something happened to him, so the choice is to go with a partner. You can enjoy it much better. I don’t have the determination, I know that I could learn these things and you can go to classes and learn how to repair engines and all that stuff but I don’t have that drive to do that.

(Cruising woman 373)

Another cruiser noted that some women’s inability to handle a vessel was restricted by the choice of boat in the first place. A boat which was set up beyond the physical abilities of the women:

... But I think that if the sailing scene is dominated by a man it’s because of their physical strength and that they can do this and quite often, the women that sail [are] along for the ride. [For example, we
know of a boat], it's too big a boat - it's too big for two people. They always have to have a crew member on board. The woman could never ever handle that boat by herself. And that was a consideration that 372m voiced more than I did that, when we sold our 29 foot, I could sail that by myself. I used to race it, but with a woman crew I could race it, but that was a consideration that the next boat we bought would be one I could handle alone, and I think quite often men don't do that. They think: “Oh, God, I want this great big boat. It's so beautiful!”  
(Cruising woman 371)

Apart from acquiring a boat which is beyond the physical strength abilities of their cruising companion, some men deny access to knowledge through their behaviours:

I think that, well my feelings are two things, two ways that way. Some people make a big mistake. Some men make a big mistake in completely dominating the sailing scene to the point where the woman doesn’t know enough about sailing the boat [strong tone]. If the guy falls overboard, or died of a heart attack or something, that female’s stuck out there. I mean, she’s not - and so, 371w here, if I ever was to fall overboard or die tomorrow and we were in the middle of the ocean, she’d get that boat home because she can handle the boat [assertive tone].

(Cruising man 372)

Certainly to the next port!  
(Cruising woman 371)

And I think that’s, to my way of thinking, that’s important the female know how to run the boat and quite often, it’s not the case on a lot of boats. So that’s one thing we’re sure of. I think in most cases the man leads the show on the boat though and that’s about it, I guess.

(Cruising man 372m)
Yes, I think, 372m's right in that respect. There are some boats where the men still do dominate and not listen to the woman which I think is a mistake because ..

(Cruising woman 371)

They may learn that way once in a while too.

(Cruising man 372)

Well, I think it's just a male ego thing. I think women are better at detail, little detail than men are and men look at an overall picture and women look at the finite. Now, I'm making a generalisation here, but I think that if a couple, whether they're man or wife or whatever, can come together and cruise together and appreciate one another's attributes, which is sometimes very hard to overlook, on both sides. ... I think that it makes for a very good working partnership and it makes for a good understanding, what men are like, about what women are like, and maybe each of you appreciate the other sex a little more for their fine points.

(Cruising woman 371)

Another cruising woman with sailing knowledge saw that the lack of transfer of knowledge by men to their cruising partner as intentional:

It is hard to generalise, but the women that I have seen don't have the skills, they leave it to the man. It is not a good idea [Shakes head from left to right]. The men say 'This is your responsibility: stay in the galley'. They don't let the women gain the skills. It is not right. The Americans keep their women there. [Uses a gesture to indicate under the thumb]. Hmmpf.

(Cruising woman 357)

So you think it is important for women to be able to sail the boat by themselves?

(Interviewer)

Of course, if something goes wrong what will they do? It is important for safety.

(Cruising woman 357w)
Some cruisers go cruising to be with their partners. The type of relationships cruisers maintain aboard cruising vessels varies and may impact on the roles and responsibilities assigned aboard cruising yachts as well as the acquisition of cruising knowledge. Cruising woman 343 provides a summary comment on cruising relationships, from a woman's perspective:

Yes I have some strong ideas about that. In our early cruising we met a lot of boats with very unhappy women aboard, and uhm tried to figure out why they were so unhappy, because I love it I think it is really fun I like the sailing I like living on the boat, I like dealing with the challenges of sailing, I like the navigating I like it all so much and I couldn't figure out why they were so unhappy. There were several things that I discovered that a lot of them were passengers, a lot of them the men did everything so the little women didn't have to do it at all. Most of them had lovely homes that they weren't living in, that they had to leave behind whether it was temporary or permanent. A lot, most of the unhappy ones, had not lived aboard before they left. They just stored the things, rented the house, got on this little boat and took off and it's a great adjustment as you know, living on a boat is much different to living in a house. And they, the adjustment was made all at the same time that they subjected themselves to offshore passages and I felt that was a real mistake. A lot of the boats, well this is a very comfortable boat as you can see, and I have a very good galley which I designed and it was made to my specifications and it works real well. A lot of the women had to deal with galleys that really were horrors to work in. And I could understand why they felt like they did. A lot of them were terrified because if something happened to their husband they didn't know what to do with the boat. They didn't know how to navigate and so they were not only unhappy but they were afraid. So that's what I think about the women and I haven't seen anything to change my mind. The happiest women that
are cruising are the ones who participate in the sailing and the whole lifestyle. (Cruising woman 343)

Consequently, one cruising woman’s advice to would be cruisers was:

Does your husband or wife want to go? (Cruising woman 333)

This after all, appears to be the very essence of a successful cruising relationship, and the chief determinant of whether individuals in a partnership might be considered ‘caught in the irons’ or ‘sailing wing and wing’.

The next chapter, Chapter Nine, is the penultimate of the ethnographic chapters, and the last in the ethnographic voyage chapters for long term ocean cruisers. Chapter Nine considers the reasons for going cruising associated with passage making and travel. Both passage making and travel have been referred to in passing in several of the preceding chapters, and will now be foregrounded within their own chapter before moving on to the last of the ethnographic chapters which looks at the three other cruiser groups who participated in this study: pre-cruisers, exit cruisers, and exit-reentry cruisers and their reasons for adopting a cruising lifestyle.
Chapter 9
Passages and Landfalls - Travel

Sometimes passages are great, other times they are to be endured. Very few of us enjoy the passage making. We wanted to go cruising because we wanted to travel and travelling by boat seemed the cheapest way to travel for an extended period of time. And the other good thing about travelling by boat is that you have your own home. If the going gets tough in another culture you can always retreat into your own home. But I think cruising is the best way to travel, you get to see people, the real people of a country. You get to interact with them at an everyday level, you see how they live, you share experiences and aspirations and you kind of get to help too, we trade things and take things to places where people are not so well off. But mainly we get to experience another culture or place at the grass roots level. I guess its a bit like caravanning in a sense except you can't cross water long distance in a
caravan. You might travel by a ferry but not around the world. The boat gives you more freedom and you get to out of the way places that other tourists couldn't get to very easily.

Rather than use a sailing metaphor, the title of this chapter covers two aspects of cruising: passage making and travel. As such, the title closes the overall metaphor of a voyage – all things going well eventually landfalls are made. The two elements: passage making and travel and cruiser narratives related to these dominant discourses inform this chapter. The purpose of the chapter is twofold. Firstly, the chapter presents ethnographic data on passage making including the nature of passage making – ‘what it is like’, the activities engaged in during passages and the rules and safety routines associated with passages. Very few cruisers indicated that they pursued the cruising lifestyle because of desire to undertake passages and sail. Several who did indicated that whilst passage making had been an initial motivation, it was no longer the case, an enjoyment of travel experiences and the lifestyle had superseded passage making as a motivation for cruising or the continuation of cruising. However, passage making is a significant element in the lifestyle – without making passages you do not cruise, you become a live aboard sailor. Therefore, it seemed important in the construction of the narrative/story of a ‘voyage’ to provide some insight into passage making itself. It also seemed appropriate to include it in this chapter because of the title’s linkage to the overall metaphor of a voyage – sometime you are out at sea and sometime you are in port or at anchor.

Secondly, the chapter examines the adoption of the cruising lifestyle as a means to travel the world. Thirty five cruisers (24 women and 15 men) adopted a cruising lifestyle because of travel related reasons. The second purpose will also highlight some of the advantages and disadvantages of cruising as a form of travel when compared to other modes of travel previously used by cruisers. Both passage making
and travel are reported disparately in this chapter, however, they are integral parts of the overall cruising experience.

**Passages and Landfalls – Travel: making passages**

In order to be able to visit the various places, cultures and peoples, cruisers must travel varying distances between locations in all kinds of weather and sea conditions. Some passages may be of several days’ duration; others can be longer involving up to 50 days or more. The sea conditions can be calm and weather patterns kindly thereby providing pleasant sailing conditions, or the wind can be non-existent subsequently plunging the cruisers into the doldrums both as a weather pattern and as a human experience. The seas and weather can also be testing with calms - flat seas and no winds, and storm conditions - big seas and strong winds continually trying and challenging the cruisers’ skills and spirits. For some, the travelling between locations that is passage making is endured for others it is enjoyed.

For new participants in the cruising subculture, passages are one aspect of the lifestyle, which requires sorting out very early:

Well, [our first passage] was very enjoyable. Our greatest concern was having not been offshore, if - would we suffer from seasickness and just being two on board. We purposely opted not to take crew because we thought that is not the way we’re going to be cruising. So we might as well find out if it’s what we like right from the beginning, so we didn’t and it was a good passage. [We] probably encountered some of the most - heaviest weather we’ve probably encountered in, probably, in 35,000 miles of sailing. On that first passage, we had the - though it wasn’t horrific by any means, but we did have sustained winds of 40, gusting to 50, for a period of close to 30 hours, and seas probably 20, 25 feet. So it was - and yet we were not fearful. But we
were conscious of the power of the sea and all the rest of it. It was a ... we thought it really an experience, because we thought, unlike what you encounter, a whole lot worse than that; and we were able to handle that and from there on in, it was down hill, we felt.

(Cruising man 388)

Sometimes despite shakedown cruises, preparations for passages are never enough and the cold reality of life and death choices in regard to adopting a cruising lifestyle have to be rationalised. These need to be weighed up before setting out otherwise the cruising lifestyle may be plagued by fear – fear for one’s own safety and the safety of others:

It was a baptism by fire. We, uhm, getting ready for it was rather traumatic. I was working and I think we left five or six days after I finished work. We were, we had a couple of nice days out and then we got hit by the worst storm, we had the whole time on our trip. I was always quite prepared, I knew that 334m had done as much as was humanly possible to prepare the boat. The whole family was together and I had reconciled myself to the fact that if anything happened; it happened to us as a family. And I could quite cope with that, whereas I considered if we were still living ashore one of us could be hit by a car, somebody could come down with leukemia. There were lots of other tragedies that could befall you and at least we were together in this environment.

(Cruising woman 333)

The sense of being together and meeting the challenge of passages, along with a personal philosophy to accept the challenges can make life on board a boat when the sea and weather conditions are poor, bearable:

Well, it was really bad weather and we were just wet all the time. We couldn’t open the hatches, because water would just come in. So we had to keep the hatches closed so it was quite stuffy below. We were
basically focused on, I think that was one of the things that I was saying before, one of the reasons we are doing this is because we have been through that [challenging conditions] and we know that it is no big deal. Okay, we know that it is uncomfortable at the time and you wouldn’t want to relive the experience. But once it was over, it was over and it basically faded from our memories again, we enjoyed doing the cruising part, that sort of thing. So we knew that okay, any adverse conditions that we came across, we would work through them and they would become a dull memory and we would be on to more positive things. Which I think is a real plus for us, I mean I don’t think we’d dwell on those sorts of negative things very long. ... it was very wet, I know that we had salt sores on our backsides because the cockpit was wet all the time. I know that we probably stood, because it was our first long trip, we stood watches out in the cockpit constantly with someone on watch, which is probably something we wouldn’t do again.

I know there were moments when you would wake, you would be asleep and you would wake up and you would look up in the cockpit and there would be nobody there. And you would race up there and 335w would be huddled up behind and stuff like this. There were moments like that and for the rest of the time we were eating, I’d be taking sun sights. I remember wrapping my legs around the pushpit trying to get a sun sight. I don’t think we got in very much reading, I don’t remember reading. It wasn’t a comfortable trip at all and I think most of our time was taken up with resting when we could, eating and keeping watch and doing navigation. We had a log, we kept a log, I found that that was very important and wrote down every hour. I think it was every half hour, our position, how much distance we had made, what the weather conditions were like, any incidences.

(Cruising man 336)
In his narrative, cruising man 336 provides several insights into the nature of passage making and activities which are undertaken in the course of a passage – an uncomfortable passage. The correlation between weather and sea conditions and the overall enjoyment of a passage was noted by several cruisers:

It all depends on the weather. I like sailing when it’s nice weather. If it’s not nice weather, I’m very seasick and I wish that I was elsewhere.

(Cruising woman 367)

She has this wonderful expression which we learnt, I think it was American, no, New Zealand, nothing goes to windward like a 747!

(Cruising man 368)

I’m very seasick if it’s very rough. I wear the spots behind my ears, which make my [life] bearable. If it’s rough, it’s very difficult. 368m’s absolutely marvellous because at that point I just say the cooking’s up to you, and if he wants to eat, he does and he looks after all ... he does all the watches and I lie in bed and wish I was dead! When it’s lovely, I’m as happy as a cowboy! ... I’m always one with ... but it doesn’t worry me. It’s just the conditions - the bumping ...

(Cruising woman 367)

As this cruising woman just noted, poor conditions on long passages can be debilitating as cruisers try to cope with seasickness as well as operating the boat. Various types of medication are sometimes used to alleviate the debilitating effect of seasickness:

But now that we have got this great seasick medicine that's hopefully not going to be such a problem, but that was occasionally a problem!

(Cruising woman 373)

Not the seasickness just the lethargy, (Cruising man 374)

Yeah, the lethargy, very lethargic, and just to do anything it's just errrrrr. Just do what you can do and ...

(Cruising woman 373)
In real rough weather it’s still that bad, you still, it’s not a question of wanting something to do it’s [Laughs] just it’s existing.

(Cruising man 374)

I got on that long passage from Mexico to the Marquesas, it’s, we had really lovely weather to begin with but then the last week it was probably round 25-30 day and night, day and night, day and night for a week and so the seas have a chance to really build up and you have to really hold on all the time, day and night for a week and I got REALLY tired of hanging on. [Laughs] It’s just such a pleasure to stand and to be free, hands hanging at your side. [Laughs] What a luxury.

(Cruising woman 373)

Another cruising woman noted:

... I get sea sick so I have had a problem with that but I’ve just recently found a medication that I think is maybe going to work for me so that’ll make it so much better because it’s been a problem. It really is! We went from Fiji to New Caledonia and I think I was sick the whole trip! Don’t think I ate anything the whole way and I didn’t get fat at all but then, I’ve come up here with this stuff and I’ve found it’s fine, fine! I like it [making passages now]!

(Cruising woman 361)

As well as medication, personal philosophies such as those already noted by cruiser 336m can also prove useful:

When we did the Caribbean, we had a very nice send-off from the yacht club and the secretary at the club said, “Can I come down and see the boat?” She came down and she sat down below, she looked up and down and she said to me, “You’re going all the way to America in this?” So I said, “Yes.” So she said, “Good God, it’s smaller than
my bathroom!” And I looked up and down and I thought. “She’s absolutely right, it is!” And my daughter said to me, “Never mind mother, one day at a time. Just take each day as a time.” And I left Cowes going, “I’m going to sail the Atlantic! I’m going to sail the Atlantic! No, one day at a time. Just going as far as I can see. That would do it!” And that was how we got [there] when we got to the Caribbean, I was thinking, “Hey, we’ve done that!”

(Cruising woman 367)

Self talk may help cruisers get through passages. However, the natural process of acclimatisation to life at sea also helps the body to adjust and cope with the passage making:

My first really big blue water passage was from Los Angeles to Marquesas - 25 days, all the rest of my sailing has been coastal. Where most of the time we would stop every night. - When I left I wrote it in my daily log. I said “Am I really doing this?” “Why am I really doing this?” It was a little overwhelming but uhm, looking back at it, it was a pretty good passage actually, 25 days.

(Cruising woman 405)

I’ve enjoyed a number of passages, I can’t say that I have enjoyed every single one because some of them have been pretty shitty, …

(Cruising man 406)

Uhm, I enjoy them all right, I, they’re not something I dread or. But I - I enjoy being in the various places more than passage making. And part of it I guess is that it takes me a couple of days to get my sea legs and then so uhm, that probably has as much to do with it as any thing.

(Cruising woman 405)

Rigging the boat appropriately can also add to the comfort factor of passages:
And we work hard to take a lot of the fear and discomfort out of our passages. We don't have a relish of doing 7 and 8 knots every day, all night long. We don't carry a ton of sail up. We think we sail in a medium kind of range of performance. We don't go out on long, because the longer you stay out there, the more chances you are of getting into bad weather. But I think we have a nice medium. We don't beat ourselves to death for the extra knot but then.

(Cruising man 400)

So far it's worked out well for us because we've had good ... but still it's just not quite as good ... I thought we'd be sitting out on the deck in the middle of the ocean like I was reading. But yeah, you go out there, you're going to get soaked. The waves break over the bow and there's spray everywhere and it isn't exactly what I thought it was going to be like and we've done 15,000 or 14,000 miles now ocean sailing, and it just never ceases to amaze me how nasty it is out there. Even when it's nice, it's nasty! (Cruising woman 399)

Even cruisers who initially enjoyed passages sometimes come to dislike them as the number of days taken to acclimatise seems to increase. The acclimatisation process can be exacerbated by the length of time spent in port or on land prior to departure:

Mhm, I use to say I enjoyed passages. While it is an interesting point to that because I use to enjoy passages at the minute they started and later on it took me a few days to get use to it. Now it takes even a longer, and I am anxious to know what will happen in the end maybe I will end up not liking long passages because it takes me so long to get use to them.

(Cruising man 378)

[Laughs] (Cruising woman 377)

I am not sure what is happening inside there but it goes that way, maybe it has to do with how the weather, you get off, how you start.
And this time we started from New Zealand on a long, directly out of
the river where we were, we were on the hard, boat in the water and off
out the river and didn’t stop until we got to Bundaberg. And that was
hard because the boat had been out of the water for six months or so
...

(Cruising man 378)

Yeah. (Cruising woman 377)

Nobody did any sailing we were travelling by car and stuff like that so
that was a bit hard. But I used to say that on long passages it is so nice
because you don’t have to work you just put it [work tasks] on the list
that it needs to be done when you get in and it gives me a feeling that
the work has been done. It’s on the list and that’s enough for now
unless it’s serious of course. (Cruising man 378)

Another cruiser with many nautical miles under his belt also noted:

The sea side, the travelling isn’t [the appealing aspect of cruising].
There’s 2 good days on my trip and they’re the day you’re leaving -
I’m always happy to leave - and certainly very happy on the day I
arrive! 2 good days on a trip. The bits in between you can “Beam me
up, Scottie!” and then beam me back down again when I get there
because I don’t really - I should think in my 8 years of sailing on this
boat since I’ve been away, I could really count the weeks on two hands
that I’ve enjoyed sailing, but it’s been good sailing! There’s some
good sailing coming from the Solomons out to the - that’s a 7 day trip
for this old tub - that’s a thousand miles, and trundled along at 160 a
day so that’s was really good days sailing - really creaming along!
And they were good days sailing, but there again, for the first 2 days, I
just didn’t want to be here! Well it was good sailing, I knew it was
good sailing and I was looking at the log and I couldn’t believe the
speed I'm trundling along at. On the 3rd day, I thought, "It's really good sailing!"

(Cruising man 416)

It appears for some cruisers that after so many passages, the novelty value diminishes and the arrival becomes more important, as these two cruisers note:

I didn't! [enjoy the longest passage undertaken so far]  
(Cruising woman 379)

Yeah, parts of it!  
(Cruising man 380)

You don't enjoy every day!  
(Cruising woman 379)

Most of it, I would say. Really when we were going to go cruising, I thought the passages would be the part I liked best.  
(Cruising man 380)

It's a challenge. I think we really both, we've done a lot of coastal cruising and we really wanted to get some ocean passages in.  
(Cruising woman 379)

But it's always nice to get there, now.  
(Cruising man 380)

For others, the attitude to passages is more extreme:

For us the passages are a way to get to see places, they are to be endured.  
(Cruising man 384.2)

No I do not enjoy them at all, it is more fun to look at the small islands when you get there.  
(Cruising man 384.1)

In order to reduce the amount of time to be endured on passages, some cruisers use mechanical assistance to make the passages shorter, rather than waiting for the wind to power the vessel across the water:
I carry a lot of fuel. I refuse to go slow on a passage. I feel ... if you’re going under 5 knots, especially if it’s light airs, the sail takes such a beating. I’d rather turn the motor on and use the diesel up and put the money into diesel fuel instead of redoing the sails over and get there. ... I can’t stand the rolling, the rolling around and not going anywhere!

(Cruising man 362)

The doldrums were also reported as a very trying part of a passage and taxing on relationships:

Yes. We’d become good friends with [another cruiser] in the sea of Cortez, and, er, so anyway, so we kind of stayed with him, but that was psychologically, that was an interesting experience because as the days went by and no wind and the ‘slogging’ sail. Even in my journal, I can go back and read it and the words and the handwriting, it’s getting more and more violent. And we were, he and I were at one another’s throats, and on the radio, [to the other cruiser] as well ...

(Cruising woman 371)

In the doldrums, yes, they’re terrible.  

(Cruising man 372)

All it was, we were screaming, and so for, we all decided for sanity’s sake, we’d better start our engines, and it took us about 30 hours to get out of them.  

(Cruising woman 371)

Apart from starting engines, another remedy already noted by cruising woman 367 as ‘nothing goes to windward like a 747!’ is actually part of some vessels’ cruising plan in order that one or several of the crew are able to adopt and continue the cruising lifestyle:

For the passage across from New Zealand there was myself and 331w’s brother and we got two other crew members and we brought
the boat across and the wives and the kids flew over and met us in Brisbane. (Cruising man 330)

Another woman noted that:

This is the first time really [of undertaking a passage], the last couple of trips that he’s done when I’ve been on the boat ... passages ... I’ve usually flown to meet him wherever he happens to be and we stay and whatever it is by car, whatever ... (Cruising woman 361)

Despite the less than sanguine picture of passage making previously presented, some cruisers do enjoy passages:

Well, for me, passages are vacations [laughs so does 343w]. The boat is set up to really handle itself quite easily so I read. I just read basically continuously and in port I don’t get to read that much so on passages I read. And I set up and read all the time. I am on watch and I have set up a light outside, which is small so that’s what I do. I just read. (Cruising man 340)

It’s pretty much the same for me, it’s like he says, it’s like vacation. Because when you are in port there are so many things going on when we finally get away, just the two of us, it’s just like, it’s different. And I do the cooking and we both do whatever has to be done with the boat. (Cruising woman 343)

For several cruisers, the passages were so enjoyable, that re-entry into society and its hassles were reasons to slow progress down or not to make port at all:

I really enjoy passages it is not the case with 403w. I like the passage and the arrival of course, everybody likes the arrival and you are heading for something like the Marquesas and you are thinking about
it, and the moment you see it you say hey, there we are. I do enjoy the passage, and the arrival and 403w is more looking for that [the arrival], okay? (Cruising man 404)

Yes, there are long passages in between and it is part of this travelling, so I don’t go for it but it is okay. (Cruising woman 403)

I should add that when we crossed the Atlantic it was a funny feeling the day before we arrived at Barbados. We were pretty sure the next day we would come to Barbados, and it was funny feeling. After all these days on the sea that I should come into this hassle of the customs, immigration and all these other junk, and I really felt that I shouldn’t go that fast now. I mean when we arrived it was all gone, we went through the procedures that they want, yeah? But the day before was very strange. (Cruising man 404)

For some cruisers, shorter passages tend to be more acceptable than longer ones:

Well I can tolerate the shorter passages I find the longer ones are a bit of an endurance. But you get into a routine and it’s all right but I do prefer shorter ones, sort of half days or like the Caribbean when you are in between islands all the time I just prefer that. Yes, I like the sight of land it’s more reassuring somehow. 366m likes it out on the ocean he’s quite happy just sailing [Laughs]. (Cruising woman 365)

Generally, ‘passages do go on a bit’ and the desire to get to a location can become paramount:

No, it’s not really the - I’m not that - I mean, I quite enjoy it, but it’s not - it does go on a bit. I mean, I could live without it. I can do day sailing quite happily - Great Barrier Reef all the way around the world would be quite nice, would be quite pleasant. Places like this! But, I can live with it. I’ve done it. This boat’s been across the Atlantic 9 times. I can cope with it quite happily [as in accept passages as part of
the lifestyle]. In fact, we did the Caribbean circuit. We went down across the southern route and up northern little America and back. - so it’s not much of a problem but I could - I’ve got to say, I could happily do without it. It’s the going to get to places, to see places [that I like].

(Cruising woman 368)

Passages can also cause rapid mood changes:

I get - and I think you do too - get quite large mood swings. I was writing to the girls about this, and in one day, I wrote a letter half way through one trip ... You were crook too, you still had that flu! We were going from Noumea to Vila and in that one day, I went from, one night almost, brilliant moon, brilliant conditions, just zipping along, just loving, just enjoying every second of it. And then suddenly, it’ll go foul and things’ll bust and then suddenly, you’re right down in the pits again. So you’re like this, cool, and then your mood changes and these things break and you are back down again.

(Cruising man 368)

Part of the problem with long passages, aside from seasickness, is that passages can be ‘just plain boring’ and tiring:

Yeah, they [passages] are boring. ... I would say boredom from - there is nothing to look at - it’s pretty plain scenery, ...

(Cruising woman 373)

Maybe a fish. I’m always, I don’t reckon, I’m never too bored because there’s always enough, things are either broken or that I’m worried about that they are going to break that I can I’ve got plenty to do. - And then the other thing is that by standing watches the real, the real issue is getting enough sleep. Arh, so you know most of the time
you are thinking about oh boy in 1.3 hours I can go to sleep.  
[Laughs]  
(Cruising man 374)

You feel like you are tired even if you are not. You think you are.  
(Cruising woman 373)

Having considered the nature of passage making and cruisers’ attitudes to passage making, how then is time passed? Cruising man 336 indicated some activities at the beginning of this chapter, however there are a variety of activities in which cruisers engage. Obviously there are boat related tasks:

We keep an hourly log and we plot 24 hour noon to noon. We maintain 2 or 3 different radio schedules, usually a maritime net. There’s one out of Canada that we usually check into on a regular basis. And then usually possibly one other which might be whatever is operating locally which around here, we usually check into Tony’s net. And then we have one other schedule as a rule, a couple of other schedules, the one that we talk on single side band just to other yachts just to keep in touch, which is usually early in the morning. And then in the afternoon, often times, we talk with the ham in Canada and we run phone traffic, phone patch traffic to our family, so all that takes time. And we usually manage to do some reading and any little routine maintenance and ongoing things on the boat so time goes by quickly. Often times, you get to the end of the passage and you haven’t been to the end of the book yet!  
(Cruising man 388)

Reading is one of the predominant non-boat related activities undertaken:

We read a lot, well I read a lot, ...  
(Cruising man 406)

Yeah, mostly reading though I do keep like a daily log and personal one and work crossword puzzles when he’s sleeping and sometimes some needlework but usually it’s just reading.  
(Cruising woman 405)
Reading and handicrafts were frequently commented upon by women:

Well just from New Zealand up to here I knitted, I knitted a whole jersey and I found that I do quite a lot of hand crafts. I don’t know, I did that out in the Atlantic as well as the sewing and I do a bit of reading. But the problem with, if I start reading, like if I start a book, I tend to get too absorbed and I don’t want to put it down. And then I don’t want to do anything else, so for me it’s more magazines and that sort of thing. (Cruising woman 365)

Writing correspondence and journals also filled in the time:

People say, “What on earth do you do on long sea passages?” and I can never think of anything to say except, “It’s a marvellous opportunity to read!” We’ve bought many, many books and I find that unless it’s something that really captures my attention in the first few sentences, I’d rather sew. I do a lot of sewing - embroidery. I like making things for people, so if it’s pleasant weather, I sit there as happy as anything with my tapestry and cross-stitch and write letters. Write a log for the grandchildren, telling them what an absolute idiot their grandmother is. But, well, it’ll be for them when they’ve grown up really. (Cruising woman 367)

Some spend time thinking:

... “Search for the meaning of life”! [Comment made in regard to a questionnaire item]. You do that on night watches. You think a lot about, not just your life, but what it’s all about. Looking at the sky, you really realise how very small (laughter) ... you are. (Cruising woman 371)
Night watches were particularly noted for their contributions for soul searching:

I really enjoy the night watches when it’s … (Cruising woman 397)
The full moon! (Cruising man 398)
... the full moon and not hassled, not having to worry about the sails and things. I find that ... you get a great feeling of humility! I’ll stand up there and shout my poetry! You feel you’re alone there and that’s ... it is a very humbling experience and yet, I think, It’s very good for your confidence. It’s changed me a lot …

(Cruising woman 397)

Apart from night watches, day watches are maintained. Cruisers have different approaches to watch taking:

We do six … (Cruising woman 373)
We do six hour watches and uhm, and I’d say from evening on until noon it’s pretty Teutonic, I mean it’s pretty damn strict, but then from noon on then no-one is going to sleep anyway so it’s sort of whoever is up and whoever feels like it and it’s more social …

(Cruising man 374)

But we generally do, uhm, he does six to twelve, midnight and I do twelve midnight to six am and then I go back to bed in the morning

(Cruising woman 373)

Yeah, she can sleep in the mornings, that’s great but there’s no social stuff going on in the morning. (Cruising man 374)
But we will juggle it depending on when we are due to arrive some place, but that’s our standard, yeah. (Cruising woman 373)

In relationships with joint responsibility for watches, the midnight to dawn shift appeared to be frequently assigned as the woman’s shift and the day time shifts were more flexible:
And you may be interested in our watch system, 340m has trouble sleeping in the day time and he sleeps best when it is dark so it doesn’t matter to me. So we just discovered on our long passage from Mexico that if I could maintain a five hour watch during the night that would give him five hours of continuous sleep when it was dark. And that seemed to work well for him and it didn’t seem to matter a lot to me because I can catch a little sleep before I usually go on watch at midnight until five. And I kind of enjoy that time, it’s real special to be all by myself out there. And when I had the cat, he was really sweet and I enjoyed that time. And I read, sometimes I do my watch down here. I’ll do 15 minutes by the clock and go up and take a 360 look around and check the navigating instruments and mark. We try to mark the chart about once an hour just to keep a running position so that we know where we are in case something went screwy with the instruments. At least we know where we were an hour ago and we both do that when we are on watch and that seems to work out really well for us. It usually takes us a couple of nights to get up to that five hours but that seems to work really well.

(Cruising woman 343)

Yeah, that’s about all the sleep I need so basically through the day there is no set watch system. (Cruising man 344)

He likes to be outside and I like to be inside, I’m kind of a lazy slob so I just sort of lay around and read. (Cruising woman 343)

For single-handers however, watches were more taxing, and sleep patterns more punctuated with breaks:

Those [passages] are always a pain for me as a single hander anyway, because I have to stay up during the course of that. - I was coming up from Bowen, er, and it was at night and I would lie down for 15 minutes and set the kitchen timer to wake me up. And there were a lot
of trawlers around and none of them seemed to be anywhere near me or headed in my direction and I lay down for 15 minutes. I got up and here was one coming right along side me.

(Cruising man 364)

In order that cruisers aboard crewed vessels can sleep whilst off watch and maintain peace of mind, various rules are established:

We have a rule, we do not leave the cockpit at night without the other person being awake and up in the cockpit watching.

(Cruising man 396)

Even harnessed. If 396m has to go up and fix the sail, he wakes me up, no matter - we just never do that because I couldn't sleep if I knew he was going to go up there, so we just won't do that. So that's a really fast rule, then we -

(Cruising woman 395)

And the way the boat is rigged, you don't need to go up very often.

(Cruising man 396)

There's nothing we have to go up there for. (Cruising woman 395)

We have a self tending staysail, it's on a boom, and either one of us can reduce sail, increase sail, tack, jibe, whatever, without the other one helping.

(Cruising man 396)

Even on nights when crew think they can stay up longer on watch and give the other person(s) more time, watch systems remain regulated so all maintain adequate amounts of rest:

We had to - we learnt a lot. We had to be very firm and it was especially - we insisted on this because when you're up sometimes in the middle of the night and it was lovely and the moon was out and a bird was hovering, you'd think, "I'm happy with this! I'll let the next person sleep on!" And that was very kind at that stage, but then if
something happened and you all had to be up and you suddenly you were very tired and you messed up the system!

(Cruising woman 397)

It’s a dangerous thing to do really! (Cruising man 398)

So we’re really firm! If it’s usually just 398m and I on a passage and it’s 2 hours on and 2 hours off and you do wake up the next person! The only time perhaps I might be asleep because I’ve had to call you because I’m worried about something, but once we did it, when we entered Suva late at night, I let you sleep on and then we had ... that was really a black night. It was difficult finding the leading lights and I think, I didn’t have any sleep for about, I don’t know! It seems like 2 days, and then I couldn’t sleep! So you really have to run a tight series of watches, I think! (Cruising woman 397)

You will recall cruising man 336’s concern when he looked into the cockpit and could not see his partner. Amongst cruisers, there are various rules and regulations regarding safety and procedures:

The safety rule on our boat that is paramount, is to be clipped on and nobody goes below until the other person is clipped on. We have a holy fear of - not the person that falls over the side - but the person that’s left - is the one that has the biggest fear. So we tend to make our decisions prior to the night time as to what rig we’re going to carry through the night, and because it’s only a 2 hour period, it’s most unusual if it can’t be coped with. If we see a squall coming, for example, there’s no problem for reaching over and we can handle all our sails from the cockpit, the sails that we need to handle. If it’s a case of reefing while - it’s left until someone comes on watch and there’s 2 of you to do it. So the main rule is to be clipped on at all times. I think if you have good safety harnesses clipped on all the time, the dan buoys and the flashing lights and all the rest of it are
absolutely necessary but will never be used, so we have a full complement of off-shore gear. We need to - to clear New Zealand but I still insist on it. The other one I used lately is a line that can be thrown, a floating line with a .. that can be thrown out the back of the boat. And if anybody goes over the side, the rule is to circle them and this line will eventually pass across them in the same way as the water skiers pull people out of the water. We feel that they’ve had far more experience than anybody else at getting people out of the water so we’d be mugs if we don’t copy them. So I use a long floating line which is ready to be thrown as well as all the other stuff that they make you carry, danbuoys and all the rest of it. But I still think that being clipped on is the important thing and the line should be fairly short so there’s no chance of you going over the side. I think that if you fell over the side with a long safety harness, you’d likely be ripped apart or drowned or anything, so I like to keep my safety harnesses short. I do rig a line from the bow to the stern which I can clip on and run up and down but now I’ve changed the boat around so that most of the things can be handled from the cockpit. So it’s really not needed cause you’re completely [protected. Roll] the headsail and you’re left with the mainsail and it’s a very small mainsail so that can handle most conditions. (Cruising man 394)

Whilst the preceding cruising man emphasised the fear of being left alone, being left overboard is also a major concern:

... I’m not happy in the water at all. So that’s my biggest fear, is falling over the wall and watching the boat go - I don’t know what I’d do - whether I’d be man enough to just take big gulps because I know I’m not going to get rescued if you’re in the middle of the ocean! Whether I’d be able to take big gulps and drown quick. But the fear of seeing that fin or anything like that ... (Cruising man 416)
Given the former, is it worth enduring the lack of comfort of passages, the feelings of seasickness, the boredom, the safety concerns and the fears:

Well, it seems ... seemingly it's worth it. The good parts outweigh the bad parts but I've been surprised at how much of it is work. It's provisioning! You go to places where there's nothing - that's part of the fun! I love to go ashore and find out what, and see what they have to eat. But the ocean passages are much rougher than I thought they were going to be. I thought the ocean was going to be this nice place with nice swells and not this confused mess in the boat. Flying from one side to the other and impossible to cook and you're seasick the first two days even if you're not really sick, you don't feel good and that's - it's been surprising to me. It's hard to do, it really is, but of course, you don't spend that much time on passages, thank goodness, and once you drop the anchor, it's heaven on earth and it makes it all worth it! It just does!  

(Cruising woman 399)

And then, anticipation of the newness or the adventure of a new country also helps:

I think it's just the anticipation. Because when you're making these passages often times, you're going to a new country and it's part of the whole adventure. We feel, and you get into a routine and then ... It's really quite fun and then you start anticipating land fall and the time goes very quickly  

(Cruising man 388)
As demonstrated in the previous section, ocean passages are either enjoyed or endured. In themselves, for some cruisers, ocean passages were motivators for the adoption a cruising lifestyle. Ocean passages were seen as an end in themselves and sometimes as a means to another complementary end:

I think one of our first reasons was to make the ocean passages but also I really had travelled to Mexico and Guatemala when I was younger and I loved the foreign experience. I knew that I really wanted to pursue that more; and thought cruising would be a great way to do it. That was one of my goals! (Cruising woman 379)

I think for me, it’s the ocean passages. It’s kinda naive that way, I think. Oh, they’re fun, I enjoy it! The best part however is when you travel and are meeting people. (Cruising man 380)

The different cultures! (Cruising woman 379)
For others, cruising provided the ability to blend passage-making, with travel and with a fulfilling retirement. Undertaking passages, then became a means to achieve a variety of ends:

When we [did] the chartering, we just liked the ocean passages and just cruising between the islands but we have always enjoyed travelling. And we knew that we'd hoped to retire reasonably early and do some extensive travelling throughout the world and thought this would be kind of a neat way of doing it, so it was kind of towards that end that was why we were leaning towards the sailing. (Cruising man 388)

The melding together of the pure joy of sailing with the potential to experience new things was a means to stave off boredom:

That's the biggest reason, uhm, I am speaking for myself, I love to travel I always have. I like new things, my, I like to do something different. In my early days, in my past life, I was a singer, a professional singer. I sang opera and do things like this and there is a thrill about a new performance. I mean a new audience and I think maybe because of my background I am easily bored with the same old thing day after day. I am not great with routine so I like the newness of a new anchorage. I like the newness of a new experience and I think that is really my greatest reason for wanting to go sailing besides the joy of it. (Cruising woman 343)

However, for several cruisers, the decision to go cruising was influenced solely by the ability to use the boat as a means of transport and accommodation in order to travel the world. It had nothing to do with a desire to go cruising:

The idea to choose a boat instead of a plane or a car or motor home to travel. That was the idea we wanted to travel to see more of the world.
Yet to choose a boat instead of other possibilities wasn’t tourist. You have a permanent home base, with plenty of facilities you won’t have in a plane you won’t have in a motor home you have access to isolated places. What you can have with a motor home as well but you can’t go with a motor home to a small island. But you can go with a boat to a country wherever it is and continue your travel with a car and you are relatively independent from time schedules. Relative independence you have to watch cyclone season or hurricane season but within that you are open to what you want. That was the reasons we chose a boat. We still did not think about cruising. At that stage, we chose a boat to travel not to cruise, that it might be cruising, that we realised later on. (Cruising man 302)

The surprise of ‘discovering’ cruising along with the fulfilment of a desire to travel was also reflected by another cruiser:

And for me I always wanted to travel I just wanted to travel, I just never thought I would do it like this, that it would be this way. But I like it more and more it grows on me. I like it more than I thought I would and now I find I’m restless when I am in one spot when I go home I can’t wait to come back. I don’t like, I still miss and I would like to see my grandchildren but then I don’t like to be just put and not see something new so it’s grown on me.

(Cruising woman 373)

The choice of travelling by boat for some was more fundamental:

Well, I really wanted to see the world, you know, go around and not just one or two week bases once a year. You know, I wanted to live and work in the countries, I felt the only way that I could do it was to take my little house with me. (Cruising man 308)
Passages and Landfall – Travel: Disadvantages of this mode of travel

There are, however, some disadvantages of travelling this way. Unlike the romantic notion of cruising, there are down-sides to cruising as a mode of travel:

It’s fairly difficult to be impulsive about what you do and where you go. I think you have to be - you certainly don’t have to be prepared for - to know exactly where you are going everyday - but I think you have to have a bit of a plan because of the seasons and all that sort of stuff comes into it. So you have got to have a fairly loose schedule that you really do have to stick to if you want to be sensible. Yeah, I think you can’t just all of a sudden just hop off over to somewhere else because you like the sound of it. There are other things to consider.  

(Cruising woman 335)

Other disadvantages relate specifically to water based travel and its subsequent coastal bias in setting:

Uhm, generally to a large extent we are, we are fairly close to the coast of a place. Although a lot of cruisers, for example, when they go to New Zealand buy cars and travel around both islands so you know they experience the whole thing. But a lot of the time I think the cruising people are not, I am not particularly relating to myself, but cruising people around the Australian coast would stay very much to the coast and would not go very much to see the other part of Australia.  

(Cruising man 312)

The nature of the interactions with the cultures visited can also be peripheral:

You travel to another culture well you’re only on the periphery of that culture, unless you wanted to go and live ashore and get rid of your money.  

(Cruising man 316)
Although this is not a view supported by all cruisers:

We bought a car in New Zealand, had it for six months. Drove all over the whole country, … (Cruising woman 39w)

Took plane trips. (Cruising man 396)

And we did the same thing when we were here in Australia. We drove all around. We're going to take a ferry out to Magnetic Island and maybe take the boat out later after we leave, so we do a lot of sightseeing around. We walk a lot. (Cruising woman 395)

The ability to take off and explore the hinterland of an island or country is dependent on there being a suitable and safe anchorage or port or marina available:

The major disadvantage is you tend to feel obliged to stay on your boat. Unless of course you can be in company of other people who are also on boats who can sort of say we'll keep an eye on your boat for you; and you go away for a couple of days exploring the countryside. … If you want to get off the boat for some time it is not always possible. (Cruising man 336)

As a consequence, cruisers end up:

Sitting on the boat - You daren't leave it alone because you are scared stiff that everything is going to get stolen. (Cruising man 332m)
Or rigging burglar alarms:

There have been nights when you’ve slept with buckets of water (looking at her partner 368m) in the cockpit so that if anybody comes on board they are sort of going to make a noise.

(Cruising woman 367)

Another disadvantage relates to host-guest interactions, especially in relatively isolated anchorages adjacent to communities in developing countries. Often you are a ‘novelty’ to the locals and are paid a lot of attention. Exactly who is under the ‘tourist’s gaze’?

You get a bit fed up with the canoes when you get to those places, the Solomon’s it gets a bit wearing. When you have had a tiring sail and you’ve got to talk to people and they come out at six o’clock in the morning daylight to dusk, as you would well know.

(Cruising woman 319)

And the canoes would always come and go bang on the side and then you couldn’t sit here and read a book because you’ve got the eyes looking and we knew that was going to wear on us before we set out because everyone said the same. (Cruising man 320)

On the other hand, living on the boat in some countries, cocoons cruisers from the local communities:

I mean, if you stay in ... Townsville [at the marina]. You’re kind of in a cocoon ... but at least you can meet ... Australian yachtsmen and go to their houses. We often have but if you were say this was in a marina in Mexico you would still be in that cocoon. You are just in a cocoon of you know, in a first world bubble [because you do not get to meet the locals]. (Cruising man 374)
Treatment by host communities can also change as a result of the actions of other cruisers:

Well, they want to make money in some places. They see you like rich, but then you tell them that you are a cruiser and mostly they understand that you are not - don’t have so much money. - It’s like in Venezuela on the beach. It’s like - before you can just put your dinghy on the beach. But then one time came, an American comes and he goes, “Oh yeah, you get ten dollars to look after my dinghy.” So the next time, everybody had to pay money for the dinghy [to be kept ashore]. (Cruising man 354)

Despite these disadvantage, there are advantages of this mode of travel.

Passages and travel: Advantages of travelling by boat

Despite the boats being insulation from societal settings, the boat can actually locate you in the ‘back region’ of tourist settings, with high host-guest interactions unmediated by tourist agents of various kinds:

... When you are anchored off a village well then you are right there, you are right in their backyard and even if you don’t have much contact with them in a social way, you have a lot of visual contact with them and you can see how they live and you can certainly learn more about how they live. (Cruising man 374)

Generally, however the interaction is high (as noted in an earlier comment by a cruiser whether the interaction was desired or not):
... we share our lifestyle with them and they share their's ... We buy our food in the markets and do things the way they do ...

(Cruising woman 403)

Through such interactions, cruisers are able to become 'real' guests of the hosts:

... we were invited to a feast for the opening of a church [in the Trobriand Islands], which was incredible. - We were part of their celebrations, it wasn't put on for the tourists, we got to see what they [the islanders] just did amongst themselves, - the feast was part of their normal lifestyle and we were invited to it.

(Cruising woman 335)

Such experiences were valued by cruisers over their previous institutionalised touristic experiences:

Tourists [institutionalised tourists] are only going to the special places that are made for tourists. We get to see the real life of the countries we visit. (Cruising man 384.2)

Another advantage of travelling by boat is that you travel with your own home:

You know we wanted to see other parts of the world and primarily parts you know that you could get to by boat. And having the home base was real important because it's real tiring if you are always carrying your suitcase up and hopping on and off planes. Even if you rent a house somewhere for a month then you are still moving off to another place that you rent and it's real nice to have a home base with you all the time, well most of the time. (Cruising woman 305)
Several other cruisers mentioned the dislike of travel which involved totting luggage.

I also hate living out of a suitcase, I like to have my own world around me like we have when we travel with the boat.

(Cruising woman 351)

Apart from not having to worry about luggage; the boat as a home was reported as one of the biggest advantages of this form of travel because of the facilities it provided:

You have a permanent home base, with plenty of facilities you won’t have in a plane you won’t have in a motor home, you have access to isolated places. What you have with a motor home as well but you can’t go with a motor home to a small island. But you can go with a boat to a country where ever it is and continue your travel with car. …

(Cruising man 302)

What does the home base provide for cruisers:

… their own food. … And you have got your own water which is important of course. … Whereas with us, we take all our own stuff as a cruiser. It is like a caravan.

(Cruising man 320)

The base also provides more than food and water:

You’ve got all your things that you need with you. You’ve got your books, your clothes, your medicines, it’s quite convenient in some ways … To me, it’s much more convenient because you are never very far away from your home.

(Cruising woman 309)
And the other advantage of travelling by boat is the boat can become a sanctuary rather than a cocoon as noted in the disadvantages section:

You’ve got your home with you and it doesn’t matter what strange place you are in you are always at home - You know no matter how rough things are, you feel secure in your own place with your own things around you. (Cruising woman 319)

Another cruising woman was more explicit regarding the sanctuary of the boat as home:

Yeah, we find when we travel by car we get tired of the newness. And we need to just sit back and regroup whereas when we travel by the boat we keep coming back to your own cocoon, to your own womb, to things you know and get your batteries recharged and you’re able to go out [again]. (Cruising woman 389)

Another advantage of this form of travel was the independence it accords cruisers:

Well you have a lot more independence when you get to call the shots. ... In this you have freedom to go just about where ever you like, spend as much or as little as you like and I think that’s real nice and yet you have your home with you. (Cruising man 306)

This freedom of choice was constantly reiterated:

... in being able to go where you want to go when you want to go and you aren’t tied to certain boat schedules and cruise schedules. (Cruising woman 405)
In accepting brokered touristic experiences:

You are still connected to other people there, and you are not free. What you do, whatever they want you to do or wherever they take you. In that case, I can't go to the places I want to go. I want to go to places, I prefer to go to places that nobody can go, nobody there wants to go because it is not possible. I don't want to depend on somebody else.

(Cruising man 304)

Consequently, mediated tourist experiences are the antithesis of the cruising lifestyle for a majority of cruisers:

Now, my preference is by travelling on my own, and also always making my own decisions. We like to do that as long as we can. We don't like to be in a tour and completing the program to be in time for lunch and dinner and just - no. It's not that we don't do it but we like to do it our own way and make our own decision. We have been our whole life independent, and also in business and made our own decisions so I like to do it also in my free time - when I want to go and where I want to go.

(Cruising woman 347)

As intimated by cruising woman 347, whilst organised travel is the antithesis, it does not mean that from time to time that cruisers do not engage in tours. Another advantage, according to cruisers, is that it is a less expensive form of travel though the initial investment is high:

Well, it's the least expensive way, I think, to get around if you want to travel widely and extensively. We sold the house and distributed the furniture to the four kids, moved aboard the boat. My wife was not as enthusiastic about the process of sailing as I was but she was very outgoing, much more outgoing than I and enjoyed new places and
new things and I enjoyed the new places anyway. Meeting people I
didn’t look forward to particularly, but she enjoyed that. We did that
until her health broke down. She died four years ago so I’ve been
single handed since then. (Cruising man 364)

Cruising enables individuals to travel into the margins of other cultures and
environments. Whilst some individuals moved into the cruising lifestyle because a
desire to travel and a boat was the best option available to them, others chose the
cruising lifestyle because of the travel opportunities along with other reasons.
Usually, reasons for adopting the cruising style of life differed between partners:

I’m less involved, less interested in the challenge part of it, more
interested or as interested in the getting to see the new places and new
experiences. (Cruising woman 405)

Essentially, however, as noted in this and previous chapters, motivations for cruising
change over time and can also be multiple in nature. For example, the desire to travel
is often coupled with other desires:

Well, [we travel this way] partly because we like to see the world at the
ggrass roots level. Touring in a bus is not our idea of seeing other
places and just having six weeks there or a limited amount of time was
not our idea of seeing the place either. We actually like to meet
people and talk to people and just find out about their lifestyle. And
we like to get out to remote places. Say when we were in like Vanuatu,
we would go out to the remote islands and have a neat time with the
people there. [We would] just sit in a little hut, I’d take my guitar and
drink the Kava, which we can’t stand and we’d take some cigarettes
which they got on the end of and you really had a neat time. [You]
left really good friends behind who were looking forward to seeing
you again. There was that. We thoroughly enjoy sailing, we enjoy the

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FREEDOM of it. It’s a wonderful free feeling out there. No telephones, no hassles in particular. So a number of reasons really all predicably selfish and self-indulgent. (Cruising woman 309)

Conclusion

This chapter has focussed on passage making and travel. Passages were loved by some cruisers and were the sole reason for pursuing a cruising lifestyle, while for others an enjoyment of passage making was complemented by other factors such as new experiences, travel and active retirements. Passages were also loathed by some cruisers and were something that had to be endured in order to get to the next location. Seasickness, lethargy, boredom, mood changes were identified as some of the downsides of passages. To circumvent these, medicines, air travel, engine power and self talk were all utilised to varying degrees by some cruisers. Passages challenged cruisers, provided adventure, generated anticipation for the next landfall or caused anxiety. Key elements in the enjoyment of the passage were the weather and sea conditions and the harmony of relationships. During the course of passages, cruisers navigated, kept radio schedules, read, slept, rested and ate. For many, the best part of some passages was the last day when landfall was made.

Cruising is primarily another form of travel. Basically cruisers are moving from one geographical location to another. Whether the purpose of the cruise is the pure joy of sailing, the challenge, the adventure or the freedom it provides, cruisers also engage in touristic experiences. The best aspect of these experiences as reported by cruisers is getting into the ‘back regions’ of cultural setting and interacting with the locals without any cultural broker drawn from the tourism industry. In their travel as in their lifestyle, they covet their independence and eschew interference.
The next chapter is the last chapter in the ethnography of cruisers. The purpose of the last ethnographic chapter is to draw on participants in this study who were not currently cruising as long term cruisers and to examine their motivations. As a result of this comparison, differences in motivation themes may be elicited in a temporal fashion. Specifically, the chapter will focus on the pre-cruiser category, the post cruiser category and the exit-reentry category. The first category hones in on the most recent motivations whilst the last two categories travel back in time as well as in the present in the case of exit-reentry cruisers. For some in the exit and the exit-reentry categories, their cruising experience was up to 40 to 50 years past.
Chapter 10

The new, the old and the returnees:

Why did they choose to go?

And for some why did they choose to go again?

The first man to sail around the world alone was a brown-bearded, bald-headed Massachusetts skipper named Slocum. He was fifty-one when he started from Boston on April 24th, 1895 in the Spray, a 37-foot sloop of 9 tons register net which he himself had rebuilt from a derelict hulk. More than three years, later, on June 27th, 1898, he dropped anchor in Newport, Rhode Island, having cruised 46,000 miles entirely by sail and entirely alone. ... Men have gone around the world in small boats since; some single handed. (Walter Magnes Teller, 1954: i)

In 1898, Joshua Slocum ... completed the first voyage around the world in a yacht, and he did it alone. Although he called into many ports, he proved that it was possible for man [sic] to manage a small boat at sea for long voyages. In the following 70 years, nearly 20 people sailed round the world,. [In 1977], the first woman entered the arena, when Naomi James from New Zealand completed the voyage [a circumnavigation of the world] with just two stops. (Robin Knox-Johnston, 1983: 174)

As the above quotes serve to reiterate, sailing has long been a male dominated activity and it is from the extended sailing adventures of men, particularly, Slocum, that the cruising lifestyle has evolved. However, these adventures have also stirred women and Naomi James proved that women too could successfully participate in the activity. From such beginnings, the cruising lifestyle has evolved. Yet despite the passage of time, the core
motivations for adopting a cruising lifestyle do not seem to have changed very much. What has changed is the number of people now adopting the lifestyle due to the innovations in technologies and boat designs. The need to escape societal norms and constraints on individual freedom appears to be a constant motivation despite changing times and social mores. Societies ever continue to constrain individual freedoms whether it be the 1890s or the 1990s.

Whilst cruisers in the past may have demonstrated a strong propensity to adopt the cruising lifestyle because of an enjoyment of sailing and passage making, amongst the long term cruisers interviewed for this study, sailing and passage making were more an ends to a means than a means in themselves. The enjoyment of sailing and passage making in the past appears to have been replaced with a desire to travel and see the world, particularly amongst those cruisers just entering the subculture of long term ocean cruising – the pre-cruising group. Essentially, the boat has become a means of transport which provides personal control and a less expensive long-term mode of travel once the initial investment in the boat has been made. The boat also provides a sanctuary in having one’s home always at hand. Cruisers, regardless of the time frame of their cruising, were very aware that the boat enabled them to maintain a personal environmental bubble to protect them from the elements, and/or cultural overload. See for example the following quote from Francis Herreshoff (1890 – 1972), a renowned boat designer, sailor and cruising philosopher:

The cabin of a small yacht is a truly wonderful thing; not only will it shelter you from the tempest, but in the other troubles of life which may be even more disturbing, it is a safe retreat.


The gendered nature of cruising is also changing. Past cruisers who undertook their circumnavigations in the early part of the twentieth century did so primarily in the solitary
company of themselves or other men. Cruisers of the 1970s and 1980s commenced the [greater or mass wave] 'infiltration' of women and family groups into the previously male dominated activity. Some of these women went for love; others went for adventure or travel or some combination of these motivations. Although these women may have infiltrated the male bastion of cruising, the dominant culture constrained them. They were generally marginalised through lack of knowledge and also through lack of ownership of the boat, both as a 'dream' and as private property. Some women disliked the whole sailing aspect of the experience. Seemingly, between all the cruiser groups, there are women who love to go to sea and women who hate going to sea. The thread that holds them to a sailing lifestyle is their partner, and sometimes that thread is not as strong as the thread that connects the women to the society they have left, and the cruising lifestyle is abandoned. While the cruising lifestyle offers a sense of adventure, sometimes the risks involved in the adventure have to be weighed up against the overall satisfaction gained from the adventure, and if this is a deficit function, then this can become a reason for leaving the lifestyle.

To provide a temporal view of the cruising lifestyle and reasons for adopting the lifestyle and to counterbalance the preceding chapters, three other cruiser groups inform this chapter: pre-cruisers, exit cruisers and exit-reentry cruisers.

You will recall that pre-cruisers is the term I have used to describe those cruisers who at the time of fieldwork had not yet committed to the cruising lifestyle although some may have undertaken shake-down cruises. Some were building their boats, some were still working to build up their cruising kitty, some were preparing to leave, some had just returned from a shake-down cruise and some had just entered into the lifestyle without any preparation and are about to undertake significant passage making. The exit cruisers are those who have lived a cruising lifestyle for a sustained period of time. Some had completed circumnavigations of the world, others had simply decided that after a year, that cruising was not for them and had left the lifestyle. The third category of cruisers is
the exit-reentry cruisers. This group as the term suggests have been long term cruisers and have left the subculture returned to mainstream society for varying periods of time only to return to the cruising lifestyle at a later date. At the time of the interviews, all reentry cruisers were engaged in long term cruising. The exit-reentry cruisers had either sold their previous boats, and purchased or built another boat or had maintained the original boat in order to go cruising again after a break. To keep some continuity with the preceding chapters, this chapter will use as organisers, in the same order, the dominant discourses which were used in the previous ethnographic chapters. For each of the dominant discourses, narratives from each of the three cruising groups will be used to highlight the relevance of each discourse. In the preparation of this thesis, I debated as to whether this chapter should be an appendix. I decided against this as the three groups do provide a temporal counterpoint to the cruisers in the preceding chapters as well as a secondary grounding of data. Furthermore, in locating their narratives within the body of the thesis, they are not marginalised from the construction of 'knowledges' this thesis aims to develop. Further, some of their narratives are utilised as discussion points in the following theoretical chapters, presenting them here enables you to directly know from whence they came.

**Casting off the ropes: freedom and escape**

In all categories, the pre-cruiser, exit cruiser and exit-reentry cruiser groups, the desire to escape work, other people, and to take control of their own lives were constant themes. For some, however, the process of making the change, in breaking the connections with mainstream society, was quite difficult:

... I think once I could see a way out of where I was, I think it was easy. The process of reaching that point was quite difficult, deciding that that's not the lifestyle that I wanted. But that was just something that had been occurring over a period of time but when I actually decided, "Hey, I want
this! This is going to change my life. I want to take my life in a new direction!” That was easy and it felt great to get rid of all those possessions that load you down. And it was, it was like a freeing up. “There off you go again! Go in a new direction for a while. No, it wasn’t hard at all!”

(Pre-cruising man 122)

What particularly in society did these cruisers want to move away from:

You don’t have to deal with people you don’t want to deal with! You don’t - I’ve just found that - I’ve always been a city girl really. I lived in Sydney for 9 years and I loved the city life. I love going to the theatre. I love doing lots of - all the things that cities offer, and I miss some of those aspects. But the other thing is, you’re living with all those different things you don’t want to deal with. I hated coming to Brisbane. I just want to go sailing and I’m new to it! I just want to get out of here! I really hate the marina! I hate Brisbane! I hate the city! I hate all the plastic-ness! You come and you go and all around you, it doesn’t matter what city you go to, what town, you’ve got a shopping centre, you can guarantee if there’s one shop in Brisbane, you can go to Townsville and a shopping centre will be owned by the same people. And you are just so, it’s all sort of consume, consume, consume! Whereas on a boat; you don’t have to spend money. You just spend money to survive and you don’t have to get caught up with, I need this, I need that! It’s just the materialistic world that we live in and who needs it - a hundred thousand dollar car?

(Pre-cruising woman 117)

Cruising then provides an escape from the consumptive nature of society:

I think back to the things I used to do in my 9 to 5 job – well, I enjoyed my work. You’d spend money on a lot of things that weren’t necessary simply because they were titillating or something, some fancy you saw in a
shop at lunch time for instance, that would have no relevance to a cruising life. Clothing for instance. Things like this. There's a lot of little consolation prizes involved in living ashore, any sense of boredom or deprivation in terms of your broader notion of what life should be all about there was always something to consume to make you feel better. Cruising gets you away from all that. Cruising, is the most basic level [of living], I still feel I'm highly privileged to be able to do it. That was incidentally, the biggest sense I had out of sailing around when I was at sea. I had this immense sense of privilege. ... I really did. I felt well, isn't it wonderful to do this and life like this. ... [to be travelling] in a sense, within the majesty in nature.  

(Exit cruising man 808)

So cruising enables you to get rid of the trappings of materialistic societies:

It's a free and easy lifestyle, you live on your own yacht, you don't have a car, you don't have a houses. You sort of live your own little world, you are self contained and you travel from place to place. It's a fairly easy lifestyle, it is so free and easy.  

(Exit cruising man 620)

It also enables you to escape responsibilities:

I'd always enjoyed the freedom of the lifestyle, getting away from suburbia (the hum-drum life of suburbia) possibly you might even call it an escape from certain responsibilities (such as parenting and care of others).  

(Cruising woman 619)

As noted by long term cruisers, cruising provides freedom and flexibility in the environments you choose to live in. Although in the pre-cruising stages, having the means to achieve freedom and not being able to quite achieve it generated a sense of frustration and sometimes temporary relief from life at the centre:
I haven’t been living on the boat for very long but I just feel really stuck here now. Knowing that we can’t just go off even just for a weekend or something because I’m working. So when we do get days off together, it’s just to get away from everything and just get out there on the water by ourselves and just really enjoy it. ... We haven’t really done it so much here. But [where we were working before] we would have had an awful day at work and we’d just say, “Let’s go for a sail!” Just to get away and just to feel like you’ve cut yourself off completely from everything. Also, you’ve just got everything on board with you. If you’re moving places, you don’t have to pack everything away and it’s not such a big deal. You can just let the ropes off and go, sort of thing!

(Pre-cruising man 105)

The ‘freedom’ of the lifestyle was emphasised throughout the three groups:

I think, but basically the freedom aspect is one of the main things, and that you don’t have to fit in or anything and you can move where you want to. If you get fed up with one place, you just say, “Oh, well, let’s go over there! ... And you get time to do things that you possibly wouldn’t get if you lived the normal life, if you’re working all the time and children – going to school and everything’s to a strict routine time table.

(Exit-reentry cruising woman 801)

As was the case with long term cruisers, work was a motif which appeared in dominant discourses. To reiterate some of the statements of long term cruisers, cruising provides an option to not working:

The company went bad, and I was retrenched and they paid me out with a good sum of money and that helped. I paid for a course for two weeks with an old fellow and I learnt on his boat, I wanted to find out whether we liked it first before we bought and went off cruising. (Exit cruising man 612)
It also provides the means to escape from high pressure or high responsibility work conditions:

... I had strong job and a strong business, job, I had a restaurant and worked very hard. I'm getting ill and I have to change my life, and so I did it [I went cruising]. (Exit cruising man 602)

Essentially, cruising enables you to move into a much more relaxed, less pressured lifestyle and locates the control for the decisions of the day with you:

Cruising is much easier, it is much more relaxed and the lifestyle is different you have less [worry]. How you dress you don't have to think about it. It is much easier than being in city life or a house or going to work, having to dress up and is less organised. On a boat you think oh what am I going to do to day? (Exit cruising woman 611)

What are the other advantages of taking control?

No rates to pay, no electricity bill, no lawns to mow, no whingeing neighbours! You do get whingeing neighbours but if you don't like them, you can just move down stream a little bit. Probably the best thing about cruising is when you go, you take everything with you so you never leave anything behind. You meet so many different people all doing the same thing. So you've all got one interest and you can relate to everybody else on the water. Whereas down town, you walk around town, you can't relate to half the people because you're all doing different things. But at least when you go sailing, everybody's going sailing for a purpose. So that was good. The people were great, everyone you met and just the different places you went to was just ... the place is so big and you're so small there are just so many places to see! That's the best part, the people and the
places and when you go somewhere you’re so comfortable because you’ve
 got everything with you. You’re self sufficient. (Exit cruising man 606)

Whilst cruisers may escape the sense of alienation in their land-based social milieu, as
noted before cruisers never quite escape officialdom and a concern for security:

Yes, you’ve got to deal with customs formalities and all that when you’re
going to other countries which is a big pain in the neck in some countries.
(Exit-reentry cruising woman 801)

Seemingly, personal control is the main aspect of the quest for freedom and the escape
from societal norms and regulations. As this cruising woman denotes in her description
or definition of a cruiser:

I would say [a cruiser is] someone who really wants to take control of their
life for a while and it’s not dropping out. I mean there is an element of
people who go cruising, who are nonconformist in a society and that’s the
slightly eccentric end element of cruising. The bulk of cruisers just do not
want to be dictated to by society. By what society says we should be doing
at a certain point in our lives. Cruisers are the ones who want to take
control of it [their life] and they have either saved up as 618m did or they
have put a time limit on it. They’ve got the money, we’ll go for a few
years or two years. Some will do it for a long while and others who will do
it for a while and come back. I think the common denominator is people
who want to travel who want to do something different. They don’t want
to be locked into a stereotype image, it doesn’t worry them to break with
convention. It doesn’t worry them that they are not reliant on a small
community to tell them who they are. They are prepared to be a bit bigger
than that and make a go of it. I think that’s the common denominator of
people who go cruising. (Exit cruising woman 617)
As with cruiser comments in the preceding chapters, once the escape is made, cruising may provide a sense of freedom and personal control, although it still is hard work:

It’s hard, it’s hard work a lot of the times. It’s inconvenient a lot of the times and but if you’re prepared to, to not let those things worry you, get you down, you can really enjoy it. (Pre-cruising woman 101)

Cruising can also mean transferring your way of earning a living to one based in a cruising lifestyle:

The boat was for filming making and transport, and holidays well as independence and the lifestyle in the boat going slow or fast I am happy, it doesn’t matter. (Exit cruising woman 611)

Her partner relates how the cruising ‘style of life’ germinated:

...Well for a long time I have always been interested in diving and water. ...I thought - I got this idea maybe we should get a boat and I’ll go out and do some filming. I turned that over in the head for half a year or a year thereabout. Then my partner has probably already told you already that one Saturday morning, we were having breakfast in a shopping centre and I asked her what do you say about buying a boat and sell the house and go sailing for a few years and filming on the water and she said “Yes” just like that. And then it sort of nagged on in your head and we just couldn’t come out of it and then the two of us sold the house and bought a boat.

The plan was to get a boat big enough to take four people two crew and undertake filming for several years. (Exit cruising man 612)
Just as the preceding cruisers had a plan for their lifestyle move, another cruiser advises that:

For successful cruising I think you need a goal.

(Exit cruising man 604)

Some cruisers amongst the three groups sought freedom and escape from life at the centre, still others had nurtured a dream to go sailing and long term ocean cruising.

**Sailing free the sails – Sailing, the dream and life flows**

The adoption of a cruising lifestyle can be traced for some cruisers back to childhood experiences as noted by long term cruisers in Chapter Six. For some cruisers, cruising was just the next step in a sailing career.

I’d just say it’s like a natural progression since childhood. Just kept going. Had an interest and just kept on with that interest. This is just the end .. well, it’s definitely not the end but it’s just the next level along.

(Pre-cruising man 103)

And:

From very young, when I was a child. I’ve always been involved in sailing. Racing gives you a lot of experience of a lot of things happening at once so you are thinking quickly and things break so you get use to that.

(Exit cruising man 614)

For others, the desire to go cruising may be seated in a chance discovery and a subsequent love of sailing:
... I was in [the city] running my own business and I had to go to town. I was working about an hour out of the city, out of [the city] itself. I had to go to town for an appointment one day and I got in there too early and for some reason, I found myself wandering around a marina. ... I was wandering around looking at all the boats and power boats and yachts and there was a guy on a H28 with a sailing school sign up and I just got talking to him. ... So I just signed up on the spot. I said, "That sounds like me. I'd like to have a go at that!" That was on a Monday and on the Wednesday I went up there and went out on this sailing. It was as though I was meant to be doing that sort of thing. I just loved it! I just got on the water and thought, "How long has this been going on?" I just couldn't believe how nice it was to be out on a yacht. I'd been in power boats before. I'd even messed around racing boats and everything but never been out on a yacht and I just couldn't believe how nice it was. Just the peace and quiet and tranquillity of it all and the speed was so nice, and that was it. I was hooked! Before I finished the course, I'd bought a boat! I was just overwhelmed. I was about 33 or 34 or something and I was really annoyed that I'd missed out on this for so long in my life! I really was. I was really dark! And that was it. I just went and bought a boat. I just talked to a lot of people and did a lot of reading in a short period of time, and I thought, "I've got to start off somewhere and I've got to start off in a small boat." and I thought, "Something I can race because I'd like to race to get to know." So I made some inquiries, found a boat and bought it and I was into it. Joined a club and that was it and then I just couldn't do enough of it. I just absolutely loved it. (Pre-cruising man 122)

As with other long term cruisers, such serendipitous encounters and a love of sailing can generate a dream to travel:
But I think I always right from the beginning, had this dream in the back of my mind, without even realising it that I wanted to go places in a boat. And that’s what made me - I sort of - I always wanted to travel. I knew that at some stage I had to travel and I never realised how I was going to do it and as soon as the boat, or sailing came into my life, [I knew] this is how I’m going to do the travelling. So it sort of opened up the possibility for me - I had this sort of in the back of my mind that I needed to go out and see more of the world. But no definite way of doing it or how I was going to do it or when. But then, the boat came into my life and that sort of all put it together. It was almost as though it was meant to happen at that stage and it just went from the little one [event]. And I thought we’d go away cruising but it wasn’t quite big enough, and I thought I’d need something a little bit bigger and it came along at a stage in my life where I was very successful. Had a very good business and it was making lots of money but I was finding that wasn’t what I wanted out of life. It wasn’t taking me where I thought I wanted to be. And so when sailing came into my life, it opened the possibilities of doing something else and giving me a reason to let go of what I had. I thought the monetary side of life and accumulation of assets and things wasn’t giving me the peace that I wanted, so I thought, this sailing’s going to take me to - go to other places and let me have a look around. And hopefully get me to a stage where I’m a bit more contented with life and so then I realised I need a bigger boat to do that and that’s when I bought the 34 footer. I actually bought a hull and deck and fitted it out for the sole purpose of going away cruising.

(Pre-cruising man 122)

Some of the cruisers were purists in regard to sailing and also articulated a love of the sea. Some viewed those with other motivations somewhat pejoratively:

Wooh, that’s a bit hard to go back all your life. I mean I’m 75 now and I been sort of thinking since 60 years or more, [I suppose] when I was a boy
and I [read] Slocum and all those sort of stuff. Different people have different motives, you'd know better than most people, I think that a lot if them it's, they talk about a challenge and all this sort of nonsense. But it's I think well, I don't know all the motives, but for mine, it was to be at sea, I loved the sea. ... [And the passages] I am a person of movement getting from A to B. Some people are more interested in getting to B and being at B. I enjoy the getting between and while I am in there, there are different things that happen to the schedule that I find quite interesting.

(Exit cruising man 604)

Another cruiser who has raced and sailed extensively also loved the sea:

I love the sea, I think I am part fish, I love the passages, I just loved the sailing it must be back in their ancestry and it comes naturally and its an urge, and its like a religion, you find people who are very passionate about it.

(Exit cruising man 614)

The love of the sea was also extended by an exit reentry cruiser to the love of ocean passages:

... I wanted to do some ocean passages. I wanted to get out there on the wide blue yonder and just to have a real good - Well, I enjoy it. I enjoy the ocean passages. Not everybody does, but I enjoy making a fast ocean trip or whatever.

(Exit-reentry cruising man 808)

Sailing is like a religion or an obsession:

From the first day that I ever went sailing, I was quite one-eyed, I was lost, - it's been an obsession since then -- It's not so much the lengthy periods out on the water, sometimes I used to feel quite guilty because sometimes I didn't enjoy all that much the bad times, the rough time out on the water.
It was never enough to make me want to toss it in but I never enjoyed it. I use to think, ohh, you're – I'm not really a sailing person – what's wrong here? But over the years talking with other people, I have found it's pretty common thing, it's only the masochist who appears to enjoy the wild old times out there.  

(Exit cruising woman 629)

Sailing close to the wind: the challenge – the adventure

For some of the cruisers in the various groups, the sailing component of cruising was seen as a challenge whilst the overall experience was likened to an adventure. The challenge lay in getting yourself from one point to another:

Also it's a challenge as well. I think that's another way to look at it. Jumping in an aeroplane is not a challenge. Whereas doing it in a boat is. [The challenge is] the navigation challenge to be able to get there and be able to say when you get there, gee I made it. I've done it.

(Pre-cruising man 102)

Being self-sufficient is also a challenge:

I don't know. It's really hard to explain. I suppose being away from everybody else and being in an environment where you've got to look after yourself. A bit of a challenge, I like that. It's really hard to explain because I've always loved the water. I've loved surfing and scuba diving, spearfishing, so you get me anywhere near the water, I'm happy. ...

(Exit cruising man 606)

For children, sailing and cruising can seem like an adventure because it is so different to land-based experiences:
I think because of the adventure, I use to sail in Auckland Harbour on a gaff-rigged boat with my stepfather and it seemed like an adventure.

(Exit-reentry cruising man 802)

Or:

I think ... when I was about ten years old or about eight when dad bought our boat and we started living on it, ... the change onto a boat, it didn’t really worry me because I was a little kid so it was like camping or something like that. But it was really hard living in such close quarter with my family, I found it was really exciting and a change. It was just the fact that we were doing something different to everybody else, everyone wanted to know what we were doing and were interested in what we were doing. I don’t remember about missing friends, I was a bit timid at school I was more excited about going away.  

(Cruising child woman)

Within the adventure of cruising, successfully meeting the challenges of the lifestyle generates feelings of self accomplishment and self actualisation from fulfilling goals:

Oh, that was magic [first landfall during a shake-down cruise]. To see that little island ... which we saw with the reef around it and a little bit of beach around it. It was absolutely magic and the coconut palms. Absolute magic, it really gave us a wonderful feeling of utopia if you like. We were really, the nice thing was that we had made it. And we'd navigated and we’d plotted the course and we were right there on the spot; that we really made it, that was tremendous. A really tremendous feeling.

(Pre-cruising man 102 after first shake-down cruise off-shore)
Caught in the irons or sailing wing and wing: relationships

In relationships, the love of or need to belong with a partner, often was the sole motivation for joining the cruising lifestyle. Consequently, it had nothing to do with a love of sailing or a desire for challenge or adventure nor even to escape society. Occasionally, the partner who went for love or belonging needs also had a sailing background. As the following texts will show, the primary need was often offset by enjoyment of the lifestyle (but not passage making) and the travel opportunities the lifestyle provided. Sometimes, women entered the cruising lifestyle for twofold purposes. Pre-cruising woman 101 indicated that her relationship was primary though it did enable her to fulfil a dream of having a yacht which had been fostered by her yacht racing background.

I met a chap and that [sailing] was his interest and I believe that if you are going with someone you share their sports and vice versa. ... Well, 102m asked me to go with him on this trip. He said it might be short time or long term. It was up to us. When he asked me to go, I had lots to think about. Just what I was giving up but because I liked the idea ... To me, it was a dream of having my own yacht. When I was finished with racing, I used to say, One day I'll have my own yacht and I'll sail!" And it was like, I fulfilled his dream and he was fulfilling his own and he's fulfilled mine by asking me to join him on it. And I thought, "Well, the opportunity is there as well as a relationship with 102m, of course, so the two go hand in hand. (Pre-cruising woman 101a)

Seizing the opportunity when it presented itself was mentioned by cruising woman 313. Although for women often the opportunities are linked to relationships:

I think, - when I was first asked, - when I was deciding whether to go ..., my last decision was probably based on the fact that I would never have the
opportunity to do this again. - There were a few factors, one it was something, it was an opportunity to that was given to me, which I had never ever thought about before. And because it was there and it was real, I couldn't ignore it completely because it was just something so totally different in my life and I thought now this has come for a reason. Secondly, I feel by doing this I'm going to have a lot to share with my family and friends, people who I share a great part of my life and I'm going to have a lot to share with them. Particularly my son who is in a wheel chair, it's something that he won't ever be able to do. And I feel a little bit as if I'm doing it for him. Instead of him doing it, he might be able to feel the adventure of it from what he learns from me. Because he was an adventurous fellow before he had his accident. Thirdly, the man who asked me to go I found that we had a very good rapport. When I started to think about it, he was going to do this thing anyway and when I sort of thought about it, well I'll probably never see him again. And I said no, I think I'd really like to share it with him.

(Pre-cruising woman 101)

Relationships and romance were a strong motifs in the motivations of pre-cruising women:

For romance! To start with it was! ...Mostly with the person, in my situation. ...

(Pre-cruising woman 105)

As was the case with pre-cruising woman 101, the motivations can be twofold, though the tenuous nature of the lifestyle is ever present:

Why I chose - one, I love sailing. Two, I don't know which I really - I should - when I say one and two, there's no real priority on it - And two, I fell in love, I suppose, with someone that owned the right yacht! Not the right yacht, but who owned a yacht who asked me to go cruising. Had the
relationship terminated and he'd not ... he was going to go cruising anyway and not take me cruising, then the relationship would have ended, more than likely. But as it worked out, it worked out really well - now that I'm doing it, it'd be really hard for me to go back to doing something else. - I don't ever want to leave it! My problem is of course is that I don't own the yacht. At any time, I can be put off, if the relationship - it all depends on the relationship. (Pre-cruising woman 117)

Apart from newly formed relationships, women in established relationships also entered the lifestyle because of their partners. Whilst some of these women entered the lifestyle with previous sailing experience, it did not mean the experience would prove successful. In responses to when exit cruising woman 609 first went sailing she replied “When I went with my partner.” Although she did have previous sailing experience:

[I first went sailing probably in the late 60s in ten foot catamarans, but that was FUN sailing [stated emphatically] that was racing on Sundays. It was social and racing, we did that for five years. - [Then] for 15 –20 years we didn’t do anything, my partner kept up an interest in boats. We sold a business and the money from that business was so that my partner wanted to buy a boat. - My interest was not in sailing it was to be involved with my partner. For me there has been no interest in marine sailing.

(Exit cruising woman 609)

This lack of interest compounded with other factors, so much so that the above cruiser and her partner returned from their cruising after one year. The decision to finish the cruise was jointly made and will be discussed towards the end of this chapter. Cruising experiences can also serve to strengthen relationships, as this cruiser recounts when the yacht she and her partner were sailing up the Red Sea lost its rudder:
We had seventeen hours of sheer hell - the other boat was ahead and we were on and off with radio contact with him. And uhm, anyway we ended up throwing everything out the back to try and bring the stern round, sail bags, water containers, you name it. It went out the back on heaps of rope and we tried to make an auxiliary rudder but with those seas and forty knot winds. - Following seas, right in the middle of the shipping channel. It was horrendous. - And arh, it was amazing how 814m and I sort of worked together to pull each other together. - 'Cause we were fairly close to land in fact very close to land in some stages. And, uhm, at one stage we thought that was it, we were on the rocks. And uhm, he'd break down and cry his "We've lost it, what are we going to do?" And then he'd, I'd pull him up and then he'd pull me up and vice versa. He had to be on the helm for about seventeen hours, I couldn't even hold the helm over it was so strong. So obviously you get down to the nitty gritty of having to hold the bottle there for him to have a pee and all the rest of the process. It wasn't very pleasant. ... (Exit-reentry cruising woman 813)

Relationships: Roles and responsibilities

Regardless of sailing background, even prior to taking off aboard various yachts, the definition of roles and responsibilities appears to be delineated using the boundaries of the domestic and non-domestic spheres of society, as this pre-cruiser stated:

Well, we haven't gone into that [discussion of roles and responsibilities yet]. I know my role as in general, will be like looking after a house. Naturally, your washing, your ironing, or whatever goes on there, the general daily chores will be there. But as on the boat, we haven't said, "Well, this is your doing and that is my doing or whatever." I suppose that's something that I'll learn as we go along probably on this shake down cruise. I think that's what a lot of it's for ... he hasn't said, ...

(Pre-cruising woman 101a)
Aspirations for a shared partnership in regard to the roles and responsibilities were expressed by some cruisers:

I don’t think you can [but not share the roles and responsibilities], I don’t think it can be that, when there are only two people sailing because you are very dependent upon each other for comfort, for company. If anything should happen to either of those people then the full responsibility has to go to the other person. So really no, you have to both pick up and have all the broad roles. Because looking at ‘if’ something should happen to one or the other that they can’t fulfil any duties for a day, two days, or whatever. So I think both people in a two person situation should know everything they can possibly know about any aspect of the day.

(Pre-cruising woman 101)

According to her cruising partner, the reality following their shakedown cruise was that the roles were clearly divided:

She sort of fell into a certain role play and I fell into a certain role play if you like. She basically cleaned and washed and polished the boat did the washing and all that sort of stuff. And did very little to do with sailing, it was something she did when it had to be done but generally no she didn’t have much to do with the sailing. I would like it to change - What I would prefer is to have someone who is totally involved in the sailing and I would like to be just as totally involved in the cleaning and polishing, etc., whatever the case may be. A joint situation. But I think that’s more a life thing than a sailing thing. … How you deal with relationships.

(Pre-cruising man 102)

In regard to the sailing aspect of the cruising lifestyle sometimes the roles were shared:
I had dinghy sailing experience when I was growing up in Finland on and off every summer when I was growing up. We had a summer place by the lake and swimming and skiing and sailboats, just little boats that you sail not bigger boats. I didn't have any courses, not radio or navigation. 612m was the captain and I was learning as we went along, okay everything was new it was learning very fast. It was mainly for going around the coastlines - I'm on the helm and 612m takes up the sails because he is much stronger, - 612m is more into radio and navigation and I am steering the boat. (Exit cruising woman 611)

Another cruiser who considers the relationship is a partnership, also verbalises some dominant male related roles and responsibilities which related again to the domestic and non-domestic spheres:

Yeah, we do. We're pretty much like to work as a team - If 122m is on the wheel or whatever, I'll put up the main or if I'm on the wheel, he'll go and put the main up. - If - we're in a reef or whatever, he usually drives the boat and I tell him where to go most of the time. Odd occasions he'll go up and let me steer whatever but mostly that's pretty much [his role], we do automatically do know that [our roles]. I think it's probably the same with roles with husbands and wives and everything. It's a partnership. They come home from a hard day's work and they like to have their dinner cooked. It's just give and take. (Pre-cruising woman 121)

**Relationships: constituted knowledge**

In the pre-cruiser group, women joining a cruising yacht with the cruise already under way experienced some problems. Firstly, the yacht was not their home so personal space did not exist and they felt like a visitor. Further, the boat was not their property and their
participation in decision making was often minimal. Thirdly, if the women had no
knowledge of sailing they were plunged into the deep end, some women coped and others
found it a very fearful experience. The pre-cruising women below highlight some of the
dilemmas they experienced in adopting a cruising lifestyle with an already committed
partner. The first pre-cruising woman discusses how the boat was not her home for some
time, since she had not let go of some of the connections, which bound her to land:

Not really [the boat did not feel like my home], that is to say now as the
time went on it felt like home. And I guess that was because - I missed my
family a lot in the beginning and I did feel like a visitor for quite some
time but I think it was all my own way of thinking. I wanted the best of
both worlds. I wanted to do what I was doing but I didn’t want to be so far
away from my family and until I came to terms with myself that hay, listen
girl you can’t have both - I guess when I started to sort it all out then that’s
when the boat felt more like home and that’s then when I became, I
became less homesick, I didn’t miss the people any less like I would still, I
use to think I would like to chat to so and so for half an hour or wish I
could give my grandchildren a big hug and a kiss. I just had to get it into
context. Then I started to feel I was home, the boat had become my home.
But it really didn’t stop homesickness as in my family that were a long way
away. I handled it better, it didn’t make me so miserable because I realised
what I could give to them by not being there.

(Pre-cruising woman 101)

Coming from a non-sailing background appears to impact on women’s ability to
participate fully in the responsibilities of voyaging. As mentioned before, this is
compounded when the woman joins the boat after the partner has been cruising for some
time. For some women, then, the resorting to the domestic sphere is a means to have
some self esteem and to feel as if they are contributing to the experience as well, and even
this can be countermanded by the other partner:
I guess I’m not responsible for too much. I’m responsible for cooking. I’m responsible in sharing of the sailing but in everything I can do on this boat, my partner can do himself so I have to push for more responsibilities. I have to prove myself capable of doing it before I actually get that responsibility. I guess I’m responsible for sailing on and off the anchors and well, I’m always on the helm and he does the anchor, and in some ways it’s a very sort of female/male traditional role play but that’s also because it’s the only way when you’re starting off that - I mean, I couldn’t say, “You’re a bloke! Just because you’re a bloke doesn’t mean you have to do all the navigation and all the sailing and all the rest of it and do the anchor!” The sensible thing, it would be sensible because I don’t know how to navigate as well as what my partner does and so - And I don’t know how to sail the boat, so I’m under instruction all the time, so, yes, it’s very much - I’m the - I don’t even know if it’s because I’m a female. I think it’s because I’m the crew so therefore I’m - I’m a really good cook! [Strong tone]. If my partner was a better cook, he’d probably even do the cooking as well! He’s responsible for making me a cup of tea in the morning! I guess, I increase my responsibility by making sure the boat is clean and tidy because, even though he does that as well, I feel that that’s the least I can do because I don’t need too much direction to do that. I can take responsibility for that - but even that, he’s got all these little hidey-holes, possies, and stuff where he puts things, so obviously I don’t go into that because his whole life in on this boat. Only half of my life is really here! 

(Pre-cruising woman 117)

Further, the above pre-cruiser was powerless as in her own words:

My problem is of course is that I don’t own the yacht. At any time, I can be put off, if the relationship ... it all depends on the relationship.

(Pre-cruising woman 117)
Some women have a greater say than other women in decision making. The decision-making is shared because of the nature of the relationship and the joint decision making about the adoption of the cruising lifestyle in the first place:

You have both the same as he is [role in decision making] but normally in every sense the husband - We have pretty [even] influence because I said - I don’t like to do because he wanted to go for attempt to New Zealand. That was our first plan to go to New Zealand with the Pacific, but I told him, I said, “I don’t feel comfortable as yet to do an ocean passage from here to New Zealand, not with [our young son] on board. Because I’m not - if anything happens I would never forgive myself. You go. You get crew. You can do anything you like. I’ll meet you in Auckland. I’ll fly over. That’s what I say because I don’t - him - let him down that he not able to do it and I want to be safe myself and he said, “No way! If we go, we go somewhere together!” and that’s why we changed our plans and go with the trade winds and I’m happy and he’s happy. He doesn’t mind where he is so long he’s on his boat and that I have a lot of influence in what we doing or anything. (Pre-cruising woman 103)

The importance of shared decision-making and responsibility is emphasised further by the above cruising woman:

... For women, I think it is more important because there are so many domestics over working on boats because there is no way the husbands - are just going alone, and for [some of] the wives they just cannot cope with it. That’s why you have always - that’s why it’s important that the husband or friends or whatever, listen to the wives because they are the ones that keep the men afloat! We have to be happy too and we have to have says in things we want to see or do. I reckon it’s so important otherwise it be - a lot of women - they say, “ Oh yeah, beautiful. I like this. I like that.” And a year later you hear they hate it and they don’t tell the truth what they really like and what they really want because they’re all

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his ideas. He want to do it. He talks about HIS boat and [this is the] really selfish thing about yachtyes and I've seen so many split-ups and so many even partner changes and all that - I reckon, [in] cruising you like it or you hate it! - You reckon you like the lifestyle, you're pretty well alright. You put up with all the parts of cruising that are against you or whatever. You can put up with it. But you both be fair to each other and tell each other what you like or don't like. A lot of times also, we have a lot of friends on land now, is because the men wants to go sailing all the time. The most important thing is to go from A to B, it doesn't matter what's in there [at B]. If they don't want to go ashore, no, nothing. Most important thing is to get up the next morning go from [here] to the next port and just the sailing aspect then. Cruising I reckon has a lot of things, just to explore overland, you don't have to be on the boat all the time. We enjoy sailing, my husband enjoys sailing. But not us sailing, sailing to be out on the ocean all the time. We prefer - we probably the cruising people who will be 20% on the sea and 80% doing other things. I reckon that's more - you keep sort of more [women] on the boat than the other way around. That's not a life, I reckon, that's - being on the sea all the time.

(Pre-cruising woman 103)

Shared participation in decision making makes for more harmonious cruising relationships. Sailing knowledge and skills can also assist. However, exclusion from knowledge can be a fearful or frustrating component of the cruising experience. Preparation of some cruising women for the sailing experience is sometimes not considered by the other cruising partner as these two excerpts from individual interviews indicate:

... I talked 605w into doing it but she didn't know the front end of a boat from the back end of a boat so it was my dream really, I suppose.

(Exit cruising man 606)
In lots of things, I have no confidence until I really, really know, in diving for example I have to practice and practice it. It’s not just the fact that you are in a boat, it’s because I am pretty slow at learning and I need to practice and practice new concepts until really I am really sure that I know it really well. I suppose that if I don’t know something I get really panicky, not panicky but I rather not learn when it is coming to the crunch. I would rather learn somewhere else where it is more safe to learn. I get the same feelings when I dive. I learnt to dive in the weekend and I had to put it into practice. And I get the same sort of panicky feeling because I don’t know what I am doing. It’s like when I’m sailing, I really don’t know what I am doing and I shouldn’t be here as I’m not qualified and don’t sort of know the skills. (Exit cruising woman 605)

In some cases, whilst the woman is encouraged to participate she is overly instructed or checked and this places pressure on the woman to achieve to the man’s standards doing tasks his way rather than her way. The following pre-cruising woman discusses how she thinks she could sail the yacht single-handedly however she is not given the option to try, her partner neither will instruct her or enable her to practice although he continues to instruct her on tasks she already can accomplish which is frustrating. In the end, she stops trying:

I think so, yeah, with help, with another person just to help me but I think I feel more confident that I can do that than 122m does! I’d like to do more. I’m actually working it like I’d like to bring the boat into the marina and things like that but I don’t push it but I think that will come so I just do a little bit. I watch what he does so that when I .. but 122m’s really funny on the boat, he really is, and he’s quite, not a perfectionist, but he likes to do things himself and I don’t get upset about it because I know it’s just the way he is. Like if I go and take the dinghy out or go to the beach, he gives you a little run down. ... And he’s a little bit like that with the boat sometimes so some things that I’ll do and he’ll .. he doesn’t mean
it but we’re all different. We all do things different and when it comes to things on the boat, I let him worry about it. (Pre-cruising woman 121)

Alternatively some women are not excluded:

Some wives that I spoke to said that they would like to do more but he won’t let me. When I used to take out the boat for the day when my partner was working, some of the women would say I would say I would like to do that. And I would say it’s easy, once you get to know what you are doing, go out and find a buoy and start practising. And they would say “Oh, he wouldn’t let me do that, he yells at me. So I think, that in a number of cases the husband, or partner did not give her the opportunity to do it and therefore they just didn’t feel they – they didn’t have the confidence to do it. Often too with children, the women are involved in that and don’t have the time or the inclination to do so. There’s not enough time.

(Exit cruising woman 619)

However, total exclusion from knowledge can be very hard on the individual’s sense of well being:

When we first went out on our boat across the [bar on our first trip]. [It was d]ifferent to sailing on the lakes in hobuccats you had nothing to lose. If you lost something across the bar you lost your home. As you go further, the fear was there - you can lose your home, my fear was from my ignorance, because in the dark I can not sea what is going on. You are wrapped in darkness and the boat is your little haven. With longer distances you became more aware of the risk, the losing the house (the boat). I don’t know I’ve always been pregnant when we have been on a trip, because you know you are not just thinking of yourself you are thinking of somebody else. I don’t know if that has anything to do with it
or not, but I have never sailed when I haven’t been pregnant. I think it was a sense of vulnerability if you lose the house, [you also] consider that you are placing the kids in a situation where they have had not choice and that is not fair. (Exit cruising woman 605)

Passages and landfalls – travel: making passages

The activities engaged in by pre-cruisers, exit cruisers and exit-reentry cruisers on passages do not seem to differ greatly from those expressed by the long term cruisers in the previous ethnographic chapters.

This pre-cruiser recounts her activities in her first offshore passages as:

Uhm, reading, wrote a few letters, I don’t think I did much else to tell you the truth, it was very, very hot. OH, we played cards quite a bit on the boat. It was very hot though which tended to make you quite lethargic. And I’d lie down in the cockpit right in the back in the cool and think. I guess I did a lot of thinking about what we had done and what we had seen and perhaps what was going to happen now I had got back. All in all I had a very lazy nine days. (Pre-cruising woman 101)

Boat maintenance was also part of passage making:

Well, I’d do a lot of reading actually and maintenance on the boat, whatever is necessary. It wouldn’t be very much. Yeah, reading and cooking and writing. (Exit-reentry cruising man 808)
The philosophy, espoused by cruising woman 367, of taking each day as it comes was also applied by this pre-cruising woman who was preparing for her first off-shore passage:

102m said it wouldn’t be easy which I knew it won’t be. I know it won’t be. I’ll probably get seasick and he says, “We all do!” But I’ve never ... I haven’t built up expectations of anything. It’s take each day as it comes and place it as I get to it because you might think, “It’s going to be a easy day tomorrow” and then it’s not going to be that way. I just say, “I’ll just take each day as it comes!” and take it from there. I haven’t thought up any expectations of it. I know it’s not going to be easy in between. I’ve expected that there’ll be rough days but I’ve no expectations of what I think it may be, probably something totally different to what I expect anyway.  

(Pre-cruising woman 101a)

Those cruisers who have several passages under their belts come to know that it takes a few days to adjust to life at sea. This pre-cruising man describes the change from being at anchor to undertaking a passage:

... it looked as though the winds were going to abate a little bit and the next day the Tuesday we set off. And they didn't abate. So we, the winds kept blowing over 30 or 35 knots the whole way to the Solomons and this was a bit frightening because it wasn’t at all pleasant. Uhm, I wasn't feeling well, my crewmember wasn’t feeling well and neither of us felt terribly good until about the halfway through the second day out when things improved a little bit. I think the wind probably dropped a little bit. Generally things were a lot better after two days. And then it was just, just sailing, the boat sailed and virtually was, after the first two days it was pretty easy after that.  

(Pre-cruising man 102)
For others, passage making is still the debilitating experience long term cruisers have already described, debilitating that is until the body attunes to the motion and adjustments are made and/or determination takes control:

But these days, actually from off Mooloolaba up, I actually started to enjoy sailing because I was never ... I like the lifestyle what I said, as for my most important [reason for going cruising]. Soon as we were in anchorage, I was up and I was happy and I did forget about all the bad things behind, but actually, from Mooloolaba up to Lizard, I felt great. I was able to do [the] washing, cooking, really more involved in all the sailing part. Before my husband was doing it all most of the time by himself. Only sail changes or anything coming off, I helped him and then most of the time was going down below again. I just lay down. I just let myself ... I usually let myself go! I know it is 50% you can get seasick. People say it's all up here [points to her head], but I reckon it's not true because he never gets seasick and because you're occupied, I reckon you can get a lot off your mind. You can still feel off then, but if you keep doing things and keep yourself occupied, I reckon it helps a lot. ... But I still did my watch even at night and I used to have a bucket in one hand and ... [mimics looking around as in completing an horizon scan] Oh, it's no ship now. Vomit more. I used 6 towels on doing it. [It made me question] what I'm doing, is this pleasure? ... Actually, the rougher it was, I was better because we had to hand steer and your mind get over it and you have to just handle the boat.  

(Pre-cruising woman 103)

Another cruising woman considers that seasickness is partly to do with nerves:

[The first passage] it took eight days, before [reaching our destination] they gave us a gale warning. It hit us and we were in 45 knots and that was my first experience open ocean night-time. Noise from the wind, the sea was huge, boat was leaning over and I was seasick and that was about six...
hours. I was really scared and then after that I was really fine. After that we went through and then I was very comfortable and I haven’t been seasick and I think it was nerves as I haven’t been seasick since.

(Exit cruising woman 611)

Travelling with children places another dynamic into passage making, and enables women to contribute by involving themselves in the domestic sphere:

Passages with children, 606m did basically all the sailing and I did all the basic what you did at home - cooking the meals, watching [first son] and keeping him out of the road. - I didn’t enjoy the sailing part of it. I suppose there were some good days, but the actual sailing itself I don’t like leaning over, I like, I don’t have the confidence in myself to be of any asset to anyone.

(Exit cruising woman 605)

The following generalisation was made by one ex-cruising woman:

... There is an enormous margin for mythology and exaggeration and distortion of the truth on boats, so there are men who build up their wives enormously and wives who build up their husbands enormously, now what they say may be true. I don’t know, I just know on our boat there is an element of discomfort and all of these things, which happen for first week until you get into a rhythm. I have heard women at the end of a passage with children swear that they will never ever do it again because it was hell. It was chaos. And I’ve spoken to those same women a few weeks later and they admit to nothing of that side, so I don’t know.

(Exit cruising woman 617)
Passages and landfalls – travel

Travel appears to be an increasing motivation for the adoption of a cruising lifestyle:

Just for me, it's a good way of travelling. It's travelling in your own boat, you're travelling .. you've got all this gear with you and .. [can] still travel. Still .. if you don't like it on a place, you pull up your sail and you off and go somewhere else! That's what I really like. A little bit of independence and that's what I really enjoy. (Pre-cruising man 110)

Similar opinions were expressed by pre-cruising woman 123. Although for pre-cruising woman 123, passage making was an important part of the travel experience:

I do like travelling a lot and I think it's a very free lifestyle. You choose your own places. You can choose places where there's no one. You can go walking on places , which maybe not even anyone has been there before. I like this a lot and I think it's also nice way for travelling overseas to go to places in a different way, not just jumping on a plane. Doing a little bit the harder way and in the end, you feel a little that you belong there. - Like if you travel on a plane, you come with so many other tourists, - you come down somewhere on an airport and you're just like one out of all the ten thousand in the same way. But if you're sailing there - it's hard to describe! I think - it feels to me, belongingness, this land belongs a little bit to me and you sort of make it on a different way. - You haven't really made the passage, I think, psychologically [when you travel by plane]. But not that the land would belong to me or even if I would have the right to stay there longer than maybe for whoever owns the place.

(Pre-cruising woman 123)

For this exit cruising woman, the travel component made the lifestyle endurable:
To see places I knew I couldn’t see any other way and that’s why I think I put up with the other part. Because I wasn’t interested in the boating part, I was interested in the people you meet and the places you get to any other way. And the solitude and the quietness and things like that you can’t get on land. (Exit cruising woman 605)

Accidents can also turn people to the adoption of cruising as a means for travel:

[My partner] was a mountaineer, but he injured his knee very badly and he couldn’t be a mountaineer any more. He thought, “How else is a beautiful way to see the world?” And he thought, “Oh, well, I might buy a boat!” So he bought a boat! When he was very young [he was] on little boats and his father always had a boat ... (Pre-cruising woman 123)

The above cruiser chose cruising because of an accident, the following cruiser explained that changes in the family life stage caused both she and her partner to engage in cruising:

Why did we decide to go cruising? Well, when we got married, we had year in Africa and we did a lot of travelling ... together. We were looking for a place to live basically, the things that married people do there. We’d gone to South Africa after this year of travelling through Africa and decided it wasn’t for us so we thought we’d come to Australia. So I got pregnant just after we arrived in Australia and we still had the travel bug and wanted something that wasn’t going to cost the earth to do for a long time. So we thought about a double-decker bus, the whole thing and then, we thought we’ll, build a sail boat and we’ll go sailing.

(Exit-reentry cruising woman 803)

For another exit cruiser, cruising provided freedom and a cheap way to travel:
From my father, my father always had boats and sailing, I remember it sailing from Sydney to New Guinea. After the schooner we had cargo boats and went up and down. [I liked] the freedom the challenge it’s like a busman’s holiday, it in my view an economical way of travelling, it’s very similar to caravanning except its international.

(Exit cruising man 618)

Passages and landfalls – travel: Advantages of this mode of travel

The three cruiser groups provide insight into the use of a cruising mode as a way to travel and see the world. Several advantages were noted, such as, personal control of the travel experience was important:

Any, any other travel as opposed to cruising on a yacht now that I’ve been on a yacht and cruised I realise that by going the other modes of travel that you miss out on seeing a lot. You miss out on seeing a lot of places because there’s a lot of places that you simply can’t get to on these other modes of travel. On Sunday - I’m going to Brisbane on a bus, and I’m quite worried about getting on that bus. As opposed to going across the ocean. I’m quite worried about getting on that bus because I feel that I’ll be less safe on the bus than what I would be on the boat now that I’ve done it. - Just the roads, and the fact that the driver, the human error which I guess could have happened to us too. But I think when you’re, when there’s one or two of you just sailing then you know that you're in charge of what happens to you or to your life. - When you’re on a plane or a cruise ship going on a bus, trains, you’re at the liberty of whoever it is in control of that. (Pre-cruising woman 101)

Cruisers in these three groups, Herreshoff and long term cruisers, also noted the advantage of having your boat, your home with you:
I think you have your home with you. It’s a cheaper way of travelling and it saves accommodation. You can move at a slow or a very quick pace which ever you do you are not on a set itinerary. Maybe people who backpack and trek feel the same way.

(Exit cruising woman 617)

Comparisons with other forms of travel mostly focussed on caravanning:

I just thought about it as a mobile home but instead of being on land and pulled behind the car, it’s on the water and you sail it. That’s what I originally basically looked at it as, a mobile home.

(Exit cruising man 606)

The other advantage of travelling with your ‘home’ is:

... you can exchange hospitalities which you can’t do if you travel by air or by ship.  

(Exit-reentry cruising woman 801)

Passages and landfalls – Travel: Disadvantages of this mode of travel

Whilst cruisers in the three groups articulate disadvantages, like the long term cruisers, the disadvantages are far outweighed by the advantages of this form of travel.

As long term cruisers have noted, some of the difficulties relate to chore completion:

“Washing! That was the worst thing washing.”... I mean I can even enjoy washing sheets and towels in buckets with all the [local] kids around me saying do you want some more water etc. You know you can even enjoy it, some days I hated it and I thought I would give anything for a washing machine. It just depended on your frame of mind in that day.

(Pre-cruising woman 101)
For some of the people entering the cruising lifestyle water restrictions were most frequently noted especially by women:

... you had to be careful of water ... you know I would have nearly sold my soul for a fresh water shower and shampoo and a nice bathroom where I could you know discard my clothes and have a proper what I call a proper shower and shampoo. Then again it's just a matter of conditioning yourself. and I guess sometimes I would only feel that way if we had a day’s sail that I hadn’t enjoyed or it’s been a long day or a very hot day. But other times it didn’t worry me.

(Pre-cruising woman 101)

The major concern was the boat itself, as it was for long term cruisers. Travelling by boat is:

... always a responsibility, you’ve always got to worry about the boat. Is the anchor going to drag? Is someone going to rob it? You can’t leave it without worrying about it, ...

(Exit-reentry cruising woman 801)

Cruising woman 617 also noted similar disadvantages as well as a partial restriction in travel activities, particularly:

If you want to make a foray inland. Then you have to leave your boat. You always have the worry of the security and that doesn’t give you as much peace of mind that you’ve got the responsibility of a something major asset in your life that you have to leave. I know that we are never too happy leaving it for long. ... [B]ut it shouldn’t restrict the sort of experiences you have on land.  

(Exit cruising woman 617)

It also restricts spontaneity:
... if you like to do something else and you still want to keep your boat, you have to put it somewhere safely. ... you have to think about making the decisions and working it out. ... (Pre-cruising woman 123)

In the main, as already stated, the disadvantages of the lifestyle are outweighed by the advantages of the lifestyle:

It's a worthwhile thing it's a lifestyle I think that's how you got to treat it in the end. The same as you come away from a lifestyle and in a way you have to treat it as a different lifestyle. It's got it's ups and downs some of the things I'm not all that happy about ... such as a long passage or your uncomfortable passages. Uhm, but I think that's part of the whole. I think once you get there, I think that feeling of Utopia that feeling of niceness lasts and you get there. I think that makes it up for all that hardship but then there's hardships in life too. So it really doesn't make any difference.

... (Pre-cruising man 102-2)

And for two exit cruiser there were:

No disadvantages as you accept the new lifestyle.

(Exit cruising woman 611)

If you decided to live on a yacht you put up with that [the disadvantages] - it isn’t a disadvantage, you have chosen to do that so you put up with that.

(Exit cruising man 620)
Why stop cruising?

This chapter introduced the reasons for three groups of cruisers entering the lifestyle. The chapter will conclude by considering why those who had been in the lifestyle decided to leave the lifestyle? Some sought a change:

Three years now on the boat, long enough now, time for a change.

(Exit cruising woman 611)

For exit cruising man 602, a desire to travel inland was the main factor:

I have been on the boat for eight years and chartering some of the time but now I want to see parts of the world like Australia, America and Africa by campervan. Places you can't see by boat and [you] would worry about the boat if you left it and went inland. So we are doing this for two years and then we will buy another boat and go cruising again. It is the lifestyle for us.

(Exit cruising man 602)

For another exit cruiser, the lack of enjoyment, the pressure on relationships, the desire for connections with mainstream society ended her cruising:

Reasons for coming back, well for me the reason was I wanted to get off the boat. I didn't enjoy it one bit. I didn't enjoy the year we had away. One reason it was very difficult with my partner and the kids in a close environment. My partner had worked seven days a week and many hours and had not actually been with the kids, so I saw myself and the children and myself and my partner and together I found that quite difficult to deal with. Plus he had the responsibility of three people that couldn't sail so he was quite difficult and at times quite tense and we had lousy weather. So our reasons, I suppose I was the main instigator in coming back. My partner would not have to come back, I was the one who wanted to get off
the boat and come back. And get back into the community, friends and just to be properly settled in one place. So that was the main reason we came back. I went along because it was something my partner wanted to do. (Exit cruising woman 609)

Her partner reiterated a similar point of view:

With the accident we lost interest, maybe we were a little intimidated by the accident, we lost confidence. And all in all, the accident said to us to get off the boat and get into a house. And there was no hard feelings and personally, I lost interest in that yacht after the accident, in that yacht – we had intentions of selling that yacht and having a steel yacht, after you have an accident with a yacht - I lost interest. (Exit cruising man 620)

Do they consider sailing in the future?

At the moment we haven’t thought about it, when we drive past the yachts and I think that is lovely, and when I get home I think that is lovely too, but in the short term no. but maybe we will go with other people, but as for buying a yacht, I don’t think so and also finances come into it.

(Exit cruising man 620)

Another exit reentry cruising man 818, unfortunately, was in the wrong place at the wrong time. He had been in port for some days when a localised skirmish broke out and his vessel was sunk in cross fire from armoured vessels. He escaped with his life, and nothing from the boat. However, he is cruising again after building up his cruising kitty (finances) to actualise the lifestyle he enjoys. His reflection on the event – it was fate, why worry about what’s going to happen tomorrow live for today.

Other factors which can halt a cruising voyage are family commitments:
We didn’t go cruising again after our first voyage because we were having parent health problems – then we went cruising again.

(Exit cruising woman 619)

Due to changing circumstances, sometimes the lifestyle no longer suits:

[The boat became] too small for all of us, and it was. We had to move off the boat when it was still worth some money. [Otherwise] we wouldn’t get as much money for it in the end. – I would [go cruising again], I would but on something bigger. Taking the kids, yeah.

(Exit cruising woman 605)

Whilst the above cruising woman did not enjoy the sailing side of cruising (the travel making up for the down side of cruising) she was still ready to resume the lifestyle at a later date. For another exit cruising woman, the lack of enjoyment, the pressure on relationships, the desire for connections with the centre ended her cruising:

Reasons for coming back – well for me the reason was - I wanted to get off the boat. I didn’t enjoy it one bit. I didn’t enjoy the year we had away. One reason - it was very difficult for my partner and the kids in a close environment. My partner had worked seven days a week and many hours, and had not actually been with the kids, so I saw myself and the children, and myself and my partner and – together, I found that quite difficult to deal with. Plus he had responsibility of three people that couldn’t sail so he was quite difficult at times - quite tense and we had lousy weather. So our reasons, I suppose I was the main instigator in coming back. My partner wouldn’t have come back, I was the one who wanted to get off the boat and come back. And get back into the community, to friends and just to be properly settled in one place. So that was the main reason we came back. I went along because it was something my partner wanted to do.

(Exit cruising woman 609)
The above cruiser has since returned to the cruising lifestyle with her partner without their children who have since gone their own ways. Illness and seasons can also curtail a voyage:

Anyway a couple of days out, about six half past six in the morning I got a couple of books out again and I started reading them again. And I thought no, this is really no good. We are going up to this place in the wrong time of the year in the monsoon time, and uhm, it’s just not going to work out. It would be terribly uncomfortable for the next three months. Plus I was still getting over this malaria, so I did a 180 degree turn and set back for [our home port] and that’s basically what that was about.

(Pre-cruising man 102-2)

Since his second interview, this cruiser set off again and completed his circumnavigation. And this is the reason for several of the exit cruisers halting their cruising, they had fulfilled their goals, their circumnavigations. The return to society meant:

... getting a house and a new life, before going off again. I sort of check on the politics now it’s getting hard now. There are lots of dilemmas happening so that will determine where we go. For example we sailed in to Sudan when they declared war and we had to get off again. [However] I’d like to do another world trip.

(Exit cruising man 614)

The cruising community is growing and changing however for those cruisers who have exited the community or who are preparing to reenter it:

... I think probably the word’s got out! The message has got around that this is a good way to go and I guess there’s more and more pressure of society on people especially economic pressure. This is not a bad way to live and it’s not that expensive once you’ve got your boat. It’s reasonably cheap, actually. So I suppose that’s why, I don’t know.

(Exit-reentry cruising woman 801)
Conclusion

Amongst the pre-cruisers, the exit cruisers and the exit –reentry cruisers, motivations for pursuing a cruising 'style of life' reflected those evidenced in the preceding chapters and the narratives of long term ocean cruisers. However, one element which is changing is the pursuit of the lifestyle because of the activity of sailing, less individuals are pursuing cruising because of a love of sailing, it is more a means of travel and then a lifestyle. More women are also participating in the lifestyle than was the case when several of the cruisers commenced their cruising lifestyles in the first half of the twentieth century. Whilst chapter five to ten have portrayed the dominant discourses pervading cruisers texts and have applied a macro-zoom level of analysis throughout, descriptors have also been used which will be expanded on and analysed using all of the zoom levels of Pamphilon’s (1999) model. The next section is the last section and moves to the theoretical analysis of the cruisers and their lifestyle and reasons for pursuing a cruising 'style of life'.
An ethnography of long term ocean cruisers

Part Three

Theoretical Reflections on the Voyage
The preceding ethnographic chapters were organised using the metaphors pertaining to a voyage. Within each chapter, the dominant discourses at the macrolevel of zoom were presented in a narrative form. The following chapters move the level of analysis from the macro level to the meso-, micro- and interactional levels of Pamphilon’s zoom model (1999). The theoretical constructs applied in the following chapters have been determined by grounded theory analysis and the various levels of ‘zoom’.

To enable you to plot your course through the remaining chapters, the following table outlines the connections between the theoretical and the ethnographic chapters, macro level dominant discourses and meso-level themes as well as related literature, and disciplinary areas.

**Table 11.0 Overview of Part Three: Theoretical Reflections on the Voyage**

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Chapter 11

Cruisers and the Pursuit of Escape and Freedom: A theoretical investigation

In the Chapter Five, *Casting off the ropes*, cruisers identified a need to escape or to gain freedom from constraining social circumstances and settings. The need to escape or to seek freedom is reflected in the sociological literature on anomie and alienation. Consequently, theories relating to anomie and alienation will be used to examine cruisers’ reasons for leaving mainstream western societies. In particular, the examination will draw on Durkheim’s (1897/1951, 1938/1964 and 1952) view of anomie which is rooted in people’s responses to constant social change and the ever continuing specialisation of work tasks. According to Durkheim, the consequence of anomie is the development of individualism and self-interest. While the concept of individual freedom was acceptable to Durkheim, he also notes that it causes dissonance in social unity (1947). Subsequently, individuals exhibiting individual interest and dissonance with social unity or belonging were labelled as ‘deviants’. An entire body of literature exists which examines deviance in primarily a pejorative sense. However, the cruisers’ pursuit of a cruising lifestyle is not a negative form of deviance, it is a positive form of deviance. It is a positive form of deviance as individual freedom is affirmed through the adoption of a cruising lifestyle (Macbeth, 1985).

Alienation, on the other hand, may be attributed to the work of Marx and the alienation of the worker from the means of production. In this chapter, cruisers will be used as a lens to investigate sociological theories associated with individual actions. Specifically, the chapter will consider whether cruisers’ quests to escape and to achieve freedom are a form of anomie and/or a result of alienation. The chapter will simultaneously critique cruisers in regard to anomie and alienation as well as critique
the relevance of the theories of anomie and alienation to explain cruisers’ experiences. The chapter will also consider whether the cruisers interviewed in this study exhibit a positive form of deviance in their adoption of a cruising lifestyle or not. Subsequently, the chapter will serve to critique Macbeth’s (1985) thesis that cruising is a demonstration of affirmative deviance.

In commencing this critique and analysis, I am cognisant of Steven Lukes’ (1967/1972: 28) advice that the investigation of anomie and alienation in contemporary society requires an ‘understanding that their causes are multiple and to be sought at different levels of abstraction.’ In achieving these different levels of abstraction the various levels of analysis from Pamphilon’s (1999) model will be applied to the twenty seven cruisers who inform this chapter’s discussion. Using macro-level analysis, the twenty seven cruisers’ narratives may be organised around the dominant discourses of escape (7 women and 10 men) and freedom (2 women and 8 men). At the meso-level, implicit in the discourses of escape and freedom are the themes of anomie and alienation. At the micro-zoom level, cruisers narratives were not halting or uncertain regarding these meso-level themes associated with their reasons for going cruising. The narratives were coherently presented with no ambiguity evident in the cruisers’ intents. You will be aware that at the beginning of this thesis I indicated that one of my reasons for adopting a cruising lifestyle was to escape constraining social norms and regulatory work which was becoming all consuming in my life. Subsequently, at an interactional level of analysis, no disjunction between the cruisers’ historical subjectivity and my assumptive position as a listener occurred (Pamphilon, 1999: 10).

Returning to the meso-level themes, there is a plethora of literature which addresses both anomie and alienation and an associated diversity of definitions for each (Richard Mitchell 1983: 173). However, for the purposes of this chapter, the discussions will

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1 To facilitate comparisons, gender alternation is not applied in this sentence.
be founded on the seminal works of Durkheim on anomie and Marx on alienation. Whilst this chapter identifies anomie and alienation as separate concepts, I agree with Mitchell (1983: 176 – 178) and others that the two concepts are linked. Mitchell (1983: 176 – 178) also borrows from Durkheim and Marx respectively. Mitchell perceives that anomie and alienation are two ends of a continuum - a continuum which polarises the dimensions of certainty and uncertainty. Mitchell (1983) pairs anomie with the certainty end of the continuum and alienation with the uncertainty end of the continuum. In making such a pairing, Mitchell acknowledges that:

the idea that alienation and anomie fall at polar extremes of a continuum of certainty or uncertainty is not entirely new. Cooley (1912), for example, discussed two opposed extremes of experience he called “formalism” and “disorganization,” which correspond roughly to my uses of “alienation” and “anomie.”

... Parsons conceptualized anomie as the opposite of “full institutionalization.” ... Others have suggested pairings of similar concepts [such as] Coburn (1975, 214), in discussing the relationship between work conditions and health ... French and Kahn (1962) describe the condition in which abilities exceed demands as frustration ... Barakat (1969), while recognizing, but not incorporating, anomie in his framework, divides the term “alienation” into conditions of overcontrol, powerless and undercontrol, and normlessness. ... In using the terms alienation and anomie, I refer to subjective states experienced by individual social actors. ... For me, alienation and anomie are conscious states. I reject the idea that individuals may be alienated or anomie from some standpoint of which they are not aware (see Schacht, 1970, 154-59).

However, rather than seeing anomie and alienation as opposite ends of a continuum of certainty and uncertainty, I see anomie and alienation as different expressions of dis-
ease within cruisers' realities whilst living in mainstream western societies. At one level, cruisers voice dis-ease with society in general and at a finer level of definition or focus, cruisers voice dis-ease regarding the institution of 'work'. The concepts whilst disparately discussed in this chapter are inter-linked. The separation is for discussion purposes only. In both instances, the concepts show disequilibrium with societal norms and conformity at the individual level leading to feelings of isolation and belonginglessness in response to anomie situations and powerlessness and self-estrangement in response to alienating experiences with work and retirement.

I am aware that:

[s]ome sociologists have come to use the term "alienation" to refer, in part, to the subjective aspects of what Merton called anomie. The distinction is not always clear, but the alienated individual is considered to be marginal, normless, and isolated. Alienation is similar to what others, ..., have referred to as "anomia". The individual is "alienated" from society, but this is not the same as "personal disorganization," anomia, or anomie, for, as Nettler puts it, an alienated person is:

"one who has been estranged from, made unfriendly toward, his [sic] society and the culture it carries. Alienation and anomie are undoubtedly correlated; at least it is difficult to conceive of any notable degree of anomie that would not result in alienation, but this seems poor reason for confusing the two. Nor should these concepts be equated, as they so often are, with personal disorganization defined as intrapersonal conflict, personal goallessness, or lack of "internal coherence," and which is used synonymously with psychopathology. Behaviors commonly selected as symptoms of anomie such as white collar crime or juvenile gang activity are often exhibited by individuals who are themselves well
integrated. How alienated such people feel, as compared with those whose behaviors seem less indicative of anomie, is a matter for investigation rather than assumption. Similarly one may conceivably be alienated with or without personal disorganization and with or without participating in behaviors that are ordinarily used as indexes of anomie.”

(Marshall Clinard, 1964: 37)

Bearing in mind, the relationship between ‘disorganisation’ and anomie, my perspective which is grounded in the texts of cruisers tends to reflect the concepts of anomie and alienation presented in Cooley’s (1912 in Mitchell, 1983: 176) definitions of disorganisation² (‘mechanism going to pieces’) and formalism (‘mechanism supreme’) respectively. Consequently, my perspective is as Richard Schacht (1970: 182) identifies, one in which alienation is connected to the rejection of societal norms that is anomie rather than separated from it. I adopt this perspective since the overall response to anomie and alienation by cruisers is to escape and achieve freedom by creating their own social reality away from the centre of western societies as individuals living in the margins as cruising yachtsies. The next two sections of this chapter will consider anomie and alienation from cruisers’ perspectives and also within each of those sections a brief overview of relevant literature will be provided. The chapter will conclude by considering the creative responses by cruisers as a form of positive deviance as they seek to realise their full potentials.

**Anomie**

Anomie is the breakdown or ineffectiveness of social norms to regulate behaviour, it is equivalent to ‘rulelessness’. As Durkheim comments:

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² My use of disorganisation also reflects the individual disorganisation noted by Netter (1957) and disassociation from social norms at the personal level.
There is no society in which such regulation does not exist. It varies with times and places.

... In normal conditions the collective order is regarded as just by the great majority of persons. Therefore, when we say that an authority is necessary to impose order on individuals, we certainly do not mean that violence is the only means of establishing it. Since this regulation is meant to restrain individual passions, it must come from a power which dominates individuals; but this power must also be obeyed through respect, not fear.

... In the case of economic disasters, indeed, something like declassification occurs which suddenly casts certain individuals into a lower state than their previous one. ... But society cannot adjust them instantaneously to this new life and teach them to practice the increased self-repression to which they are unaccustomed.

... It is the same if the source of the crisis is an abrupt growth of power and wealth. Then, truly, as the conditions of life are changed, the standard according to which needs were regulated can no longer remain the same; for it varies with social resources, since it largely determines the share of each class of producers. The scale is upset; but a new scale cannot be immediately improvised. Time is required for the public conscience to reclassify men [sic] and things. ... At the very moment when traditional rules have lost their authority, ... The state of de-regulation or anomy is thus further heightened by passions being less disciplined, precisely when they need more disciplining.

... All classes contend among themselves because no established classification any longer exists.

(Durkheim, 1952/1972: 21, 22, 23)
Moreover, anomie occurs when 'human activity naturally aspires beyond assignable limits and sets itself unattainable goals' (Durkheim 1897/1951: 247 – 248). These unattainable goals are socially categorised, subsequently, '[a]nomie, ..., is a condition of the social surround, not a condition of particular people' (Merton, 1964). As Merton noted earlier anomie is 'conceived as a breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group in accord with them' (Robert Merton, 1957: 162).

In most of the literature, anomie is used in a collective sense. As Marshall Clinard (1964: 34) noted Durkheim used the term anomie in regard to group qualities or social structures. As evidenced in the quote above, Merton used the term in regard to cultural and social structures or norms, that is, collectively based referents. A move to an individual study of anomie is evidenced in the work of Robert MacIver (1950) and David Riesman (1956). In particular, the terms 'anomia' and 'anomy' were framed though not coined by MacIver (1950) and Riesman (1956) to describe the individual or psychological nature of anomie. Anomy is defined as 'a state of mind in which the individual’s sense of social cohesion – the mainspring of his [sic] morale – is broken or fatally weakened' (MacIver, 1950: 85). The following abridged narratives from Chapters Five and Ten, indicate that such a breaking with social cohesion and rejection of societal norms may be associated with disillusionment with society and its ability to fulfil an individual’s needs:

I imagine [people go cruising because of a] disillusionment with the modern lifestyle. (Cruising man 334).

Inherent in that disillusionment is the perceived plasticity of society and society’s repetitive representation and inherently regulatory nature:
I hate all the plastic-ness! You come and you go and all around you, it doesn’t matter what city you go to, what town, you’ve got a shopping centre, you can guarantee if there’s one shop in Brisbane, you can go to Townsville and a shopping centre will be owned by the same people [and everything is the same]. And you are just so, [encouraged to] consume, consume, consume!  
(Pre-cruising woman 117)

The breaking may also be associated with, the hum-drum and routinised nature of suburbia:

[Cruising enables you to get] away from suburbia [the hum-drum life of suburbia].  
(Exit cruising woman 629)

[With cruising] you don’t have to fit in or anything and you can move where you want to.  
(Exit-reentry cruising woman 801)

The breaking can also be manifested in the rejection of conformity to social norms:

[If you are cruising] if you are doing it, you don’t want to fit the traditional mould of going to work and that sort of stuff.  
(Cruising woman 407)

In particular, for cruisers, the breaking represents:

... someone who really wants to take control of their life for a while and it’s not dropping out. I mean there is an element of people who go cruising, who are nonconformist in a society and that’s the slightly eccentric end element of cruising. The bulk of cruisers just do not want to be dictated to by society. By what society says we should be
doing at a certain point in our lives. Cruisers are the ones who want to take control of their life.

(Exit cruising woman 617)

In adopting a cruising lifestyle, cruisers are able to assume a sense of belonging or of fitting in which was denied them when they lived at the centre of mainstream western societies:

..., downtown [living in society] you can’t relate to half the people because you’re all doing different things. But at least if you go sailing, everybody’s sailing for a purpose - you can relate to everybody else on the water.

(Exit cruising man 606)

As this section commented at its commencement, the individual does not cause the anomic conditions to occur it is the social setting which does that. As Edwin Lemert\(^3\) (1964: 76) iterates, Merton’s perspective is one where ‘the group [is the] ... arena of interaction, influencing conformity and deviation.’ In not conforming, what cruisers attempt to do is what Parsons (1937: 335) identified people who choose suicide as a response to increased social prosperity could not do and that is to achieve ‘a sense of security, of progress towards ends ... [with] not only on adequate command over means, but on a clear definition of the ends themselves’ (Parsons, 1937: 335). In adopting a cruising lifestyle, cruisers achieve a sense of security – command over the means to achieve the ends, and a knowledge of the end itself – a cruising lifestyle. As a consequence, cruisers’ reactions to anomic social settings is to embark on a positive form of deviance from societal norms. Although some cruisers felt ‘disorganised’, that is, experienced anomic tendencies within mainstream western society, this was often exacerbated by their self-estrangement from work – that is the alienating factors

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\(^3\) Lemert is a critique of Merton’s approach. See Lemert (1964).
of working at the 'centre'. Their alienation primarily resulted from a lack of control over their productive efforts as well as a stifling of their creative powers within work environments which were boring, sanitised and routinised as well as stressful. Alienation was also experienced by cruisers in regard to society's views of retirement opportunities and activities. The next section considers some of the various types of alienation expressed by cruisers and the literature.

**Alienation**

As noted previously, the concept of alienation is derived from the work of Marx. For Marx (1963/1972), alienation is related to the worker's lack of connection to his or her productive activity, the product, fellow humans, and the worker to her or himself. Marx responds to the question:

What constitutes the alienation of labour? First, that the work is external to the worker, that it is not part of his [sic] nature; and that, consequently, he [sic] does not fulfill himself [sic] in his [sic] work but denies himself [sic], has a feeling of misery rather than well-being, does not develop freely his [sic] mental and physical energies but is physically exhausted and mentally debased. The worker, therefore, feels himself [sic] at home only during his [sic] leisure time, whereas at work he [sic] feels homeless. His [sic] work is not voluntary but imposed, force labour. It is not the satisfaction of a need, but only a means for satisfying other needs. Its alien character is clearly shown by the fact that as soon as there is no physical or other compulsion it is avoided like the plague. External labour, labour in which man [sic] alienates himself [sic], is labour of self-sacrifice, of mortification. Finally, the external character of work for the worker is shown by the
fact that it is not his [sic] own work but work for someone else, that in work he [sic] does not belong to himself [sic] but to another person.

(Karl Marx, 1963/1972: 14)

Essentially, Marx viewed alienation from two perspectives a subjective one based on the workers’ perspectives and an objective one determined by Marx’s values regarding work and the individual (Finifter, 1972: 107). Adam Schaff (1980) also discusses alienation in regard to objective and subjective alienation though his interpretations differ from those of Marx. Schaff (1980: 141) describes ‘self-alienation or subjective alienation, ... as the alienation of man [sic] in relation to a definite system of reference, as opposed to objective alienation, the relationship of products alienated in respect to their creator, social man [sic].’

Whilst Marx’s view ‘[c]orrespond[s] both to the historical experience that guided his remarks on economic life and to the Romantic influences on his youth, Marx held that the human subject succeeds to self-realization through the process of self-determining work’ (Axel Honneth, 1996: 377). Despite Marx’s replacement of his early alienation-theoretic approach with his ‘reification’ model, his social-philosophical orientation continued to permeate his critique of capitalism (Honneth, 1996: 378), that is the self actualisation of individuals is destroyed through the activity of work.

Of particular concern to Marx was ‘... the fact that work organization in capitalist systems deprives the worker of a context in which to develop his [sic] human potential for creativity through labor’ (Finifter, 1972:107). Based on Marx’s ‘thesis’, Robert Blauner (1964/1972: 100) made the assumption ‘that work which permits autonomy, responsibility, social connection, and self-actualization further the dignity of the human individual, whereas work without these characteristics limits the development of personal potential and is therefore to be negatively valued.’ This is evidenced in the narratives of cruisers:
I'd never go back to a salaried job now. I've had too much freedom; this is the thing! I'd hate the discipline of working for somebody else but I'd like to have a project of my own. I had one before I left ... my brother talked me into buying another boat that some poor beggar'd half built ... So I finished that one off and really enjoyed it! Probably made about 10 cents per hour, but it didn't matter, I really enjoyed it. ... Then, so I'd like to do something similar again if I could find some project like that, ...

(Cruising man 398)

The cruisers are articulating work which is self actualising, work which is intrinsically rewarding. Such texts are usually the purview of social psychology. However, implicit in Marx's thesis on alienation and other writers' interpretations and commentaries is a socio-psychological perspective (see for example, Blauner, 1964/1972; Lukes 1967/1972). This perspective has synergies with individual psychology particularly, Rogers' (1983) 'fully functioning person' and self-actualisation theories of Maslow and Csikszentmihalyi which are explored in depth in the next chapter. However, returning to Marx, the 'fully functioning person' 'is only possible by his [sic] really bringing out of himself [sic] all the powers that are his [sic] as the species of man [sic]' (Marx in Bertell Ollman, 1976: 114). Ollman (1976: 115) comments that:

Marx calls man's [sic] freedom 'the positive power to assert his [sic] true individuality'. This 'true individuality' is man [sic] at the height of his [sic] powers and needs, thoroughly and intensively cooperating with his [sic] fellows, and appropriating all of nature. Free activity is activity that fulfills such powers, and freedom, therefore, is the condition of man [sic] whose human powers are thus fulfilled; it passes

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beyond the absences of restraint to the active unfolding of all his [sic] potentialities.

(Ollman, 1976: 115).

Subsequently, in their deconstructions of Marx’s texts, the writers are advancing the notion of self agency and self actualisation – again the similarities with a ‘fully functioning person’ can not be ignored. Further, the achievement of an individual’s full potential is not class-related and no-one is precluded ‘from recognizing the unique character of each individual and of something called the “personal life” ’ (Ollman, 1976: 124). In achieving one’s full potential – and using one’s creative responses, Marx’s view was advocating the complete antithesis of Durkheim’s view of behaviour wherein the latter believed individuals should demonstrate restraint and thereby maintain the collective or the social order in balance. Despite the time of their writings, Lukes (1967/1972) and Bertell Ollman (1976: 240) advocate that Marx and Durkheim are still relevant for they provide us with a lens to view the individual and society and Ollman would add ‘nature’ (Ollman, 1976: 240) as in the natural world. This is still true for understanding the subculture of long term ocean cruisers. The understanding of nature and its impact on individuals and their self-efficacy is evidenced in the following cruiser narrative:

Cruising is the last frontier of total freedom where, laws [do not exist] - I mean laws do exist for the sea obviously. But it’s a freedom and you are really in touch with the elements; this is what it is really about. When you are out at sea, it is only you or the people aboard this vessel itself. You are in the hands – in the mercy [laughs] of the sea. And you are really in touch with nature. Nobody can help you out there ... But it is this sense of being touch with the elements [and being tested]. And suddenly out of the blue there you are and it’s a great [feeling]. It’s – you feel you – oh, I’ve really – I’ve made it.

(Cruising man 332)
As noted earlier in this chapter, a diversity of definitions exist for both anomie and alienation. This section will consider three typologies which have developed from Marx's initial writings on alienation. The three typologies are attributed to Melvin Seeman (1959/1972), Blauner (1964/1972) and Kenneth Keniston, 1962, 1965/1972). Seeman (1959/1972) identified five variations on the use of alienation in literature: powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, and self-estrangement as attributes associated with the use of the term alienation. The discussions which focus on powerlessness are rooted in the work of Marx and the alienation of the worker in a capitalist society. In this case, a worker whose ability to make decisions were expropriated by 'bosses' that is those in power. Essentially, the literature on powerlessness refers to the lack of personal control an individual has over various events and their outcomes, in cruising this is not the case:

[In cruising] I am my own boss, I don't have to listen to anybody dictating to me. (Cruising man 416)

The second interpretation of alienation within the literature is 'meaninglessness'. According to Seeman (1959/1972: 49) this is best reflected '[i]n Mannheim's depiction, the individual cannot choose appropriately among alternative interpretations (cannot "act intelligently" or "with insight") because the increase in functional rationality, with its emphasis on specialization and production, makes such choice impossible.' In considering the options for retirement or living in suburbia, the following cruising man indicates that he chose to act with insight to have a satisfying life which had some meaning:

[T]his lifestyle ... give[s] us some satisfaction so we continue doing it. I think people who mow lawns on the weekend probably get a lot of satisfaction out of that so they continue doing that basically and I have mown lawns and I know which is better. [Laughs]. (Cruising man 336)
The third variation on the term ‘alienation’ refers to ‘normlessness’ and is founded in Durkheim’s depiction of ‘anomie’ as in rulelessness, that is, the breakdown or ineffectiveness of social norms for behaviour. Seeman (1959/1972: 50) suggested based on an individualistic perspective, normlessness refers to when ‘there is a high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviors are required to achieve given goals.’ Again, this is a pejorative view and negates a positive (creative) response to a person’s desire not to follow the norms of society:

I like the lifestyle ... it is the feeling of adventure and it’s the feeling of freedom. And you are not really totally, what should you say – part of this society that we don’t really want ... with all the laws and things on shore ..., it’s really isn’t what one really wants, you know. So there is nothing to stop you, it’s only up to you. So it’s almost a feeling of freedom, it’s the last frontier where I think man [sic] can sort of get away from it all – be his or herself.

(Cruising man 332)

The fourth set of references to alienation focus on isolation of individuals from currently held cultural norms (see Gwynn Nettler, 1957). The rejection of working hard and long hours (the Protestant work ethic) and accepting more and more stress as part of working conditions was out-rightly rejected by several cruisers as being unhealthy for the future length of their life span and quality of life:

372m is a workaholic and I’m inclined to be that way too and I know that if we stayed on land that we’d just work ourselves into a grave. And I didn’t want to go that way. I’d rather die at sea doing something fun!

(Cruising woman 371)
Well, I feel stress is a major problem in our lives today and I feel getting away on a boat, there's only one thing you can worry about ... and that's the weather and you can't do anything about that anyway, so I think [cruising] is a great stress reliever.

(Cruising man 392)

The final variation in the literature encapsulates 'self-estrangement'. Seeman (1959/1972: 53) proposed that this type of alienation was described by Erich Fromm (1955: 120) as 'a mode of experience in which the person experiences himself [sic] as an alien. He [sic] has become one might say, estranged from himself [sic].' Other writers who adopted this perspective were Pappenheim and Kahler (Keniston, 1962, 1965/1972: 37) and Riesman (1950). Self-estranged persons are unable to find self-actualising activities, ones which are intrinsically rewarding (Seeman, 1959/1972: 54). This was not the case for long term cruisers.


[a] person is powerless when he [sic] is an object controlled and manipulated by other persons or by an impersonal system (such as technology), and when he [sic] cannot assert himself [sic] as a subject to change or modify this domination. Like an object, the powerless person reacts rather than acts. He [sic] is directed or dominated, rather than self-directing. The non-alienated pole of the powerlessness dimension is freedom and control. Freedom is the state which allows
the person to remove himself [sic] from those dominating situations that make him [sic] simply a reacting object. Freedom may therefore involve the possibility of movement in a physical or social sense, the ability to walk away from a coercive machine process, or the opportunity of quitting a job because of the existence of alternative employment. Control is more positive than freedom, suggesting the assertion of the self-directing subject over such potentially dominating forces as employers or machine systems.


Such a quest for freedom permeated cruiser narratives. They sought freedom from constraining social settings, from work, from responsibilities. In obtaining their freedom, cruisers demonstrated individual agency and self determinism. One of the particularly constraining aspects of society was work – work which rendered the cruisers powerless, work which was meaningless, isolating and generated self-estrangement. For Blauner (1964/1972) individual freedom in work comes from freedom over work or activity choices such as production rates and techniques and pressures, which according to Blauner constitute ‘control of the work process’. This is one of the aspects of a cruising lifestyle:

The [cruising] lifestyle appeals to me … instead of working in a dull routine job …there is a lot less stress. As far as the 9 to 5 [mundane job goes] at least while we are cruising we have set goals for when we go into – mundane jobs. We can say well, this is only going to be three months before we see the end to it, so it’s not tedious. And we have a goal to work towards [which we set and control].

(Cruising man 330)

In his study into alienation, Blauner (1964/1972) indicated that some of the production workers in his study were seeking to get out into their own small businesses because
of the non-alienating affect such work had on the determination of the product. However, cruiser narratives indicate that this too can result in powerlessness as the social and cultural norms of working hard and making profits become counterproductive as this cruiser who had his own business notes:

My friends said that I am crazy, ... that you can’t do that [you can not leave and sell up the business]. ... I had my business going, building this business of my own, ... making a profit ... You shouldn’t give up something like that, that is in our society, uh-uh [no-no]! I sold the whole damn thing and said well, we have to take off. ... I was really a workaholic and I’m glad I got rid of this, I don’t want to be back on that. ... If I go back to Germany, I may have job something I like. But not necessarily to make a lot of money ... just a little, [but the job will] have a goal to go to. But I certainly don’t start a business what I have done before. [Laughs]

(Cruising man 404)

Referring to Seeman’s meaninglessness, Blauner (1964/1972: 116) stated that ‘meaning in work is derived from product, process and organization of work’. Specifically he was referring to the uniqueness of a product’s character, rather than its standardization and repetitious pattern of production. Meaning was also derived from working on the entire project rather than a part of the project and having responsibility for the entire work process rather than a part of it. Such meaning is evident as this cruising man comments:

But now in our daily life, as a cruising person who is working on the boat, you decide to work for yourself, ...it doesn’t feel like work at all. Although it is hours of work especially for me, I’m a boat builder and maintaining boats was my, should be my work. But it doesn’t feel like
work out here and I can decide when to start or when to stop. And when I feel like working or don’t feel like working.

(Cruising man 378)

The third dimension of alienation according to Blauner is social integration – isolation. In today’s industrial communities, workers are expected to be committed to their work roles and loyal to their communities, such commitment and loyalty will ensure social integration (Blauner, 1964/1972: 11) Conversely, isolation is associated with lack of commitment to the work situation and loss of identity within the working community and employers’ goals (Blauner, 1964/1972: 117). Such isolation can also be extended to the wider societal context. Cruisers for example do not want to conform to such stereotyping:

[Cruisers] don’t want to be locked into a stereotype image, it doesn’t worry them to break with convention. It doesn’t worry them that they are not reliant on a small community to tell them who they are. They are prepared to be a bit bigger than that and make a go of it [for themselves].

(Exit cruising woman 617)

The fourth dimension of alienation consists of the two polarised positions of self-involvement and self-estrangement. I have chosen to include this long quote by Blauner of his description of self-estrangement, as he provides some ‘scaffolding’ for the next chapter’s discussion of self-involvement or as Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi (1974) describes it - ‘flow’:

Self-estrangement refers to the fact that the worker may become alienated from his [sic] inner self in the activity of work. Particularly when an individual lacks control over the work process and a sense of purposeful connection to the work enterprise, he [sic] may experience
a kind of depersonalized detachment rather than an immediate involvement or engrossment in the job tasks. ... When work encourages self-estrangement, it does not express the unique abilities, potentialities, or personality of the worker. Further consequences of self-estranged work may be boredom and monotony, the absence of personal growth, and a threat to a self-approved occupational identity.

... Self-estrangement is experienced as a heightened awareness of time, as a split between present activity and future considerations. Non-alienated activity consists of immersion in the present; it is involvement. Alienated activity is not free, spontaneous activity but is compulsive and driven by necessity. In non-alienated activity the rewards are in the activity itself; in alienated states they are largely extrinsic to the activity, which has become primarily a means to an end. Marx express these notions in is early work on alienation, the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts*.


Elements of self-estrangement and self-involvement are evidenced in the following cruising man’s narrative:

My intention was always to work the shortest time possible to get whatever was enough money so that I would be comfortable for the rest of my life. And it took a lot longer than I anticipated but I think we’re there, ... [cruising is] interesting, it takes a lot of concentration [and it is satisfying].

(Cruising man 306)

As the following chapter considers self-involvement in detail, this element of Blauner’s typology will not be discussed in any further detail except to say ‘[s]elf-estranged workers are dissatisfied only when they have developed needs for control, initiative,
and meaning in work' (Blauner, 1964/1972: 121) and these needs according to Blauner (1964/1972: 121) increase as a person's educational level increases. Cruisers were relatively well educated as you will recall from Chapter Three.

To conclude the discussion on Blauner's classification, he notes:

The theory of alienation has been and continues to be a fruitful perspective on the world of work, but it must be pointed out that it is a limited perspective. With all its social-psychological subtleties, it does not fully comprehend the complexities and ambiguities of the inner meaning of work to the individual. As a polemic, it therefore condemns too much, and as a vision, promises too much. Marx's conception of the function of work for man [sic] was too narrow, or perhaps too philosophical; he did not accept as essential the myriad of functions that even alienated work plays in the life-organization of human beings. Observation and research had disproved his statement that "as soon as no physical or other compulsion exist, labor is shunned like the plague".

(Blauner, 1964/1972: 123)

Attention to other influences on an individual's actions are pursued in the next chapter. Aside from the preceding two classifications of alienation literature, Keniston (1972) noted that many types of alienation could be determined by using four questions derived from four themes:

1. Focus: Alienated from what?
2. Replacement: What replaces the old relationship?
3. Mode: How is the alienation manifest [sic]?
4. Agent: What is the agent of the alienation?

(Keniston, 1962, 1965/1972: 34)
Based on the above questions Keniston developed four classificatory representations (he called continua) in regard to alienation, which reflected orthogonal relationships. Primarily in two dimensional representations. The first considered behavioural norms and cultural values in relation to alienation and conformity. The second considered alloplasticism (cultural change attempts) and autoplasticism (self change attempts) in relation to alienation and conformity. The third continua addressed alloplasticism and autoplasticism in regard to behavioural norms and cultural norms. The fourth representation attempts a three-dimensional representation of the types of alienation, it is the only one to suggest some form of positive deviance with its identification of utopianism and ideological innovation. Alienation for Keniston (1962, 1965/1972: 34, 38) is ‘an explicit rejection, “freely” chosen by the individual, of what he [sic] perceives as the dominant values or norms of his [sic] society. ... his [sic] alienation is conscious and largely egosyntonic.’ Cruising is a pertinent example of such explicit rejection. It is a response ‘freely chosen’ by individuals to adopt a life in the margins of mainstream western life – a life which is a creative response which is not disorganised and which provides self control and self determinism – a life which incorporates a style of life which is liberating and satisfying at the same time as it is unconventional and non-conformist to life at the centre. A lifestyle already noted as a positive form of deviance.

**Deviance**

Over time studies of deviance have primarily focussed on the negative attributes of deviance as exemplified by Emile Durkheim’s (1897/1951) empirical study of suicide through to the more recent studies of white collar crime (deviance) such as John Braithwaite’s (1984) study of crime in the pharmaceutical industry. Within the focus on negative deviance, a variety of approaches have been adopted. The 1940s was punctuated by social pathology studies (see for example, G. B. Mangold 1932; and C. Shaw & H. D. McKay, 1942); the 1950s by value-free behaviour perspectives (see for example Merton, 1957), the 1960s value-engaged labelling (see for example, Becker,
1967; and E.M. Lemert, 1967). Alex Thio (1973: 1) criticises each of these approaches for being biased to the study of powerless classes as opposed to studying conjointly the power-based class. He also criticises the approaches for their focus on the individual within her or his immediate social setting without recourse to the wider based power structures of the society in which he or she lives. Albert Cohen (1965) has similarly criticised Merton’s theory of anomie; while Norman Denzin (1970) also castigates applied sociology for studying deviants in unnatural settings (prisons and detention centres, asylums) and for conducting research which perpetuates the system.

Along with these approaches, deviance studies have been defined by the theoretical standpoints adopted, some of which are not mutually exclusive. The various standpoints include functionalism (see the work of Durkheim; Merton; and Albert K Cohen); structural and subcultural theories (see Albert Cohen; Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, 1961; Walter B. Miller, 1962; David Matza, 1964); ecological theories (see C. Shaw and H.D. McKay, 1942); an interactionist approach (see Becker, Jock Young, 1971; Lemert, Goffman, 1968); phenomenology (Aaron Cicourel, 1976); conflict perspectives (Marx; William Chambliss & Milton Mankoff, 1976; John Lea and Jock Young, 1984). Outside sociology, other disciplines have sought to explain deviance. The seminal work of Cesare Lombrosi (1876) established the approach which attributed deviance to physiological determinants. This approach has received continued support throughout this century (see for example, Sheldon Glueck & Eleanor Glueck, 1962; and Henry E. Kelly, 1979). Psychological theories have also proliferated (see for example Hans Eysenck, 1964, 1971; and John Bowlby, 1946, 1953). Regardless of the disciplinary base of the deviance literature, definitions of deviance vary. Deviance can be ‘... conduct that is in violation of rules made largely by the power elite of a given society, or group’ (Thio, 1973: 1); to the more general definition of ‘those activities which do not conform to the norms and expectations of members of a particular society’ (Michael Haralambos & Martin Holborn, 1990: 581). Implicit in these definitions of deviance is the reification of its hegemonic construction.
as bad, criminal, or non-wholesome. This reification is further evidenced in the nature of the studies that have been undertaken: studies into suicide, asylums, delinquency, drug cultures, prostitution, homeless, criminals, and gangs for example. As Alexander Liazos (1972: 111) proposed ‘[a]s a result of the fascination with “nerts, sluts, and preverts [sic]”, and their identities and subcultures, little attention has been paid to unethical, illegal, and destructive actions of powerful individuals, groups and institutions in our society.’ In the main, these ‘lower class’ of groups represent the ‘other’ out there and they are to be feared and avoided as they bring societal unity and stability undone. However, Durkheim (1938) and also Albert Cohen (1966) consider that rather than to be feared, these deviations from the norm allow malfunctions in the social system to be identified and pressure to be temporarily released and/or problems to be identified and corrected. Still the focus is on the dysfunctional aspect of deviance rather than the creative aspect of deviance. Creativity being akin to non-conformity and the exhibition of choice, for as Roger Nett (1953: 412) emphasises conformity is the ‘resistance-to-thinking-for-themselves aspect of people …’ Cruising represents a display of affirmative deviance (Macbeth, 1985). As Macbeth (1985) and Robert Terry and Darrell Steffensmeier (1988) point out the study of creative displays of deviance and the positive end of the deviant continuum ‘broadens the scope of deviance so as to include both attributes and behavior, and facilitates the inclusion of both positive and negative deviance’ (Terry and Steffensmeier, 1988: 58)

The alternative lifestyle which cruisers adopt is as Macbeth (1985) informs us, one which is focussed on the individual rather than an alternative one focussed on community⁴. In particular,

\[
\text{[t]heir search is privatised … [it] is also individuated, they set out to be mobile, self-reliant and independent.} \quad \text{(Macbeth, 1992: 335-337)}
\]

⁴Specifically, the difference between communards and cruisers is a result of the facts that cruisers are mobile, cruisers do not have any membership arrangements or common property (Macbeth, 1992: 335-336).
Macbeth (1985: 123) found that in their search for an alternative to life in the centre, cruisers appeared to select a ‘style of life’ which was the antithesis to ‘the powerlessness of the individual in modern society’ (Macbeth 1985: 123). Further Macbeth (1992) found that in their response to ‘powerlessness’ at the centre, cruisers were similar to communards. Macbeth uses Andrew Rigby’s (1974:11) analysis of communards view of ‘powerlessness’ to emphasise this similarity:

Man [sic] is seen as having been deprived, or of having deprived himself [sic], of the will to control his [sic] own life and destiny. He [sic] is viewed as a happy robot leading an over-routinised life made meaningful solely by the selfish pursuit of material goals.

(Rigby 1974: 85).

The powerlessness which the cruisers in Macbeth’s study experienced and which was also experienced by cruisers who participated in my study is due to several sources. Thio (1973) suggests powerlessness emanates from superordinate power elites which are not necessarily monolithic but pluralistic in nature. The other extends from the everyday practices and actions in which we engage and which constitute everyday governance and conformity to the centre’s norms and values (Foucault, 1979). The elites and everyday governance are responsible for the generation of deviance in powerless groups and subsequent social pathologies. Howard Becker (1963: 9) also supports this perspective, noting that ‘social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance.’ However, Becker (1963) also indicated that deviance does not need to be pejoratively framed as in the case of criminal or delinquent behaviour. Deviance may just be unconventional behaviour rather than oppositional to laws as in the case of the dance musicians described by Becker (1963, 1973) and the cruisers described in this thesis and previously by Macbeth (1985). For it is possible ‘to regard ‘deviants’ not as persons who fail to live up to social values, but rather as minorities who represent possible alternatives to those values …’ (Denis Altman, 1975: 276).  

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Walter Buckley (1967: 40) considers that a social system which exhibits 'disturbances' and 'variety' in the environment enables that social setting to evolve, for Buckley, the system is functional rather than dysfunctional. Furthermore, there is an 'absolute necessity of deviation – or more generally, 'variety' – in providing a pool of potential new transformations of process or structure that the adaptive system might adopt in responding to goal mismatch' (Buckley, 1968: 495). That it occurs at an individuated level via the actions of cruisers is irrelevant, the cruisers are identifying that there is something wrong in the system. To use Foucault's words with some licence; the cruisers in their discourses demonstrate 'an individual theory of [society]. It is this form of discourse which ultimately matters, a discourse against power, a counter-discourse of [cruisers] and those we call [affirmative social deviants] – and not a theory about [deviancy]' (Foucault, 1977: 209).

Despite the passage of time, the reasons for some cruisers adopting a cruising lifestyle do not appear to have changed since Macbeth (1985) conducted his study. As Macbeth (1992: 336) states some 'cruisers ... [are] unashamedly freedom seekers'. In their quest for freedom, they demonstrate a positive and creative form of deviance as they reject their former alienating and anomic lives in the centre, and move to a more satisfying and self determined 'style of life' in the margins.

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5 Andrew Rigby (1974: 11) makes this comment on 'freedom seekers' within communes:

'..., the freedom-seekers were seeking, through the means of communal living, to create a social world for themselves that they hoped would provide them with a sufficient degree of personal freedom to enable them to follow their own pursuits, thus permitting concentration on the objectives of developing every individual to his maximum capacity.' Macbeth (1992: 336), as previously stated, notes that there are parallels between cruisers and communards as freedom seekers.
Conclusion

Essentially, this chapter has focussed on the ‘because’ and ‘in-order-to’ motives (Schutz, 1964). ‘Because’ motives relate to anomie and alienation and ‘in-order-to’ motives relate to self-actualisation. Specifically, as noted at the commencement of this chapter, the ‘because’ motives have similarities, Lukes summarises those similarities thus:

Alienation and anomie have in common the formal characteristics that they each have a multiple reference to: (1) social phenomena (states of society, its institutions, rules and norms); (2) individual states of mind (beliefs, desires, attitudes, etc); (3) a hypothesized empirical relationship between (1) and (2); and (4) a presupposed picture of the “natural” relationships between (1) and (2). Thus whereas Marx sees capitalism as a compulsive social system, which narrows men’s [sic] thoughts, places obstacles in the way of their desires and denies the realization of “a world of productive impulses and faculties,” Durkheim sees it as a state of moral anarchy in the economic sphere, where men’s thoughts and desires are insufficiently controlled and where the individual is not “in harmony with his [sic] condition.” …

(Lukes, 1967/1972: 24)

Obviously, the two perspectives are at odds with each other, for as Lukes pointed out: ‘anomic man [sic] is, for Durkheim, the unregulated man [sic] who needs rules to live by, limits to his [sic] desires, “circumscribed tasks” to perform and “limited horizons” for his [sic] thoughts, alienated man [sic], is for Marx, a man [sic] in the grip of a system, who “cannot escape” from a “particular, exclusive sphere of activity which is forced upon him [sic]’ (Lukes, 1967/1972: 25). Consequently, for Marx, full human potential is realised through freedom in activity choice rather than through dictation of roles via a systemic organisation (Lukes, 1967/1972: 27). For Durkheim it was the
antithesis, human potential was achieved by ‘limits and discipline’ (Lukes, 1967/1972: 27). Cruisers in their adoption of a cruising lifestyle, a form of positive deviance, demonstrate Marx’s non-alienated individual – a person who has freedom in choice of activity and has realised her or his full potential, that is has become a fully functioning individual. This fully functioning person is also aware of ‘limits and discipline’ required to successfully achieve a cruising lifestyle.

The individual as a fully functioning person and the successful achievement of a style of life which is intrinsically rewarding rather than extrinsically based is the focus of the next chapter. The chapter also considers ‘basic needs’ which influence an individual’s behaviour. To affect its examination, Chapter Twelve adopts a methodological individualistic approach and draws on the disciplines of social psychology to consider the actions of cruisers as individuals who are inwardly directed and creative in their responses to achieving lives which enable them to become self-actualised.
Chapter 12

Cruisers, Goal Seeking and Self Actualisation:
A theoretical investigation

In the preceding chapter, we saw that the need to escape or to gain freedom for some cruisers was associated with anomie and/or alienation. Both anomie and alienation were discussed using various sociological standpoints. In particular, the discussion on anomie drew on the writings of Durkheim, especially, his initial study of suicide (Durkheim, 1897). Durkheim’s view of anomie was a functionalist one. He saw anomie as a condition that was rooted in precipitant social change and the constant specialisation of work tasks. The consequences of anomie according to Durkheim were the development of individualism and self-interest. The discussion of alienation, on the other hand, drew on the writings of Marx (1963/1972) who provided a conflict perspective. For Marx, alienation was associated with disconnecting the worker from the end product of his or her labours. As a consequence of this disconnection, the worker develops a sense of isolation from her or his work; a loss of identity and of personal worth; and a feeling of overall ‘belonginglessness’ within society.

In response to anomic and alienating aspects of their lives in mainstream western societies, cruisers sought an alternative. The alternative was to be a lifestyle which would provide them with a sense of identity and channel self interest and individualism in a positive way. It was a lifestyle which moved them into the margins of mainstream western society as well as the peripheries of other societies. As Macbeth (1985) notes, in pursuing such a lifestyle, cruisers demonstrate a form of positive deviance, a deviance which enables cruisers to gain a sense of self control and freedom from a society that does not fulfil their personal needs nor contribute positively to their sense of self. Consequently, in pursuit of these needs, cruisers move away from the pursuit
of and acceptance of societal norms and values and towards a pursuit of individual norms and values. However, the pursuit is not anarchistic in nature.

In order to complement the sociological focus adopted in the preceding chapter, this chapter will turn to psychology to gain further insight into the cruisers and their actions at an individual rather than societal level. This is also a path which Macbeth (1985) explored in his indepth study of cruisers ‘in flow’ (Csikszentmihalyi, 1974). Specifically, the chapter will draw upon social psychology and the field of individual psychology (also known as humanistic psychology) pioneered by Alfred Adler (1935) following his separation from Sigmund Freud and the Vienna Psychoanalytical Society (Heinz Ansbacher and Rowena Ansbacher, 1956: 30). Individual psychology has been chosen as this field ‘regards and examines ... individuals as socially embedded. [Rather than as an individual studied as] ... an isolated human being’ (Adler, 1956:21). The overriding tenet of individual psychology is that as ‘all behaviour has social meaning, it can be understood only in the social context’ (Maurice Balson, 1992: 16) in which it occurs. To reiterate, this tenet complements the sociological examination of the previous chapter because of its focus on individuals operating in socially constructed contexts. The tenet also reflects the themes embedded in cruisers’ narratives and participant observation of cruisers.

I should note at the outset, that nearly all writers referenced in this chapter come from a background of therapy - of working with people who do not conform to the ‘norm’.

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1 I am aware that psychoanalytic feminists may reject Adler’s work, however as Tong (1989:147) reports ‘his theory that ‘women’s (and men’s) experience of sexuality has been socially constructed ... has empowered women by insisting that biology is not destiny’. Tong (1989: 147 – 148) further reports that ‘[e]ach of us has, said Adler, a “creative self” that actively mediates the givens of biology and finds in them goals for the future. We are according to Adler, a species shaped more by our visions of the future than by our roots in the past (Adler, 1927).’ Moreover, Tong (1989: 147 – 148) writes ‘that Adler recognized: “All our institutions, our traditional attitudes, our laws, our morals, our customs, give evidence of the fact that they [women] are determined and maintained by privileged males for the glory of male domination.” (Adler, 1927: 123).’ Despite rejection by some psychoanalytic feminists, the theories of Adler and other individual psychologists have relevance to the study of long term cruisers. Their theories are described in cruiser narratives and also they serve to explain cruisers experiences as this chapter will demonstrate.
This does not lessen the value of these writers’ work for just as Macbeth (1985) sought to look at deviance by altering the perspective from the pejorative view; these writers similarly seek to address an alternative end of a continuum. Abraham Maslow, and Carl Rogers are two writers, in particular who inform this chapter. Both have worked in the field of psychotherapy. While their work has been criticised in relation to such a focus and their study of the ‘abnormal’, their work (and the work of others encountered in this chapter) also give insights into the ‘normal’. Both Maslow and Rogers have tried to determine the basic influences on what makes as Rogers (1983: 283) terms it: ‘a fully functioning person’. Such a person however, ‘does not exist’, he or she is a ‘theoretical goal, the end-point of personal growth’ (Rogers, 1983: 295). For Rogers, the ‘ideal’ person is:

a person functioning freely in all the fullness of his [sic] organismic potentialities; a person who is dependable in being realistic, self-enhancing, socialized, and appropriate in his [sic] behavior; a creative person, whose specific formings of behavior are not easily predictable; a person who is ever-changing, ever developing, always discovering himself [sic] and the newness in himself [sic] in each succeeding moment of time. (Rogers, 1983: 295)

Such an ideal person who is fully functioning is the baseline upon which the theoretical perspectives in this chapter are advanced. The fully functioning person operates in and because of society. The following quote highlights the difference between individual psychology and other psychological approaches, which might have been applied in this thesis, had it not had an overlying bent to individuals operating in social settings:

Individual psychology makes a number of assumptions regarding behaviour, chief of which are that the basic motivation is to belong, that humans are basically social beings who can only be understood holistically, that behaviour is purposive, unified, and consistent, and
that people are active decision makers who fashion their own personalities by their subjective or phenomenological view of experience.

Other views of human behaviour and models of man [sic] exist. Freudian psychology, for example, rejects the view of people as motivated by social needs and prefers to account for motivation in terms of the inborn instincts – sex and aggression. The behavioural school views personality as being totally shaped and controlled by the environment, while non-ego psychology sees a person’s behaviour as being largely controlled by unconscious factors over which one has no control. (Balson, 1992: 13)

Whilst the theories of individual psychology inform this chapter, it is the cruisers who orchestrate their use and who will ultimately determine the relevance or otherwise of individual psychology theories to explain the cruisers’ individual behaviours and actions. You, the reader, are already aware of my cognizance of ‘methodological individualism’ as I stated at the end of the last chapter that this was the approach to be used in this chapter. However, you need to know that I am also aware of sociological literature which addresses individual agency and self-determination. This literature, especially feminist writings, which address agency will be addressed in Chapter Thirteen. Furthermore, in embarking on an analysis of cruisers using individual psychology, I am conscious of Barry Hindess’ (1980: 113 - 114) comment:

that modern social thought is plagued by the varieties of theoretical humanism and structuralism. … In one the human individual is a creative subject, freely constituting actions and social relations. In the other the human individual is literally the subject of (that is, subjected to) the system of social relations in which ‘it’ internalizes its part and subsequently acts it out.

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Essentially, Hindess objects to both approaches, as they are reductionist in nature. However, given that individual psychology is not the sole theoretical approach being used to understand the social reality of cruisers, I do not believe that this approach is counterproductive to my overall aim. I am also conscious of Steven Lukes (1968) debunking of 'methodological individualism' and of David Lee and Howard Newby's (1983) criticism of Weber's work as 'methodological individualism'. I am not purporting that society is constituted of isolated individuals all acting in response to their own needs and motives. However, in this chapter, I am focussing on cruisers as individuals and as individuals who have demonstrated that they are capable of an agency which does not necessarily accord to societal norms. I am not advocating that the amassing of the actions and behaviours of these individuals constitutes a rationale for social theory. What I am advocating however is that these cruisers in being exceptions to the norm construct a critique of society – a society which for them has been alienating and anomie. As is the case when studying exceptions to the norms, individuals need to be studied as Lukes (1968: 124) states: 'theory ... is open to refutation by a single counter-instance'. Therefore in studying the exceptions to the 'norm', individuals must again be studied to ensure that there are no counter-instances amongst the exceptions!

To adopt a position which says that individual psychology cannot inform us because it looks at the individual rather than people and groups is to assume that there exists only one truth, a truth that is only garnered from a sociological standpoint. The existence of such a dominant disciplinary hegemony is reflected in this statement by Durkheim (in Lukes, 1968: 125) 'every time that a social phenomenon is directly explained by a psychological phenomenon, we may be sure that the explanation is false.' Developments in feminist studies and in postmodern literature would refute such a claim in regard to a universal knowledge and the embedding of knowledge in only one discipline or site. Should the reader be averse to 'methodological individualism', you are asked to suspend judgement until the end of this chapter. Remember that I am
grounding this thesis in the texts of the cruisers. As mentioned before, the cruisers are
directing the theories to be investigated by their own words. As you may already be
aware from reading chapters six and seven, the words and texts of cruisers reflect
discourses associated with the field of individual psychology.

In Chapters Six and Seven, *Setting free the sails* and *Sailing close to the wind*
respectively cruisers spoke of the need for challenge and adventure in their lives or of a
love of sailing and the dream to ‘sail off into the sunset’. In overview, the need for
challenge and adventure and a love of sailing and the pursuit of a cruising lifestyle can
all be deconstructed as a need for self actualisation (Kurt Goldstein, 1939; Maslow,
1970; Iso Ahola, 1980; Csikszentmihalyi, 1974,1975). On the other hand, the dream
to ‘sail away’ may be deconstructed as goal seeking (Allport, 1950; Dreikurs, 1962), a
style of life (Adler, 1935), a life plan (Dreikurs, 1953: 43) or a life style (Dreikurs,
1971: 57; Balson, 1992: 26). What follows in this chapter is an examination of the
themes of need fulfilment, especially self actualisation, goal seeking and life plans.
The examination of goal seeking and life plans will also review some of the themes of
Chapter Five, *Casting off the ropes*, particularly cruisers creative responses to achieve
self-control and self-determination outside of the anomic and alienating societies in
which they previously lived. The examination of goal seeking and life plans will also
address some of the themes pervading Chapter Nine, *Caught in the Irons or Sailing
wing and wing*, – women’s (and men’s) need to belong and ‘fear’ and ‘anxiety’
associated with the cruising lifestyle.

As you progress through this chapter, you need to bear in mind that amongst the long
term ocean cruisers\(^2\) who were interviewed:

- two women and five men identified challenge as the reason for cruising
- four women and nine men identified adventure as the reason for cruising

\(^2\) I have not used alternating presentations of genders in this list in order that comparisons may easily
be made between each point. Women are presented first as the previous reference to the two genders
commenced with men.
• two women and eleven men were cruising because of a ‘dream’
• four women and five men adopted a cruising lifestyle because of an interest in sailing
• six cruising men saw cruising as a natural progression from sailing
• thirteen women and two men adopted a cruising lifestyle because of a desire to be with their partners.

Only five cruisers were represented twice in the above breakdown: one cruising man saw cruising as a dream and a result of a love of sailing; the other saw cruising as an adventure and a challenge. Comments in this chapter are subsequently based on the narratives of sixty one long term cruisers (36 men and 25 women) as well as participant observation and narratives of other cruiser groups.

**Challenge and adventure and self actualisation: an overview of cruisers**

Cruisers who identified the need for a challenge as the reason for going cruising or as one of the reasons for going cruising indicated that the challenge manifested itself in several ways. The challenge was found as a result of personal goal setting; or in living the lifestyle (either in port and/or at sea); or it was associated with navigating to a desired location both with and without varying degrees of technological support. The challenge was also combined with the need for adventure. Adventure which was associated with pushing beyond a personal comfort zone, with testing personal ability and not finding oneself wanting. Adventure was also associated with experiencing new people in new places, arising from the ‘exotic’ nature of a cruising lifestyle. ‘As Goffman notes, adventures are not to be found within but beyond common routines’ (Csikszentmihalyi, 1988: 45) and cruising enables this to happen.
The outcomes of challenges and adventures as expressed by cruisers were feelings of accomplishment and self satisfaction as well as thrills and feelings worth 'bottling'. In reality, these cruisers were pursuing cruising for its 'intrinsic rewards'\(^3\) for there were no external rewards associated with their cruising, it was essentially 'an activity engaged in for its own sake' (Iso-Ahola, 1980: 231). In making this statement, I am also explaining why I have not included literature associated with racing\(^4\) and in particular, women who race such as the Australian yachtswoman Kay Cottee. Amongst the cruising community in which I lived, her sailing feats were acknowledged though not revered. In the main, cruisers saw her accomplishments as being outside the realms of cruising and also beyond exclusive individual self-control and self-dependence and the intrinsic rewards associated with getting oneself from A to B. Yes, the cruisers acknowledge that she was the sole person on board the vessel and responsible for its piloting, however she also had a support team which provided her with regular, virtually daily, contact regarding weather and sea conditions and mental support. This contact also informed her of necessary route adjustments because of the advanced and sophisticated technology the support team was accessing as she made her passage. The majority of cruisers who I interviewed did not receive this degree of advance information or sophisticated technical support in their endeavours\(^5\). Her sponsorship also afforded her sets of 'backups of backups of backups' in case of equipment and system failure. The extent of such backup is way beyond the means of most cruisers. Cruisers also questioned the intrinsic nature of her 'challenge' and its subsequent external rewards in promoting Kay Cottee and her future enterprises. That being said, again yes she did successfully sail single handed around the lower reaches of the southern hemisphere and advanced women's participation and profile in sailing. However, in her enterprise, she is not perceived as a cruiser – she is a racer - a

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\(^3\) Macbeth (1988) also reports on the intrinsic value of cruising in his description of 'flow' experiences in the cruisers he studied.

\(^4\) In Macbeth's (1985) study, he compared cruisers with ocean racers and soling racers. He specifically compared their reasons for enjoying their disparate sailing experiences.

\(^5\) Remember that I am writing this in the ethnographic present not the current present. The latter is a present where navigation and sailing technology has become much reduced in price from, for example, when I sailed.
competitor. Both of which are associated with intrinsic and substantial extrinsic rewards. In comparison, cruisers do not promote their feats to gain esteem of others, though they may do so to gain esteem of self. For those cruisers who adopt the lifestyle because of a desire for challenge, adventure or self-actualisation, the feat of cruising is in itself reward enough. Although I must note that Macbeth (1985) refers to external rewards for cruisers such as making landfalls in association with the intrinsic reward of passage making; one might also argue that women who cruise to be with their partners gain extrinsic reward from the travel experiences in which they engage as part of cruising. However, in pursuing a lifestyle due to its intrinsic rewards, cruisers do not choose an easy lifestyle, it is one which contains challenges. As we shall see later in this chapter, an element of ‘challenge’ is a necessary requisite for achievement of self-actualisation and for ‘flow’ as Csikszentmihalyi (1974) calls it. Since it is hard work, cruising is not a coping out of society, it is a positive form of ‘deviance’ as Macbeth (1985) purports, a deviance which requires appropriate skillling, preparation and management at the individual level. As cruising man 374 and cruising woman 373 have told us before:

[Cruising] is such hard work, I mean it is certainly harder than living in a house and having a car and all that, but you know, speaking from a more emotional level it’s sort of fun, and a challenge and an adventure, to feel real thrilled about the fact that you got a bag of groceries back to the boat and it’s … (Cruising man 374)

A real accomplishment … (Cruising woman 373)

It’s kind of silly but arh, it still is rewarding … (Cruising man 374)

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6 I am reminded of Bernard Moitessier who dropped out of a non-stop, round the world race since ‘it became clear to him in his months at sea that the real reason for his time on ‘Joshua’ [his boat] involved values far deeper and more esoteric than the handshake of a race sponsor back in England. He had developed a communion with the sea and with the fish, mammals and birdlife that inhabit it, and he had come to regard this attachment as a true life force that he depended on …’ (Cruising World, 1989: 56)
Whether it is in regard to supporting daily living or achievements in sailing, cruising is intrinsically rewarding, as also noted previously it provides a thrill when a personal goal is achieved:

...we were sailing into San Francisco under the Golden Gate Bridge. That was such a thrill. I’ve been across that bridge untold times by car but the first time to see all under it was just, oh! I can still feel how I felt. And then crossing the Pacific and spotting that little, teeny hump of an island on the horizon was such a thrill. All of these electronics that we have and to know that we did make it. It’s so stupid, I mean, how can we miss it, but it was thrilling. It was absolutely thrilling ...

(Cruising woman 371)

Within psychological literature, various theories describe intrinsic motivation. Based on the texts of cruisers, the following theories have been selected for further discussion: Maslow’s (1954, 1970) hierarchy of needs, William Glasser’s (1984, 1992) five basic needs – ‘control’ theory, Csikszentmihalyi (1974, 1975, 1988, 1990, 1997) optimal experience or ‘flow’ theory. While only two of these theories specifically address need fulfilment, all three of the theories refer to ‘self-actualisation’, a term ‘first coined by Kurt Goldstein’ (Maslow, 1970: 46). The following sections of this chapter draw on these theories, various cruiser narratives and participant observation in order to further understand the motivations and lifestyle experiences of cruisers.

**Maslow and basic needs**

Maslow’s (1970: 35) hierarchy of needs was proposed as a “holistic-dynamic” and ‘positive theory of motivation’. The hierarchy was constituted of five needs: physiological needs, safety needs, belongingness and love needs, esteem needs, and the need for self-actualisation. Between each of the needs there is a degree of
prepotency. I have decided to use Maslow's own discourse to represent his hierarchy. I have done so for two reasons. Firstly, I do not wish to misrepresent Maslow as some other writers have done. Secondly, his exact words have been used in order to ground the work of other theorists who have used his work, in particular, Csikszentmihalyi (1974, 1975, 1988, 1990, 1997). Maslow (1970) informs us that:

[The needs that are usually taken as the starting point for motivation theory are the so-called physiological drives [or needs]. (p.35) ... If the physiological needs are relatively well gratified, there then emerges a new set of needs, which we may categorize roughly as the safety needs (security; stability; dependency; protection; freedom from fear, from anxiety and chaos; need for structure, order, law, limits; strength in the protector; and so on). (p.39) ... If the physiological and safety needs are fairly well gratified, there will emerge the love and affection and belongingness needs, and the whole cycle already described will repeat itself with this new center. (p.43) ... All people in our society (with a few pathological exceptions) have a need or desire for a stable, firmly based, usually high evaluation of themselves, for self-respect, or self-esteem, and for the esteem of others. These needs may therefore be classified into two subsidiary sets. These are, first, the desire for strength, for achievement, for adequacy, for mastery and competence, for confidence in the face of the world, and for independence and freedom. Second, we have what we may call the desire for reputation or prestige, (defining it as respect or esteem from other people), status, fame and glory, dominance, recognition, attention, importance, dignity, or appreciation. These needs have been relatively stressed by Alfred Adler and his followers, and have been relatively neglected by Freud, ... Satisfaction of the self-esteem needs leads to feelings of self-confidence, worth, strength, capability, and adequacy, of being useful and necessary in the world. But thwarting of these needs produces feelings of inferiority, of weakness, and of helplessness. (p.45) ... Even
if all these needs are satisfied, we may still often (if not always) expect that a new discontent and restlessness will soon develop, unless the individual is doing what he [sic] individually, is fitted for. ... What a man [sic] can be, he [sic] must be. He [sic] must be true to his [sic] own nature. This is what we may call self-actualization. ... It refers to a man’s [sic] desire for self-fulfillment, namely, the tendency for him [sic] to become actualized in what he [sic] is potentially.” (p.46) ... The clear emergence of these needs usually rests upon some prior satisfaction of the physiological, safety, love, and esteem needs. (p. 47)

Maslow (1970)

Reading the above, one would assume that the hierarchy is relatively rigid or fixed in its organisation. Maslow (1970) indicated that this was not the case. Individuals may set different priorities to those espoused by Maslow. For example, self-esteem taking priority over the need for food - a physiological need, as evidenced by people suffering from anorexia nervosa. Another example involves needs whose fulfilment are taken for granted and subsequently become under valued. For example, long term relationships may become routine in nature and the importance of love and belonging are not fore grounded until a change in circumstances occurs, such as the departure of one or more members of the relationship. Another example is the pursuit of social standing. Peer esteem may serve to negate the satisfaction of ‘lower’ level needs such as the need for love by family members (Maslow, 1970: 51). At a personal level, I am particularly aware of a lack of prepotency of lower level needs. In the process of writing this thesis, I have noticed that my need for food, for sleep and belonging have been subordinated by my pursuit for self actualisation through the completion of my research, particularly as I approach its closure. Within the cruising lifestyle cruisers indicated that passage making and its associated challenges can cause lower level need fulfilment to be suppressed especially the physiological needs:
We don't really, we never really figured out if we get too much sleep or not enough sleep [on passages], but it just isn’t …

(Cruising man 374)

It doesn’t feel right in any case.

(Cruising woman 373)

You know sex is a non-thought, sleep is a huge all pervading thought, you know [Laughs].

(Cruising man 374)

As Maslow noted, individual differences and the priority people set in regard to the needs impact on the hierarchical fulfilment of needs. In total, Maslow (1970) noted seven examples of reversals of the hierarchy or apparent reversals of the hierarchy. Further, Maslow (1970) indicated that needs do not have to be completely satisfied before attention will be focussed on another need. Moreover, a person’s behaviour may be a reflection of the multiple pursuit of several needs, for example physiological need of sex, simultaneously with love needs and esteem needs. Furthermore, needs can be conscious or unconscious. Cultural differences may also have some influence on the hierarchy of needs, though Maslow tends to argue for its universality. Finally, Maslow does not consider that all behaviour is ‘determined by the basic needs’, he purported that there were external forces which may also influence behaviour. However, he did note that once needs are ‘gratified’ the needs stop influencing a person’s behaviour.

Maslow’s hierarchy of needs has not been without its detractors. Iso-Ahola (1980) for one has critiqued Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Iso-Ahola works in the leisure and recreation field7. Basically he questioned the hierarchical nature of needs, although he granted that Maslow stated that the hierarchy was not as rigid as first implied.

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7 The leisure and recreation field has relevance to the study of long term ocean cruising as cruising is located away from the paid work end of the ‘work-leisure’ continuum. Some might classify cruising as a form of serious leisure (for example, Stebbins, 1996) or as a ludic activity – 'play-sport' (Pearson, 1979). However, it must be remembered that cruising is a lifestyle not just a long term leisure or recreation activity or a play-sport.
However, Iso-Ahola (1980) argued that the hierarchy is suspect due to research which shows that needs tend to overlap between adjacent and non-adjacent sets of needs. This point which Maslow also noted as identified earlier. Iso-Ahola (1980) also purport that research showed that contrary to Maslow’s prediction that security needs instead of social needs would be the most satisfied was unsupported. According to Iso-Ahola self-actualisation and security were the least satisfied needs and that social needs were the most satisfied. He further argued that Maslow’s idea of self-actualisation was an abstract concept and that the notion of it being inner directed posed difficulties because self-actualisation was also socially motivated. A point which Philip Pearce and Caltabiano (1982) used to develop Maslow’s hierarchy within tourism studies. The Pearce and Caltabiano model is addressed in Chapter Fourteen.

Whilst Iso-Ahola criticises Maslow’s hierarchy, he did not however, criticise the concept of self-actualisation, for Iso-Ahola (1980: 248) was of the opinion: ‘that the best leisure activities are those which are performed for their own sake, because they offer such intrinsic rewards as feelings of self-determination and competence.’ Given this perspective, Iso-Ahola is also acknowledging that which Maslow (1968) acknowledged in regard to the work of Gordon Allport and the complexity involved in understanding motivation:

Gordon Allport (6, 7) has expounded and generalised that means to an end may become ultimate satisfactions themselves, connected only historically to their origins. They may come to be wanted for their own sake. This reminder of the tremendous importance of learning and change on the motivational life superimposes upon everything that has gone before an enormous additional complexity. There is no contradiction between these two sets of psychological principles; they complement each other. (Maslow, 1970: 58)
A further critique of Maslow’s hierarchy by Iso-Ahola was that the higher order needs should be clumped together rather than located in a hierarchy. This is the approach that William Glasser (1992) took. Glasser has one lower level need - survival which equates with Maslow’s physiological needs. Then Glasser clusters four other higher order needs - love, power, fun and freedom.

William Glasser and the five basic instincts

According to William Glasser (1992: 43) ‘human beings are born with five basic instincts built into their genetic structure: survival, love, power, fun, and freedom. All our lives we must attempt to live in a way that will best satisfy one or more of these needs.’ In our attempts to satisfy these needs we ‘attempt to control both ourselves and others, even though in practice we can control only ourselves’ (Glasser, 1992: 44). Glasser calls his theory of need fulfilment ‘control theory’ although he comments that he does not mean control by ‘force or threat of force’ but rather control which is more directive or regulatory such as ‘steering a car’ or following instructions to complete a task (Glasser, 1992: 44). Subsequently, the basic instincts which Glasser identifies differ in nature and also in their structural presentation to Maslow’s hierarchy of needs. As stated above, there is overlap in the nature of the needs at the lowest level - survival (Glasser) and physiological needs (Maslow). Similarly both theories identify the need to belong (love and belongingness). Like Maslow, Glasser believes in the biological basis of our needs/drives/instincts which direct our behaviour. He (1984: 24) also acknowledges that our fulfilment of needs may be influenced by social and cultural factors which may serve to circumvent or modify the nature of our behaviour in achieving the fulfilment of our needs.

In applying Maslow’s and/or Glasser’s theory to reasons why people go cruising, essentially two needs are born out in the narratives of cruisers. One is the need for love and belonging (Maslow and Glasser) which was primarily expressed by cruising
women and the second is self actualisation (Maslow) and freedom, fun, power
(Glasser). Again, according to Glasser (1984) primarily the quest for freedom and
power is a quest for control over self and over others. Although as noted earlier,
Glasser (1984) purports that we can only really achieve control over ourselves. The
need for self actualisation, that is through freedom, fun and power was mostly
expressed by men. As evidenced in Chapter Nine and in the overview at the beginning
of this chapter, women indicated that they went cruising because of their love for their
partners. Readers will recall the following comments from Chapter Nine:

He’s sailing around the world. I don’t like living without him, so I’m
here. ... I’ve been sailing 35 years, but no, 368m does the sailing and
I go where 368m goes. 

(Cruising woman 367)

... the majority of women are there because of the men. There are
very, very few women who were there dragging the men around. Very
few of them on equal par. The majority are, they’re, little women like
myself that if you met them in the street, you would think just like you
would about me. ... Well, she keeps herself happy, has a good family.
And they’re not at all people you expect to be out there crashing
through things, doing night watches and all the other things.

(Cruising woman 347)

Implicit in the latter section of cruising woman 347’s narrative is the notion of
‘adventure’ of moving ‘beyond common routines’ (Goffman in Csikszentmihalyi,
1988: 45). As stated previously and evidenced in Chapters Five to Seven, the need for
adventure and challenge permeated the discourses of men more than women as they
‘quested’ for self-actualisation in order to become ‘fully functioning person[s]’
(Rogers, 1983: 283). Although some women did see cruising as a challenge:
For me, it's because of the challenge, it's a personal goal, it's a challenge for me to go to Papua New Guinea, I've got to do it, I want to do it. It's my goal.

(Cruising woman 351)

Men you will recall made statements similar to the abridged narratives below:

The challenge – you're going off and doing it on your own.

(Cruising man 368)

I'm my own boss. I don't have to listen to anybody dictating to me.

(Cruising man 416)

It's great to start the cruising season again because it is a feeling of adventure and it's a feeling of freedom. And you are not really a part of this society that we don't really want.

(Cruising man 332)

Becoming 'fully functioning persons' was also a shared goal in some partnerships:

I think that is maybe the real answer [for going cruising]. Is that you look at the alternatives for a retired person ...

(Cruising man 374)

Yeah, we see what some of our friends are doing, and it looks awfully boring.

(Cruising woman 373)

In the last narrative, the cruisers are implicitly discussing visual images regarding their future. Glasser (1984) as did Pamphilon (1999) draws on a photographic metaphor to explain this phenomenon of visualisation.
Pictures in our albums

According to Glasser (1984) in attempting to fulfil one’s basic instincts or needs, individuals compose the equivalent of a ‘picture album’ in their minds filled with ways to achieve their needs. The ‘pictures’\(^8\) may be based on past experiences which have been successful in fulfilling a desired need or the picture may have to be constituted of new possibilities to achieve the desired need as ‘old pictures’ may no longer be relevant or successful. Glasser explains the framing or reframing of visual images thus:

When a picture that has been in my album for years is no longer as satisfying as I would like it to be, I will often look for a new, more satisfying picture to replace it. ... If we have no picture at all, the need that is unsatisfied will drive us first to look for a picture that may satisfy it, and then for a way to make satisfying contact with whatever it is in the real world that the picture represents.

(Glasser, 1984: 22, 23)

Glasser’s metaphor of a picture album has a degree of applicability for cruiser narratives. For cruisers whose lives had become dull, boring, routinised, holding no challenge, excitement or fun – the ‘old picture’ of living in society no longer held a significant place in their picture album of personal needs. As previously noted by cruising man 312, sometimes the picture may be held in a personal album for a long time before a cruiser can facilitate its fulfilment:

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\(^8\) Adler (1957: 49) wrote “[a] perception is never to be compared with a photographic image because something of the peculiar and individual quality of the person who perceives it is inextricably bound up with it.” Glasser (1984: 21) comments we “can take a picture of anything we can perceive through any of our senses. I like to use the word pictures rather than the technically correct term, perceptions, because pictures are easier to understand. Since more than 80 percent of the perceptions we store in our albums are visual, pictures is also a reasonably accurate term”. 

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I don’t know, …, as far back as I can remember I’d always wanted to go sailing around the world not necessarily building a boat to do it. When I was sailing on [a] 36 foot tri, [one of] the guys [in the crew] also wanted to build an ocean going yacht. So we started talking about it and he probably had a few more ideas about it than I did. We went into partnership and started to build the two boats … and so [cruising] sort of developed from [there]. (Cruising man 312)

According to Glasser (1984):

[t]he pictures, therefore, represent the specific life you want to live. … It is not easy to change our own pictures, but it is even more difficult to persuade others to change theirs. To change a picture, we have to replace it with another that, if not equally satisfying to the need in question, is at least reasonably satisfying. This can be done only through negotiation and compromise; force will not work.

(Glasser, 1984: 25 - 26).

And here we move in to the different motivations of men and women who go cruising and the need for shared ‘pictures’ in order to make a success of cruising for both persons in a cruising relationship. The consequences of long held ‘pictures’ of a cruising lifestyle not being jointly shared makes it difficult to achieve the lifestyle as a partnership. As Glasser (1984) noted above, it is difficult to persuade someone to do something she or he does not want to do. For example, cruising man 416 has long held a picture in his mind which involves him in cruising. He provides evidence that ‘[o]ur interpretations of the early experiences to which we are exposed distinguish us from any other human being. These early impressions form the basis of our self-concept, of our life style’ (Dreikurs, 1971:57). However, his wife as we saw in Chapter Six has never desired to share that picture or life style. Over time cruising
man 416 has been unsuccessful in convincing his partner to go cruising with him. You may recall how he described his route to becoming a cruiser:

…as a lad of 7 or 8 or 9. … I was really interested and I saw that that was my life. I wasn’t going to change my life to be a hotel manager or whatever! … And then, as I say, I got my own little boats. Then I went to sea, saw the world, …. So the ultimate was to get my own boat and go tracking off around the world and do my own thing. So I just worked for that ultimate aim after I got rid of the missus, or she got rid of me! I suppose we parted on agreeable terms, she wanted divorce, I wanted divorce and she wanted her freedom and I wanted mine, so that suited both of us. (Cruising man 416)

In divorcing each other, they both clearly demonstrate:

[how you feel [and what you do] is not controlled by others or events. You are not the physical or psychological slave of your parents, husband, wife, child, boss, the economy, or anything else unless you choose to be.9

(Glasser, 1984: 3)

__________________________________________________________

9 'If, as I claim, the world never causes us to do and feel what we do, I must acknowledge that billions of people, especially those who live their lives in poverty and misery, might bitterly resent this contention. For them, the telephone never rings, the light never turns green, and almost all they have are cacti in which to roll whether they like it or not. Nevertheless, what I will explain is that, regardless of our circumstances, all any of us do, think, and feel, effective or ineffective, is always our best attempt at the time to satisfy the forces within us. I recognize that there are countless numbers of people whose best efforts do not work; no matter what they are able to do, they are cold, hungry, or brutalized. But I also claim that it does them no good either to accept their misery or blame it on the world. To do so deprives them of all opportunities they desperately need to take control of their lives. Those few of the huge numbers of deprived who do beat the odds and take effective control of their lives learn early not to spend much energy blaming the world for their predicament.' (Glasser, 1984: 3 – 4).
Essentially, as individuals we control the connections we establish with other individuals and with society. We have the power to break such connections when they no longer serve any purpose for us. Such personal control and choice is also exhibited in the follow woman’s narrative in which her need for safety overrides her need for love and belonging. Subsequently, she controls when and where she will join her partner:

The main reason [I cruise] is to be with 362m and of course I love all the places that he’s travelling but when I don’t, like for instance, Singapore and the next scary part, I’m not going! He’ll have somebody though, with him, so …

(Cruising woman 361)

However, some women because of financial limitations do not have the same degree of flexibility as cruising woman 361 in fulfilling their needs. Glasser (1984) proposes that:

[s]ince the only way we can take pictures out of our album is to replace them with others that will fulfill the same basic need reasonably well, people will endure a great deal, sometimes choose a lifetime of misery, because they can’t replace the pictures. Some women endure brutal beatings and humiliations in marriage, but stay with these husbands because they are still the only “possible” picture of a loving person. After suffering abuse, these women may complain that their lives are living hells, but still they stay, because they do not believe they can replace their husbands in their albums.

(Glasser, 1984: 29)

Whilst not exhibiting signs of abuse, the following cruising woman articulates that her belonging followed by a liking of the lifestyle enables her to endure passages. For
her, she sees no other picture than being with her partner so she stays and gains some extrinsic rewards (the lifestyle) to compensate for the downsides of passage making:

I don’t know, I think it’s always that ambiguity with sailing isn’t it? You like the lifestyle but I don’t know that there are that many people out there that really enjoy being out at sea to tell you the truth. [Laugh] That really love the sailing but I think you like the lifestyle enough to keep going. I think if I hadn’t have been married to 340m I probably wouldn’t have stuck with it because I get very seasick as well. And I think being married to him you put that much more effort into it than you would have done with a more transient relationship ...

(Cruising woman 339)

Apart from a sense of belonging, are there any other reason why women go cruising when they would prefer not to do so? Glasser (1984: 42) suggests that ‘[b]ecause we have a sense of the future, we will submit to indignities as long as we have hope, but there is a point at which we, too, will rebel even at the risk of our lives’. Such a sense of hope and future is part of the reason some cruising plans have a set time line of two to five years. The women will endure it as long as they now that it will end at a given time and something else will take its place:

We have encountered people that the wives are only there because they’ve made a commitment, “OK, I’ll do it for 2 years, but that’s it!” and the man is out there fulfilling a dream, so as to speak and so it’s a kind of a short term cruise. It’s not a long term thing. She’s not out there because she’s necessarily enjoying it. It’s just because she’s there because she wants to be there as a husband and wife and fulfilling his dream. (Cruising man 388)

Despite a time factor, the sense of belonging is all pervasive in some cruisers narratives. You will recall that Balson (1992) stated that one of the chief assumptions
regarding behaviour is that ‘the basic motivation is to belong’. Glasser (1984: 44) expands further on this need:

Because we need each other [our need to belong], we are willing to accept some control – but not too much. … Our lives, therefore, are a continual struggle to gain control in a way that satisfies our needs and not deprive those around us, especially those close to us, of satisfying theirs.

This is particularly true of the 13 long term cruising women who went cruising because of love for their partners. It is also demonstrated by cruising man 398 and cruising woman 397’s conversation:

So often, it’s the man [who wants to go cruising] and the woman’s not so sure. In fact, we sold one boat, … he was dead keen and [the partner], she had a carving out a nice career in computers … and you could see when you - we got to know them fairly well, and you could see - they had one bad experience. They’d actually bought a boat to go off and had gone off shore and it’d cracked up and started to fall apart and they managed to get back to New Zealand, but only just by the skin of their teeth. Then they bought our boat which was a much more robust boat. She was still being driven because of her love for her companion as far as [cruising was concerned]

(Cruising man 398)

But it actually parted them!

(Cruising woman 397)

Yes, finally!

(Cruising man 398)

He lived with his dream and she finally gave it away.

(Cruising woman 397)

The above conversation exemplifies the fact that the need to belong can be overridden by a need for security, safety, survival. It can also be overridden by a need for
freedom and for belonging somewhere other than on a boat with your partner 24 hours per day:

Oh, I'll finish in South Africa. ... You have to adapt to being with your partner 24 hours a day [Laughs] There is no like if you are land based, you can get away into your garden or go out to go shopping, you know there is a sort of tension. I miss my animals, I miss my garden, and - other things, but I enjoy the cruising and seeing different countries. But in the end I still felt I wanted a base, because in the end all the touristy parts get a bit much. You know.

(Cruising woman 365)

In her narrative, cruising woman 365 identifies the role of biological needs (such as love and belonging) and environmental factors (such as constrained living spaces, and overwhelming tourist settings) and their resultant impacts on her behaviour. Her current life style does not fit her 'picture' for her personal needs' fulfilment. She has to find a 'creative' response. She in fact exemplifies what Glasser (1984) asserts - when the world in which we live fails to fulfil our needs we search for new 'pictures' in our albums. We search for a creative response to our situation in order to direct/control its path to a more fulfilling one. Whilst both Maslow and Glasser consider that biological and environmental factors influence our need fulfilment, Adler is more specific:

[do not forget the most important fact that not heredity and not environment are determining factors. - Both are giving only the frame and the influences which are answered by the individual in regard to his [sic] styled creative power. (Adler, 1956: xxiv)

Thus, at an individual level in their responses, humans are able to be creative to life situations, a point which Marx considered capitalist based societies prevented as
discussed in the Chapter Eleven. In the end, it is up to the individual to find their style of life in order to become a ‘fully functioning person’.

**Actualising the cruising ‘dream’**

I want to turn our attention away from those who do not wish to cruise to those who do. Two women and eleven men saw cruising as the fulfilment of a dream whilst six men saw cruising as a natural progression from sailing. In pursuing their dream or life path, cruising men and women were showing personal agency in eschewing societal norms – they were positively breaking the links and connections which tied them to society. They developed creative responses to anomie and alienating societies. These cruisers’ behaviour was inner directed. According to Balson (1992: 20):

> Behind all behaviour there is a clear purpose or goal, a phenomenon which prompted Allport (1950: 169) to write: ‘Goal striving is the essence of personality’. Observe any individual and it is clear that he [sic] moves of his [sic] own accord and is directed towards goals perceived as important to him [sic]. ‘All his [sic] actions, emotions, qualities, and characteristics serve the same purpose. They show him [sic] trying to adapt to his [sic] environment.’ (Dreikurs, Ž1953: 13)

This clarity of purpose is discussed in the following cruising man’s narrative:

> Yes, well, we decided that we really enjoyed the cruising and would like to go to the South Pacific, ... I had been in business and sold my business but I had some rental property and different ... I hadn’t left in a manner that would be self functioning so as to speak over a long period of time. And so rather than trying to do it over the telephone or letters whatever, we decided we would go back home and get that
put bed and put it in order. And then, the other thing which was actually equally as important is, when you’re coming from Canada, the North America to the South Pacific, it’s basically down wind sailing for the most part. Somewhere along the line, you have to go up wind ... I think it’s pretty important you find out that you can go to weather and [that] you don’t mind going to weather before you get 10,000 miles away from home. Because then it’s a long way back ... We put 10,000 miles on our map on that little triangle to Mexico to Hawaii back to Canada and ... we had every aspect of sailing that you can encounter and [when] we got home [we] decided that it was great and so we made longer term plans. (Cruising man 388)

In organising their financial arrangements, this couple also tested out the appropriateness of their creative response to becoming ‘fully functioning persons’. They determined whether they had the skills and abilities by setting themselves a challenge in sailing up wind to ensure that their creative response was an appropriate one. Whilst these cruisers are able to actualise their ‘picture’ or life plan, some people although they aspire to do so never become cruisers.

Why some people can never become cruisers

Despite holding a ‘picture’ which encapsulates a dream to go sailing, other people can never achieve their goal, and they know it:

Why do [they] hold on to the picture in [their] head long after the possibilities of achieving that picture in the real world seem exhausted? It is probably for one of two reasons: (1) [They] do not believe that a better picture or at least a reasonably different picture would satisfy [them] as well as the unattainable one or (2) [they] do not seem to be able to give up the hope that somehow [they] can come up with a behavior that will get [them] what [they] want. (Glasser, 1984: 33)
Such reasoning by Glasser, is supported by the observations and interactions this woman has had within the cruising community:

We have come across a lot of boats that have been built by someone with the dream and usually someone else is sailing that boat. And what we have discovered and what I think we realise is that a lot of men have this dream but they are not sailors. They just have this dream of sailing a boat it looks so exotic and romantic and something very special about being self sufficient. And I think this appeals to certain people and they think a yacht, I’ll build a boat and I’ll do this and usually number one the wife isn’t involved in anyway and so they don’t get any support at home except someone nagging. And it is a very, very big job. And it’s a lot of hard work and investment of your time and money is pretty dramatic and I think a lot them once they get the boat built they have done their dream. They are not sailors so when it comes time to actually sail that boat they are not interested in that part of it. They are kind of lost because now the boat is done. We met quite a few people like that sometimes. I can think of one man who just plain, - he was just too old when he started. And he just was physically unable to go sailing. He had a wife who was supportive he had everything going for him, he just started too late. Uhm we have met some men who have actually sailed their own boat and gotten out to discover that they just can’t stand sailing. It wasn’t what they wanted at all so they stopped and sold the boat - lots of broken dreams.

(Cruising woman 343)

So, some people have not thought through the logical consequences of acquiring a boat, specifically having to sail it. Others have not included their partners in joint goal striving. Whilst still others are too old. Implicit in her analysis is the fact that their skills and abilities are not up to the challenges of long term ocean cruising, this matching of skills and challenges is addressed later in this chapter. For those who are
unable to fulfil their dream there is always a way to live the lifestyle vicariously through magazines and cruising books. Indeed such an audience is recognised by editors of cruising magazines. Neil Patchett, the editor of *Cruising Helmsman* in 1992, states ‘We also cater for the dreamers with regular stories about exotic destinations’ (personal correspondence, 20 November 1992). In providing such stories, these magazines and books, enable some people to hold the picture of going cruising in their photo albums. For as Glasser (1984: 29) suggests

> [a]lthough it is never possible to deny the pictures in our albums, at times we still try to push them out of mind, because to admit that we can do nothing to achieve them is a painful admission.

**Style of life**

In the previous sections, reference has been made to ‘pictures’ in a personal photo album, life plans, style of life, or life style and goal setting. Apart from these synonyms, Allport (1950) uses the term ‘goal striving’. Adler refers to goal striving as a person’s ‘style of life’. Over time, within Adler’s writings, ‘style of life’ has assumed several meanings:

> [s]tyle of life is variously equated with the self or ego (1913b, p.4; 1935a, p.7), a man’s [sic] own personality (1913a, p.200), the unity of the personality (1935a, p.7), individuality (1913b, p.4), individual forms of creative activity (1935a, p.8), the method of facing problems (1931a, p.201), opinion about oneself and the problems of life (1933a, p.16), the whole attitude to life (1929c, p.135) and others.

(Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; 174).

As the previous synonyms suggest, Adler’s ‘style of life’ has also been described as a life plan (Dreikurs, 1953: 43) or life style (Dreikurs, 1971: 57; Balson, 1992: 26).
According to Balson (1992: 26), life style is a ‘person’s particular view of himself [sic], his [sic] relationship to the environment, and his [sic] characteristic pattern of responses’. A person’s particular view is developed from childhood. As Dreikurs (1953: 43) comments:

A child’s life plan does not grow out of a certain peculiarity nor out of isolated experiences, but out of constant repetition of the difficulties, real or imagined, which he [sic] encounters. Each individual will find out special ways and means which appear to be serviceable for his special plan. Out of the individual’s special life plan develops his life style which characterizes him [sic] and everything he [sic] does.

Early childhood experiences inform our life plans and lead some people to pursue and fulfil a cruising lifestyle, as evidenced by these two narratives which were presented in Chapter Six:

It’s been his dream. His biggest dream was to get a boat like his father. To build a boat and this was in [a country where there were] … not really a lot [of boats]. It’s not really a sailing country. It is more so now. He saw that built [his father’s boat] and you know, they went on family holidays with the family and everything. And after his father died, you know he continued it. He literally was brought up in the engine rooms, elbows armpits in grease that sort of thing. So he really got it in his blood …

   (Cruising woman 303)

[Cruising] Oh no, it was just very simple, just a dream I had for since I was small. I was always dreaming about that. And when I met 314m … he was looking for crew for company for long term cruising. … and that was it. [313f chose to go cruising].  (Cruising woman 313)
However, as this chapter has already evidenced, cruiser narratives and participant observation indicate that not all life styles are so easily fulfilled. Some people do not have the individuality to be creative in their responses to anomic and alienating social circumstances. They remain connected to the society which continues to constrain and alienate them. For these people the ‘dream’ or ‘pictures’ in their personal photo album are never to be fulfilled. These people will not become cruisers, will not achieve self actualisation, nor become the ‘fully functioning person’ they strive to be. Achievement of self-actualisation can generate feelings of ‘flow’ (Csikszentmihalyi, 1974) for the ‘fully functioning person’. ‘Flow’ is the topic of discussion in the remaining section of this chapter.

Csikszentmihalyi’s ‘flow’

One of the basic needs identified in Glasser’s basic instincts was ‘fun’. Csikszentmihalyi also discussed enjoyment in regard to activities and behaviours. Like the preceding writers, Csikszentmihalyi identifies a link between culture and biological predispositions as affecting behaviour and the construction of ‘self’.

Evolution seems to have built into humans a predisposition to enjoy the integration of the two great negentropic systems of culture and biology into a third system – that of the self, or information in consciousness.

(Fausto Massimini, Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi and Antonella Delle Fave, 1988: 66)

Csikszentmihalyi’s theoretical position developed from the work of Maslow, particularly the notion of ‘process and product’ outcomes of behaviour. Csiksentmihalyi was particularly interested in understanding the nature of ‘intrinsic motivation, especially activities which elicited ‘peak experiences’ (Maslow 1965,
1968). Csiksentmihalyi (1988: 5) makes the following comment regarding Maslow’s work:

Maslow ascribed the motivation to a desire for “self actualisation,” a need to discover one’s potentialities and limitations through intense activity and experience. … Maslow’s explanation was compelling, but it left many questions unanswered. … Maslow’s pioneering work, primarily idiographic and reflective in nature, did not explore very far the empirical implications of these ideas.

In extending the work of Maslow and the nature of peak experiences, or self actualising experiences, Csiksentmihalyi (1974) developed his theory of ‘optimal experience’ which he calls a ‘flow’ experience. What is a ‘flow’ experience? In his own words:

Flow refers to the holistic sensation present when we act with total involvement. It is a kind of feeling after which one nostalgically says: "that was fun," or "that was enjoyable." It is the state in which action follows upon action according to an internal logic which seems to need no conscious intervention on our part. We experience it as a unified flowing from one moment to the next in which we are in control of our actions, and in which there is little distinction between self and environment; between stimulus and response; or between past, present, and future. (Csikszentmihalyi, 1974: 58)

In his research into ‘flow’, Csikszentmihalyi (1988: 365) identified several dimensions of flow, ‘intense involvement, deep concentration, clarity of goals and feedback, loss of a sense of time, lack of self consciousness and transcendence of a sense of self, leading to and autotelic, that is, intrinsically rewarding experience’. According to Massimini, Csikszentmihalyi, & Delle Fave (1988: 65-66), flow occurs:
... when a good fit results from the interaction between two lists of instructions: those contained in the rules of a cultural "game" ... and the list of intrasomatic instructions – based on biological predispositions – which constitute the actor's skills. ... A person in flow wishes to do what he or she is doing for the sake of the activity itself, independently of external consequences.

Since his early studies, Csikszentmihalyi advocates that flow is possible in every day life (1997). People can experience macro and micro flow events. Based on grounded theory analysis of cruiser narratives and participant observation, flow is a useful lens in understanding the experiences of cruising men and women. It provides insight into this both relationships with joint conjugal roles and those without. (Joint conjugal roles are jointly shared roles in a relationship.) In joint conjugal roles, both partners evidenced flow experiences especially during passage making. In relationships which were not based on joint conjugal roles, instances of flow in regard to cruising and sailing were limited and this was based essentially on women's lack of sailing related knowledge and skills. Their partners however, also reported flow during passage making. Csikszentmihalyi offers a model which portrays various relationships which may occur in any activity due to a participant's skill level and the degree of challenge perceived in the activity by the participants (See Figure 12.1 on next page).

As may be deduced from Figure 12.1, when skills and challenges are high a person is likely to experience flow. When skills are low and challenges are high, feelings of worry, anxiety occur. Women commented that men are bored or apathetic in port – Csikszentmihalyi's model suggests this is due to the low level of challenge and the high level of skills of the cruising men being under utilised in regard to sailing experiences whilst in port. Similarly on passages which are easy – that is, passage which have little challenge, cruisers may feel bored or relaxed as their skills are beyond the level demanded by the 'challenge' of an 'easy' passage. To exemplify aspects of
flow and its operation within cruising I will draw on one cruising man’s and two cruising women’s narratives in turn.

**Figure 12.1:** The quality of experience as a function of the relationship between challenges and skills. Optimal experience or flow, occurs when both variables are high.


Firstly, cruising man 334 whose narrative you have read before articulates being in ‘flow’. His skill level was high and capable of meeting the perceived high level of the passage across to Papua New Guinea. On the way back, this was not the case – the challenge was beyond the skill level and ‘worry’ and ‘anxiety’ were experienced instead of flow:

I hadn’t had very many moments like that in my life where it was a tremendous feeling of self satisfaction, when I said to 335w we knew it was there, but there was an enormous tropical haze, and you knew that
somewhere through there - there was this enormous bloody great big island and I said to 335w we are going to see this Brumer Island at about 2.00pm this afternoon and at about ten to two there it was out of the haze this little island here we are we are here. And as we approached it we were able to pick out landform on the chart and off we went. And that was a tremendous sense of satisfaction, I still have a photograph of myself putting up the Practique flag and the Papua New Guinea flag and all that sort of thing and that was great. I would have loved to, I don't know whether you do experience it every time you do it but maybe you don't. But I know that I would love to be able to capture that moment that feeling again. It was really satisfying. There was a different sort of feeling coming back because coming back it was just a sense of this is not a movie this is real life and things don't always come out. ... And you get a bit worried, you know, fear is not the word. On the way, back we had worse conditions than on the way over. Other things occurred that made the situation even worse and there was more to it than that. There wasn't a sense of satisfaction, it was just a sense of relief that this is over, but not even a sense of relief, I don't know what it was. Maybe 335w felt differently about that but I felt, I guess you expect things to work out. And that's what I'm saying and when they do, you just think that's the way it is and if they didn't work out I'd be feeling "Oh, shit" why didn't that work out. So I suspect that I won't get that feeling of elation again but it was great the first time, I would like to be able to bottle that feeling.

(Cruising man 334)

I mentioned before that cruising men tended to experience 'flow' more than most cruising women. This was especially true of cruising women who went cruising mainly because they wanted to be with their partners. In the next narrative, cruising woman 343 who enjoys the challenge of cruising, initially could not understand why other women were unhappy. Her narrative attests to the fact that the women, upon
whom she comments, had skill levels well below the challenges required of them in a cruising lifestyle.

In our early cruising we met a lot of boats with very unhappy women aboard, and uhm [I] tried to figure out why they were so unhappy, because I love it I think it is really fun I like the sailing I like living on the boat, I like dealing with the challenges of sailing, I like the navigating I like it all so much and I couldn’t figure out why they were so unhappy. And there were several things that I discovered that a lot of them were passengers. A lot of them the men did everything so the little women didn’t have to do it at all. Most of them had lovely homes that they weren’t living in, that they had to leave behind whether it was temporary or permanent. A lot most of the unhappy ones had not lived aboard before they left. They just stored the things rented the house, got on this little boat and took off. And it’s a great adjustment as you know, living on a boat is much different to living in a house. And they - the adjustment was made all at the same time that they subjected themselves to off shore passages. And I felt that was a real mistake, and a lot of the boats well this is a very comfortable boat as you can see. And I have a very good galley which I designed and it was made to my specifications and it works real well. And a lot of the women had to deal with galleys that really were horrors to work in. And I could understand why they felt like they did. A lot of them were terrified because if something happened to their husband they didn’t know what to do with the boat. They didn’t know how to navigate and so they were not only unhappy but they were afraid. So that’s what I think about the women and I haven’t seen anything to change my mind. The happiest women that are cruising are the ones who participate in the sailing and the whole life style.

(Cruising woman 343)
Cruising woman 343 provides participant observation to support her interpretation regarding the personal challenge of cruising exceeding other women’s abilities and skills to meet cruising challenges. Cruising woman 385, on the other hand, provides a personal insight into the various relationships between skill sand challenges:

My first husband lived on a lake and I thought it was lovely there and I always thought it would be romantic to have a sail boat, so we bought a sail boat. … Though we didn’t use it that much, I didn’t like racing with all the tension and the macho struggling to win, I didn’t like that. I had three boys and a girl and they all liked it so I didn’t get to use it much.

(Cruising woman 385)
How did you learn to sail? (Interviewer)
By trial and error mainly taking the boat out and learning how to sail it and what to do when things went wrong. My current partner and I both had a canoeing and adventure sports background, he pushes harder than me, he’s a Type A personality, I’m much more relaxed and now with cruising I am more relaxed. (Cruising woman 385)
How did you get from small sailing boats to this boat? (Interviewer)
I decided early on that I would like to live on a boat, and sail from place to place but I didn’t like the sailing. I liked the self-sufficiency, the comfort of the boat, it’s almost womb-like, but it can be cramped. I suggested to 386m that we should go and sail around the world and 386m was reluctant at first but I gradually kept suggesting it to him and he became committed to it. I just kept on enthusiastically promoting the idea, we’d done a lot of canoeing so we decided to take a sail and learn cruise in the Caribbean and see if we liked it all right. There were two couples on the boat and we boarded in St Lucia. We both passed our tests but I thought it was a little bit sexist because the captain graded 386m higher even though I was the better sailor. He was the man and I was the woman. I disliked that approach. Anyway

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the cruise taught us how to handle a bigger boat than a sailing dinghy.
We decided to go bareboat chartering the next year, so feeling like
frauds because we really only had minimal skills we took the boat out
in the Med and we loved it and it worked we were able to sail and
handle it. Though I felt anxious at times because we both have
different views about things and timing of things. For example, when
386m decided to go in a direction he just goes whether I am ready or
not and that doesn’t always suit me. We sometimes heel over that
doesn’t worry me now but initially when we heeled over I would think
we would tip over. Because once 386m and I went with another
couple sailing on a lake. 386m told the couple not to worry the boat
couldn’t tip over. We heeled over, and over we went. I sometimes felt
anxious initially because I wasn’t sure 386m knew as much as he liked
to believe he did. I don’t think that 386m is sufficiently cautious
enough to feel comfortable with. Because I have no control, it’s his
boat, he owns it, he’s the skipper, I don’t feel like I have a stake or a
say in it. We have two completely different styles about doing things,
for example, when we can ease off the main I do it slowly a little bit at
a time whereas 386m just let’s it go and wham sometimes we ended up
too far over more than we need to be for comfort. So we sailed
around Greece for a month in a smaller boat than the one we had
learnt to cruise on but we still weren’t confident that we had enough
skills. After the next 18 months, we had another 30 days in Greece
and it was there that we decided it sounded like a good idea to get a
boat of our own. Before that we did more sailing, we met a couple
through an agent, in fact the same agent that we used for another trip.
… With the couple, we sailed with them around Kieta for 3-4 weeks.
We also went from American Samoa to Honiara so 386m could decide
whether he could stand long passages. I knew I wouldn’t get bored
because I have reading and writing materials, so I don’t get bored.
But we were concerned that 386m might. That’s one thing about
passages, there is no social contact, I miss that a bit. But if I have
books and my computer for writing and doing things on I’m quite happy it doesn’t matter about people. So after that voyage from American Samoa to Honiara we decided yes we will do this. In 1985 386m was 60, and he said it is now or never, so we went ahead. I wanted a steel boat, and 386m worried about the resale value of steel with rust and said we would be having an aluminium boat. I thought that 40 foot would be the maximum size I thought anything bigger would be too much for us to handle. I have since learnt that a bigger boat if properly rigged doesn’t cause too many problems.

(Cruising woman 385)

Within her text she identifies several issues related to flow as well as several feminist issues. In regard to flow, she describes how she learnt by trial and error in a small boat appropriate to her then current level of skills – a boat in which she developed ‘control’. In regard to her experiences she clearly articulated ‘worry’ and ‘anxiety’ in relation to her own skills but more in relation to her partner’s skill level in regard to some tasks. Along with skills, she evidenced a growing knowledge such as a larger boat appropriately fitted will not be beyond her skill level. Finally, she addresses passage making and boredom and how she generates her own challenges or activities or control of her situation. She also admits that the decision to go sailing was skill and age-related, that is, the physical ability to meet the challenge. Apart from elements of flow which permeate her narrative, this woman identifies the ‘androcentric’ nature of sailing. Her lack of control in the sailing activity due to her non-ownership of the boat – her partner’s private property. These latter two elements will be pursued in detail in the next chapter along with other issues related to various feminist perspectives regarding cruising women’s experiences and issues of equality and power which are implicit in cruising woman’s 385’s narrative and in the narratives of other cruising women.
So to conclude, this chapter has focussed on cruisers as individuals using theories from the discipline of social psychology and the field of individual psychology. In particular, criticisms of this approach were founded in the fact that the theories were drawn from data collected from therapy studies, that is from abnormal behaviour. However, abnormal behaviour is but one end of a continuum, the antithesis of abnormal behaviour is ‘normal’ behaviour whatever ‘normal’ is. These theories were found to have relevance to the discourse of cruisers. Subsequently, the chapter focussed on the behaviour of cruisers as individuals who were attempting to fulfil their basic needs or achieve their goal setting or a specific style of life. Cruisers’ narratives supported both Maslow and Glasser’s theories. The need for ‘belonging’ was primarily evidenced by cruising women as was a desire for safety and security. Men and women in joint conjugal relationships were more concerned with self (not peer) esteem and self actualisation.

Cruising was a creative response in which cruisers broke the connections with mainstream society and its anomic and alienating tendencies. Consequently, cruisers exhibited individual action and power in advancing their sense of selves to become ‘fully functioning persons’. Using an array of pictures of possible and desired life plans and styles of life, cruisers directed all their behaviour towards the actualisation of their ‘dream’ or ‘picture’ of reality. For some, this picture represented a new style of life – cruising. Some cruising women or potential cruising women also self-actualised by rejecting the cruising style of life since they held pictures in their photo albums of life plans which were distinctly different from their partners. These women desired instead to maintain links with society and their sense of place and belonging within it. Amongst cruisers, Csikszentmihalyi’s flow was found to account for the ‘anxiety’, ‘worry’ ‘relaxation’, ‘control’ and ‘flow’ experienced in cruising. These feelings were a result of their skill levels in regard to the perceived challenges of the various cruising events.
Finally, the chapter has also served to highlight the affective domain’s role regarding the decision to go cruising and to maintain a cruising lifestyle. Some feminists would argue that a woman’s need for ‘belonging’ reinforces her subjugated role in regard to cruising men and that cruising women are unable to be social actors in their own right. In an attempt to address such arguments, cruising women and gender relations, roles and responsibilities aboard cruising vessels are the foci of the next chapter. The chapter also serves to make visible the experiences and contributions of cruising women within the predominantly malestream activity of cruising.
Chapter 13
Gender relations and cruisers: A ‘feminist’ based theoretical investigation

The previous two chapters have drawn on the disciplines of sociology and social psychology respectively. We saw in Chapter Eleven that some cruising men and women were seeking to escape their ‘normal’ social setting or to gain freedom from alienating work practices and routines and/or societal expectations and responsibilities. Sociological theories of alienation and anomie were found to reflect some of the multiple ‘realities’ experienced by cruisers. Further, in seeking to gain some self control or power over their lives, cruisers were found to demonstrate positive deviance as Macbeth postulated in his 1985 study of long term ocean cruisers. However, the individual action required by cruisers to change their social milieu did not precipitate wider societal change. Such individual action is described as ‘methodological individualism’ by sociologists and is considered in a pejorative sense as is initially most type of deviance from a society’s norms.

Since cruisers’ actions were more individual than societal, the field of social psychology, particularly individual psychology, was found more useful in analysing cruisers as social actors who chose to act independently from societal norms and expectations. Consequently, in Chapter Twelve, the focus moved from a social (group) perspective to an individual perspective. In particular, the analysis ‘zoomed’ in onto cruisers as individual social actors striving for fulfilment of basic needs and a ‘style of life’ which enabled self actualisation to be achieved. In Chapter Twelve, you will recall that some cruising women went cruising to be with their partners in order to fulfil a ‘need for belonging’ whereas cruising men tended to seek ‘self actualisation’. In dealing with the challenges of long term cruising, some cruising women tended to be either apathetic, worried, or anxious during cruises and passage making and sometimes bored when in port. However, cruising men more often than women
moved through being bored, relaxed, in control or aroused or in ‘flow’ (Csikszentmihalyi, 1988). ‘Flow’ was experienced mainly during passage making when the challenges and skill level of the cruisers was high. Cruising men tended to evidence flow more than cruising women due to past experiences in sailing, as well as their skill and knowledge levels. In Chapters Eleven and Twelve, both cruising women and men’s voices informed the analyses. In order to highlight the experiences of cruising women, and to counterbalance the predominantly androcentric nature of cruising literature, this chapter will focus on cruising women and feminist discourses. The analysis will draw on dominant discourses presented in the ethnographic chapter, Chapter Eight, although linkages will be made to other ethnographic and ‘theoretical’ chapters.

In Chapter Eight, Caught in the Irons or Sailing Wing and Wing, initial evidences were presented which demonstrated that some women went cruising because of their need to be with their partner or because of their love for their partner. Some of these women persevered with the cruising lifestyle although they did not enjoy it and as such were described as ‘caught in the irons’. Other women went cruising with their partners to be with them and ended up liking the lifestyle and/or the touristic experiences. Still others went cruising in order to specifically, pursue a lifestyle which both had decided would enable them to be together. In the latter case, the relationships were described as ‘wing and wing’ – the choice to go cruising was a joint one, and the relationship was generally ‘balanced’ through shared decision making and shared goal setting. The ‘wing and wing’ relationship was also applicable to some of the cruising partnerships in which the women initially went to be with their partner and ended up enjoying the lifestyle.

Chapter Eight also described the roles and responsibilities aboard vessels. You will recall that roles and responsibilities differed between genders. The metaphors of ‘caught in the irons’ and ‘sailing wing and wing’ can also be applied to whether
women know how to sail, to navigate or to maintain vessels and to whether they are able to participate in decision-making or not. Or to whether men participate in cooking, cleaning, washing, provisioning and educating children or not. Some women’s narratives indicate that access to cruising and sailing skills and knowledge is often mediated by their partners’ attitudes to sharing knowledge and developing the women’s skills, the ownership of the vessel and cruising finances and often socialisation practices regarding gender roles and responsibilities. For some of the women, their cruising ‘lot’ was relegation to the domestic sphere. For other women, cruising was not their ‘lot’ but their ‘life’ and they participated in both the domestic and non-domestic\(^1\) spheres of the cruising subculture.

As mentioned before, one of my reasons for adopting a feminist methodology for my research was to make more visible the experiences of women who go cruising. Having read Chapter One, you will recall the predominantly androcentric nature of cruising literature. You will also recall how some of the androcentricity is being altered by the publication of technical and non-technical texts generated by sailing and cruising women as well as the appointment of women as editors of cruising magazines. However, cruising literature is not the only set of texts to exclude or render invisible women’s voices. For almost three decades, social science disciplines have been censured for their androcentric nature. Ernestine Friedl (1975: 6) castigated anthropology as a discipline in which most data about societies was derived from male sources; interpreted by males; and subsequently written up for males. Dianne Bell (1983: 246), another critic, admonished *that there is a profound reluctance on the part of the discipline to come to terms with the social contribution of women to their*

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\(^1\) I have chosen to use the terms ‘domestic’ and ‘non-domestic’ instead of ‘private’ and ‘public’ respectively. I made this decision as the term ‘public’ suggests a community setting external to the boat. Whilst this may be true when a cruising vessel comes into an inhabited setting, it is not true in an uninhabited setting or during passage making. Hence, I have used the term ‘domestic’ to identify the domain in which household duties occur such as cooking, cleaning, washing, and child care. The term ‘non-domestic’ has been used to refer to all other activities on the boat not related to household duties, such as sailing, navigating, mechanical repairs, painting and slipping the boat, or dealing with bureaucracy. However, the terms ‘domestic’/‘private’ and ‘non-domestic’/‘public’ should be considered
society'. John Cawte's statement (1974: 140) that 'women are feeders, breeders and follow-the-leaders' particularly exemplifies this androcentric perspective. Bell (1983: 242) advocates that such statements are responsible for the continued casting of women into secondary roles and of the devaluation of their contributions to a society. She further believed that such and similar androcentric statements have been responsible for maintaining male dominance to contemporary times.

Beyond the field of anthropology, feminists in sociology, psychoanalysis, cultural studies and semiotics, have also sought to re-examine women cross-culturally and cross-temporally as well as to investigate their ability to be social actors in their own right. In this chapter, I will demonstrate that cruising women are social actors in their own right. I will also simultaneously rectify 'the silencing of women's voices' (Cook & Fonow, 1990: 72 – 80) within cruising discourses. Furthermore, I will examine gender relations from women's viewpoints and I will also apply various feminist perspectives to analyse the experiences and narratives of cruising women.

Four broad approaches to feminism can be discerned in current literature: radical feminism; Marxist and socialist feminism; liberal feminism; and postmodern feminists (though the latter decry such a label). Within each of these broad approaches, Sneja Gunew (1990: 29) noted that there existed 'diversity amongst feminist theorists ... [and that they] ... don't all speak from the same position'. Subsequently, within each of the aforementioned approaches there exists differing viewpoints, and indeed between each approach there exists overlaps of views. I have mentioned my aims for this chapter, to achieve those aims, the following structure has been used:

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by you, the reader, as mutually interchangeable terms when reflecting on the relevant bodies of literature.

2 Lyn Lofland (1975) provides a similar critique of community studies undertaken by sociologists.

3 In writing this chapter, I have considered Eichler's (1991: 27, 40) comments on non-sexist writing and 'the sequencing of the sexes'. I have specifically adopted a 'gynocentric' approach in this chapter in order to rectify the previously gynocentric approaches evident in cruising texts – after all the purpose of this chapter is specifically to make women visible, they therefore are the subjects and the men constitute the 'other'. In all other chapters, I have adopted an alternating presentation of 'the sequencing of the sexes' in order to be neither 'androcentric' or 'gynocentric'.

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• firstly, the chapter will overview some of the discourse associated with each of the feminist approaches
• simultaneously, the text will juxtapose the cruising women’s experiences and dialogues as a lens to determine the ability of each approach to mirror the social conditions and circumstances of cruising women who participated in this study
• thirdly, the chapter will examine issues of ‘equality’ in cruising relationships
• fourthly, the chapter will explore issues of power
• lastly, the chapter will examine the issue of agency.

In particular, this chapter moves beyond ‘the macro-zoom level’ (Pamphilon, 1999: 1) used in the ethnography chapters. You will remember that ‘the macro-zoom level’ focuses on dominant discourses. This chapter will move to the ‘meso-zoom level’ (Pamphilon, 1999) to enable us to understand the key themes, the ‘taken-for-granted’ explanations used by cruising women as well as the ‘silences and absences’ in their narratives. The other levels of Pamphilon’s photographic metaphor, the micro-zoom level focuses on the pauses and emotions in the cruisers’ narratives. The interactional zoom level focuses on the transaction between cruisers and myself, that is interaction of the ‘knower’ and the researcher, the latter who attempts to reflect back the ‘known’ (Marcia Westkott, 1990: 61). The interactional zoom level also focuses on the context of narrative constructions.

**Four approaches to feminism**

This section will overview each of the approaches: radical feminism, Marxist and socialist feminism, liberal feminism, and postmodern feminism in turn whilst concurrently determining the ability of each approach to explain cruising women’s circumstances.
Radical feminists

From a radical feminist perspective, society is viewed as patriarchal. Men occupy the ruling class positions and women the subject class positions. The key institution through which the ruling/subject class divisions are reified is the family. It is also in the family that women are most exploited through their provision of free labour in the domestic domain such as home and child care.

One promulgator of the radical feminist viewpoint is Shulamith Firestone. Firestone (1970; 1972) coined the term ‘sex class’ to describe the inequalities of power and the division of labour between women and men. For Firestone, society’s class system is based on ‘relations of reproduction’ rather than as Marxists would argue ‘relations of production’ (Rosemary Tong, 1989: 73). Specifically, biology determines a person’s class (Firestone, 1970; 1972). A similar discourse is reflected in some cruiser narratives, as is particularly evidenced in this exit cruising man’s reflection on why more men initiate the idea to go cruising than women:

... I’ll probably hurt a few feelings, like this, but I think the males are the hunters and gatherers. Let’s face it. It’s innate in most animals and we’re animals. A lot of feminists would say that’s a load of crap. But we’re still animals and I think it’s still innate in us, the hunting and gathering, going out there and venturing where the female of the species is the homebody, looking after the kids.

(Exit cruising man 606)

Michelle Z Rosaldo (1974) argues that just such a division of domestic (women) and non-domestic (men) results in the subordination of women. Although Rosaldo agrees that the reason for the domestic/non-domestic division is based indirectly on biological processes, she comments that:
The opposition [of domestic and public] does not determine cultural stereotypes or asymmetries in the evaluation of the sexes, but rather underlies them, to support a very general (and, for women, often demeaning) identification of women with domestic life and of men with public life. These identifications, themselves neither necessary nor desirable, can all be tied to the role of women in child rearing; by examining their multiple ramifications, one can begin to understand the nature of female subordination and the ways it may be overcome.

(Rosaldo, 1974; 23 - 24)

The child rearing and nurturing role and its underlying ramifications for stereotyping women in the domestic sphere noted by Rosaldo is inherent in the discussion below and permeates some cruising women’s ‘family life’ cycle’ (Rhona Rapoport and Robert Rapoport, 1975). For example:

I think women are totally, to use a word of a friend of mine often uses, is that women are much more broody, than men they want ...

(Cruising woman 323)

They want to nest.  

(Cruising man 324)

They want to nest and they want to be with their families and particularly if they are grandparents. We are not grandparents yet neither of our two are married yet and so we don’t have that problem that they want to be with their grandchildren I can understand that. And sure women, I’m sure when I have grandchildren if we do then I’ll probably be broody too.

(Cruising woman 323)

Due to the pervasiveness of this biologically based discourse within some cruising women’s socialisation processes, the possibility of grandchildren will impact on the
women's willingness to continue long term cruising. For some of these women and their partners, cruising was not commenced until their children 'were off their hands'. Now, the arrival of grandchildren will re-establish 'the nesting' process – and reiterate the women's identification within the domestic sphere. As noted by Rosaldo (1974) there are multiple and on-going ramifications of child rearing for women and their subsequent location within the domestic sphere.

A radical feminist and biologically based discourse is also applied by cruisers to explain the allocation of roles and responsibilities and is accepted as a 'taken-for-granted' explanation. For example:

Females seem to be much better in the galley department and especially in maintaining the household if you like to call it down below and so forth and the guys usually handle the physical work. The sails, the anchor, etc.  

(Cruising man 356)

Well, [tasks are assigned] in fairly traditional roles. Females doing the domestic buying and maintaining the whole organisational skills, whereas the men tended to take on the maintenance and the navigation and that side of it, but fairly traditional sides [and roles].

(Re-entry cruising woman 801)

Furthermore, to support this dominant discourse which results in 'the exploitation of women', sometimes physiological strength is added to the argument as a reason for the domestic/non-domestic division of cruising activities and tasks:

Well, it's probably not too popular in the current environment, but just physically I just don't think the female is as equipped to do it as the
male. That’s a big part of it and probably some cultural, most women aren’t prepared by training for cruising. (Cruising man 406)

Yeah, to be a mechanic, and a plumber, and an electrician and all the things that you need to know about, operation of the boat.

(Cruising woman 405)

I’ve been talking to other girls about this. Other sailing, other sailor girls, and then I think it is this way, a lot of men like have to be strong and have the power to do these things …

(Cruising woman 377)

Whilst cruisers may accept the taken-for-granted assumptions that some roles are ‘natural’ and that physiological strength is required to sail boats, such arguments are spurious. Women given the knowledge and skills can and do sail boats independently of men as noted before. In some relationships, this ‘natural’ discourse masks the underlying ‘silence’ of unstated power relationships aboard some boats. Aboard these boats, the cruising man is the ‘boss’ and maintains this position through reifying ‘naturally and culturally’ (that is, patriarchally) ascribed roles and responsibilities. Further, some men deliberately withhold knowledge and marginalise cruising women. In reality, as noted by cruising woman 371 in Chapter Eight, boats can be fitted and rigged to account for the different strengths of all cruisers aboard. Knowledge can be divested in appropriate learning conditions rather than in high stress conditions where the learner’s skills and knowledge are way below that which is required by the challenge of the moment. In such non-conducive learning environments, the learning experience results in anxiety, fear, and/or low esteem as well as generates conflicts and/or disharmony in relationships.

Marxist feminists also criticise the taken-for-granted explanations implicit in arguments used to advocate the ‘naturally based’ assignment of gender roles and responsibilities.
In particular, Michèle Barrett (1988: 199) provides the following critique of Firestone’s earlier viewpoint and by association that of exit cruising man 606’s perspective:

Shulamith Firestone’s description of ‘the biological family’ embodies the central feature of contemporary ideology of the family unit; women are defined in terms of their anatomy and hence assumed to be ‘naturally’ dependent upon men. ‘The family’, however, does not exist other than as an ideological construct, since the structure of the household, definition and meaning of kinship, and the ideology of ‘the family’ itself, have all varied enormously in different types of society. It would be better to cease to refer to ‘the family’ at all, … [and use] households, and … familial ideology, as terms that avoid some of the naturalism and mystification engendered by ‘the family’.

(Barrett, 1988: 199)

Despite such critiques, radical feminist viewpoints continue to exist. Sherry B. Ortner (1974), another radical feminist, agrees with Firestone that women are oppressed but argues that it is not associated with biological processes. Instead Ortner advocates that oppression is due to the way which each culture defines and evaluates female biological processes. In particular, ‘various aspects of woman’s situation (physical, social, psychological) contribute to her being seen as closer to nature, while the view of her as closer to nature is in turn embodied in institutional forms that reproduce her situation’ (Ortner, 1974: 87). Three such institutional forms are ‘cultural ideology’, ‘symbolic devices’ and ‘social structural arrangements’ (Ortner, 1974). These three forms reify the perception that women are closer to nature because of the reproductive processes associated with their bodies and thereby reify their subordination. Men, on the other hand, are associated with cultural processes including the three institutional forms just noted. As cultural processes are valued higher than biological processes this allows men to assume a superior social role. Subsequently, gender and gender roles
are a result 'of social and cultural processes' (Sherry Ortner and Harriet Whitehead, 1982: 1) which reify the devalued nature of biological processes associated with women rather than as Firestone argues as a result of the biological processes particularly the reproductive roles associated with each sex. In regard to cruisers, social/cultural processes were also argued as a reason for gender and gender roles, particularly women in regard to 'home and hearth' and men with external environments to the home. For example:

Well, I think that most women are brought up [to do] cooking and cleaning and the house, the home, you know. ... Whereas a man, I think they grew up much more that way, you know [to go adventuring] ... to rough it in a boat. It's just culturally, I don't think it's ... you're brought up [in a particular way].

(Cruising woman 379)

For this cruising woman, her perspective is historically situated in her own genderisation and socialisation practices and these practices inform her view of gender roles. At a microlevel, within her 'silences', there is a recognition of the role institutional forms of the family and formal and informal education have in the construction of gender. The following narrative exemplifies a similar view expressed in the pre-cruising, exit cruiser and exit-reentry cruiser groups in regard to the roles of socialisation practices and formal and informal education have in creating inequality and oppression.

Women aren't expected ... they're not brought up to be adventurous and go out there and plus the skills to maintain and build a boat, aren't encouraged or taught. That's one thing that really annoys me - that I don't have the same skills to do that.

(Re-entry cruising woman 801)
However, cruising women acknowledge that social and cultural processes are changing over time and are enabling women the potential for equality in a cruising relationship. This is due to changing attitudes, legislation and opportunities for participation of women in men’s sport – a condition for which liberal feminists have advocated.

[Sailing and by association cruising] hasn’t been a woman’s sport, I mean, you know, in the next 10-20 years, it’ll definitely, we’ll see more women ’cause women are involved in sports more.

(Cruising woman 379)

Subsequently, the adequacy of a radical feminist explanation of genderisation and gender roles amongst cruising women and men is beginning to diminish as women’s participation rates in men’s domains increase. This greater participation is a result of liberal feminist efforts for equality and subsequent changes in socialisation and cultural and educational processes, no longer is there an acceptance of a universal determinism of ‘natural’ roles attributed to women and men. Women do not need to rely on men to go cruising. As another woman, cruising woman 373, further elaborates albeit indirectly, if she demonstrated some agency, she could acquire the requisite skills both mechanical and non-technical related to sailing. She also provides an example of how women do exhibit such agency:

I lack mechanical ability I don’t think I can fix anything. And uhm, I don’t know how to change the oil. I’ve just been negligent about educating myself as much as I should have, actually in the five year I’ve been cruising. I just can, I can get myself, if something happened to him I could get myself. If something happened to him I could get us there, as long as all the equipment continued to work. But if it didn’t I would have a real problem. … Our culture doesn't, especially
my generation, you know women weren’t inclined to go off on an
adventure, but you probably haven’t met the boat, with three women?
Three women that went in together with equal third ownership of the
boat, they aren’t just crew. So they each have an equal stake in it and
uhm, they’ve come a long way, they are ahead of us by about a year.
But that’s a real unusual one. They are just three women, and one of
them is definitely the captain, one is the cook and she has very little
mechanical ability and the other one is pretty much on the radio and
helps with the fixing but it’s quite an interesting group.

(Cruising woman 373)

There was a certain amount of pride in her voice when discussing the women who
were breaking the dominant patriarchal hegemonic base of cruising. The example of
the three women, and the solo woman cruiser whom I interviewed demonstrate that a
biological or cultural basis linked to women’s reproductive processes is insufficient as
a rationale for ‘naturally’ making women ‘dependent on men’ (Barrett, 1988: 199)
within the cruising subculture. It is however a rationale used to argue the assignment
of roles and responsibilities within heterosexual partnerships in the cruising
community. And in so doing, cruisers mirror radical feminists’ arguments regarding
‘natural’ and ‘traditional’ roles which maintain the status quo - inequality for women
and power for men.

The preceding investigation of cruiser narratives affords some credibility to the radical
feminist perspective. Cruising women can be viewed as exploited within the cruising
experience as the women appear to be ruled by their partner, the cruising man. Those
women who would prefer to stay at home are especially exploited. Primarily, cruising
women are exploited by their provision of free labour in the domestic sphere. Labour
which one cruising women indicated took women ‘back to doing household things the
hard way’, such as washing clothes in a bucket or lugging washing to rivers and
streams to wash them and then lugging it back. While some cruisers' narratives reflect a sense of biological or cultural determinism in regard to the roles and responsibilities aboard some vessels, it did not permeate all narratives. Consequently, radical feminism only partially explains the reality of cruising for some women. As one cruising woman noted in regard to roles and responsibilities:

> From my experience and observation of the boats that we are friendly with, the women tend to do the cooking and provisioning. And the men, some share the cooking, and that varies with the age of the person, the younger aged men tend to share more chores whereas the older men tend to take more traditional responsibilities.

(Cruising woman 385)

This rooting of older men in traditional or patriarchal roles and responsibilities is accounted for differently by radical feminist writers. Kate Millett (1970) argues that inequality between genders is based directly on the universal use of patriarchy in power relationships. She outlines eight reasons why patriarchy exists:

- superior male strength (biology)
- socialisation (dominance to men)
- the institution of the family (maintaining and socialising patriarchy)
- class and subordination (women exist in a caste-like status)
- education
- myth and religion
- psychology (interiorisation of patriarchy)
- physical force (violence).
Sherry B. Ortner (1974: 67) also identified the universality of women’s inequality: 'the secondary status of woman in society is one of the true universals, a pan-cultural fact.' For Ortner however, the inequality stemmed from cultural constructs. However, Sheila Rowbotham (1982) and Robert McDonough and Rachel Harrison (1978) criticise the universal nature of patriarchy. Judith Butler (1990: 40), a postmodern feminist, has also noted that ‘the claim of universal patriarchy no longer enjoys the kind of credibility it once did, ...’ She also questioned how a ‘universal’ subject position can be grounded particularly when the term ‘universal’ is continually contested and resignified (Butler, 1992: 7). Rowbotham also supported the view that the term ‘patriarchy’ does not have the universal application that Millett suggests. Rowbotham further argues that the notion of ‘patriarchy’ ignores the affective nature of relationships. The affective nature of relationships was one of the reasons why some cruising women adopted a cruising lifestyle although they would have preferred not to do so. The role of affectivity is also taken up by Margaret Stacey and Marion Price (1981). Furthermore, mirroring themes espoused by Marxist and socialist feminist positions, McDonough and Harrison (1978) counter that ‘patriarchy’ does not address the oppression of women which is a result of capitalism and women’s lack of material goods in relationships. Such oppression is the purview of Marxist and socialist feminist perspectives.

Marxist and socialist feminist perspectives

Marxist and socialist feminist perspectives are based on the work of Engels. Engels (1972) suggested that the subordination of women was a result of historical circumstances which were related to material (private property) and economic reasons. This differs from the view expressed by Marx, who according to Barrett (1988: 189) considered the differences between women and men were biologically based and that the family unit was a ‘natural’ unit; whilst Engels accounted for the inequality of family units as being based on ownership of private property. Two Marxist/socialist
feminists who developed Engels work are Stephanie Coontz and Peta Henderson (1986). Both believed that the oppression of women was attributed to the differences in the roles assigned to men and women in the production of goods and services and not to reproduction, that is, biological processes. Moreover, the change in ownership of property and accumulation and distribution of the same by men and not women coupled with patri locality (women residing with their husbands’ kin) changed the nature of communal groups with equality between the sexes, to one in which the men predominated. A different focus is adopted by Johanna Brenner whose work explores her ‘theoretical concern with the relationship between social structure and human agency’ (Barbara Laslett; Johanna Brenner & Yesim Arat, 1995: 1). Other Marxist feminists are Michèle Barrett, Heidi Hartmann, and Maria Ramas. Barrett advocates that ‘[t]he consequences of the separation of the home and workplace for family, and for gender relations’ (1980: 179) are multiple. In particular, she further advocates that:

[...]he accompanying ideological processes have involved the establishment of the privatized domestic area of ‘the home’ as the particular province of women and of ‘femininity’ and maternalism. Women have become dependent upon the male wage in capitalism and this mediated dependence upon the wage is circumscribed by an ideology of emotional, psychical and ‘moral’ dependence.

(Barrett, 1980: 179)

Ann Foreman (1977) and Eli Zarestsky (1976) similarly, discuss a link between capitalist reproduction and an individual’s psychical being. Foreman in particular, argues that the oppression of women has resulted from capitalism’s division of domestic and non-domestic realms and the continued reification of that split through psychological processes. Foreman particularly criticises Marxism for not understanding the role of psychological processes in political action and social reification.
Women’s ‘psychical’ and economic dependence on the male wage was evidenced amongst some cruisers as a justification of the various roles and responsibilities assigned to each of the genders aboard a vessel. The following cruising woman, who reported being financially dependent on her cruising partner, positions herself in the domestic sphere due to her partner’s chauvinism. At a meso and interactive analysis, her comment suggests that the domestic sphere is one in which she feels she can contribute, and which will also not challenge his dominance:

For our situation, 386m is the complete male chauvinist, Okay though, I don’t change oil. I can basically do anything I want to on the boat but I tend to do the cooking and the cleaning.

(Cruising woman 385)

As she notes in the following narrative, she has difficulty in challenging his dominance and this is essentially due to her economic dependence on him and the private ownership of the boat by her male partner. Both of these and her ‘emotional, psychical and moral dependence’ on him contribute to her subordinated position in the cruising relationship. This causes problems for her in regard to decision-making:

Finally we made the choice [of boat to buy], it was - really was [strong emphasis on was] 386m’s choice because it was his money and his boat. It makes it difficult when we are sailing because it is not a joint venture it produces a different feeling. 386m is the owner, the skipper and calls the shots, I have to lobby to get my view across because it’s his thing really.

(Cruising woman 385)

Marxist and socialist feminist perspectives were also evidenced in some cruisers’ discourse in regard to why women did not initiate the idea to go cruising:
Oh err, it's probably from the olden days when the male, where the male dominated the partnership, the male called the shots economically. And I think that's, over the past few years, it's not that long really, err, since women have become economically, uhm what do you call it, self supporting which has given them bigger goals. Whereas I think years ago, they were tied down to the male and the male dominated the partnership most of the time. But now that women are liberated they can then have goals that were denied them years and years ago unless they were affluent. And then it appeared years and years ago affluent women still were dominated by the male. So it's a good thing to see women striking out on their own if they want to do that. If they want to be the instigator of, of building a plane and flying around the world or sailing I'm all for it. I think it's a good idea. (Cruising man 316)

Unfortunately, for some women, the 'olden days' still exist. Their oppression as alluded to by cruising man 316 relates to several categories of oppression. Iris Marion Young's (1990: 40) provides us with a framework to identify those categories as 'exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence'. As you will recall, these categories have some similarity to Millet's eight reasons for patriarchy previously presented. Aside from the above cruiser’s narrative, other cruiser narratives and participant observation provide more evidence of the applicability of most of Young's categories of oppression. Firstly, exploitation, some of the cruising women are exploited in the provision of free labour in the domestic sphere. A sphere, as noted before where tasks are much more time consuming in their preparation and in their completion. This exploitation is particularly exacerbated for women who 'are dragged along' (Cruising man 390). Cruising women are also

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4 Several of the categories such as 'powerlessness' and 'exploitation' have linkages to alienation as discussed in Chapter Eleven.
marginalised. They are marginalised because of their lack of financial stake in the cruising enterprise\(^3\) as well as their lack of knowledge regarding sailing, navigation and mechanical maintenance. This latter circumstance also represents the reification process associated with cruising men’s oppression of women. The cruising men deny women access to the requisite knowledge and skills prior to taking off cruising through two means. One is through the men’s control of economic resources and the channeling of all the economic resources into the boat and cruising enterprise rather than into knowledge acquisition of their partners using paid instructors or educators. The other is attributed to the control of time and knowledge by cruising men wherein all time and knowledge is allocated to boat acquisition or preparation of the cruising enterprise rather than to educating and skilling their cruising partners.

Both the lack of cruising women’s financial investment in the cruising enterprise and their lack of knowledge, further marginalises them from decision making and subsequently renders them powerless. As cruising woman 371 noted in Chapter Eight, some women ‘are along for the ride’. A ride they undertake because of their ‘commitment’ to their husbands (Cruising man 388). A ride in which they are exploited and subordinated and powerless. Their powerlessness however has further ramifications for cruising women than just their powerlessness in the pursuit of the cruising enterprise. It can have dire life and death consequences and here I am referring to the powerlessness cruising women experience if something should happen to their partners, the holders of all cruising knowledge. In such cases, their powerlessness means they are unable to get the boat and themselves to safety, as was the case when Margaret Johnson’s husband was lost overboard in a storm off Fiji during 1989. Johnson was unable to navigate and the Fijian Navy rescued her and her two small children (see Trish Murphy, 1989: 4). Such subordination and oppression

\(^3\) I use the term ‘enterprise’ to distinguish the undertaking of the cruising lifestyle from the living of the lifestyle itself. Inherent in my use of the term ‘enterprise’ are the notions of ownership of the idea to go cruising, the transformation of the idea into reality, as well as boat purchase, trip planning and knowledge and skill acquisition and development.
of women is considered irresponsible by some cruisers and by mainstream society which from time to time is called upon to operate and to pay for the SAR (search and rescue) operations for these persons who live in the margins of mainstream society.

Cruising women also suffer from cultural imperialism in the form of patriarchy. Patriarchal attitudes to cruising women relegates them to the position of 'other' and of affirming their marginal positions, for example: 'as co-owner (legally and financially) of our 28ft Wanderer, I have never found it funny when strangers pass me to enquire of my partner regarding “his” boat' (Amanda Yorke, 1992: 6). Finally, in regard to the last of Young’s categories, neither the women nor my participant observation provide evidence to support violence as a means of oppression, though I do not mean to suggest that violence does not exist in cruising relationships – it may, however I have no evidence of it. I have however, on numerous occasions observed verbal and emotional abuse of cruising women by their cruising male partners in challenging situations when the men expected the women to act with skills beyond their abilities. As a result, the women were abused for their incompetence - an incompetence which the men orchestrated through their various use of Young’s categories of oppression. In the event that cruising women dared to challenge their partners’ decision making, the verbal abuse some women received only served to reiterate their subordinate position, for example, 'This is my boat and you’ll do as I say' or ‘Whose f...ing boat is this anyway?’ Such verbal volleys emphasise the emotional, psychical and financial dependence and their supposed moral obligation to their partners. Furthermore, cruising women reported such situations significantly contributed to their future non-participation in the sailing aspect of cruising unless they ‘mutinied’ as cruising woman 309 reported in Chapter Eight although this woman had financial investment in the boat.
Liberal feminism

Liberal feminism attributes the oppression of women to the culture and attitudes of individuals and not to the structures and institutions of society (Haralambos & Holborn, 1991: 536). Liberal feminists purport that through education, women should be able to achieve equality of the sexes as a result of partnership in the means of production and coequality in legislative and statutory matters (Harriet Taylor Mill, 1970: 95). According to Susan Wendall (1987: 66):

... Liberal feminists, usually are, ..., committed to major economic reorganization and considerable redistribution of wealth, since one of the modern political goals most closely associated with liberal feminism is equality of opportunity, which would undoubtedly require and lead to both.

Criticisms of liberal feminists are founded in the notion that they have adopted male values as well as 'overemphasiz[ing] the importance of individual freedom over that of the common good and their tendency to valorize a gender-neutral humanism over a gender-specific feminism' (Tong (1989). It has also been criticised as a white bourgeois movement (Ellen Willis, 1975). As a consequence of such criticism, liberal feminists have reconsidered their position. Some acknowledge that women in fact are unable to achieve liberation individually by simply shirking off their traditional sex roles and associated conditioning; changes in social structures are also required and challenges need to be made beyond the individual level (Tong, 1989: 38).

As noted above, the agenda for liberal feminists is to aim for equality between the sexes. Some of the cruising relationships were articulated as being based on equality:
I don’t know. I never ... I haven’t noticed that it had been ... I mean, I think it’s really equal. It’s much more equal. Women do just do as much of the navigating and as much of the decision making as the man, so I don’t really notice the difference in roles, in fact, that’s what I have noticed, that it’s real equal!

... In other relationships, I notice it seems to be that the women are always complaining about certain things - bizarre! Men! But I mean, in their role, they seem to diverge on land. You each have your separate lives, but on the boat, it’s really different. It’s really one goal, one purpose, whatever, and so I don’t know if I see the men ... well, I suppose, in one way, the women still do the washing! And men are still changing the oil and things like that, traditional stuff, but pretty basically, it’s, which I think is kinda nice, more equal! Give and take!

(Cruising woman 361)

Based on cruiser narratives and participant observation, the above narrative reflects the ‘norm’ rather than the exception in relationships advocating ‘equality’ in sex roles and opportunity. Women despite articulating equal participation in sailing still tended to assume responsibility for the domestic sphere of the cruising lifestyle and the men the mechanical maintenance tasks. Larger maintenance tasks such as hauling the boat out or slipping the boat, antifouling, varnishing and painting were shared tasks. Navigation was also a task in supposedly ‘equal’ relationships which was usually assumed by the man, however, some relationships do share this task. Perhaps the sense in which the ‘equal’ nature of the relationship was viewed is as the cruising woman above suggests - the achievement of a shared goal. A goal which brings two people together in the one setting to achieve a shared outcome. For these cruising relationships, this differed from the way they lived before on land, where the people in the partnership would be achieving different goals in their disparate work environments, where there was also a significant separation between the domestic and
the pubic sphere. A separation which narrows aboard a yacht particularly when making passages.

The degree to which the relationship worked as an equal relationship as one cruising woman noted earlier in this chapter also has to do with the ages of each of the members in the partnerships. The older aged people in partnerships were more traditional and unequal and the younger aged cruisers approximated towards more shared or equal roles and responsibilities. Another factor which determined the degree of equality was the degree of cruising related knowledge held by each of the cruising partners. As already discussed, knowledge is a site for the reification of power bases and the affirmation of patriarchal relationships. The following quote echoes such a perspective as this cruising woman considers that most women could sail a boat despite being denied the opportunity to learn to do so.

Some boats are more equal than others, I think in a pinch most women can sail the boats by themselves if they had to, they’ve been watching even if they don’t get a chance to do some sailing practice independently. I think in a pinch most could sail the boats.

(Cruising woman 385)

The veracity of her statement is somewhat flawed as it omits the opportunity to practice the skills in a supportive learning environment and to receive constructive feedback (Briane Cambourne, 1984: 30 – 36). The discussion in the previous chapter also affirms such a perspective in regard to educating women in boat handling. Some cruising men prevent their partners from learning and practising in a conducive learning environment:

But I don’t know – so many women don’t - whether - and I think it’s usually because of an overbearing partner as well that doesn’t let them
[cruising women] do it. So their self confidence gets to such a stage that they don't try any more rather than any lack of any desire to do it on their part.

(Cruising woman 339)

There is no doubt that some cruising women would love to learn to sail as exit cruising woman 619 indicates:

When I used to take out the boat for a day when my partner was working, some of the women would say I would love to do that. And I would say it's easy, once you get to know what you are doing, go out and find a buoy and start practising. And they would say ‘Oh, he wouldn't let me do that, he yells at me!’

(Exit cruising woman 619)

The need to learn in a conducive environment is important. Participant observation also affirms that women do not get a chance to practice sailing independently.

Inherent in the preceding three cruising women's narratives is the notion of inequality. Despite the fact that women have the potential to learn to sail and navigate, in some circumstances they are not given the chance. The inequality is orchestrated by 'constituted knowledge'. A knowledge which could be divested through education and partnership in the overall cruising enterprise. Although some cruisers do shirk off their traditional sex roles and associated conditioning within the microsetting of a cruising partnership, equality can not be assured. As Tong (1989: 38) reports liberation will still not be achieved as changes in social structures are also required in the broader social and global nature of society and the subculture itself. And changes need to be made beyond the individual level of the cruising unit microsetting. Changes such as those which will counter the following discourse regarding the political
correctness of the name of the magazine Cruising Helmsman: 'The politicians gave us the legislation to win the feminist vote. Fortunately, the name of this magazine lies outside the ambit of any legislation' (Leon Warren, 1992: 6). At the cruising unit microsetting, cruising partnerships may achieve a localised equality of the sexes, however, concerted group action is required to break the resistance to change the dominant hegemony of sailing and by association cruising so that 'the function of female crew is [no longer] basically decorative' (Yorke, 1992: 6) or for exploitation in the domestic sphere.

Postmodern feminists

According to Tong (1989: 223), '[p]ostmodern feminists similarly attempt to criticize the dominant order, particularly its patriarchal aspects, and to valorize the feminine, woman, the Other'. However, in formulating and expressing their criticisms, postmodern feminists are constrained by the phallogocentric nature of text/language itself (Tong, 1989: 217, 23). As Judith Butler, (1990: 9) writes:

Luce Irigaray argues that women constitute a paradox, if not a contradiction, within the discourse of identity itself. Women are the "sex" which is not "one". Within a language pervasively masculinist, a phallogocentric [sic] language, women constitute the unrepresentable. In other words, women represent the sex that cannot be thought, a linguistic absence and opacity.

Irigaray's mention of 'one' refers to Simone de Beauvoir's (1973: 301) statement that 'one is not born a woman, but, rather, becomes one'. de Beauvoir identifies the process of becoming a woman as arising through cultural compulsion. However, Irigaray (1985) disagrees with de Beauvoir's 'one', instead she sees women are a multiplicity.
Primarily, postmodern feminists are averse to ‘isms’ and one truth and one reality. This has caused concern for other feminist positions which consider postmodernist positions as a conspiracy (Butler, 1992: 14). It is a conspiracy because just as women are being deemed subjects, postmodernists are simultaneously denouncing subjectivity. However, whilst the postmodern position causes angst for other feminist positions, postmodernists draw attention to the need for consideration of ‘plurality, multiplicity and difference’ when describing women’s otherness (Tong, 1989: 219, 223, 231). Linda Singer makes the following comment in regard to ‘conspiracy’:

From the standpoint of a range of feminist theories, from both sides of the Atlantic, which have also focused on eroding or undermining the stabilization effects of the systems of nature, essences, and patriarchy, the impulse to establish some privileged relationship with postmodern discourse which is intended to have regulative impact on the conduct of feminist theory and practice is also surprising. Part of the history of feminist theory has been a progressive series of attempts to frame or pursue feminist issues under the regulatory and strategic practices initiated by some other theoretical paradigm. Over the last thirty years, for example, proposals have been made in the direction of Marxism, socialism, phenomenology, psychoanalysis, and semiotics, among others. The motives and rationales for these specific conjunctures have varied. But with each successive attempt, there has always emerged, almost in tandem, a discourse of resistance to prescriptions, either on the grounds of the inadequacy of the particular paradigm being proposed, or on the level of resistance to alliance with the project of “grand theory” in general, that is, a critique of the impulse to systemize and consolidate knowledge, and through it, power.

(Linda Singer, 1992: 466)
Such resistance was evident in this study, it has been voiced in each of the preceding feminist approaches, particularly the inadequacy of each to ‘truthfully’ reflect the situation of all cruising women. You will no doubt be aware that I have used the words ‘some cruising women’ or ‘some cruisers’ as well as ‘some cruising men’. The intent of such usage is not to reflect a small number of social actors though at times the numbers may be small, such as two or three. Instead ‘some’ is used as it is more reflexive of the multiple realities of the cruising women (and the cruising men) being portrayed and their experiences. There is, as the postmodernists assert no one truth, no grand theory only multiple reflections of multiple truths which change over time and over space and with shifting states of mind for each of the social actors portrayed in this ethnography. As Butler (1990: 4) notes:

> the presumed universality and unity of the subject of feminism is effectively undermined by the constraints of the representational discourse in which it functions. Indeed, the premature insistence on a stable subject of feminism, understood as a seamless category of women, inevitably generates multiple refusals to accept the category. … Indeed, the fragmentation within feminism and the paradoxical opposition to feminism from “women” whom feminism claims to represent suggest the necessary limits of identity politics.

Such opposition to feminism was espoused by one cruising woman in particular:

> I realise that we are not very traditional yachties in a couple of respects, … usually I find it’s the man though I don’t like getting into gender things. I’m totally against that. But generally, I think it is … the man is the mechanic and not the woman and I am not a mechanic but I have had to be because bless him he can’t use a screwdriver so someone has to do it. (Cruising woman 325)
Although this cruising woman and her partner espouse shared or joint conjugal roles, this woman was different to all other cruising women. She had equality and she also had power. She was definitely the decision-maker, the mechanic, the organiser, the skipper. Her ability to fulfil these roles ensured the partnership’s cruising goal. Her partner was dependent on her to do this, this cruising woman was not subordinated – she was the dominant (ruling) identity in their relationship. She knew it and because of it did not wish to enter into a gender debate about it. From her perspective, to do so would have given voice to her emasculation of her partner whom she loved very much. Why did she assume such a position? As mentioned earlier – because of love – because of the affective rather than the social domain. Other cruising women also subtly protected their partner’s ego, some had better sailing or navigating skills than their partners however these women preferred to reify the dominant patriarchal nature of cruising for the sake of love and belonging. Such examples reiterate Butler’s (1990: 4) statement that a ‘seamless category of women’ does not exist. Further, as the cruising women (and men) had different life experiences and histories, these served to inform their narratives and created ‘difference’. Whilst there were similarities, no two women came to the cruising experience nor experienced cruising the same way. Consequently, as Catherine MacKinnon (1982: 14 - 15) comments:

Under the rubric of feminism, women’s situation has been explained as a consequence of biology, or of reproduction and mothering, social organizations of biology; as caused by the marriage law or, as extensions by the patriarchal family, becoming society as a “patriarchy”, or as caused by artificial gender roles and their attendant attitudes.

All the explanations noted by MacKinnon as well as Marxist and socialist feminist explanations are reflected as dominant discourses amongst cruisers - however no one discourse is paramount. Therefore, rather than continue to approach the discussion of
gender relationships based on roles and responsibilities using the various feminist perspectives, the remainder of the chapter will focus on three themes which pervade cruising women's discourses and feminist approaches. Firstly, the issue of equality and/or inequality between the roles and responsibilities assigned in cruising relationships and the attendant themes of oppression and subordination. Secondly, the distribution of power within cruising relationships. Thirdly, the issue of cruising women's agency. In choosing this approach, I am not attempting to generate 'grand theory' rather I am attempting to demonstrate the multiple realities and truths relating to 'the problematic status of women's power and women's oppression' (Claire Goldberg Moses and Heidi Hartmann, 1995: xv) within the specific contextual setting of cruising. A setting in which:

roles and responsibilities are probably awfully the same as houses,

from what I have seen and even our arrangement is like that.

(Cruising woman 335)

Apart from similar narratives by other women, participant observation provides evidence to support this observation. Within the contextual setting of cruising, roles and responsibilities reflect wider western society and land-based lifestyles as well as their ambiguities.

Cruising relationships: issues of equality

At a macrolevel of telling and analysis, inequality in cruising relationships was attested by cruising women and men's narratives in Chapters Eight and Ten. A meso-level of analysis was commenced in the first half of this chapter using the perspectives of radical feminism, Marxist/socialist feminism, liberal feminism and postmodern feminism. At a mesolevel of analysis, the issues of equality\(^6\) were either explicitly or

\(^6\) In the first half of the chapter, the terms oppression and subordination were used to describe the existence of inequality. These terms will continue to be used as 'synonyms'.

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implicitly stated and illustrated by cruiser narratives and participant observation evidences. The use of a meso-level of analysis is continued in this, the second half of Chapter Thirteen. This level of analysis will zoom in on cruising women’s narratives regarding ‘equality’ as well as the silences in those narratives - those implicit attestations to the ‘inequality’ within cruising relationships. From time to time, I will also focus our attention on the micro-level of analysis, that is the pauses and emotions in relation to the overall telling of cruising women’s narratives.

At a meso-level of analysis using educational and occupational backgrounds as well as consideration of cruising budgets, greater equality between ‘middle class’ cruising relationships than ‘working class’ cruising relationships was evident. This theme is also reflected in the findings of Elizabeth Bott’s (1971) study of family and social network and Ann Oakley’s (1974) study of housework; although some cruisers’ relationships demonstrate evidence that ‘some middle-class women are at least as subordinated to their men … as are working-class women’ (Stacey & Price, 1981: 105). However, whilst a majority of relationships demonstrated inequality between the roles assigned cruising women and cruising men, participant observation and cruiser narratives indicate that within the segregated roles performed by each partner, as opposed to joint roles, most were able to acquire authority within the domain for which he or she was responsible.

Further, although a majority of cruising women’s roles demonstrated inequality they were able to gain power and authority in the domestic domain. This achievement of power and authority despite being in an unequal position was also demonstrated in the segregated roles reported by Bott (1968: 64). Furthermore, a minority of cruising middle class cruising women demonstrated a subordination equivalent to working class cruising women as mentioned previously. Such subordination is evidenced by the fact that they were denied power and authority in the domestic domain. You will recall the following cruising man’s comments:
I have to be responsible for everything, to be honest with you. And she is supposed to be responsible for the children mostly, and she’s trying and I think she is doing her best (shrugs). But err, still I have to be responsible for everything.

(Cruising man 304)

Implicit in his narrative and supported by his body language was the fact that his partner as he perceived it was not doing her assigned roles well and he in the end had to assume responsibility for her roles as well as his own. Further, participant observation of this cruising family indicates that he also asserts power and authority in his partner’s role in the domestic domain. At times I observed him usurping her authority in dealing with the children and orchestrating her serving of food and refreshments. His partner, cruising woman 303 identifies him as in charge of the cruising and their lives. Her subordinated role provides her with no power or authority, in her interview with me, she was almost apologetic for the role she had assumed in her relationship with her partner. Her sense of value and the inequality in the relationship is evidenced in her comment:

I do always keep a diary and write everything down. It’s the only thing I’ve been really good at. (Cruising woman 303)

Feedback from her husband is not positive regarding her contributions to the overall cruising enterprise. The only thing she was ‘really good at’ was keeping a diary, not the log book but her own travel diary of their trip. A responsibility which she values and her family values as an historical account of their journey. Another example of subordination is provided by precrusing woman 117. Prior to cruising, this woman had been use to being her own person and being in control of her own life space. She had been a journalist and worked in settings predicated on equality in roles and
responsibilities. Her interview reflects her frustration at not being on equal terms with her partner. At the microlevel, this frustration is punctuated by her pauses and silences which demonstrate a sense of 'linguistic incongruence' (Majorie Devault, 1990: 97) wherein she lacks the language to explain her personal account of her cruising lifestyle with her partner. The concept of 'linguistic incongruence' used by both Devault (1990) and Pamphilon (1999) further emphasises the need 'for feminist theory, [to] develop a language that fully or adequately represents women' and 'to foster the political visibility of women' especially given 'the pervasive cultural condition in which [cruising] women's lives [have been] either mis-represented or not represented at all' (Butler, 1990: 1).

At the meso, micro and interactional level of analysis, precrusing woman 117's narrative regarding roles and responsibilities is fractured and the voices of others infiltrate her own discourse to explain her own situation. The arguments she uses to rationalise her situation are not her own; it is an argument generated by the dominance of sailing and cruising by a patriarchal hegemony. It is a hegemony which marginalises women as sailors and cruisers. It is one which states that until you are proficient that you are not able to take responsibility, and until you take responsibility you can not become proficient (a catch-22 situation). It is a situation in which women are unable to learn from practising in a conducive learning environment. A conducive learning environment is one in which a learner can make mistakes and develop skills sequentially through experiential learning. In reality for some women, the acquiring of sailing and cruising skills is a constant test and which after their first instruction they are expected to demonstrate proficiency. Their learning is complicated and made more difficult by the language of sailing and cruising. This language uses words with which the learner is familiar although they now have new meanings. Some examples of such differences were presented in Chapter Eight. You may recall the example of a rope being called a sheet or a line or a halyard. So for the women, the familiar becomes unfamiliar further exacerbating their learning. As a result, for women
without any sailing or cruising background, responsibilities external to the domestic domain are difficult to achieve:

I guess I am not responsible for too much. I'm responsible for cooking. I'm responsible in sharing of the sailing but in everything I can do on this boat, my partner can do himself so I have to push for responsibilities. I have to prove myself capable of doing it before I actually get that responsibility.

... and in some ways it's a very sort of female/male traditional role play but that's also because it's the only way when you are starting off that -- I mean, I couldn't say "You're a bloke! Just because you're a bloke doesn't mean you have to do all the navigation and all the sailing and all the rest of it and do the anchor!" The sensible thing, it would be sensible because I don't know how to navigate as well as what my partner does and so -- And I don't know how to sail the boat, so I'm under instruction all the time, so it's very much -- I'm the -- I don't even know if it's because I'm a female. I think it's because I'm the crew so therefore I'm -- I'm a really good cook! If my partner was a better cook, he'd probably even do the cooking as well.

... I guess, I increase my responsibility by making sure the boat is clean and tidy because, even though he does that as well, I feel that's the least I can do because I don't need too much direction to that. I can take responsibility for that --. (Precruising woman 117)

The experience of precruising woman 117 is not unlike other cruising women’s experiences throughout the four groups. Learning occurs by 'plunging the women in
the deep end’ as stated in Chapter Eight. In a majority of cases, the men are generally skilled and the women move aboard the boat with no sailing or cruising skills and they are expected to perform automatically as if they have the equivalent experience of their partners. As iterated earlier in this chapter, based on the discussion in Chapter Twelve, this type of learning or challenge is highly unlikely to enable the women to achieve any sense of self actualisation only fear and anxiety. Consequently, without appropriate skilling the women are denied any ability to gain power or authority in the non domestic sphere of cruising and men continue to assert power and authority in that domain. For some women the experience of learning to sail or navigate with their partners as teachers is so stressful and so abusive that they retreat into the ‘safety’ of the domestic sphere.

However, even here, the domestic sphere is somewhat different to the land based domestic sphere, where the kitchen becomes the galley, the dining room becomes the saloon, the bed is no longer a bed but a berth and the toilet or shower or both become the head. Even within the domestic sphere where previously women had operated effectively, they are being oppressed by a language which is constructed by men to explain a men’s environment. The infiltration of men and their power and authority through language construction continues to serve to make women feel as the ‘other’ and marginalised. Cruising women’s oppression is further evidenced through the indirect control of the power and authority assumed by the men in regard to the cruising route⁷ to be taken, the timing of the voyage, the stop-over points and the locations and conditions in which meals and daily chores must be completed by women. Daily activities such as washing can become a real chore. A chore which is often completed in worse conditions than women experienced at ‘home’:

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⁷ As noted in Chapter Three, there are well defined cruising routes. However, variations to routes taken and the duration of stopovers may occur due to weather and sea conditions, the season of travel, for example, whether it is cyclone season or not as well as the whims of the captain or skipper - usually the cruising man.
Women are back to doing things the hard way. All the household things are, you know... not as easy as... but I mean...

(Cruising woman 361)

Buckets, and things like that? (Interviewer)

Yeah, and you have to always plan, you can’t just run to the store and get something, no car! You have to deal with whatever laws there are and you always have to prepare. You know, I mean, sometimes that’s fun but that loses a lot of the glamour, travelling when you have to deal with the - oh, he has to deal with a lot of the red tape and - to look forward to doing that - it’s not easy! There’s not an easy way to - for example, clothes washing especially the sheets and towels. And always having, planning ahead for food one day or a week or a month from now. Does this place have a dishwasher, I mean, not dishwasher, but cloths washing soap or, you know, I mean things like that. And then you go to a strange place and they don’t have the brands that you recognise. You’re in a strange place all the time!

(Cruising woman 361)

Unless they stopover in a port or a marina with a laundry, the women are forced to wash sheets and towels in buckets using very limited water. They may have to lug the washing to and from a creek or the local village (if this exists and is allowed) to do the wash. After which they have to return to the boat to drape the washing from every available hanging location the boat can offer. Food preparation and cooking may become difficult when underway especially in rough conditions. Conditions in which the stove may have to be released from its gimballed restraint, the ‘cook’ strapped in for safety and the pots and pans secured by holders to prevent them leaving the surface of the stove. Seasickness can compound the difficulty of this task and force as several women noted in all groups, the men to take responsibility for this aspect of the domestic sphere whilst underway or making passages. When at anchor, cooking may
occur in a small confined space - in the tropics this can tax some women’s patience. The boat heats up and the women cook along with the food. Provisioning also becomes a challenge where new foods or brands are not understood, where supplies are not available and where they are able to be purchased. Provisioning is difficult because foods perish quickly in marine environments and refrigeration may be non existent or only the size of very small ice box. Furthermore, provisioning must be undertaken for the long term, for example, for three months in case of emergencies. In some locations and whilst underway, convenience stores and takeaways are not available. In all, as noted by cruising woman 361, the conditions are primitive. For some, it is similar to conditions their grandmothers fought from which to be freed. In the very choice of adopting a cruising lifestyle, men are serving to oppress women because of the more primitive approach associated with daily chores. In this case, I am talking about the relationships in which the domestic sphere falls completely to the women. In joint conjugal roles, the primitive aspect is shared in the partnerships.

Given the relegation of women to primarily the domestic sphere, a sphere in which some men also assume authority and power, some women still seek to achieve some sense of connectivity with this ‘space’ in which they find themselves. For example, some of these cruising women develop rituals associated with the preparation and serving of food. A certain amount of pomp and ceremony accompanies the delivering of food to the table and the order and process of serving of the food places the woman in control or in charge of the orchestrating of the ‘meal or food sharing event’. On the other hand, or as well as, rituals can emphasise the effort the women make in the gallery in less than optimal conditions – such as sighing, body gestures or refusing to eat the food once it has been prepared in a hot galley. The use of such rituals and activities as Littlejohn (1963: 128) noted are associated with women’s attempts to regain or maintain status, control and authority in the domestic domain. In their

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*As a result of the heat generated in some boats, a barbeque may be attached to the back rail of some boats. The barbeque usually has a swingable arm so that food may be barbequed out over the water and away from the boat.*

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totality, these activities or rituals enable women to empower themselves and to gain some connectivity with their sense of place and the space in which they were living.

I have coined the term ‘empowered connectivity’ to describe the action of exhibiting agency in order to achieve connectivity with the space in which an individual currently finds her or himself. And so it appears that I have done that which I said I would not – attempt ‘grand theory’, however consideration of the macro-, meso-, micro- and interactional levels of analysis (Pamphilon, 1999) emphasises this theme as an emblematic one. A theme which is generic and which is action focussed in response to locational circumstances – a theme which is process oriented. The theme of ‘empowered connectivity’ permeates the discourses and the narrative processes and the pauses, the emotions and the transactions of men and women in their attempts to make sense of their lives through their oral discourses with me. The use of such an emblematic theme is not in discord with my earlier statement in this chapter. I still believe that there is, as postmodernists assert no one truth, no grand theory only multiple reflections of multiple truths which change over time and over space and with shifting states of mind for each of the social actors portrayed in this ethnography. The theme ‘empowered connectivity’ is not a theory it is a generic representation of a process which allows for the ‘plurality, multiplicity and difference’ (Tong 1989:219, 223, 231) in the actions women and men take in regard to negotiating the space they occupy.

The ability of women to gain power and authority in the domestic sphere is questioned by Blood and Wolfe (1960: 34 in Stacey & Price, 1981: 117). Their study conducted in Detroit indicates that wives were only able to make household decisions because their partners allowed them to as there was no status associated with such decision-making. This finding has only limited relevance to cruising men. Given the majority of cruising men were seeking to escape mundane and routine jobs, or to fulfil a dream or embark on an adventure, responsibility within the domestic sphere is antithetical to
their quests. For cruising women, however, such an escape is not possible, for if they
do participate in the non-domestic sphere, they still have the responsibility of their
domestic sphere to fulfil. In a sense, the women who participate in the domestic and
non-domestic sphere of cruising end up with a double set of responsibilities. It was
rare that all tasks particularly in the domestic sphere were shared amongst partnerships
advocating joint conjugal roles. Subsequently, these women in seeking equality in the
non-domestic sphere ensure their own oppression as they have to continue to
participate in the domestic sphere. As Dorothy Smith (1974: 7) identifies women’s
oppression by men is a result of ‘the constitution of public versus private spheres of
action, and the relegation of the domestic to that sphere which is outside history’.
Essentially, Dorothy Smith sees the work of women as akin to the alienation workers
experience under a capitalist state. Women’s work is situated in the domestic sphere
representing a personal service and is ahistorical (outside history). Consequently, in
providing a personal service for their partners (and family) ‘[w]omen of all classes
would seem to be involved in the reproduction of class relations, including their own
repression in that system’ (Stacey & Price, 1981: 120 - 121).

Whilst some women are unable to gain power and authority within the domestic
sphere, ‘[t]here are still those who have the domestic sphere to themselves’ (Stacey &
Price, 1981: 122). However, some of these women have no freedom to enter into the
non-domestic sphere of cruising and they live ‘without a female support group [and]
simply find themselves imprisoned’ (Stacey & Price, 1981: 122). An element of
imprisonment was evident in the narratives of cruising women who had and did not
have the domestic sphere to themselves. The inability to escape the space they were in
or to enjoy other women’s company was explicitly identified as an alienating aspect of
the cruising lifestyle for some cruising women. The inability to make connections with
other women further emphasised their oppression and limited their agency since the
space they were negotiating was bounded by patriarchal delimiters of power and
authority. Some examples of narratives reflecting ‘imprisonment’ follow. A longer
version of the first narrative occurs elsewhere in the thesis however it is presented again to reiterate the substance of the women’s oppression by their cruising partners:

... you have to adapt to being with your husband twenty four hours a day [laughs] there is no, like if you are land based, you can get away into your garden or go out to go shopping or something ...

(Cruising woman 365)

You are really doing everything your would do in your home with no help at all. With no teachers to be part of your - your, you have no support group. You are out on your own, I mean you are the doctor, the nurse, the cook, everything, yeah, teacher, the mother, [Laughs]

(Cruising woman 359)

You don’t have any female companionship but ... there are times when you just ... and even now, even just with my partner and I on the boat, there are times when I just crave to speak to another woman.

(Pre-cruising woman 117)

The above examples demonstrate varying descriptions of imprisonment. The latter means many things from being ‘locked up’ with your partner for 24 hours a day, seven days a week, year in and year out to being confined and excluded from support institutions such as education, medical and health services, as well as being isolated from women’s networks and support groups because of a lifestyle lived in the margins of mainstream societies.

To this point, most of the discussion in this section has focussed on segregated roles in partnerships. I want to comment on joint conjugal roles a little more than I have
previously done. As was the case in Bott’s study, cruising relationships with joint conjugal roles tended to have ‘more flexible division of labour and joint consultation on all major decisions’ (Stacey & Price, 1981: 106). Such a flexible division of labour is reflected in the following narratives of a cruising partnership:

Well, if I look in our case, there are two of us, and I think we are pretty much of a team. We can both navigate, we can both pilot the boat, we can both handle the sails. And we felt that we had to have that kind of back up to be as successful as possible, when you are away from home.

(Cruising man 326)

Oh we both do - the actual - every position. I tend to pull the sails down and so on because he has a nick name, that he has had for years and he is called Lurch. And he does lurch along and I am terrified of him going over. And so when it comes to getting sails in, I have him on the wheel heading into the wind while I get them down and stuff like that. But I'm getting older too and I know I am not as strong as I was, I feel my hands aren't as strong.

(Cruising woman 325)

The joint conjugal roles were a result of several things in this relationship, primarily attitudes to overall safety in regard to boat handling, a desire for successful cruising and male partner’s physiological limitations. The latter were also starting to have consequences for the cruising woman as she aged. Aside from bodily deterioration, the age factor had another role in cruising relationships. Joint conjugal roles appeared to be more evident in younger cruiser groups than in the older age categories. This was another theme of the meso-level analysis. However it may be argued that the joint sharing of boat chores enables the male partner to gain more power, with ‘the
household becoming a further domain for the exercise of prerogatives for making decisions' (Goode, 1963: 70) by the cruising man. Cruising relationships based on joint conjugal roles tended to incorporate joint decision making and 'give and take'. However, as commented upon previously women still tended to assume responsibility for the domestic sphere. There were cruising relationships in which sailing knowledge was equally distributed between the two partners. In most of these cases, both cruisers brought to the cruising experience sailing and boat handling skills and knowledge. As a consequence, greater equality in roles operated in these relationships with less oppression and subordination of the women.

To commence summing up this section, a predominant theme in regard to inequality is the patriarchal nature of cruising and the resultant limited ability of women to participate in the enterprise of sailing. Primarily, cruising women are constrained within the domestic sphere. A sphere which is a site for oppression as their partners exhibit power and authority both without and within this realm. The inequality in roles and responsibilities within cruising relationships is not dissimilar to landbased relationships, however, the oppression and subordination is heightened as the majority of cruising women have nil or limited skills outside the domestic sphere. Whilst many of the women participated in watch systems and called their partners up on deck if there was a problem, this participation in the non-domestic sphere was taken on top of other activities associated with the domestic sphere such as cooking and cleaning. For some women their participation in the domestic sphere was constrained on some passages due to seasickness. This often forces their partners to move into the domestic sphere to assume the roles and responsibilities of their seasick partners.

The main responsibilities of cruising women and men can be broadly classified. However, in the process of associating roles and responsibilities, the paradox of reconstituting the dominant patriarchal hegemony is present with a resultant rendering of women's work in the domestic sphere as invisible in regard to the overall
contribution to the cruising experience. The following conversation demonstrates the roles and responsibilities aboard cruising yachts when at anchor or in port or whilst undertaking passages:

[Laughs] Almost all have the same routine that women are cooking and cleaning and men are looking after, because, I can’t do any thing with the engine anyway so you have to divide the things and you know there are so many maintenance things that men only can do, of course you can learn but it is the sailing role many times, somebody has to cook and do the dishes and the laundry and things like that cleaning and that takes also time, you know three meals a day or whatever, and I think it is most of the families that we have met it is the same.

(Cruising woman 337)

...

But that is the life you are now talking about life at anchor or in harbour. But then when you sail I know where there are many where the wife is doing the navigating and the husband more concentrates on

(Cruising man 338)

I think you share more when you sail. Of course you have to do the cooking even when you are sailing it doesn’t make any difference if you sail or if you are in anchorage. You have to do the cooking.

(Cruising woman 337)

But we have met people where the husband is doing most off he cooking. It depends on interests.

(Cruising man 338)

Yes, interests, it depends on what they can do.

(Cruising woman 337)
But the maintenance jobs of the boat, I wouldn’t be so modest some boats, painting, scrapping and sanding and things 337w does even more than I do. (Cruising man 338)

Yeah, and I do all the cooking and washing, and everything else, too [Emphatically spoken]. (Cruising woman 337)

[Laughs] But yes, yes. (Cruising man 338)

But it is not, you, one has so much time, isn’t it, you know, sometimes like yesterday you know doing the laundry, thinking oh bah I don’t want to do it and I want to go out and have coffee with somebody and do something else, but that is a small little time spent from all year round so you know [Shrugs]. (Cruising woman 337)

The invisibility of women’s roles and contributions within the domestic sphere as exemplified in the above conversation is a global phenomenon. Until recently, for example, women’s roles in on-farm labour were essentially invisible at a global scale (Caroline Sachs, 1983; Rachel Rosenfeld, 1985; Sally Shortall, 1992; Denise Rogers & Ann Vandeman, 1993; Coralie Kingston, 1988 in Grace, 1994; Norah Keating & Heather Little, 1994; Janet Perry & Mary Ahearn, 1994; Liv Toril Pettersen, 1997; Berit Verstad, 1997).

However, bearing in mind that:

[Although there are dangers in rigidifying analytically the division of labour within the household – we need to be aware of several qualifying factors – it is possible to distinguish distinct areas of work and responsibility for men and women. Women are primarily responsible for all tasks connected with housework and children.

(Barrett, 1988: 208)
This is the case with cruising women as the following list indicates:

- **women** - cooking, washing clothes, provisioning, child care and education, painting and varnishing;
- **women sharing with men** - watches, navigation, slipping the boat, carrying and toting supplies, some women share sailing duties;
- **men** - heavy work, for example - sail changes, technical work, such as - mechanical repairs, electronic repairs, as well as major maintenance jobs, and navigation and captaincy.

Further, cruising ‘households’ which are not built on joint decision-making relationships become the site for clear distinctions in roles. Such roles serve to emphasise the dependency of women on men and their inequality through men’s power over expenditure items. These ‘households’ as Barrett (1988: 214) found elsewhere demonstrate women’s oppression, their financial dependence on men, and their confinement to domesticity. Therefore, the household is the site which ‘constitutes both the ideological ground on which gender difference and women’s oppression are constructed, …’ (Barrett 1988: 211). The real beneficiaries of the domestic and non-domestic division of roles and responsibilities are men whose interests are served by oppression of women (Barrett, 1988: 216).

Furthermore, in regard to cruisers’ work assignments, most cruisers seem to justify these in regard to the domestic and non-domestic spheres, justifying ‘the domestic sphere of women from a male point of view using theories developed in the public spheres’ (Pamela Cotterill, 1992: 594). This devaluing of the domestic sphere to the

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public sphere reflects the feminine and masculine psychology found in patriarchal societies which, according to Oakley (1981: 341), is the psychology of subordinate and dominant groups. Jean Baker Miller provides a description of the influence of the dominant group on the subordinate group:

A dominant group, inevitably, has the greatest influence in determining a culture's overall outlook - its philosophy, morality, social theory and even its science. The dominant group, thus legitimises the unequal relationships and incorporates it into society's guiding concepts ...

Inevitably the dominant group is the model for 'normal human relationships'. It then becomes 'normal' to treat others destructively and to derogate them, ... In short, if one's identification is with the dominant group, it is 'normal' to continue in this pattern ...

(Miller, 1976: 6 - 8)

In fact, Oakley (1981) and Miller (1976) are describing 'power' in a one dimensional form (Lukes, 1974) and issues of power are the subject of the next section.

**Cruising relationships: issues of power**

As you would be aware, the previous discussion of inequality was permeated by the related terms of power and authority. This section assumes a stronger focus on the issues associated with power. But firstly what is 'power'? Stacey and Price (1981: 102) define power as:

not only ... those circumstances in which the will of one person triumphs over that of another; we also mean those circumstances in which the views, interests or wishes of one category or group are
normally given precedence, in which there is not struggle or conflict, but in which their superiority is taken for granted either because it is believed to be correct or because there appears to the subordinate persons no way to make a challenge. Power that is wielded without challenge, so that it hardly appears that one is imposing his (sic) on another is particularly likely to occur in male-female relations (cf. Bell and Newby 1976).

Therefore, as inferred by Stacey and Price, when we examine power in cruising relationships, we are analysing ‘male hegemony’\(^\text{10}\) (Bell and Newby 1976) that is, ‘the taken-for-granted assumptions which emphasize the predominance of the male over the female in almost every sphere of domestic and social life’ (Allan, 1985: 83). Such taken-for-granted assumptions have already partially been discussed in earlier sections of this chapter, and include the acceptance of the dominant hegemony of men operating in the non-domestic and women in the domestic spheres.

In attempting to break the dominant hegemony and establish women’s power in cruising relationships, the women as Allan (1985: 83) noted in regard to ‘female’ power in the family ‘is chronically disadvantaged from the start by the socially constructed framework of values and norms which constrain her options.’ The constraint for cruising women as already identified is the patriarchal orthodoxy that abounds in regard to sailing and cruising processes, knowledge and skills. Cruising women do not engage in some of the sailing activities because they either do not come with the appropriate skills or knowledge to the sailing situation or they do not have the confidence. As noted previously, despite a desire to learn the skills and acquire the knowledge, some of the partners either intimidate them from learning or indirectly prevent them from learning. As one of the exit re-entry cruising women commented:

\(^{10}\) The term ‘male hegemony’ is derived from Gramsci’s (1971) term ‘hegemony’ - the ability of those in power (the ruling class) to persuade the subject class to accept the doctrine of the ruling class.
It's very interesting. It's a very subtle thing, too, because it can outwardly appear that they want to show you or teach you something, but really they'd love you to mess it up because they think they can do it better! That comes through. (Cruising woman 801)

This subtle use of power shapes the responses of women to future learning situations, they stop trying to learn. As a consequence, the women place themselves in a potentially dangerous situation should anything happen to their partners. In essence, the previous narrative conveys in its text and its silences, the two elements in Stacey and Price's definition of power, that is 'the will of one person to triumph over ... another' and power which taken for granted and not contested. However, explicit in her narrative is the subtle shaping of the woman to assume a subordinated position and this is another type of power. A type which is not mentioned by Stacey and Price, although Lukes (1974) includes it in his three dimensional view of power.

Lukes' (1974) three dimensional view of power relates to power used to effect decision-making; non-decision-making and shaping of desires and beliefs. As already noted in this thesis, within the cruising community in the majority of cruising relationships with segregated roles and responsibilities, the man is the overall decision-maker – he is the holder of Lukes' first dimension of power. Further, despite cruisers espousing equality in joint conjugal relationships, the men inevitably took overall responsibility for decision-making and were the nominated 'skipper' of the vessel.

Cruisers also provide evidence of Lukes' second dimension of power non-decision making. Within Chapter Eight and this chapter, other data has been presented in regard to Lukes' second dimension of power and the non contesting of the patriarchal power base associated with roles and responsibilities. Various discourses were seen to maintain this position ranging from it is the 'natural' environment of men, or women are biologically suited to the domestic sphere and its associated roles and
responsibilities, or one should keep with tradition, or to the fact that men control the private property or the economics of the cruising lifestyle, or to cultural attitudes or the phallogocentric nature of text-language. Further, several of the women in each of the four groups would have preferred not to be going and they did not challenge their partners’ authority to take them or their family sailing. In some instances, the third dimension of power was simultaneously exhibited, there was an outright shaping of desires and beliefs by the cruising men to engage their partner in their dream or aim to go cruising. This was particularly true when cruising men did not have the required knowledge or did not transmit that knowledge onto their partners. In either case, the cruising men’s use of power persuaded their partners to adopt a cruising lifestyle though it was potentially harmful to them. The potentially harmful nature of cruising when knowledge is situated with only one person was poignantly demonstrated in the report on Margaret Johnson earlier in this chapter.

In having made the above commentary, I am reminded again that as the postmodernists argue, there are multiple realities. The above analysis reflects the truth of some but not all cruising women. There are cruising women who gain power in their relegation to the domestic sphere. As Ann Oakley (1974b: 14) comments – ‘*while occupancy of the traditional/wife/mother/housewife constellation of roles … is correlated with certain types of powerlessness, it also has its own avenues of influence.*’ As a consequence, some women through their ‘non decision making’ have supported the ideology that the correct place for women is in the private or domestic domain (Stacey & Price, 1981). Stacey & Price (1981: 101) questioned whether acceptance of their role in the domestic sphere occurred because of Lukes’ second dimension of power - non-decision making or because the domestic domain was one in which women:

received certain rewards, … benefits and power … which they value … [where] they have more to lose than to gain if they ‘go out’, … [a domain in which] the traditional wife-mother role has satisfactions
which outweigh those that it is possible to gain in the public world? Or
are women just trapped in the family?

Based on participant observation, the response to Stacey and Prices’ question is not an
unanimous response, some women would say yes, and some would say no. For
those cruising women who say yes, the following observation by Ansley (in Jessie
Bernard, 1976: 233) has some relevance: ‘When wives play their traditional roles as
takers of shit, they often absorb their husbands’ legitimate anger and frustration at their
own powerlessness and oppression.’ Participant observation provides some evidence
to support this statement within a cruising context, in interactions between at least one
cruising partnership the women’s adoption of a traditional and subordinated position
resulted in her being treated in a demeaning and devalued fashion and in being
excluded from cruising and life decisions. In her interview, she indicated that she was
soon contemplating on negotiating a different ‘space’ for herself as a result of her plan
to leave the boat. Further, other women occupying traditional roles have not submitted
to the three dimensions of power (Lukes, 1974). These women have demonstrated
agency and have chosen to leave their partner and the boat. They returned ‘home’ to a
space where the women were able to achieve some sense of connectivity and some
sense of place – of belonging and of personal power over their own lives.

Agency

The third issue which I wish to pursue in this chapter is the issue of agency. In
addressing women’s agency, I am mindful of Rose’s (1991: 167) words:

While there is already a move away from the deconstructionist
diminution of the subject in recent feminist theory, some feminist
theorists moving in this direction have also identified post-modernism
with what we have specified as deconstructionist post-modernism, and
criticised it not only for its failure to provide an adequate theory of the woman subject as agent

1, but also for its elimination of difference between subjects in a way which they believe threatens the concepts of gender difference developed in feminist theory as a basis for both theory and practice. Kaplan, ... suggested ... that the breakdown of difference suggested in many theories of post-modernism might threaten the feminist establishment of its categories of 'difference'. ...

Jencks's [post-modern theory] implies ... that the all too uncritical acceptance of ready-made ideologies - of either a modernist or post-modernist kind - will not be a feature of the thoughts or actions of such rational agents.

Throughout this chapter, I have attempted to highlight the differences between cruising women's experiences as well as any themes accessible at the mesolevel of analysis. Essentially:

[The question of locating “agency” is usually associated with the visibility of the “subject” where the “subject” is understood to have some stable existence prior to the cultural field that it negotiates. Or, if the subject is culturally constructed, it is nevertheless vested with an agency, usually figured as the capacity for reflexive mediation, that remains in tact regardless of its cultural embeddedness.

(Butler, 1990: 142-143)

Butler sees this position as falsely derived as the subject can only gain agency through ‘a prediscursive “I” ’ and as the subject is ‘constituted by discourse’ consequently it is

11 ‘Here it should also be noted that the suppression of the concept of the subject as agent in structionalist and post-structionalist theory might be said to have been responsible to at least some degree for the suppression of the idea of the individual woman as an agent capable of making her own value decisions and value-actions in some modern and late-modern feminist theory based on post-structionalist ideas.’ (Rose, 1991: 279).
predetermined and therefore excludes the possibility of agency. In a later work, Butler, (1993: 8, 9) continues her critique regarding ‘[d]iscourse constructs the subject’ by defining construction as a process whereby ‘subjects’ and ‘acts’ appear through reiteration. Consequently, ‘there is no power that acts, but only a reiterated acting that is power in its persistence and instability.’ Instead of ‘construction’, Butler (1993: 9) proposed ‘the notion of matter, ... a process of materialization that stabilizes over time to produce the effect of boundary, fixity, and surface we call matter.’ For Butler, that materialization and its associated power may demonstrate agency however, as with constructivism, it can also result in the paradox of a subject’s agency being ‘a reiterative or rearticulatory practice’ of constituted power (Butler, 1993: 15). Whilst Judith Butler derives her discussion from language/discourse, it does not associate with the psyche of persons which can constitute action. For example, the discourses of cruising are primarily phallogenocentric, however, within that contextual setting, women are operating as subjects and breaking down the dominant male hegemonic base. Further, some cruising women have definitely exhibited agency when they decide to leave the vessel aboard which they are sailing for safety and survival reasons. Here the subject’s psyche overrides any culturally derived or determined role for the women – they have agency and they get off the boat. Or they exert their power and place a time factor on the cruise, or the locations to be visited. That their male partners acquiesce indicates that the women have some power over the men and that this is primarily related to feelings of love or belonging elicited by both partners. This is a critical point, for the previous feminist viewpoints in this chapter have not delved into this aspect of relationships preferring instead to deconstruct women’s experiences from essentially a sociological perspective. Yet the affective domain must be given voice since neither inequality or power issues take into account ‘the issue of affect’ (Stacey & Price, 1981: 131), affect being the emotions and feelings partners have for each other and how these contribute to the roles and responsibilities adopted or assigned aboard cruising vessels or to the establishment or maintenance of power relationships. This move into the individual psyche and away from social
constructions of discourse related to roles and power and families indicates that analysis needs to be interdisciplinary in order to gain a fuller understanding of cruiser relationships. As noted by Stacey and Price (1981) and Rowbotham (1982), sociological discourse on agency needs to be complemented by consideration of the affect feelings and emotions have on decision or non-decision-making or the shaping of people’s will. For example, as identified in Chapter Twelve, love was expressed as one of the reasons for going cruising:

Love is the biggest and the strongest thing, I love him and he wanted to do it, so I followed. (Cruising woman 357)

To be together. [Laughs] It is really, to be together, and to do things together and to have time enough to be together, yeah, that’s mine [reason for going cruising]. (Cruising woman 477)

And as one cruising man commented:

She met me when I was keen on sailing and that was it. She didn’t have any option. Love me, love my boat! And that was basically it. (Cruising man 368)

His partner was the cruising woman who only went on the forecastle for recreational purposes. You will recall she made these comments about passages:

I’m very seasick if it’s very rough, I wear spots behind my ears which makes my life bearable. If it’s rough, it’s very difficult. 368m’s absolutely marvellous because at that point I just say the cooking’s up to you, if he wants to eat, he does and he looks after all . . . he does all the watches and I lie in bed and wish I was dead! When it’s lovely, I’m as happy as a cowboy!” . . . [I] write a log for the grandchildren,
telling them what an absolute idiot their grandmother is. I’m always the one with seasickness, but it doesn’t worry me. It’s just the conditions – the bumping [along in rough conditions]. I have always said I will not sail around South Africa and now it looks as if I’m going.

(Cruising woman 367)

As noted earlier in this thesis, she is the one who said:

He’s sailing around the world. I don’t like living without him, so I’m here.

It appears after all that for some cruisers, love and feelings of belonging and a need for togetherness plays a significant role in the relationships of cruising women and men and their assigned roles and power positions. Another cruiser indicated that if her partner wanted to cruise with her then the passage making had to be off-set by port time. Primarily, if he wants to cruise and cruise with her, he is obliged to make more stopovers and fulfil her needs to investigate places and peoples, even though this is not his preference. Is this power on her behalf or shared decision making? Perhaps both. Does she in fact reflect an empowered connectivity which enables both her and his ability to cruise? Depending on your own point of view you may say ‘yes’ or ‘no’. However, what she does demonstrate is an agency – one which works for her but not necessarily for other women.

Finally, ‘[i]nterpretive ethnography is, to use Riceour’s phrase, a matter of attributing “a meaning to a meaning” (1970:13). … all interpretation is, of necessity, comparative. We understand another’s speech with reference to our construal of its context …’ (Rosaldo, 1980: 221). As ethnographers, we are challenged to make sense of the discourses we capture. Furthermore, as exit cruising woman 607 noted
'how do we really know what happens we only have their words' upon which to make our judgements. Within this chapter, I have applied my own 'reference' and the 'references' of other cruising woman to portray the cruising experiences of women who are engaged in long term ocean cruising. This interpretation is founded on my own cruising experiences, my participant observations and my gender - my 'Otherness' my womanhood and my 'multiple I's'. Some cruising men may no doubt have different views to the ones presented in this chapter. However, as Miller (1976) notes:

dominant groups generally do not like to be told about or even quietly reminded of the existence of inequality. 'Normally' they can avoid awareness because their explanation of the relationship becomes so well integrated in other terms; they can even believe that both they and the subordinate group share the same interests and, to some extent, a common experience ... 

(Miller, 1976: 6 – 8)

Such a belief is as 'Smith ... argues ... socially and historically constituted, rooted in an ideology that attempts to mystify the social relations of the knower and the known through procedures that appear anonymous and impersonal. This aura of objectivity can be maintained so long as the object of knowledge, the "known" can be an "other", an alien object that does not reflect back on the knower.' (Westkott, 1990: 61). And this is what I have attempted to do, to make visible the multiple realities of the cruising women and their contribution to a cruising lifestyle from their perspective in order to give them voice - to see these women as 'full members of their social, economic and political worlds' (Annette Weiner, 1976) without an overlay of 'androcentric blinders' (Reinharz, 1992: 51).

As Rose (19991) notes women can be subjects and agents. In particular, cruising women are subjects who actively negotiate their space within a cruising lifestyle. In
doing so, cruising women are able to achieve ‘empowered connectivity’ in a variety of ways, such as:

- their decision to cruise with their partner because of affective reasons rather than social reasons
- their retreatism to the domestic sphere to an space where they will acquire a sense of self worth and personal value
- their rituals and activities associated with the domestic sphere and the power and authority it affords
- their agency in leaving both the boat and the relationship instead of carrying on in circumstances which are untenable
- their decision to go along with their partner because of the travel opportunities the voyage will provide them
- the sharing of a joint goals and self actualisation through the pursuit of shared goals.

So to conclude this chapter, I celebrate the cruising women in their adoption of a cruising lifestyle. They actively contribute to the enterprise of cruising with their significant contributions within the domestic sphere, in their doubling of ‘work’ in the domestic sphere and the non-domestic sphere of passage making, in their strength in setting to sea when others would not, in moving from the centre to the margins, in their challenges to a predominantly malestream activity, in their power which is subtle in the reshaping of desires and wishes of their partners to make landfall to visit locations or to negotiate successful participation in this space they occupy in the margins of the margins, in their power to influence using the affective domain and their power and quest for equality in roles and responsibilities and constant demonstration of empowered connectivity as they make sense of and negotiate the ‘space’ in which they live. To all these women, I celebrate your lives as cruisers, you are the unsung heroes, you live your lives mostly out of the spotlight which shines on
your partners. You shared with magnanimity your lives, your joys, your hopes and
doubts with me to provide this perspective of cruising women to counterbalance the
malestream texts of cruising men. In your sharing, you have challenged the
orthodoxy, the taken-for-granted assumptions which reify the dominant male paradigm
associated with the cruising. You are now subject, you are agent. You are no longer
‘Other’ – you are visible.
Chapter 14

Cruisers, travel and tourism literature:
A theoretical investigation

The preceding theoretical chapters have focussed on the themes of alienation, anomic, basic needs, self actualisation, and feminist perspectives as well as issues of equality and power in cruising relationships. This chapter considers the last of the macrolevel discourses present in cruiser narratives and evidenced in participant observation – the adoption and/or maintenance of a cruising lifestyle because of travel motivations. The chapter also draws on some of the questionnaire material gathered during interviews. Chapters eleven to thirteen drew primarily on the disciplines of sociology, social psychology and feminist perspectives respectively with only brief references to other related disciplines within each of those chapters. This chapter, on the other hand, utilises a more interdisciplinary approach to study cruisers’ travel motivations. As a consequence, it draws on sociology, social psychology, feminist perspectives, marketing, and tourism studies. The ethnographic chapters which inform this chapter are Chapters Nine and Ten. You will recall that Chapter Nine was entitled Passages and Landfalls – Travel. Chapter Nine had two focal points, one was passage making and the other travel motivations. The passage making themes have already been addressed in Chapter Twelve in discussions relating to basic needs, lifestyle and self actualisation. They have also been discussed in Chapter Thirteen in the consideration of gender relations, particularly roles and responsibilities and issues of equality and power. The second focal point, travel motivations is the focus of this chapter. Amongst cruisers a variety of travel motivations were evidenced. These motivations influenced the adoption of the cruising lifestyle and/or the maintenance of it. For some cruisers the travel component of the lifestyle made up for other more negative components such as passage making or seasickness or living with your partner twenty four hours a day. In its examination of travel motivations, this chapter will firstly
overview travel motivation models found in tourism studies literature. It will then investigate the ability of these models to explain cruisers ‘realities’. Another subtheme of Chapter Nine was the notion of ‘authenticity’ in travel experiences. This will also be considered prior to concluding the chapter with an overall critique of travel motivation theories and methodological approaches used to gather travel motivation data.

Tourism literature contains a variety of 'theories', models and frameworks that have been used to interpret and/or understand travel motivations. Such literature may be classified into four groupings: quasi-(socio)-psychological theories, psychographic profiles, intrinsic motivation theories and socio-demographic and economic profiles. The quasi-(socio)-psychological theories (Glen Ross, 1994) are based essentially on extrinsic motivations and are exemplified by the push-pull factor model (Graham Dann, 1977; John Crompton, 1979; Arlin Epperson, 1983) or Peter Gray's (1970) wanderlust and sunlust classificatory system. Psychographic profiles include Stanley Plog’s psychocentric-allocentric continuum (1974, 1987, 1989) and the VALS typology of lifestyles (SRI International, 1989). These profiles identify traveller types based on sets of personality or lifestyle attributes. Intrinsic motivation theories seek to interpret the motivation of travellers based on either 'self actualisation' experiences or 'optimal arousal' or 'flow' experiences (respectively attributed to Maslow, 1943, 1954, 1970; Iso-Ahola, 1976, 1980; and Csikszentmihalyi, 1974, 1988). Aside from the previously mentioned psychologically based theories/models, socio-demographic and economic profiles have also been used to explain travel motivations (Cohen, 1972, 1984; Graburn, 1983; Yiannakis & Gibson, 1988 in Yiannakis & Gibson, 1992; and Nash & Smith, 1991).

Whilst the classification of the literature into the four groupings presents a simplistic perspective of travel motivations, various writers have developed models which reflect the complex nature of travel motivations. For example, Robert Mill and Alastair
Morrison (1992: 11) presented a model which highlights the interconnectivity of personality, culture, time, and social economic background, travel motives and vacation purchases. Brian Goodall (1991) proposed a model which focuses on the relationship between social pressures, needs, extrinsic and intrinsic forces, motivations, preferences, goals and subsequent holiday choice. Chris Ryan (1991: 48; 1997c: 50) identified personality, social class, lifestyle, past experiences, knowledge, marketing and expectations as influencing a person's motivation to engage in a travel experience. However, despite the various models which exist and demonstrate the multiplicity and interconnectivity of factors influencing people to engage in travel experiences, tourism studies have tended to analyse travel motivations based on a unidimensional approach (Pearce, 1993) and a subsequent unicausal analysis (Ryan, 1991). These studies have also primarily adopted an etic (outsider's) perspective (see Fetterman, 1989 and Jorgensen, 1989 regarding emic and etic perspectives) although tourism literature contains texts which advocate an alternative approach, an emic (insider's) one (see for example Graburn, 1983: 28; Banner and Himmelfarb, 1985 in Ross, 1994: 15; and Ryan and Kinder, 1996 in Ryan, 1997a: 2). Furthermore, researchers have tended to study motivation in a snapshot manner that is by focussing on only one phase of the travel experience, usually the anticipation or planning phase. Such an approach is problematic, for as Ryan (1997b: 41) noted motivations change during travel experiences as 'initial needs are satisfied' and others emerge. Pearce (1993: 114, 120) also purported that tourist motivation was 'dynamic' and multifaceted. Consequently, other phases of the travel experience need to be studied to gain a holistic understanding of people's motivations and their travel experiences.

The term 'travel experience' is often referred to in tourism literature. However, conceptually, there appear to be only two models that represent the experience. Both can be related back to Clawson's (1963) linear model of the recreation experience: anticipation, travel to, on-site experience, return travel and recollection. Clawson's model has been modified by Killion (1992) into a circular model and renamed as the
travel experience. The second model is a linear-repetitive model consisting of three stages: the anticipatory stage, the experiential stage and the reflective stage (Stephen Craig-Smith and Christine French, 1994). This chapter will apply the Killion modification of Clawson's recreation experience in its discussion.

**Quasi-socio-psychological theoretical approaches: a review**

Various writers have developed what Ross (1994) describes as quasi-psychological theories. In this chapter, the qualifier 'socio' has been added as some of the 'theories' are sociologically as well as psychologically based (for example, Dann, 1977; Jost Krippendorf, 1987; Schmidhauser, 1989). Further, they are 'quasi' because they lack any real theoretical underpinning as they are founded on lists of motives or bipolar positions. The seminal work on quasi-socio-psychological travel motivators is attributed to Alexander Grinstein (1955). Grinstein (1955) identified 'change', ego-enhancement, relaxation and 'pleasure' as themes related to holiday-taking. Later, these themes were iterated in the push-pull 'quasi-theories' of McIntosh, 1977; Dann, 1977; Crompton 1979; Epperson, 1983; and in Gray's (1970) wanderlust (push) and sunlust (pull) classificatory system. Primarily, 'push' factors induce a person to travel so as to escape routine and/or one's usual social milieu and 'pull' factors draw a person to a specific destination or experience.

However, while the push/pull 'quasi-theory' appears as a duality, it is important to note that Dann (1977) purports that there were essentially only push factors compelling a person to travel, it is only when such factors have manifested themselves that pull factors emanate. For Dann, travel is a result of 'anomie' and/or a need for 'ego-enhancement' (both push factors). Once away from the home environment, Dann notes that tourists can engage in 'fantasy' (a pull factor). Krippendorf (1987) similarly identifies the need to escape the usual milieu of everyday life as the primary factor (push) in travel motivations. In their work, both Dann and Krippendorf draw on
sociology to inform their conceptual frameworks, in particular, the work of Durkheim (1897/1951, 1938/1964, 1952) on anomie. Another writer who drew on sociology in order to understand motivations was Schmidhauser (1989). Schmidhauser proposed a list of four sociological factors (Ross, 1994). Those factors are compensation for deficits in everyday life, physical and psychological recovery, expanding one's horizon's and self-reward (Schmidhauser, 1989: 571).

As stated previously, the quasi-theories are based on bipolar positions such as Gray's (1970) wanderlust (push) and sunlust (pull) classificatory system or on lists which reflect the push or pull tensions. For example, McIntosh (1977) generated a list of four sets of reasons for travel while Crompton (1979) developed a list of nine socio-psychological motives for engaging in a travel experience. McIntosh's list included physical reasons, cultural reasons, personal reasons and prestige and status reasons while Crompton's list contained seven push related and two pull related motives. The seven push motives were escape from a perceived mundane environment, exploration and evaluation of self, relaxation, prestige, regression, enhancement of kinship relationships, and facilitation of social interaction. The two pull related motives were novelty and education. However, despite the various presentations of the 'quasi-theories', there exist many similarities: ‘[t]he adjectives may differ, and the categorizations of tourists based upon motivations may differ in number, but recurrent themes emerge’ Ryan (1997b: 27). For the quasi-theories, those themes are push and pull factors.

**Psychographic profiles and VALS typologies: a review**

One of the most cited studies in the psychology of travel behaviour is the psychographic continuum of Plog (1974) which was developed from studies into people's reasons for choosing to fly or not to fly. The continuum ranges between two psychographic types: psychocentrics and allocentrics. Psychocentrics tend to be 'self
inhibited, nervous and non-adventurous' people while allocentrics tend to be self-confident, adventurous and interested in various activities. Between these two types appear the near psychocentrics, the midcentrics and the near allocentrics. Essentially, the model was promoted as a way to match the marketing of destinations to psychographic types.

In its original form, Plog's continuum was unidimensional until 1974 when he examined the effect of income level on psychographic type. His findings indicated that a relationship only existed at the outer limits of the continuum, that is, within the allocentrics and psychocentric types. An energy dimension was added to the continuum model in 1979. The resultant relationship between the energy dimension and allocentric/psychocentric dimensions was orthogonal (Norma Nickerson and Gary Ellis, 1991). High energy levels meant high activity levels and low energy levels meant low activity levels (Nickerson & Ellis, 1991). Plog's model has also been modified by Joseph Slattery (1989). Slattery combined the work of Cohen (1972) specifically, the four traveller roles (organised mass tourists, individual mass tourists, explorers and drifters) as well as the degree of familiarity or novelty each traveller role sought with Plog's (1974) psychocentric types.

Criticism of Plog's model is based on the model's lack of application in differing cultural contexts (Smith, 1990a). Such criticism sparked a debate between Plog (1990) and Smith (1990b). Two other researchers, Nickerson and Ellis (1991), compared Plog's two dimensional model of allocentrism/psychocentrism and energy using Donald Fiske and Salvatore Maddi's (1961) activation theory. Their findings questioned the orthogonal nature of psychographic type and energy. The activation

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1 Cohen (1972) uses the term 'novelty' interchangeably with 'strangeness'. Dann (1993: 104) proposes that Cohen's typology is based on George Simmel's work on the 'stranger' because 'the tourist roles [in Cohen's typology] transcend spatial and temporal boundaries to the same degree that Simmelian forms which they portray, and on which they are based, are also universal and perennial (Simmel, 1950)'. The reader is also referred to the work of Gudykunst (1983) 'Toward a typology of stranger-host relationships' for a further discussion of the 'stranger' and the sociology of tourism.
theory, however, generated more traveller types than Plog's original model. More recently, Ryan (1997c: 59-60) found indirect evidence to support the normal distribution of Plog's psychographic continuum.

Another criticism of Plog's model is that it does not account for the fact that people travel for different reasons at different times and that destinations may appeal to all the psychographic types depending on personal circumstances and how the trip is planned (Robert McIntosh, Charles Goeldner & Brent Ritchie, 1995: 444). Furthermore, the model was developed in the late 1960s and as McIntosh, Goeldner and Ritchie (1995: 173, 447) noted travel and societies have changed since then.

Another psychographic model is VALS. VALS, that is, 'Values and Lifestyles - is a way of viewing people on the basis of their attitudes, needs, wants and beliefs, and demographics' (SRI International, 1989: 207). Consequently, the model considers more than one dimension related to travel motivation. VALS is a hierarchical typology originally consisting of four key categorisations commencing with the need-driven group, the outer-directed group, the inner directed group, and the combined outer- and inner-directed group. From these four categorisations nine lifestyle types emerged. The hierarchy was developed from Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Ryan, 1991: 190; Ross, 1994: 47). The original set of nine lifestyles has since been modified and now the hierarchy consists of eight different psychographic types (McIntosh, Goeldner, & Ritchie, 1995: 450). The new types are strugglers, makers, strivers, believers, experiencers, achievers, fulfilleds, and actualizers. The VALS segmentation system is considered a useful marketing tool (McIntosh, Goeldner, & Ritchie, 1995: 449; and Ross, 1994: 50). However, Ryan (1991: 192) cautions that potential users of VALS must determine whether the complexity of human motivations within large populations can be easily represented in eight lifestyle groups. VALS like Plog's psychographic model is primarily a commercial research tool and as Ross (1994: 48) notes 'the
proprietary' nature of the system has resulted in limited discussion in 'scholarly and scientific circles'.

**Intrinsic motivation theories: a review**

Primarily, three theories of intrinsic motivation are referred to in travel motivation literature: Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1943), Iso-Ahola's 'optimal arousal' theory (1976) and Csikszentmihalyi's theory of 'flow' (1974). These theories, especially those of Maslow and Csikszentmihalyi have already been discussed in some detail in Chapter Twelve. You will recall that Maslow and Csikszentmihalyi’s theories in particular were used to examine and explain cruisers’ needs fulfilment and their pursuit of self actualising experiences. In this chapter, the three theories will be considered beyond their application in their ‘home’ discipline of individual psychology; they will be used in multi- and interdisciplinary examinations of travel motivations within the field of tourism studies.

Firstly, Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1943, 1954, 1970), within the field of tourism studies, the hierarchy has been used in its own right by tourism researchers and also in a modified form developed by Pearce and Caltabiano (1982). The latter two created a travel career ladder based on Maslow's hierarchy. The modification of the hierarchy and its appropriateness to describe traveller motivations, however, is questioned by Ryan (1994 in Ryan, 1997b; 1997b: 37-43 and 1998). Specifically, Ryan queries three aspects of the modification - the soundness of the data on which the ladder is founded, the ladder's hierarchical nature and the ascending qualitative values assigned to traveller's positions on the ladder. Of particular concern is the use of an 'elitist' attitude in measuring the quality of the people's travel experiences. Essentially, Pearce and Caltabiano suggest that experiences which are self actualising are ‘better’ than those which provide rest and relaxation (physiological fulfilment) or time with family and friends (fulfilment of belonging needs) because they provide more or a greater
sense of satisfaction. Such qualitative statements are difficult to support and only the tourists engaged in the activities can make such subjective judgements of their experience not the researcher from ethically derived data. Further, the ladder denies the possibility that experiences predicated at the lower level such as being with family and friends and thereby finding one's self in an otherwise anomie world may actually lead to 'self actualisation'. As a consequence, the ladder denies the possibility of two motivations operating at once as well as the fact that in any one travel experience a person may move up and down the ladder depending on personal and situational circumstances. Furthermore, travel motivation data which is ethically derived using only the ladder's classification system, omits to investigate the impact of socio-demographic and economic circumstances which may have contributed to a person's final selection of a travel experience despite a desire to fulfil one or various needs.

Another intrinsic motivation theory applied in tourism studies is Iso-Ahola's (1980) 'optimal arousal theory. Although his work is predicated to the leisure field, it has relevance to travel motivations. Iso-Ahola (1980: 248) states that the *fundamental motivator of leisure participation is a need for optimal incongruity or arousal, as determined by biological dispositions, early socialisation experiences, and social/situational influences*. Iso-Ahola believes that intrinsic motivation regulates leisure encounters. His examination of motivation demonstrated that the best leisure activities were those performed for their own sake since such activities offer intrinsic rewards such as feelings of self-determination and competence. In attempting to understand travel motivations using Iso-Ahola's model, researchers need to examine various 'levels of causality' (freedom and competence, optimal arousal and incongruity, biological factors, and socialisation experiences) as well as current social and situational influences which may also impact on a person's motivations.

Iso-Ahola (1980) also provides some insight into the conduct of leisure motivation studies which again has relevance to travel motivation studies. For Iso-Ahola the

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timing of data collection and the method of data collection have important ramifications for understanding people's leisure (and travel) motivations. Iso-Ahola (1980) advises, as did Nisbett and Wilson (1977) before him, that etically derived responses gathered after the leisure or travel experience are less likely to provide researchers with adequate answers. According to Iso-Ahola (and Nisbett and Wilson), such an approach generally tends to identify culturally appropriate responses. Such responses are further assured if an etic approach is used – specifically, questionnaires which list cultural descriptors of motivations. In both cases, the timing of the data collection and the method of data collection can serve to mask a person's true motivations. Iso-Ahola suggests that in trying to achieve an understanding of a person's 'real' motivations for engaging in leisure, recreation or travel experiences, the researcher should ask the person(s) engaged in the activity/activities at the time of the activity using an emic approach in order to ensure that all 'levels of causality' are addressed and situational and social factors are identified.

A third intrinsic motivation model applied within tourism studies is Csikszentmihalyi's theory of 'flow’. 'Flow' has been applied in independent travel research (see the study of cruisers by Macbeth, 1985), wilderness experiences (Mitchell, 1983) and in recreation studies (see Ryan, 1997b). Csikszentmihalyi developed his flow model from a study of people engaged in various activities. In his study, Csikszentmihalyi established that the motive for involvement was directly linked to the intrinsic reward which people gained from their participation. As noted in Chapter Twelve, 'flow' has several dimensions – 'intense involvement, deep concentration, clarity of goals and feedback, loss of a sense of time, lack of self consciousness and transcendence of a sense of self, leading to and autotelic, that is, intrinsically rewarding experience' (Csikszentmihalyi, 1988: 365).

Between the three theories of Maslow, Iso-Ahola and Csikszentmihalyi are several persistence themes: choice and external influences. Choice refers to an individual's
self control and self determination in the activities in which he or she engages. The other theme is the existence of external influences which contribute to the selection of an activity or activities in order to fulfil an individual’s needs. These theories although situated in the field of individual psychology have relevance to tourism studies and also enable us to gain further insight into individuals’ responses to the social setting in which they find themselves. Although aimed at understanding individual behaviours, these three theories, as demonstrated in Chapter Twelve, enable us to gain further insight into society and its alienating and anomic characteristics. Their contribution in understanding society is reiterated later in this chapter.

**Socio-demographic and economic profiles: a brief review**

Literature on the motivations for travel indicate that the propensity to travel and type of travel experience engaged in can be influenced by gender, age, family life cycle, education, income and lifestyle pursuits (Cohen, 1972, 1984; Iso-Ahola, 1980; Graburn, 1983; Douglas Pearce, 1987; Yiannakis & Gibson, 1988 in Yiannakis & Gibson, 1992; Nash & Smith, 1991; Mill & Morrison, 1992; Dale Fodness, 1992, Mill and Morrison, 1992; McIntosh, Goeldner & Ritchie, 1995, Nancy McGehee, Laurie Loker-Murphy and Muzzafer Uysal, 1996, Ryan, 1997c). Leisure literature has also informed tourism research regarding the influences of socio-demographic and economic factors on travel motivations, for example, the family life cycle and travel decision making (Geoffrey Godbey, 1990; Daniel Levinson, 1978; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1975; Wells and Gubar, 1986 in Mill & Morrison, 1992: 81 - 87). Previously, socio-demographic and economic factors in regard to cruisers were discussed in Chapter Three and so will only be briefly addressed in this chapter.
Travel motivation literature and cruisers

In studying travel motivations, tourism studies have tended to utilise 'theories' from the four groupings in isolation from each other and primarily have adopted an etic perspective. Such an approach was not adopted in this ethnographic study of cruisers. A contrary approach was applied and finds support in the writings of Witt and Wright (1990 in Ryan, 1991), Ryan (1991), McIntosh, Goeldner and Ritchie (1995), and Pearce (1993). Specifically, Witt and Wright (1990 in Ryan, 1991) advocated research into travel motivation should apply multi-motivational models. Ryan (1991) also stated it was insufficient to apply 'uni-causal theories' to the analysis of motivation instead 'multi-causal analysis' is required. Further, McIntosh, Goeldner and Ritchie (1995: 175) iterate that sound theory development of tourist motivation depends on a multimotive and dynamic approach, which considers both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. To that end, this chapter's investigation of cruisers combines an emic and an etic perspective, utilises a post hoc analysis, as well as a multi-dimensional approach by looking at various aspects of motivation including intrinsic and extrinsic motivation throughout the course of cruisers' travel experiences. Pearce (1993) purports that a study with such attributes should develop good 'theory' although postmodernists would take umbrage with this view of establishing one 'truth'.

The following four sections consider each of the four travel motivation groupings identified in tourism literature in regard to the ability of each to represent the reality of cruising men and women.

Cruisers and quasi-socio-psychological theories

One of the tourism-related questionnaires used during interviewing was based on McIntosh's (1977) list of motivations for travelling. Data from this questionnaire
suggest that personal reasons and cultural reasons are the primary motivations for cruisers. See Table 14.1 on the next page. Specifically, the questionnaire determined from an etically based and quasi-theoretical perspective that cruisers are motivated by a desire to achieve refreshment of body and mind, a desire for pleasure, specifically fun and excitement, curiosity about foreign countries, other peoples and places, a desire to seek new experiences in new environments, to meet new people, and to experience the personal excitement of travelling. The questionnaire, however, was unable to elicit the following reasons:

I like the self-sufficiency, the comfort of the boat, it's almost womb-like, but it can be cramped. I suggested to 386m that we should go and sail around the world and 386m was reluctant at first but I gradually kept suggesting it to him and he became committed to it.

(Cruising woman 385)

Stress is the major problem in our lives today and I feel that getting away on a boat, there's only one thing you can worry about and that's the weather and you can't do anything about that anyway, so I think it's a great stress reliever.

(Cruising man 392)

Primarily, the questionnaire provides a 'reductionistic' view of cruisers' motivations. Unless the interpretation of travel motivations is grounded in both an emic and etic perspective then the analysis falls short of determining the multiple realities of the cruisers' travel experiences and their motivations as presented in the preceding chapters.
Table 14.1
Cruisers’ Responses to McIntosh’s (1977) Reasons for Travelling

N=93*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A. Lifestyle reasons</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Refreshment of body and mind</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. For health purposes (i.e. either medically prescribed or undertaken voluntarily)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. For participation, e.g. sports</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. For pleasure - fun, excitement</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. For romance</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Entertainment</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. To shop</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>To suit husband/partner/parents</strong></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B. Cultural reasons</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Curiosity about foreign countries</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Curiosity about other peoples</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Curiosity about other places</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Interests in art</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Interest in music</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Interest in architecture</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Interest in folklore</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Interest in historical places (remains, monuments, churches)</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Experiencing specific international events</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. National events e.g. Oktoberfest</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C. Personal reasons</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Visiting relatives and friends</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Meeting new people and seeking new friendships</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Seeking new and different experiences in different environments</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Escaping from one’s own permanent social environment (i.e. desire for a change)</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Personal excitement of travelling</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Visiting places and people for spiritual reasons (i.e. pilgrimages)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Travelling for travel’s sake</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D. Other reasons</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Pursuit of hobbies</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Continuation of education or learning</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Seeking of business contacts and professional goals</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Conferences and meetings</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Ego enhancement</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Fashion, i.e. ‘keeping up with friends’</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Satisfy long term goal/dream</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Challenge/Adventure</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Three cruisers did not complete the questionnaire.
** Denotes additional reasons added to the questionnaire by some cruisers.
Cruisers and psychographic profiles and VALS typologies

In the study of cruisers, an attempt was made to critique Plog's psychographic types. The following table presents a list of travel characteristics Plog deemed each of the psychographic types preferred.

Table 14.2
Travel Preferences of Psychographic Types (Plog, 1974)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Psychocentrics</th>
<th>Allocentrics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Familiar travel destinations</td>
<td>Non-touristy areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common place activities at destinations</td>
<td>Novel experiences in undiscovered tourist areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Sun'n'fun' and relaxation</td>
<td>New and different destinations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low level engagement in activities</td>
<td>High level engagement in activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destinations within drivable distances</td>
<td>Destinations which involve flying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sites with mass tourist facilities</td>
<td>Sites without mass tourism facilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familiar environmental bubble for touristic experience</td>
<td>Engagement with local people in their environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavy reliance on tourist system for packaging and itinerary</td>
<td>Minimal reliance on tourist system for packaging and itinerary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Using the above psychographic information and etically determined data from the questionnaire based on McIntosh's list of travel reasons, cruisers may be classified as demonstrating allocentric characteristics, that is, they seek adventure, prefer non-touristy areas, desire novel experiences, and by nature of their lifestyle rely minimally on the tourism system to provide their travel requirements. However, using an emic perspective, cruiser narratives indicate that their boats were considered as their homes. In fact it was referred to by several cruisers as an environmental bubble which protected them and into which they were also able to retreat from the host communities. Based on Plog's psychographic types, this suggests a leaning towards psychocentrism. Further, some of the women interviewed would have been considered psychocentrics by Plog as they were cruising only because of their partners and would have preferred to stay at home as this quote indicates:
Okay, I guess I chose to go cruising because I married 306m, quite frankly, it wouldn’t have been a choice if I were single or if I’d married a non sailing person. I wasn’t the sailor first in our relationship so – uhm - I went cruising because that was 306m’s dream. (Cruising woman 305)

In reality, cruisers despite their seemingly adventurous lifestyle can be located at various locations on Plog’s continuum. Furthermore, a cruiser’s location can change during the course of her or his travel experience. For example, a cruiser may set out for adventure (an allocentric trait) however, she or he may end up pursuing a lifestyle which has become familiar especially in regards to the home environment - the boat and mode of transport (a psychocentric trait).

I acknowledge that the above analysis does not draw on the five questions Plog uses to determine psychographic type (see Plog, 1990). However if Plog’s characteristics are well founded then methodological triangulation using both etically and emically gathered data collected on cruisers should achieve a similar outcome. Unfortunately, the psychographic continuum designed in the early 1970s does not account for the various forms of tourism now available to travellers/tourists in the 1990s. While Plog (1987: 204) has stated that researchers need to ‘get inside the heads’ of travellers to find out their true motives, based on data gathered in this study of cruisers, psychographics with its unidimensional and/or two dimensiona l data does not fully explain the motivations of travellers nor get inside the heads of cruisers.

Furthermore, the posing of five questions by Plog (1990) to determine personality type, as stated earlier, ignores socio-demographic data or ‘intervening conditions’ (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). See for example the cruiser interview quotes below:

When I was nineteen I saw errr, Eric Hiscock and his wife in our home town in the middle of winter. One winter, and I got two tickets for his
lecture, and I went along and I saw his first colour slides of the West Indies that he had taken on his first trip in *Wanderer* [Hiscock’s yacht]. I think it was the West Indies and that was the spark but of course the economics and sort of your life, it’s taken all these years to get there.

(Cruising man 316)

Because [laughs] we are a bit further down the track and if we don’t go cruising now we will never go. So we need to go while we have our strength and our body fitness and while we can still enjoy it. And I suppose while we’ve got the motivation to do it.

(Cruising woman 315)

Plog’s psychographic continuum does not take into account the intervening conditions which impact of destination choice or type of travel experience, such as the finances, family life cycle or physical fitness and ability.

**Cruisers and intrinsic motivation theories**

An emic perspective was used to gain insight into the intrinsic motivations of cruisers. Drawing on Maslow’s hierarchy of needs, as discussed in Chapter Twelve, cruiser self-reports reflected a need for belonging as one of the reasons for going cruising:

It is my husband’s dream, and I followed. - Love is the biggest and strongest thing, I love him and he wanted to do it, so I followed.

(Cruising woman 357)

To be together. [laughs] It is really to be together, and to do things together and to have time enough to be together.

(Cruising woman 277)
Further, a need for self determination (Iso-Ahola, 1976, 1980) was also a key reason for travelling by boat or cruising:

You have a bit of independence you don't get harassed by people knocking on your door or by people trying to sell you stuff and you are very much in control over your own destiny which is probably the major point. That's the big advantage of it [cruising], you haven't got someone telling you all day every day what to do. You've got a certain amount of control over your life, what you do with it and where you go and how you live. And that's probably one of the major advantages, ... you have grabbed your life and have said that I am in control.

(Cruising man 328)

Moreover, cruisers intimated that ‘intrinsicly motivated leisure equals “self-actualising” leisure’ (Iso-Ahola, 1980: 248). Again, cruisers comment on reasons for going cruising:

For me it is the challenge, because of a personal goal, it's a challenge for me to go Papua New Guinea, I've got to do it, I want to do it. It's my goal.  

(Cruising woman 351)

For the adventure, I think, for the adventure, it interests me to push myself. ... But I think I have come to realise that, that you do get a lot of benefit out of doing things that are a little bit hard basically.

(Cruising woman 335)

Cruisers reported that they sought a lifestyle, which provided them with intrinsically rewarding, and self actualising or optimal arousing or 'peak' experiences, which also offered freedom and a sense of personal control. These peak experiences were
achieved by travelling by their own boats, making their passages, and getting themselves to destinations:

There is the advantage of being able to leave and come and go when you want to, there's a certain amount of freedom associated with that, there is the satisfaction of getting, the personal satisfaction of getting to a place by your own means and away again.

(Cruiser 336m)

Cruisers also experienced 'flow'. This inevitably occurred during passage making and during situations when the cruisers skills were able to met the challenge. As reported in Chapter Twelve, cruising women did not experience flow as frequently as men, as the women often did not have the requisite skills and/or knowledge to meet the challenges cruising presented them. Furthermore, as identified in Chapter Twelve, an earlier study of long term ocean cruisers (Macbeth, 1985) also found similar findings and evidence of cruisers experiencing 'flow' (Csikszentmihalyi, 1974). Both studies, however, found that these 'flow' experiences were episodic and did not occur for all cruisers nor during all phases of their travel experiences.

**Cruisers and socio-demographic and economic profiles**

Based on both emically and etically derived data, the socio-economic background of cruisers was found to facilitate their propensity to adopt a cruising lifestyle. You may recall that of the long term cruisers who were interviewed, 42 were women and 54 were men. Most men were aged between 55 - 64 years and most women were aged between 45 - 54 years. The women's ages ranged from 33 - 62 years and the men from 20 - 77 years. In the main, women had received a tertiary education whilst most men had received either a tertiary or high school education. The women had been formerly employed at the lower professional level and in the service industry. The men's work background varied from employers and managers, to lower professionals.
as well as workers in the service industry. The cruisers' nationalities were primarily Australian, American, New Zealand and British, with most participants in the study having been socialised in western countries.

Seven cruisers were solo sailors (six men and one woman), the remainder were travelling with either friends or were in stable heterosexual relationships. In regard to family life cycle, five yachts were cruising with children and could be classified as being in the middle adulthood (establishment stage) of the family life cycle (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1975). Three boats were travelling with young children and three had teenagers aboard. The remaining yachts were travelling without children and these cruisers were in the middle adulthood (mid establishment and late establishment) stage of the family life cycle (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1975). Generally, most cruisers did not need to 'work' to sustain their cruising lifestyle. Cruisers had either taken early retirement packages, used superannuation funds or pensions, had real estate investments or other investments. Several cruisers were planning to cruise and work along the way. The financial investment in the cruising lifestyle varied between cruisers. The majority of boats cost between AUS$50,000 to AUS$100,000. The range in the purchase price of boats varied from AUS$6,000 to AUS$600,000 (These figures are raw figures and have not been indexed to take into account changes in the value of the dollar from the date of purchase). Cruising budgets also varied between AUS$4,000 to AUS$73,000. The average annual budget for two people on a boat was AUS$19,500 per annum.

Primarily, the cruisers' ages, educational backgrounds, family life cycle stages, former work experiences and life experiences in western societies, as well as income bases ensured cruisers had the financial and social propensity to adopt a cruising lifestyle. The majority of cruisers were socialised in western environments in which travel was considered a legitimate use of non-work time that is leisure time; although their choice to travel by yacht was reported to have been socially unacceptable by some cruisers'
family and friends. Furthermore, in their narratives, cruisers indicated that the
decision to go cruising was also related to advances in technological factors which was
noted previously in Chapter Three.

**Cruisers and tourism motivation literature**

My study of cruisers found that in most cases, cruisers' motivations were multicausal
in nature and that various extraneous factors also served to influence cruisers’
decisions to adopting a cruising lifestyle such as societal pressures and expectations as
well as enabling factors, such as sufficient finances. The multicausal nature of travel
motivations was specifically elicited during participant observation and indepth
interviews as indicated by this cruiser's response to ‘Why he and his partner go
cruising?’. You have already read this narrative earlier in this thesis, however
excerpts from the narrative are repeated below as the narrative serves to emphasise the
multicausal nature of motivations and the presence of external and enabling factors
which influence the adoption of a cruising lifestyle:

Well in a few words, to escape stressful jobs, wanting to spend more
time with a partner. We found out after about ten years or so that
which we have done in the last ten years was not that, what we expected
to do before we married. ... we started talking about the sense of our
lives, what you did and your future, what you expect to do. ... the idea
was born that we might change. ... We would stop the life we were
living now with all the kind of consequences, which we didn’t know at
that stage, but we started thinking about the consequences. We decided
to do it [to go cruising].

... I’ve mentioned already two points, stressful jobs and to be willing to
spend more time with a partner. Which might be an unusual reason but
in our case it was one of the major reasons because we figured out we
divided out, husband, for example, 80 hours a week for my job and she did almost the same. We meet each other on Saturday, and on Sunday, we saw the husband, myself, already had to prepare for the week, so that was one of the major reasons. Another one based on a solid financial situation. We reduced expenses, we wanted to choose another lifestyle. We realised that we did not have to spend that much money for doing something, which might be fun for us, which we would enjoy. Another reason is to explore other countries, we both find out before we met each other that travelling is something we really enjoy, meeting other people. That's the next point to meet different people not only other but different ones, and generally that's it, those were the major ones.

(Cruising man 302)

Another point, which was consistently made by cruisers regarding their motivations, was that their motivations changed during the course of their overall travel experiences. The following quotes indicate such changes:

Mine [the motivation] was more [pause] I've never had a big yearning to see the world and the other things, [pause] mine was more the challenge of the trip. But I think that that's changed now that we've come this far. I'm beginning to know that it isn't the challenge any more. To go on around the world originally, I thought, boy, a trip around the world. What a challenge! Well, it's not a challenge any more. If you have come this far, what the hell! The rest isn't any worse than what you've come to. So now I am beginning to take two [think about things]. My outlook is beginning to switch it's what 371w's talking about. To see the world is becoming, [pause] and to meet different people and see the different countries, is becoming more important than the challenge of the trip but originally it was the challenge of the trip. (Cruising man 372)
I think the reason why I started, the reason why, is because I am always game to do anything. I always have been and I hate sitting anywhere for any length of time. I just want to meet people I mean that would be the reason why I did it in the first place. ... I am one of those people who like to give anything a go. But now? Cruising? I love the lifestyle.

(Cruising woman 339)

You know, it use to be because we love sailing, well, you know you do a few ocean crossings and you soon learn to not love sailing. [Laughs] so it's not that. ... I think that part of it is that on a pretty limited income you can live pretty darn well. (Cruising man 374)

Consequently, cruisers are articulating that as 'initial needs are satisfied', others emerge (Ryan, 1997b: 41). A researcher would err if she or he considered motivations remained constant throughout the travel experience or only considered motivations during one stage of the travel experience. The resultant data would only provide a snapshot view of travel motivations.

Furthermore, as noted earlier in this chapter, findings from indepth interviews regarding cruisers' motivations also contribute to a critique of society:

I just wanted to get away from the city. I didn't want [pause] I just wanted to have some adventure. I've always wanted to travel. We have done a lot of travelling without being on a boat - I just wanted to get out of town! I just wanted to get away from [my home city] and then have it be a lifestyle. It's fine going away for a two week vacation to the Bahamas or something but that's just a little blast of unreality. I wanted to change my lifestyle completely. It took us ten years basically to get everything together to go ... We worked a lot [pause] a
long time, worked hard and we just wanted to get away and cruise, just to change our lifestyle. (Cruising woman 399)

You are not really totally, what should you say, a part of this society that we don’t really want. The world is getting overpopulated, it is overpopulated, and with all laws and things on shore and things like that, it’s really, it isn’t what one really wants, you know and I just like the sea, it’s wonderful. ... Well it’s the last frontier of total freedom where, laws, I mean laws do exist for the sea obviously, but it’s the freedom. And you are really in touch with the elements this is what it is really about, when you are out at sea it is only you or the people aboard this vessel itself. You are in the hands, in the mercy [laughs] of the sea. And you really are in touch with nature, nobody can help you out there ... (Cruising man 332)

In making their critique of society, a subtheme was evidenced and that was the theme of authenticity. Cruisers were voicing the need for authentic experiences external to the anomic and simulated world in which they were living in the ‘centres’ of mainstream western societies. What they sought was authentic experiences with others and with nature and these they sought in the margins of their own and other societies and natural settings.

Authenticity

Thus far, this chapter has overviewed the four groupings of travel motivations and several models within each of those groupings. It has also examined the ability of each of the groupings to represent the reality of cruisers’ motivations. The chapter has also partially provided a social critique of the alienating and synthetic nature of life in the centre of mainstream western society as perceived by cruisers. Another intent of this chapter is to examine the issue of ‘authenticity’ as it relates to cruisers’ travel
experiences and tourism literature, in so doing it subsequently continues the social critique.

Within tourism literature, Boorstin (1964) and MacCannell (1973) are acknowledged as amongst the first to consider the role of authenticity in a tourist's experience although their perspectives differ. The tourist is pejoratively viewed by Boorstin (1964). For Boorstin, the tourist is in search of illusions and willing to accept the unauthenticity of tourist attractions. Specifically:

[t]he modern tourist (in contrast to the traveller of yore) is just a passive onlooker who seeks to enjoy the extravagantly strange from the security of the familiar. Isolated from the host environment and the local people, he [sic] travels in guided groups and thrives on contrived “attractions”, gullibly enjoying the “pseudo-events” while blithely disregarding the “real” world around him [sic].

(Cohen, 1988: 30)

MacCannell (1973, 1976), on the other hand, sees all tourists as engaged in a ‘pilgrimage’ of the current secular world. In this pilgrimage, the tourist quests for authentic travel experiences to supplement the alienation experienced in her or his spurious everyday social world. In both their works, Boorstin and MacCannell attempt a social commentary. Boorstin used his observations of tourists to develop a social critique which is biased in its production of a stereotypical image of a ‘duped’ tourist (Cohen, 1988: 30 – 31). MacCannell, on the other hand, applied sociological theory to his study of the tourist. In particular, he used the theories of Marx, Durkheim, Levi-Strauss and Goffman to develop a critique of modernity and subsequently the tourist. Unfortunately, MacCannell made the same error which Boorstin did – the stereotyping of tourists. The former seeing all tourists as involved in a search for authentic experiences. His perspective ignores the fact that some tourists
know the experience is unauthentic – they accept the unauthenticity whereas others (such as MacCannell’s ‘tourist’) would not knowingly do so.

Apart from stereotyping tourists, another criticism of the two writers is made regarding their research methods. For example, Cohen (1988) criticises both writers for their research techniques. Boorstin is criticised for his lack of rigour in theory development as well as lack of rigour in his use of qualitative methods. According to Cohen, such lack of rigour did little to advance the credibility of qualitative studies in tourism. Cohen (1988: 34–35) also criticised MacCannell’s methodology as informal and non-representative since the latter gathered his data vicariously (etically) through other people’s writings on tourists.

Bearing in mind Cohen’s latter criticism, in addressing the issue of authenticity in cruisers’ travel experiences, I will use both an emic and etic perspective as stated at the beginning of this chapter. As a consequence, I will not duplicate Boorstin’s and MacCannell’s errors of interpreting the nature of cruisers’ touristic experiences from only an outsider’s point of view. In the following discussion of cruisers and authenticity, I have drawn on the narratives of those cruisers who adopted a cruising lifestyle especially for the travel opportunities it provides as well as the narratives of those cruisers whose reasons for adopting a cruising lifestyle were multiple in nature and included a desire to travel and ‘see the world’. Such a desire was also coupled with a desire to escape an alienating life. I have also drawn on the narratives of cruisers who changed their reason(s) for cruising in the process of pursuing a cruising lifestyle and who for instance came to like the travel component of the cruising lifestyle above other aspects of it such as the sailing side. Responses to questionnaires have also informed this section. In Chapters Nine and Ten, cruisers described several advantages of cruising as a means to ‘see the world’. These advantages included time, personal control, travelling with one’s own environmental bubble, and getting into ‘back stage regions’.
According to cruisers, when comparing their travel experiences to other forms of travel which they had experienced as ‘institutionalised tourists’ or ‘organised’ and ‘individual’ mass tourists (Cohen, 1972), cruising enabled them to increase their engagement in authentic experiences because of the relatively unlimited amount of time apportioned to the duration of their cruises and their non-reliance on the tourist system to mediate their experiences. Cruisers also acknowledged that they did not have sole rights on the achievement of authentic experiences as various ‘independent’ tourists. Cruisers cited, for example, backpackers or those travelling by motor-homes as also

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2 Cohen (1972) proposed a typology of traveller types and roles which focussed on the relationship between tourists on the one hand, and the tourism industry and host communities on the other. Cohen’s typology was based on the work of Schutz (1932/1972), a phenomenologist, who considered that the world was able to be ordered using categories of ‘strangeness and familiarity’ (Dann & Cohen, 1991: 164). Using Schutz’s two categories/concepts, Cohen identified four basic relationships depending on the degree of ‘familiarity’ or ‘novelty’ sought by travellers from the tourist industry and host communities as part of the overall travel experience. Cohen classified each of the relationships as a tourist role, the four roles were the organised mass tourist, the individual mass tourist, the explorer and the drifter. According to Cohen (1972) the degree of familiarity or novelty sought within travel experiences was determined by the socialisation process of individuals in regard to their society’s accepted way of life and patterns of behaviour. Cohen also suggested that individual preferences could ameliorate the overall effect of the socialisation process for some individuals (Cohen, 1972: 167). In his discussions Cohen uses the term ‘novelty’ interchangeably with ‘strangeness’. As noted in the previous footnote, Dann (1993: 104) proposes that Cohen’s typology is based on Simmel’s (1950) work on ‘the stranger’. Cohen (1974) also further extended the range of roles presented in 1972 with the production of his conceptual tree of tourist roles in 1974.

As the reader would be aware within tourist literature a plethora of traveller types has emerged ranging from Cohen’s (1972) fourfold typology to Pearce’s (1982) 15 travel-related roles. Refer to Yiannakis and Gibson (1992) for an overview of traveller types as well as their three dimensional construct of traveller types based on the ‘bipolar dimensions of stimulation-tranquillity, strangeness-familiarity, and structure-independence’.

Essentially, traveller roles and interactions may be explained by using either or both of two types of typologies: the interactive or the cognitive-normative (Craig-Smith & French, 1994). The interactive typologies focus on the interactions between tourists and host communities and destinations, while the cognitive-normative typologies focus on tourists and their motivations. There are various interactive typologies amongst the plethora of traveller types/roles such as Smith’s (1978) host-guest model or Cohen’s (1972) familiarity-novelty model. As most typologies are developments of either Cohen or Smith’s models (Cohen, 1984), this chapter will utilise Cohen’s (1972) source document as a basis for discussing cruisers since it precedes Smith’s model. Further, the interactive model has been chosen over the cognitive-normative model as cruiser narratives reflect themes related to interactions between people and environments and the tourism system. Further cognitive-normative aspects have been discussed in Chapter 12.

3 For some cruisers, the time was not unlimited as you will recall, some cruising men had a definite time period allocated to the duration of the cruise such as two to five years in order to accommodate their partners’ needs. Other cruisers also had a time limit although this was primarily linked to their cruising budget.
being able to engage in authentic experiences for the same reasons that a cruiser is able to experience them. In regard to the time factor, cruisers noted that not having to return to a job as well as having greater amounts of time and relatively open-ended travel plans enabled them to get away from touristic locations once ports had been cleared and into ‘back regions’. This freedom in regard to time is described by the following cruising man:

Oh, I think if we get to a place and we like the look of it and we can stay - [well, we do]! Whereas, as a tourist [I’d be] governed by usually - by [my] job back home. So a ‘tourist’ has only got a certain amount of time whereas we have the advantage – [we can get to] places also like among the islands that the tourist can’t visit. We can get away from there [the port], the motley throng [of a touristic centre] and be on our own. ... But that I would say - that would be one of the differences - that we can take our time and we can stay in places locations where the tourist can’t. I’ll give you an instance, on the Australian coast you can stay, if you like that type of thing – at Dunk Island - you can stay at Dunk Island with your boat for as long as you like. Usually the tourist is only there for five days, a package tour and off the island and on the way home. That would be the difference. Or if you spend enough time in a village at an anchorage in a small village, you’d probably get to know the locals more than as a package tourist who would just shoot in, buy the souvenirs and just shoot away.

(Cruising man 316)

The above cruising man made reference to Dunk Island, tourists can only stay at a resort on Dunk Island, there is no other accommodation available. Day trippers are

4 Cohen (1992: 225) calls such mediators, ‘cultural brokers’. Their responsibilities are to ‘harmonis[e] the expectations and desires of the parties involved, and manag[e] their interaction’.
allowed on the island and are ferried by a motorised catamaran between the mainland and the island. Cruisers on the other hand can visit the island and use their own facilities and thus break the tourism system's hold on 'brokering' travel experiences on Dunk Island. Implicit in this narrative is the theme of personal control. Personal control as previously mentioned is another advantage of cruising. In particular, cruising enables independent travel where the cruisers are significantly in charge apart from the vagaries of weather and officialdom. Cruisers in the main do not pass control of their travel experience over to the tourism system although they do use the tourism system to facilitate air travel from time to time as the need arises, such as an ill parent or child in their country of departure. Sometimes cruisers will engage in package tours. However, for the majority of cruisers this is the complete antithesis of the travel experiences they seek. Cruiser narratives indicate an aversion to mass tourism packages where the experience is commodified and tourists become one of a nameless mass following someone else's agenda, specifically that of the travel system. However, an advantage of a package recognised by cruisers was that when tourists buy a travel experience package - a commodity, they know up front what they are paying and what they are getting for that money. Consequently, the package standardises the experience and ensures a familiarity about the experience. Cruisers can not always predict their experiences as reception by locals are dependent on who has preceded them so a 'welcome' can not always be assumed. Further, boating equipment may fail or unexpected circumstances may arise which were not planned for in the budget or time plan and this will add a degree of uncertainty to the travel experience. However, this uncertainty is an accepted part of the cruising lifestyle, if the cruisers wanted certainty they would not have left the centre in the first place.

Whilst cruisers aim for a majority of authentic experiences, M. Feifer (1985) purports that 'institutionalised tourists' (Cohen, 1972) are fully aware they are participating in a 'game' or 'hyper-reality' (Umberto Ecco, 1986). As John Urry (1990: 100) comments drawing upon Feifer's work, [t]he post-(mass)-modern tourist 'knows that they are a
tourist and that tourism is a game, or rather a whole series of games with multiple texts and no single, authentic tourist experience'. A description of a post-(mass)-modern tourist is provided by cruising man 328:

People who stay in motels with bars and pools ... You could plonk them down in a resort in the Sahara and they wouldn't know any different, because they don't go out or anywhere to know the difference.

(Cruising man 328)

Implicit in his text is the notion of ‘hyper-reality’, unauthenticity and playing a ‘game’. Post-(mass)-modern tourists are insulated through the standardisation of resort and hotel services and facilities, they are playing a game of travel whilst being ensconced inside a tourist's environmental bubble (Boorstin, 1964). This bubble which includes accommodation, transport and travel guides provides mass tourists with familiarity and security and limits contact with the local people. Cruisers also have an environmental bubble in the form of their boat which is both a mode of transport and an accommodation facility. This environmental bubble can limit their contact with host communities by allowing the cruisers to withdraw inside the boat and away from the ‘hosts’. Thus, cruisers bear some similarity with the institutionalised tourist and their use of environmental bubbles. For cruisers, having their own ‘home’ provides cruisers with enough familiarity to support their 'quest' for authenticity and also enables them to seek refuge in familiarity when ‘novelty’, ‘strangeness’ and authentic human interactions overwhelm them. Various cruisers consider that travelling by boat is a 'luxury' as they have their own facilities with them which further assures their independence and limits their contact with the tourism system.

Based on participant observation, cruiser narratives and responses to questionnaires, cruisers seek authentic experiences. Chapter Eleven indicated some of the unauthentic aspects of work and society from which cruisers sought to escape. As Jean Baudrillard
(1990: 155) comments ‘[w]e are presently living with a minimum of real sociality and a maximum of simulation’, mass tourism is one such ‘simulacrum’. Through mass tourism the tourist consumes the ‘signs’ (Baudrillard, 1981) of ‘tourism’ and these acquire greater exchange value than the ‘authentic’ experience itself. Such touristic experiences are not what cruisers want:

[If you do a package tour you don't really meet the people you meet the other people who can afford that same holiday as you can. Whereas when you are cruising, you are meeting fishermen, you’re meeting the people who are on the yachts. You are meeting quite a broad spectrum of the community. Particularly in the Pacific, you are meeting people who really live there - you are meeting those sort of people. You are not meeting the developers and the - you know – the - whether they are Americans - or the Europeans - that have come out and put money into the people, you are meeting the ‘real’ hosts.

(Cruising woman 359)

In pursuit of their lifestyle, as noted in Chapter Eleven, cruisers are trying to escape the hyper-reality and alienation of their own societies. They seek connectivity with reality - with the authentic; a pursuit which they control and which is not contrived by others or exists as ‘simulacra’:

The people who go on package deals have activities laid on for them which aren’t the real activities. You might be in Tahiti and they will have the girls doing the lei-lei dance. You know they will have their plastic girdles on and it won’t be the real lei-lei that they normally do in the dances [for themselves].

(Cruising man 356)

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5 Cruisers want to 'escape' though they consider 'escape' a pejorative term signifying 'running away' rather than 'release from' the routine life of their former society.
Amongst the majority of cruisers there was a strong desire for authentic experiences. They sought experiences which would enable them to access the 'back regions' of the locations and settings they visited in order to gain connectivity with a reality in the margins. Cruisers were predominantly interested in seeing the 'real' world and that included both natural and human-based interactions. Cruisers wanted:

- to get away from mass tourism
- to seek new experiences for pleasure and personal growth
- to experience heritage and natural environments
- to interact with local people, and learn about the way the local people live and learn about their culture
- to experience authenticity.

The above list represents back stage experiences as opposed to front stage experiences. MacCannell (1973) first wrote about front stage and back stage events by drawing upon Goffman's (1959) use of dramaturgical terms in creating a metaphor of society as a stage set with front and back regions. MacCannell divided the 'front-back dichotomy' into six stages. Those being:

Stage One - the front region
Stage Two - a front region presented partly as a back region
Stage Three - a front region presented to appear as a back region
Stage Four - a back region open to outsiders with restrictions
Stage Five - a back region with limited accessibility
Stage Six - a back region.

There are problems inherent in MacCannell's model. It has an etic perspective in that it adopts an outsider's perspective. There are also difficulties in discriminating between various stages as well as classifying settings which exhibit several stages at once.
Another problem of the model is its narrow focus on settings and not on human interactions both of which are of important to cruisers. Cohen (1979) later modified MacCanell's model to incorporate an emic perspective. As a result, Cohen's model examines touristic settings from two 'points of view', that of the tourist and that of the setting. From the tourist's point of view the setting may be considered either 'real' or 'staged' and from the 'setting's point of view' it can be either 'real' or 'staged'. This modification to MacCannell's model provides a two by two classification of touristic settings, see Table 14.3 below.

Table 14.3: Cohen's (1979) Model of Tourist Settings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of the Scene</th>
<th>Toursists' Impression of Scene</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Authentic and recognised as such</td>
<td>C. Suspicion of staging, authenticity questioned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Failure to recognise contrived tourist space.</td>
<td>D. Recognised contrived tourist space.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pearce (1982: 100-101) suggested a further modification to Cohen's model, he added the tourist's concern for authentic satisfaction. He saw this refinement as useful to tourism studies as it focuses on people's motivations and needs. Still this modification whilst providing an emic perspective did not recognise the role of people in touristic settings. Pearce (1988: 179-184) later addressed this problem and created a variation to MacCannell's original model which introduced front and back stage people into the front and back stage regions of the tourist settings. In doing this, Pearce's schema has nine classifications. They are listed below:

First classification - backstage people in a back stage region
Second classification - front stage people in a front stage region
Third classification - front stage people in a back stage region
Fourth classification - backstage people in a front stage region
Fifth classification - encounters with backstage people (region not important)
Sixth classification - encounters with front stage people (region not important)
Seventh classification - back stage region (people not important)
Eighth classification - front stage region (people not important)
Ninth classification - front or back stage irrelevant.

As Pearce (1988:180) admits this classification appears unwieldy. However, he justifies its number of classifications rationalising based on ‘thoroughness and completeness’. From Pearce’s last modification of MacCannell’s authenticity model most cruisers seek experiences in the first and seventh categories as exemplified in the following emblematic narrative regarding authentic human interactions:

[I]n the Trobriands … we were invited to a feast for the opening of a church, which was incredible. (Cruising woman 335)
Why was it incredible? (Interviewer)
I guess it was just that we were part of their celebrations. It wasn’t put on for the tourists we got to see what they just do amongst themselves, that’s what made it interesting for me. Because they weren’t doing it for us, we weren’t the reason it was on, we just came upon it. The feast was part of their normal lifestyle and we were invited to it. It was over at another island, we took about six of the men from the village on the boat to the feast, the women weren’t allowed to come with us. The men were frightened, they wouldn’t sit in the cockpit, they sat up the front on the deck and when the boat heeled over they got the fright of their life. But they wouldn’t move into the cockpit When we got to the island the chief had had the women prepare a special lunch for us. It was tea, which was boiled water with lots of sugar in it, and a cut-up tin of camp pie. (Cruising woman 335)
Really? (Interviewer)
Yes, they thought that was what we ate and had gone to a lot of trouble for us. The women stayed behind us in the hut and came forward
only to serve us. I asked if it was all right that I was sitting in the circle eating with the men. They said it was all right because I was a dim-dim and it was accepted that dim-dim women were different.  

(Cruising woman 335)

As mentioned earlier, cruisers also sought authentic experiences with the ‘natural’ environment:

We like to see more natural things, like we really wanted to see the Kimberlies, that was a real target. I mean we wouldn’t have minded if we had given up cruising and gone home after that, as long as we saw that part and it was good. We like the natural things, we like remote anchorages and remote areas because there aren’t any people there. ... And the nature itself, you’re seeing the dugongs and fairy whales and things that you don’t normally see around in other anchorages and things like that. You appreciate it much more too. ... You live closer to nature I suppose that’s really what it is.  (Cruising man 320)

So cruisers desire to see natural things and environments rather than simulacra – they do not want to go to zoos or oceanariums, or Walt Disney representations of the natural world – cruisers want to see the natural world ‘in situ’. In adopting a cruising lifestyle, cruisers believe they experience greater authenticity than they had previously experienced as ‘institutionalised’ tourists due to flexibility in their time schedules, their independence, their use of a boat for travel and accommodation and their access to non touristic settings in peripheral zones, as well as the ability to seize upon the opportunistic moments that arise in their lifestyle. Further, a significant number of cruisers preferred to be away from the masses and to explore places privately in the margins. Basically cruisers exercise choice and control in their travel experiences. Cruisers sought a cruising lifestyle in order to be in control of their own life, to make their own choices and have the freedom to do what they want when they want. Most
want to do something meaningful with their life, to face a challenge, to be in control of
their own destiny and their survival. Most considered work meaningful but in the
sense that it provided the means to the end: the achievement and maintenance of the
cruising lifestyle. A cruising lifestyle provides a challenge - a quest in both Boorstin
and MacCannell's sense but more correctly in MacCannell's sense: cruisers determined
that they were seeking authentic experiences with the world and its people in natural
surroundings, they were questing for backstage interactions with both nature and
people. They were also questing for fun and enjoyment through their pursuit of a
'ligid activity' - cruising. In undertaking the analysis of cruisers who choose to cruise
in order to travel, it must be remembered that cruising is a lifestyle made up of a
composite of experiences of which touristic travel is but one of the parts of the overall
whole - cruising.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided evidence that cruisers were motivated by a combination of
extrinsic and intrinsic motivations and that motivations change throughout the course
of their travel experiences. It also found that while cruisers could be considered to be
responding to 'push' factors which existed at the centre and then to 'pull' factors in the
margins, such a reductionist description of the travel experience omits to acknowledge
other more intrinsic values associated with the travel experience. Further, my research
suggests that cruisers might initially be classified as allocentrics using an etic
perspective. However an emic perspective found that cruisers could be located along
the various points of the psychographic continuum. The continuum was of little value
in explaining the travel choices cruisers made again because of its reductionist
tendencies and etically produced perspective. Furthermore, I found that cruisers'
socio-economic backgrounds influenced their decision to go sailing and their

4Ludic activity refers to an activity which may be termed 'play-sport sport' another example is
surfboard riding amongst the surfing subculture (Pearson, 1979: 159).
propensity to travel, that is, to adopt a cruising lifestyle. Their decision-making was also influenced by advancements in technology as already noted previously in this thesis.

Overall, the use of cruiser data and travel and tourism literature has served a twofold purpose. It has provided insight into the motivations of cruisers, who may be considered as independent travellers, and it has also served to critique several approaches to gathering data on travel motivations. While various critiques of travel motivations already exist within the tourism literature (Graburn, 1983; Smith, 1990; Ryan 1991, 1997; Pearce, 1993; Ross, 1994; McIntosh, Goeldner & Ritchie, 1995; McGehee, Loker-Murphy & Uysal, 1996; Graeme Galloway, 1998), this study of cruisers' motivations has added to those critiques of motivation theories and the conduct of tourism research. Specifically, the study of cruisers reiterates the need for a multi-dimensional approach and multi-causal analysis in order to 'get at' the 'real' motivations of cruisers. It has also identified some alternative methodological applications for the study of travel motivations based on using both an etic and an emic perspective. As a consequence the following model is suggested for the study of travel motivations.

Figure 14.1: Motivation model for research in tourism
Moreover, the critique has implications for travel and tourism industries and associated agencies when planning for and managing travel activities and experiences. It also has implications for marketing strategies that are solely developed on uni-dimensional and uni-causal motivation studies. The critique also has implications for travel and tourism educators and the travel and tourism curricula. Students need to be skilled in the use of multi-dimensional approaches and multicausal analyses which adopt both etic and emic perspectives to the study of travel motivations.

Finally, the study of cruisers and their varying motivations throughout their travel experiences has simultaneously contributed to a knowledge of mainstream and marginal western middle class society and the changing nature of those societies. Specifically, the study contributes to knowledge of the ‘linkages between changes in society, tourist motivation and the translation of motive and expectation into holiday experiences’ (Ryan, 1997b: 47) and in the case of cruisers, lifestyle changes.

In the next chapter, the last chapter, I draw together the macrolevel discourses which were the foci of the preceding chapters. These discourses which pervaded cruiser narratives include escape and freedom, challenge and adventure, a dream of sailing and a natural life flow from sailing to cruising, relationships and travel. The associated mesolevel themes of anomie and alienation, basic needs fulfilment and self-actualisation, feminist issues of equality, power and agency as well as travel motivations will be considered using an interdisciplinary perspective to present a process model of cruisers’ movement from the centre to the margins and the empowered connectivity such movement created for the individual cruisers. A critique of Macbeth’s (1985) study of cruisers undertaken approximately ten years prior to this study will be interwoven into the final chapter’s discussion points. Furthermore, to complement the reasons why cruisers are able to actualise a cruising ‘style of life’, the chapter will present cruisers’ reflections on why some people can not become cruisers. This presentation serves as a second grounding of the analyses into why cruisers leave
the centre for a life in the margins. It is a second grounding because the reasons why others can not leave is the flip side of the coin to why cruisers can do so.
Chapter 15

Reflections on
Voyages from the Centre to the Margins:
A Process of ‘Empowered Connectivity’

In attempting this voyage I risked losing a life that had at last become fulfilling; but in carrying it out I experienced a second life, a life so separate and complete it appeared to have little relation to the old one that went before. I feel I am still much the same person now, but I know that the total accumulation of labours and days of this voyage have enriched my life immeasurably.

(Naomi James, 1979: 185)\(^1\)

Voyaging across oceans can be risky. There is always an element of risk associated with moving away from the ‘centre’ – the ‘known’ to a life in the ‘margins’ – the ‘unknown’, the ‘other’. For cruisers, such risks are calculated ones involving a great deal of planning and organisation. They are risks worth taking, for a cruising ‘style of life’\(^2\) in the margins is empowering and enables the full potential of individuals to be realised as cruisers connect with their inner selves and identify their real ‘needs’ in and priorities for

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\(^1\) You will recall my previous comment concerning cruisers’ views of racers. Naomi James’ first voyage, her single handed voyage around the world, was also sponsored and supported by various businesses and people. However, I have included her quote here for two reasons, she was the first woman to circumnavigate the world single-handedly and also because she is acknowledged by the *Cruising World* magazine’s Hall of Fame, January 1989, p.54.

\(^2\) In this chapter, I use Adler’s term ‘style of life’ (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956: 174) with Balson’s (1992: 26) interpretation - ‘a person’s particular view of himself [sic], his [sic] relationship to the environment, and his [sic] characteristic pattern of responses’. I do so as this term for me portrays individual agency and thereby allows for multiple realities and perspectives to be associated with the term. I use this term in preference to the collectively derived term ‘lifestyle’ which suggests homogeneity in experience. When I use the latter term, I mean to imply its collectively rather than individually associated nature.
their lives. It is empowering because in leaving the ‘centre’, cruisers take charge of their own life courses. In doing so, cruisers effectively demonstrate that the social norms and values of the ‘collective’ at the ‘centre’ are not shared. They are not shared because the collective is constraining and regulatory; and primarily denies the possibility of individuals becoming ‘fully functioning person[s]’.

In progressing through my research and this thesis, I have been made aware of a unifying theme which pervades all the theoretical chapters and the narratives and field observations. In fact, I articulated it at the outset of the thesis in Chapter Two and have referred both directly and indirectly to it in various chapters. The unifying theme or temporary anchoring point 3 upon which to tie the various theoretical analyses of the cruisers is ‘empowered connectivity’. This anchoring point is process-based and it is emblematic of all the zoom model levels of analysis and grounded theory analysis. The anchoring point is temporary as this thesis is a slice of life drawn from the amalgam of cruisers’ experiences. Further, it can only be temporary as this is an ethnographic study and the ethnographic present has been used and the passage of time has been suspended, as soon as the temporal clock advances, this slice of life will change and so will the cruisers’ motivations and experiences.

At a theoretical level, cruising as a ‘style of life’ is a process of empowerment and decision-making regarding connections – which connections to hold on to and which connections to break. Some cruising men and women, seek to connect with their full potential and to break from connections with a restrictive ‘centre’. Others, mostly women seek to maintain their connections with their partners and subsequently break their physical ties with the ‘centre’ though not always their ‘emotional’ ties. Still others, seek

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3 'Anchoring' is a nautical theme in keeping with the overall metaphor of this thesis - a voyage. Anchoring is the act of dropping a weigh (the anchor) attached to the vessel by a length of chain and/or rope onto the floor of a seabed to hold a vessel ‘fast’ - secure. The anchor is retrievable so that the vessel may move from any particular anchoring location. Anchors are used in shallow waters due to overall weight and storage restrictions associated with the length of the chain and/or rope attached to the anchor and the vessel. Anchors are not used, for example, in the middle of an ocean to hold a vessel fast to a location – the length of chain and rope would be too great for the vessel to carry.
to connect with ‘others’ in the margins and in the centres of ‘other’ societies, and some want to connect with nature and a ‘natural’ life and to break away from the plasticity of life in the ‘centre’. The reasons why cruisers choose to move from the centre to the margins differ and reflect the multiple realities of their experiences in and at the ‘centre’. In their movements from the centre to the margins, cruisers do take various paths. No cruiser follows exactly the same path as another. Over time, the reasons for staying in the margins change from the initial reasons. However, one constant text existed amongst a majority of cruising women and men for maintaining the lifestyle. That text was the enjoyment derived from it – an enjoyment founded on its ‘otherness’ to life back in the ‘centre’ and the personal control and ‘relative’ freedom it affords the participants. The ‘centre’ and ‘margins’ are texts I have overlaid on cruiser texts. In titling this chapter and indeed this thesis, I have borrowed on a title from bell hooks (1984) when she wrote of black women being others who inhabit the margins of a centre collective constituted of white women (and men). Her title was Feminist theory: from the margins to center. Since in undertaking my research, I was aiming to make visible the experiences of cruising women as well as a ‘style of life’ in the margins, I thought a reversal of her title appropriate as in moving into the margins women were still moving into a realm which was suffused by a dominant patriarchal hegemony; and the movement also demonstrated an ‘otherness’ by the cruising men and women in their leaving of the centre.

I want to reiterate that empowered connectivity is a process which allows for variation in paths in moving from a starting point to an end point. It is also not a one way path. I am aware that such a path does not reflect the reality of all cruisers, some move to the margins and return to the centre and some stay in the margins. Just as decisions to leave the centre differed so too did decisions to return to the centre differ between cruisers. Such decisions were based on the breakdown of a relationship, fear, a realisation that the cruisers’ skill levels were insufficient to meet the perceived challenges of a cruising lifestyle, the sinking of vessels, the fulfilment of a goal, boredom and perceived responsibilities associated with the centre such as ageing parents, dependent children and
the further education of children. Moreover, at an individual level, reasons for moving into the lifestyle, staying in the lifestyle and exiting the lifestyle were not the same and demonstrated that motivations change over time with changing circumstances. As a consequence, I have titled the thesis only as *Voyages from the centre to the margins* to reflect the multiplicity of the nature of cruisers' voyages and the fact that voyages may have the same starting and ending point (the centre) or a starting point to which a cruiser never returns (the margins).

I want to focus more fully now on moving from the centre to the margins and the nature of the process of empowered connectivity - a connectivity which is associated with personal agency. A connectivity which determines with whom and where and for how long connections or a sense of belonging are maintained. In the writing of this thesis, I have emphasised the use of the zoom model of analysis (Pamphilon, 1999) to understand the multiple realities of the cruising women and cruising men who informed this study. The macro-themes had comparability over the four groups of cruisers who participated in this study: pre-cruisers, long term cruisers, exit cruisers and exit-reentry cruisers. The macro-level discourses related to escape and freedom, challenge and adventure, a dream and a natural life progression, relationships, and travel. The associated mesolevel themes were anomic and alienation, basic needs fulfilment and self-actualisation, feminist issues of equality, power and agency, as well as travel motivations associated with push-pull factors, allocentrism and psychocentrism, self-actualisation and socio-demographics. The micro-zoom level of analysis elicited the silences, the pauses and the linguistic incongruence of malestream cruising literature and oral texts (narratives) to explain the cruising lifestyle particularly for cruising women. It also highlighted the nature of relationships and the assigned roles and responsibilities along the lines of a dominant patriarchal organisation of the enterprise of cruising. The interactional level enabled me to be seen as an insider, as one with the cruisers as bell hooks commented to be a subject with the cruisers who were my informants. This generated empathy with the participants. It also enabled me to follow an assumptive path in my listening unless I required
clarification. The interactional level also enabled me to make visible the contributions of cruising women to the enterprise of cruising where previously they have been silenced (see for example, Macbeth, 1985 and cruising literature described in several locations in this thesis, particularly in Chapter One). The interactional level enhanced my participant observation and analysis of in depth interviews. The zoom model along with grounded theory analysis enabled the cruisers to guide the deconstruction of their multiple realities. The cruisers chose the bodies of theoretical literature which would be examined in relation to their narratives, their texts. As a result a multidisciplinary approach was commenced though I believe this chapter will further move the different disciplines of sociology, social psychology, ‘feminism’ and travel studies into an interdisciplinary analysis of cruiser experiences.

Voyages from the centre to the margins

In this section, I will focus on each of the theoretically based chapters as well as Chapter Three in order to reiterate the voyages of cruisers in moving from the centre to the margins. Following this reiteration, I will present a model to explain the process of empowered connectivity as it applies to cruisers and at the same time I will critique Macbeth’s (1984) model of ‘the process of the acquisition of the subcultural ideology and of participation’. The chapter will conclude by examining some of the suggestions cruisers voiced as to why more people do not adopt a cruising ‘style of life’ and these suggestions serve as a counterpoint to and a second grounding of the reasons why cruisers move from the centre to the margins.
From the centre to the margins: The wherewithal to make the move

As noted by Blauner (1964/1972), dissatisfaction with life at the centre, especially a need for meaning and control in work activities, increases with increasing levels of education. This is borne out in both the cruisers who participated in my research and Macbeth’s (1985) study. The majority of cruisers whom Macbeth interviewed had tertiary education (64.4%) or some tertiary education (29%), all had received some high school education. As noted in Chapter Three, in my data of long term ocean cruisers who were currently cruising, the majority of both genders had completed tertiary education. Further, occupational levels of cruisers in both Macbeth’s and my study seem to be associated with cruisers’ higher education levels and also seem to indicate some degree of autonomy or control in work activities. Although one needs to bear in mind cruising man 404’s statement that being your own boss does not naturally mean you are in control of work habits – social expectations still impinge on you to work hard and to make profits. In regard to occupations, cruisers in Macbeth’s study had been previously employed in professional/managerial occupations (51.8%) with another 10.6% having been business owner/managers. In my study, women were employed primarily as lower level professionals and the men as employers and managers, or lower level professionals or skilled manual workers. Whilst having some degree of autonomy or control in their work due to their positions, it obviously was not enough for these cruisers to feel satisfied with life at the centre. As cruising man 334 noted, whilst life in the centre enables cruisers to build the financial resources necessary to adopt a cruising lifestyle, it does not prevent disillusionment with that life.

Furthermore, the age of cruisers in my study enabled the accumulation of sufficient financial resources to actualise the cruising ‘style of life’. As cruising man 306 comments this accumulation can take some time. In my study, the women’s ages ranged from the

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4 In Macbeth’s (1985) study of long term ocean cruisers, fifty nine cruisers were interviewed at locations within the Pacific Ocean. Of those 57 cruisers, 37 were men and 22 were women.

5 Macbeth (1985) does not supply separate data by gender.
early twenties through to the late 60s while the men interviewed ranged from the early twenties through to late seventies. Most of the women and men were aged between 40 - 59 years, with the mode for both genders being 50 - 59 years. The average age of cruisers interviewed by Macbeth was 43 years and the range in ages was 25 – 69 years. In regard to family life cycle, of those cruisers who participated in my study, very few were travelling with children (five boats), most were ‘retired’ people travelling without children. This is slightly different to Macbeth’s study where nine boats were travelling with children.

Unfortunately, Macbeth (1985) does not provide any economic data relating to vessel costs or cruising budgets, however Macbeth (1999, personal communication) commented that the cruisers who participated in my study were financially better situated than his group. You may remember that the outlay by cruisers in their vessels represents a substantial investment, the prices of vessels owned by cruisers who participated in my study ranged from AUS$30,000 to AUS$600,00 while cruising budgets ranged from AUS$4,000 to AUS$73,000. You may also recall that very few of the cruisers whom I interviewed were intending on working en-route, whereas in Macbeth’s study this was an option considered by cruisers in order to sustain the lifestyle.

So how are cruisers able to move from the centre to the margins? From the preceding reiteration of my data analysis and a review of Macbeth’s study, the move is partially connected with cruisers’ socio-economic background. This background has a role to play both in generating discontent and providing the wherewithal to make the move. Therefore, in regard to cruisers in my study and also Macbeth’s study, the cruisers’ propensity to adopt a cruising ‘style of life’ is attributed to their mature ages, their current stage within the family life cycle, their education, income and western lifestyles and resultant attitudes to work and leisure. The centres from which the cruisers were moving can be identified by the cruisers’ country of citizenship. The cruisers were primarily Australian, American, New Zealand, and British citizens or citizens from other European
countries. Macbeth’s cruisers were primarily American (54.2%), British (11.9%),
Australian and other countries. At the time of both studies, the cruisers were being drawn
from affluent western nations. These centres, from which cruisers were moving, were
directly responsible for the cruisers’ seeking of ‘otherness’ in the margins.

From the centre to the margins: Escape and freedom

Cruisers were seeking to escape the centre ‘because’ of the anomic and alienating
conditions inherent in their lives there. In particular, cruisers were seeking to ‘escape’
from the limiting and constraining norms and values espoused by the centre’s ‘collective’.
They were also seeking to escape from:

- a centre which generates disillusionment, plasticity of life – ‘simulcra’ (Baudrillard,
  1990: 155) and ‘inauthenticity’
- a centre which is routinised and boring
- a centre which values conformity and regulates life courses and aspirations.

In choosing not to accept this centre, cruisers can be labelled as ‘unregulated individuals’
or ‘anomic’ individuals according to Durkheim’s descriptions of those terms. One
institution which especially contributed to ‘anomic’ individuals was the institution of
work. Work is the site where Marx’s concept of alienation is particularly exhibited. In
particular, work in the centre:

- reifies the powerlessness of the worker
- emphasises the meaninglessness of tasks
- results in rejection of the ‘Protestant work ethic’ and organisational loyalty
- isolates individuals through stressful working conditions
• induces self-estrangement
• mitigates against worker control and task purposefulness
• stultifies social integration and self-involvement in work activities
• prevents workers from developing their ‘potential for creativity through [their] labour’.

Essentially, work in the centre as described by cruisers, does not ‘permit autonomy, responsibility, social connection and self-actualisation’ or ‘further the dignity and personal potential’ of individuals (Blauner, 1964/1972: 100). In choosing to respond to such alienation, cruisers rejected the dominant values and norms of the centre and chose a creative response – a response which took them into the margins ‘in-order-to’ (Schutz, 1964) achieve freedom and self-actualisation in settings which connected them with the ‘authentic’ and the ‘natural’.

In adopting a cruising lifestyle, cruisers demonstrated Marx’s non-alienated individual – a person who has freedom in choice of activity and has realised her or his full potential, that is a person who has become fully functioning. This fully functioning person is also aware of ‘limits and discipline’ required to successfully achieve a cruising lifestyle.

**From the centre to the margins: need fulfilment, goal seeking and self actualisation**

In rejecting a life at the centre, cruisers demonstrated a form of positive deviance (Macbeth, 1985) ‘in-order-to’ fulfil their ‘basic needs’ (Maslow, 1943 and Glasser, 1984) and to gain responsibility for their own goal setting. In choosing a cruising ‘style of life’ (Adler, 1935), cruisers were acting as individuals and not as a ‘collective’ trying to change the centre. Rather than attempt to change the centre, cruisers changed their social milieu by moving into the margins. By drawing upon an array of ‘pictures’ in their
‘personal picture albums’ (Glasser, 1984) of possible and desired life plans and styles of life, cruisers directed all their behaviour towards the actualisation of their ‘dream’ or ‘picture’ of reality. For some, this picture represented a new style of life – cruising. In relationships where the cruising style of life was a jointly shared ‘picture’, needs fulfilment was focussed on self (not peer) esteem and self actualisation. However, some cruising women moved into the margins because of a need associated ‘belonging’ with their partner.

In considering a move from the centre to the margins, cruising women articulated a need for safety and security if their boat related skills were not high. As a consequence, some cruising women or potential cruising women self-actualised by rejecting the cruising style of life since they held pictures in their photo albums of life plans which were distinctly different from their partners. These women desired instead to maintain links with the centre and their sense of place and belonging within it.

Cruiser attempts to become fully functioning individuals were sometimes constrained by the difference between their skill levels and the perceived challenges of the cruising lifestyle. This was particularly true for cruising women who experienced ‘anxiety’ and ‘worry’. At different phases of the cruising lifestyle, cruisers also experienced ‘relaxation’, as well as ‘control’ and ‘flow’. The latter two states being experienced more by cruising men whose skills were commensurate with the challenges of long term ocean cruising. Some women were denied the ability to self-actualise within the domain of sailing, in order to fulfil their self-esteem needs these women ‘retreated’ primarily into the non-sailing domain of cruising.

**From the centre to the margins: relationships**

Movement from the centre to the margins can be attributed to the affective domain of individuals rather than alienating and anomic social settings or to self actualise. This is a
critical point and one not fully addressed by feminist viewpoints who prefer instead to deconstruct women’s experiences from perspectives which focus on issues of power, equality, and agency. Yet the affective domain must be given voice since neither inequality or power issues take into account ‘the issue of affect’ (Stacey & Price, 1981: 131). For some cruisers, love and feelings of belonging and a need for togetherness play a significant role in their relationships and their assigned roles and power positions. Some feminists would argue that a woman’s need for ‘belonging’ reinforces her subjugated role in regard to cruising men and that cruising women are unable to be social actors in their own right. I would disagree with this latter perspective, cruising women are social actors in their own right. Whilst the various feminist discourses: radical feminism, socialist and Marxist feminism, liberal feminism and postmodern feminism are reflected in the explanations of cruisers regarding cruising women’s experiences, not one perspective is paramount. Indeed amongst cruisers, the first three predominate whilst the latter is voiced by my interpretation and the micro-level of zoom analysis. However, women are operating as subjects and breaking down the dominant male hegemonic base within the cruising community. As Rose (19991) notes women can be subjects and agents. In particular, cruising women are subjects who actively negotiate their space within a cruising lifestyle. I have coined the term ‘empowered connectivity’ to describe their action of exhibiting agency in order to achieve connectivity with the space an individual currently finds herself (or himself). Cruising women are able to achieve ‘empowered connectivity’ in a variety of ways as presented in Chapter Thirteen, such as:

- their decision to cruise with their partner because of affective reasons rather than social reasons
- their retreatism to the domestic sphere to an space where they will acquire a sense of self worth and personal value
- their rituals and activities associated with the domestic sphere and the power and authority it affords

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• their agency in leaving both the boat and the relationship instead of carrying on in circumstances which are untenable
• their decision to go along with their partner because of the travel opportunities the voyage will provide them
• the sharing of a joint goals and self actualisation through the pursuit of shared goals.

Some cruising men may no doubt have different views to the ones presented in this chapter. However, as Miller (1976) notes:

> dominant groups generally do not like to be told about or even quietly reminded of the existence of inequality. (Miller, 1976: 6 – 8)

Using my own cruising experiences, my participant observations and my gender – my ‘Otherness’, my womanhood and my ‘multiple I’s’, I have attempted to make visible the multiple realities of the cruising women and their contribution to a cruising lifestyle from their perspective in order to give them voice - to see these women as *full members of their social, economic and political worlds* (Annette Weiner, 1976) without an overlay of ‘androcentric blinders’ (Reinharz, 1992: 51). Cruising women actively contribute to the enterprise of cruising in:

• their moving from the centre to the margins
• their significant contributions within the domestic sphere
• their doubling of ‘work’ in the domestic sphere and the non-domestic sphere of passage making
• their strength in setting to sea when others would not
• their challenges to a predominantly malestream activity
• their power which is subtle in the reshaping of desires and wishes of their partners to make landfall to visit locations or to negotiate successful participation in this space they occupy in the margins of the margins

• their power to influence using the affective domain

• their quest for equality in roles and responsibilities

• their constant demonstration of empowered connectivity as they make sense of and negotiate the ‘space’ in which they live.

From the centre to the margins: travel experiences

In moving from the centre to the margins, one of the ‘because’ (Schutz, 1964) factors was a desire to travel. This desire was often linked to a desire to escape anomic and alienating and ‘unauthentic’ lifestyles at the ‘centre’. Within travel literature this ‘escape’ theme is associated with quasi-socio-psychologically based ‘push’ factors. The ‘others’ in the margins to which cruisers travel as well as the ‘natural’ settings are the ‘pull’ factors. For some cruisers, the travel component of the cruising lifestyle was an extrinsic reward for moving into the margins. This reward ‘made up for’ the seasickness, passage making and feelings of anxiety and worry. Travel was especially the extrinsic reward for assuming a cruising lifestyle for some women who cruised to be with their partners.

Although cruisers may be etically described as allocentrics (Plog, 1974) due to their perceived adventurous lifestyle, in reality, cruisers ranged from allocentrism to psychocentrism. For example, some cruising women were enduring the lifestyle to be with their husbands, and would have preferred the security of land-based life over a cruising lifestyle. These women may be etically considered as allocentrics because of the nature of the cruising activity however the women really were psychocentrics using Plog’s classifications. In the main, Plog’s model had relatively little use in understanding cruiser motives as the model, being reductionist in nature, stereotyped personality types
and did not address the multiple realities which impinged on cruisers' travel choices. Specifically, methodological triangulation involving etic and emic data did not support his continuum. The model failed to establish the 'real' motivations for cruisers adopting the cruising lifestyle as a means of travel.

In the course of my research, emic perspectives were obtained in regard to intrinsic motivations. Cruisers indicated that their travel experiences especially some passage making - that is the 'travel to' and 'return travel' phases of the travel experience (Killion, 1992) generated 'flow' experiences (Csikszentmihalyi, 1974) and self actualisation (Maslow, 1943 and Iso-Ahola, 1976). These themes have already been discussed in the sub-section titled From the centre to the margins: need fulfilment, goal seeking and self actualisation.

For some cruisers, travel was the 'in-order-to' motive to self actualise during passage making and in connecting with peoples in other cultures and with 'nature'. Such experiences elicited 'empowered connectivity' between the cruiser and the margins (other peoples and nature). Cruisers in seeking the margins of other cultures in the main were questing for 'authentic' experiences in the 'backstage regions' (Goffman, 1959) to counter the 'simulcra' and plasticity of their lives in the centre. As a result of their actions, cruisers contribute to our knowledge of the 'linkages between changes in society, tourist motivation and the translation of motive and expectation into holiday experiences' (Ryan, 1997b: 47) and in the case of cruisers, lifestyle changes.

Cruisers, who may be considered as independent travellers in relation to travel motivation literature, serve to provide a critique of travel motivation research. Specifically, the study of cruisers reiterates the need for a multi-dimensional approach and multi-causal analysis in order to 'get at' the 'real' motivations of cruisers. My study of long term ocean cruisers also identifies some alternative methodological applications for the study of travel motivations based on using both an etic and an emic perspective. As a consequence, the
following model (Figure 15.1) was and is suggested for the study of travel motivations as it considers both an emic and etic perspective and the multiplicity of factors influencing travel motivation.

Figure 15.1 Motivation model for research in tourism

From the centre to the margins: The process of empowered connectivity

Having focussed on each of the theoretical chapters as well as Chapter Three and cruisers' movements from the centre to the margins - I will now present a model which simulates the movement between the centre and the margins and the process of empowered connectivity. (See Figure 15.2) This model identifies the triggers for considering a cruising 'style of life': anomie and alienation, relationships, a desire for
Figure 15.2 From the Centre to the Margins: The Process of Empowered Connectivity and the Adoption of a Cruising Lifestyle
challenge and adventure, a life plan based on sailing experiences and/or a dream of a sailing lifestyle, a desire to travel. The trigger may be singular or multiple in nature. These triggers cause the individual to check the ‘pictures’ in her or his album regarding the desired style of life the individual wants to pursue. In checking the ‘picture’, an individual conducts a reality check of factors which will enable or prevent the actualisation of the ‘picture’. These checks include personal and societal considerations. At this point, the individual demonstrates choice or self efficacy in either maintaining the ‘picture’ in the album or in removing the ‘picture’ from the individual’s ‘style of life’ album. During this process, the individual has to review the goals she or he wants to achieve in his or her ‘life plan’: escape, freedom, belonging, safety and security, self actualisation, esteem, life flow or travel experiences. The individual then chooses to either actualise the cruising style of life and moves into the margins or remains in the centre. Again the goals individuals set themselves may be multiple or singular in nature. If a cruising lifestyle is adopted, the cruiser will engage in this process from time to time to determine whether her or his ‘style of life’ in the margins still fits the life plan portrayed as current ‘pictures’ in his or her personal album. It will also determine whether any other triggers are operating and how they impact on the current ‘style of life’. Ultimately, it is the individual who decides the path to follow and which connections to maintain and which to break.

My model differs from Macbeth’s model of ‘the process of the acquisition of the subcultural ideology and of participation’. See Figure 15.3 on next page. Macbeth’s model does not consider the affective domain’s role in decision making regarding the introduction, acceptance and participation in the ‘subculture of long term ocean cruising’. My research indicates that some women do not progress through to the
Figure 15.3: Macbeth's model (1985) - the process of the acquisition of the subcultural ideology and of participation

2B. STATIC
Retains Norms-as-Goals but as a bystander. Probably continues to cruise locally.

2A. DYNAMIC
Accepts Norms-as-Goals and actively prepares for Stage 3. This involves such activities as building, buying, or modifying a suitable boat, learning offshore navigation, and purchasing specialized cruising gear (e.g., self-steering, more anchors).

3A. TRIAL PERIOD
Departs home port on first part of cruise but still with the chance to easily return.

3B. COMMITTED
No longer feels attached to a home port and often not to a country. Full participation in and sharing of the subculture ideology. This could be seen as a group 'membership' stage - the group being active cruisers.
dynamic and committed stages of subculture participation as explained by Macbeth. These women do not engage in the activities or experiences he lists in his model, although they do live in and participate in its margins of the subculture. Their marginalisation in the margins is orchestrated by their partners. You will recall from Chapter Thirteen that some cruising women’s partners actively prevented them from acquiring ‘full subcultural’ membership. The difference between the two models lies between the representation of the primary motive for engagement. Macbeth’s model demonstrates a ‘voluntary’ choice to participate in the lifestyle based on the intrinsic values of the lifestyle itself. On the other hand, my model demonstrates ‘voluntary’ as in each individual could chose to go or not to go cruising, however, my model allows for those cruisers who were not participating in the lifestyle as an end in itself. It reflects non-lifestyle associated ends, such as a need for belonging in the case of some women:

[I]ove is the biggest and the strongest thing, I love him and he wanted to do it, so I followed. (Cruising woman 357)

or an alternative travel option which subsequently involved the acquisition of a lifestyle:

[w]e chose a boat instead of a plane or a car or a motor home to travel. … We still did not think about cruising. At that stage, we choose a boat to travel not to cruise. That it became cruising, that we realised later on.

(Cruising man 302).

While Macbeth’s (1985) model does not reflect all the realities of the cruisers who participated in my study, some of his observations still have currency such as:

... cruisers emphasised autonomy, freedom, the environment, and the excesses of modern society. Cruisers’ concerns are oriented almost exclusively to quality of life issues and the ability of the individual to pursue a lifestyle, independent of material, social and government
constraints. They are unique ... in making a fundamental critique of the western way of life, of not simply looking for improvements within the current system but rather of saying the system itself fosters meaningless goals and is basically antagonistic to autonomy of the individual. Cruisers ... suggest that our system of urban living, material consumption, business organisation, and social control are fundamentally restrictive to the individual as an autonomous being.

(Macbeth (1985: 106 - 107)

Such a commentary describes some of the cruisers who participated in this study as evidenced particularly in Chapter Five and Chapter Eleven. For cruisers who were moving into the margins because of alienation or anomie or a desire to become a fully functioning person, the following summation by Macbeth also maintains its currency:

At the psychological level, it is clear that cruisers do not passively accept the taken-for-granted in society; they make a choice to opt out of mainstream society and create or search for an alternative. In May’s (1972) terms, they actively use their personal power, their autonomy, in order to create their own sense of individual significance. Rogers’ (1977) notion that a person must be in the right environment, that a person can not force actualisation also presupposes some action on the individual’s part. Csikszentmihalyi’s (1975) notion of activity leading to intrinsic rewards is consistent with this.

(Macbeth, 1985: 306)

At the macrolevel, Macbeth’s study is supported by my findings, however, his study does not make visible the experiences of women to any great degree. They are primarily treated as the same as men within his approach and are thereby analysed using the dominant malestream paradigm of cruising. In so doing, from a feminist perspective, Macbeth reifies women’s invisibility and neglects to account for their difference. The women in my study tell both a similar and different story to Macbeth’s study. This is not
just attributable to the passage of time but to the focus of my study and its feminist orientation and my aim to make visible and celebrate the contribution of women to the cruising enterprise. Essentially, Macbeth's (1985) study did not focus on gender issues and thereby did not illuminate the 'real' motivations of all women who participated in his study. And perhaps if he had tried, his gender would have worked against him for as a 'man' he would have had difficulty at the interactional level in building a believable 'empathy' as he and a cruising woman would have physically reflected the 'subject' and the 'other' – the difference would have been palpable. In my study I have attempted to make women 'subject' rather than 'other', visible rather than invisible and therefore not a constituent of an amorphous group.

Furthermore, my study of long term ocean cruisers indicates that the paths to a cruising 'style of life' are multiple and motivations change throughout the pursuit of the lifestyle (a situation Macbeth, 1985 also described). Some cruisers choose to stay in the margins some to return to the centre. Each, as postmodernists suggest, have a different story to tell about their own process of moving from the centre to the margins and of their 'empowered connectivity'.

**From the centre to the margins: Why can’t all aspirants become cruisers?**

Before concluding this chapter and thesis, I will undertake a second grounding of cruisers' motivations for moving into the margins, by briefly examining the reasons, which cruisers suggest, as to why some 'pictures' in personal photo albums of a cruising 'style of life' are never actualised. In so doing, I am representing life at the centre which cruisers choose to reject or return to for a variety of reasons. The following cruisers' comments, regarding people's inability to self-actualise a cruising style of life, are organised around the emblematic themes which cause cruisers to go in the first place: normative life in the centre, socio-economics, goal setting, relationships, skill level and pressure to conform rather than to deviate from the 'norm'.

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Whilst cruisers look forward to cutting the ropes which keep them tied to the centre, some aspirants to a cruising lifestyle are unable to let them go as they have not fully rejected the 'certainty' and 'security' provided by the centre:

The hardest part is untying the dock lines and leaving that first time. That's tough! There's just so many things that keep you tied to the dock.

(Cruising man 362)

'Things' which keep you there are the regulation, the conformity, the social values and norms of the collective at the centre:

If you get tied up in the system of buying a house, earning money, all that kind of thing, then it is really hard to go sailing because you're never free from those ties, financial, emotional ties with family. If you can never be free of that, then you'll never go sailing, but if you can plan your life so that you can break away, by not getting into debt, by not entering into what other people expect - to own a house and a car and all that ... and if you don't get caught in that trap, then it's not that hard. You have to work at it though. It doesn't come that easily, I don't think - [in-order-to get] the money to support the whole thing, buy a boat and go away - you have to make sacrifices.

(Exit-reentry cruising woman 801)

The sacrifices are giving up centre 'things':

A lot of people can not live a basic lifestyle any more. ... They're too used to using all the modern comfort. Just walk around the corner and you have a shop and you don't have to worry about anything else.

(Cruising woman 103)
It also involves planning a ‘life plan’ for an unknown in the margins as opposed to a ‘life plan’ of certainty at the centre:

...there is ... an element of the unknown, the unknown of physically going out sailing - but also bravery in quitting the job and giving up all those securities ... I think if you set a goal and set about doing it you will achieve it and if you sit around expecting luck to take hold well hey, you might as well cash in your superannuation and go to the casino.

(Cruising man 336)

Finances can be a supposed restriction, however finances can be tailored to fit the circumstances:

If you want something, you work for it. [For us] it was a situation where we just worked until the boat was paid off and what we were able to buy, we bought, and what we couldn’t afford, we left without!

(Cruising man 400)

Joint goal sharing and ‘belonging’ needs also figure in holding people back at the centre:

Families, if it is one person’s dream it is very hard to go on and fulfil that dream as a single person because they really need a support network around them so I would say that would be one reason why they didn’t go.

(Cruising woman 333)

Her partner reflects a similar theme:

What other things make it hard? I think whether your partner agrees with it or not, because I have had a lot of trouble in this trip because 333w hasn’t always been really behind it. And there’s been a bit of resistance
and there was too the last time and she really enjoyed that. So I think that she might find it harder to make the break than what I do.

(Cruising man 334)

Women more than men were reported as needing to maintain connections with the centre and the reason was mainly the need to ‘belong’:

I think the ones that we know that have gone and the couple that have decided not to continue - more frequently it seems to be the woman who wants to go back with family and grandchildren, and the children and that type of thing seems to be important, often.

(Cruising woman 405)

Others, hold a dream but can not actualise it for various reasons:

I think some people actually - it’s a dream and they don’t really want to give up the security of a lifestyle that they’re used to. It’s a dream and it seems a wonderful dream but it would be something that really could be an ultimate step and, I think it would be just too much for some people to take because they couldn’t cope with it. It’s just as you well know, a complete change of lifestyle! Security.

(Cruising woman 397)

[Besides] does everyone want a – to obtain all their objectives of life or their dreams?

(Cruising man 398)

On the other hand, self knowledge regarding the requisite skills and abilities to meet the challenge of cruising is a hindrance to the adoption of a cruising lifestyle:

Maybe they’re scared! I took me a while. ... I just realised I’m not ready. I just got the butterflies and the stomach cramps and everything
and I just didn’t dare to leave, so then I had whole year - time - and got really serious about it but as I said, I’m still learning. I’m still not perfect and I’m glad I didn’t leave that first year cause that would have been disaster. I wasn’t ready.

(Cruising man 382)

And finally, the centre collective overtly tries to make you conform:

What are you doing? Bit silly, you know! Get out and get in [go cruising and get back in quickly]. Move into a house and live the same way as we live. That’s the only normal way of living, they reckoned 

(Pre-cruising woman 103)

People try to draw you back too you know. ... You have to have the commitment to go for a long time, it’s a long time frame.

(Exit cruising man 614)

So why don’t people cut the ties that hold them to the centre? For the same reasons that cruisers choose to leave! People ‘don’t go’ because they prefer the certainty, security and ‘routine-ness’ of centre life. They don’t go because of pressures to conform to lifestyle of the centre. They don’t go because they accept the commitments the centre generates and they perceive they can not break or deviate from - such as house mortgages, car ownership, familial obligations and working until retirement. They don’t go because the cruising ‘style of life’ is not a shared goal or the goal has not been properly thought through to actualise it. They don’t go because they don’t plan or commit to it. They don’t go because they can not achieve the rudimentary skills to meet the challenge of the cruising lifestyle. They don’t go because the pressure is to stay - to conform and to take short term ‘escapes’ in their holidays and they don’t go because sometimes the ‘dream’ is ‘fantasy’ enough to make life in the centre bearable. And they don’t go because they are
fearful and they are scared. They don’t go because they set themselves limits which will prevent them from ever becoming fully functioning persons. They don’t go because life in the centre is preferable to life in the margins.

The end of the voyage

The purpose of this study was to investigate the reasons why people move from the centre to the margins of everyday life, specifically, why people leave a land-based lifestyle and move aboard small vessels called yachts in order to pursue a cruising lifestyle. In the previous section, I have identified why people ‘don’t go’ and in so doing I identified why cruisers ‘do go’. They ‘go’ because they seek to escape the alienation and anomic life at the centre. They go to find freedom in the margins. They go to fulfil their needs of belonging, self esteem, and self actualisation. They go because they love sailing and because cruising is a natural life flow from previous sailing experiences. They go to travel and make connections with others in the margins and with the ‘natural’ world.

Cruisers adopt a cruising life in the margins because it is empowering and enables the full potential of individuals to be realised as they connect with their inner selves and identify their real ‘needs’ in and priorities for their lives. In adopting a cruising ‘style of life’, cruisers demonstrate empowered connectivity by exhibiting agency in order to achieve connections with the space they want to be in or the space in which they find themselves.

Although the reasons for adopting a cruising lifestyle differed between cruisers, this only served to highlight the multiple realities of their experiences and their voyages in becoming cruisers. Although they differed in their paths, most came to enjoy the lifestyle and the freedom and flexibility it provided. Over time, reasons for staying in the lifestyle changed and again differed between cruisers. Similarly the reasons for leaving the lifestyle were different.
Final words from the skipper of this voyage

In undertaking this study, there were many truths and many stories and should this narrative have stirred you to consider the lifestyle, then I suggest you take the advice of the cruisers. Prepare and plan for it but make sure you:

Cut the lines and go!
Glossary of Sailing Terms Used in this Thesis

Abeam: an object at 90 degrees to the direction of the yacht, on either side, is said to be abeam the yacht.

Aft: the rear section of the yacht.

Amid ships: the middle section of the yacht.

Autopilot: automatic electronic steering equipment that is connected to the yachts steering mechanism and follows a pre-set course.

Bollard: short post-like structure to which ropes are tied to secure the yacht to another fixed point.

Bow: the front of the yacht.

Bulkheads: the partitions or walls dividing off different sections of the yacht, providing strength to the yacht and often designed to be water tight in the event of the yacht being damaged.

Casting off: to detach the mooring lines of a yacht when departing.

Caught in irons: facing into the direction of the wind, the yacht is depowered. Also refers to being put into leg shackles.

Charts: nautical term for a map.

Clearance: referring to formalities of entering and leaving ports required by customs, quarantine, immigration and sometimes, police and military.

Close to the wind: describes a yacht that is sailing close to the direction that the wind is blowing from – in all but sheltered waters, this can also indicate that the sailing may be uncomfortable as the yacht is sailing into the seas generated by the wind. A boat sailing close to the wind is said to be close hauled as the sails are hauled in tight to allow the sails to work.

Dead Reckoning: a method of calculating the yacht’s position using the course steered, the speed of the yacht and the time elapsed. It is not necessarily the yacht’s
actual position but the position the yacht should be in if it did sail along the assumed course at the assumed speed for a given time.

**Dinghy:** the small boat (typically 8-10ft in length) carried with the yacht and used by the crew primarily to go ashore when the yacht is at anchor.

**Echo-sounder:** a piece of electronic equipment that measures to depth of water beneath the yacht.

**EPIRP:** Emergency Position Indicating Radio Beacon. Can be activated in times of emergency to indicate the current position of the yacht to rescue organisations.

**Faraday cage:** in this case, the cage relates to the steel yacht. The theory is that lightning striking the steel yacht will be conducted through the steel and then into the surrounding water without causing electrocution.

**Foredock:** the area of the deck at front of the yacht.

**Galley:** the kitchen area of the yacht.

**Head:** toilet or bathroom area of the yacht.

**Header tank:** a small tank to contain fuel in a position above the engine in case of fuel pump failure.

**Heading:** the direction that the boat needs to move (measured in degrees) to reach a position.

**Headway:** the forward movement of a yacht over the ground. A yacht's headway can be enhanced or retarded by current.

**Inverter:** a device that converts the voltage of the ship's power supply to other voltage. For example, yachts often have 12 volt electrical systems. An inverter can convert this to 240 volts or 110 volts for use by conventional appliances.

**Jenny:** short for Genoa, a large headsail.

**Jury rig:** an improvised arrangement to allow a system to work until repairs can be affected.

**Lazerette:** a compartment in which ropes, sails and other equipment can be stored.
Lee–cloths: canvas (or similar) material rigged on the lifelines to provide wind and spray protection to crew in the cockpit area of the yacht.

Mainsail: typically attached to the mast and sheeted to the end of a boom that runs aft of the mast.

Mast Steps: steps attached to the mast of a yacht that enable crew to climb the mast for repairs.

Nautical mile: 1,852m = 6,076ft.

Navigation lights: turned on at night to indicate the yacht’s presence and direction to other ships. A yacht will carry a mast head light (white, seen from all round), port light (red and only visible from the port side of the yacht), and starboard light (green and only visible from the starboard side of the yacht) as a minimum.

Pitch: the forward and aft movement experienced as a yacht moves over waves.

Port (1): the left-hand side of a yacht.

Port (2): a recognised area for boats to shelter and load/discharge cargo, often with refuelling provisioning facilities and usually with some degree of control regarding movements and anchoring.

Radar reflector: a reflecting device, usually attached to the mast, that increases the reflective signal received on the radar of other ships.

Rolling: the side to side movement that a yacht experiences as it moves over waves.

Safety harness: a harness worn by crew and attached to a strong fitting on the yacht to avoid being lost overboard.

Scan the horizon: checking for ships or land around the yacht.

Setting free the sails: to unfurl, or un-tie the sails, allowing them to fill with wind and move the yacht.

Sextant shots: the measurements of the sun, stars and planets using the sextant to gain a geographical position on the ocean’s surface.

Sheets: the ropes that are attached to the tack of the sail.

Starboard: the right-hand side of a yacht.
Stern: the back of the yacht.

Tack (1): to change direction of the yacht by moving the bow of the yacht through the direction of the wind and to then set the sails on the other side of the yacht.

Tack (2): the corner of the sail to which the sheet rope is attached.

Third Reef: refers to the third point to which a sail may be shortened. Typically, a cruising yacht will have 2-3 reefing points in its mainsail to allow the crew to reduce sail area in times of high winds.

V-berth: the berth in the forward section of the yacht (particularly a monohull) named because of the V shape forced on the berth by the pointed forward part of the yacht.

Watch: a period of time (usually between 2 and 6 hours) when one or more of the crew is assigned responsibility of monitoring the yacht and the sea and weather conditions. On a passage, a system of watches allows some of the crew to rest whilst one or more are on watch.

Wing and Wing: describes the sail setting on a yacht sailing directly down wind with one sail to port and one to starboard so the wind can fill both sails.

Wind shift: when the wind direction changes. Demands some adjustments to sails or course steered.
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Appendices
Appendix One: List of interview themes
Appendix One: List of interview themes

EXPERIENCE
1. Sailing experience

CRUISING
1. Dream, when, what and why
2. What doing in society at time
3. Dislikes and likes

PREPARATION
1. Decision, when and what doing in society
2. How prepare -literature -journals, magazines -education -people

LIFESTYLE COMPARISON
1. Advantages
2. Disadvantages
3. Roles, responsibilities
4. Children

CRUISERS
1. Cruiser description
2. Cruising community
3. Groups in the community

TOURISM
1. Definition
2. Experience
3. Travel by yacht
4. Yachting touristic experiences

CRUISERS’ EFFECTS
1. Preparation
2. People
3. Places
4. Cultures

FACILITIES
1. Anchorages 4. Regulations
2. Ports
3. Marinas

FUTURE
1. Duration of lifestyle
2. Return to society
3. Advice
Appendix Two

Questionnaire: Cruiser Individual Details
Questionnaire: Yacht Details
Questionnaire: 'In-Port' Budget survey
   (Estimated expenditure for major 'port' call)
INDIVIDUAL DETAILS

NOMINATED SKIPPER:
12) Nationality __________________________________________________________
13) Sex ________________________________________________________________
14) Date of Birth _______________________________________________________

15) Education: □ some high school □ completed high school □ some tertiary □ completed tertiary

16) Qualification obtained: _____________________________________________

17) What was your main income earning occupation just before you started cruising? _______________________________________________________

18) Crew size: _________________________________________________________

19) In your current yacht position, are you:
   □ the owner □ part-owner □ unrelated crew member □ family member □ other ____________________________

CREW:

12) Nationality _________________________________________________________
13) Sex ________________________________________________________________
14) Date of Birth _______________________________________________________

15) Education: □ some high school □ completed high school □ some tertiary □ completed tertiary

16) Qualification obtained: _____________________________________________

17) What was your main income earning occupation just before you started cruising? _______________________________________________________

18) Crew size: (If not answered above) ___________________________________

19) In your current yacht position, are you:
   □ the owner □ part-owner □ unrelated crew member □ family member □ other ____________________________

DETAILS OF CHILDREN

20) How many, if any children are travelling aboard? _______________________

21) What are their ages and sex? _______________________________________

ANY COMMENTS YOU WISH TO MAKE:

_____________________________________________________________________

_____________________________________________________________________
Appendix Two: Questionnaire: Yacht Details

YACHT DETAILS

1) Length of yacht: ________________________________

2) Beam in feet: ________________________________

3) Type of construction: (Circle whichever is applicable: steel; wood; fibreglass; ferro-cement; other: ________________________________

4) Type of rig: ________________________________

5) Sail set: ________________________________

6) Year launched: ________________________________

7) Year acquired by present owner: ________________________________

8) How acquired, circle whichever is applicable: purchased new; purchased second hand; self-built; purchased hull and self completed; other: ________________________________

9) Approximate cost to acquire and initially equip, not including provisioning (in thousands of $AUS) ________________________________

10) What would be your annual cruising budget? (In $AUS) ________________________________

11) Which of the following are on your boat? (Please tick or indicate number if appropriate)

   ELECTRONIC INSTRUMENTS

   □ Depth sounder
   □ Speedo/Log
   □ Wind Speed and Direction Indicator
   □ Multifunction Module (Speed, Log, Depth)
   □ Repeater
   □ Fluxgate Compass

   OTHER:

   □ ________________________________

   RADIOS

   □ 27MHz Transceiver
   □ VHF Transceiver
   □ HF SSB Transceiver
   □ Ham Transceiver
   □ Handheld 27 MHz Transceiver
   □ Handheld VHF Transceiver

   ________________________________
ELECTRONIC NAVIGATION EQUIPMENT
- Radar
- Loran
- Satnav
- GPS
- Navigation Computer
- Electronic calculator
- Morse Decoder
- Weather Fax
- Handheld Compass

OTHER ELECTRIC POWERED UNITS
- Mobile Telephone
- AM/FM Radio
- Stereo
- Television
- Video
- Computer
- Printer
- Fishfinder
- Electric Anchor Windlass

LIGHTING
- Electric Nav lights
- Kerosene Nav lights
- Emergency Nav lights
- Electric anchor light
- Kerosene Anchor light
- Electric House lighting
- Kerosene House lighting
- Electric spotlight

POWER GENERATION
- Auxilliary motor
- Separate generator
- Wind generator
- Propeller shaft generator
- Solar Power (Watts _______)
- Invertor

OTHER EQUIPMENT
- Manual Anchor windlass
☐ Oven (Circle whichever is applicable: gas, kerosene, methylated spirits, electric)
☐ Micro-wave oven
☐ Refrigeration (Circle whichever is applicable: 12volt, eutectic, ice box, other ________)
☐ Freezer
☐ Desalinator
☐ Pressure water *inflatable, glass, plastic, aluminium, timber, other ________________
☐ Shower
☐ Head *sailing, rowing, outboard powered)
☐ Outboard engine (h.p. ________)

NON ELECTRONIC NAVIGATION EQUIPMENT    OTHER:
☐ Mounted Compass
☐ Handheld Compass
☐ Plastic Sextant
☐ Non-Plastic Sextant

STEERING    OTHER:
☐ Wheel steering
☐ Tiller steering
☐ Auto-pilot
☐ Wind vane steering gear

SAFETY EQUIPMENT (BASED LOOSELY ON AYF CATEGORY ONE)
☐ Hatches lockable and openable below decks
☐ Hatches lockable and openable above decks
☐ Washboards for heavy weather
☐ Softwood plugs for all through hull openings
☐ Fire extinguishers
☐ Manual Bilge pumps above the deck
☐ Manual Bilge pump below the deck
☐ Flashlight
☐ First Aid Kit
☐ Radar Reflector
☐ Emergency navigation lights
☐ Emergency Rudder
☐ Named Floatables
☐ Lifejackets
☐ Lifebouys (Is one fitted with dye marker, whistle and drogue? □)
☐ Flares (Circle whichever is applicable: red parachute, red & white hand flares & orange smoke day signals)
☐ Heaving line (minimum 16 metres long)

☐ Inflatable life raft
☐ EPRIB (Not Sat. type)
☐ EPRIB (Sat.type)
☐ V Distress Sheet
☐ Danbuoy
# ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE FOR MAJOR ‘PORT’ CALL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CRUISING EXPENDITURE ITEMS</th>
<th>ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE FOR STAY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meat, Food Stuffs, Chocolates</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol (Beer, Wine, Spirits)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigarettes and Tobacco</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing and Footwear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfumes, Cosmetics, Toiletries</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toys (inc. Souvenirs)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photographic Equipment and Films</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paintings, Carvings, Sculptures</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand Crafted Goods</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewellery and Gems</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postal &amp; Telephone Costs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public and other transport</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation (Non boat)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel and leisure pursuits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BOAT RELATED EXPENSES</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boat &amp; Travel Fees (Permits, Visas, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marina Fees</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel Costs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boat Maintenance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Boat Equipment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ESTIMATED DURATION OF STAY:** ____________________________
Appendix Three: Tourism questionnaires

Questionnaire: Reasons for travel based on Robert McIntosh (1977)
Questionnaire: Attractions based on Peters (1969)
Questionnaire: Activity list based on Philip Pearce (1982)
Questionnaire: Aspects most enjoyed in this country based on Peter Brokensha and Hans Gulberg (1992)
Reasons for Travel: Cruising

Please read each section below and then tick (☑) the reasons which reflect your own.

A. Lifestyle reasons
1. Refreshment of body and mind
2. For health purposes (i.e. either medically prescribed or undertaken voluntarily)
3. For participation, e.g. sports
4. For pleasure - fun, excitement
5. For romance
6. Entertainment
7. To shop
8. Other:

B. Cultural reasons
9. Curiosity about foreign countries
10. Curiosity about other peoples
11. Curiosity about other places
12. Interests in art
13. Interest in music
14. Interest in architecture
15. Interest in folklore
16. Interest in historical places (remains, monuments, churches)
17. Experiencing specific international events

C. Personal reasons
18. National events e.g. Oktoberfest
19. Visiting relatives and friends
20. Meeting new people and seeking new friendships
21. Seeking new and different experiences in different environments
22. Escaping from one's own permanent social environment (i.e. desire for a change)
23. Personal excitement of travelling
24. Visiting places and people for spiritual reasons (i.e. pilgrimages)
25. Travelling for travel's sake

D. Other reasons
26. Pursuit of hobbies
27. Continuation of education or learning
28. Seeking of business contacts and professional goals
29. Conferences and meetings
30. Ego enhancement
31. Fashion, i.e. 'keeping up with friends'
32. Other:
Attractions
Please read the attractions listed in each of the sections below. Then tick (✓) those which would attract you.

A. Cultural
1. Sites and areas of archaeological interest
2. Historical buildings and monuments
3. Places of historical significance
4. Museums
5. Modern culture
6. Political institutions
7. Educational institutions
8. Religion

B Traditions
9. National festivals
10. Arts and handicrafts
11. Music
12. Folklore
13. Traditional lifestyles and customs

C Scenic
14. Outstanding panoramas
15. Areas of natural beauty
16. National Parks
17. Wildlife
18. Flora and fauna

19. Beach resorts
20. Mountain resorts

D. Entertainments
21. Participation and viewing sports
22. Amusement and recreation parks
23. Zoos and oceanariums
24. Cinemas and theatres
25. Night-life
26. Cuisine, Local Food Dishes

E. Other attractions
27. Climate
28. Health resorts or spas
29. Unique attractions not available elsewhere
Activity List

Please read the following activity list. Then tick ☑ the appropriate box to the right of each activity to reflect the frequency of your involvement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>Some-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do you:</td>
<td>Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Take photographs?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Buy souvenirs?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Visit famous places?</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Search for the meaning of life?</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Take physical risks?</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Live luxuriously?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Feel concerned with social status?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Prefer to interact with people of own kind?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Feel alienated from own society?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Stay briefly in one place?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Explore places privately?</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Care for the local environments you visit?</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Try to observe the visited society in-depth?</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. Try to understand the local community?</td>
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<tr>
<td>15. Feel you belong in the local community visited?</td>
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<tr>
<td>16. Contribute to the local economy?</td>
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<tr>
<td>17. Experience language problems?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>18. Experiment with local food?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Aspects most enjoyed in this country
Please read the list below then rank items from 1-5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ASPECT</th>
<th>MOST ENJOYED</th>
<th>RANKING 1-5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. People</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Scenery</td>
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<td>3. Wildlife</td>
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<td>4. Family Reunion</td>
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<td>5. Nature</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Beaches</td>
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<td>7. Lifestyle</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Shopping</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Open Spaces</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Great Barrier Reef</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Food</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Clean Country</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>14. Sport</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>15. Safe to Travel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>16. Other:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Appendix Four: Questionnaires in French

Questionnaire: Les raisons de voyages: faire des croisière (Reasons for travel) based on Robert McIntosh (1977)
Questionnaire: Les attractions (Attractions) based on Peters (1969)
Questionnaire: Les activités (Activity list) based on Philip Pearce (1982)
Questionnaire: Le plus d’aspects que vous avez apprécié (Aspects most enjoyed) based on Peter Brokensha and Hans Gulberg (1992)
Questionnaire: Les approximatives par une escale (‘In-Port’ Budget - (Estimated expenditure for major ‘port’ call)}
Les Raisons de Voyages: Faire des croisière

Voudrez-vous lire chacune des sections au-dessous de ces mots alors cocher (✓) qui motivent vos raisons, s'il vous plaît.

A. Les raisons concernant le style de la vie
1. Rafraîchissement de l'esprit
2. Dans un but pour sain (c'est-à-dire, ou le conseil de médecin ou votre conseil)
3. Pour la pratique, par exemple, des sports
4. Pour le plaisir, l'amusement
5. Pour l'amour
6. Pour l'infrastructure touristique
7. Faire des courses

B. Les raisons concernent la culture
8. Curiosité des pays étranger
9. Curiosité des autres
10. Curiosité d'autres endroits
11. Atrais des déserts
12. Atrais de la musique
13. Curiosité architecturale
14. Intérêt folklorique
15. Curiosité historique (les restes, les monuments, les églises)
16. Pour l'expérience de certains événements internationaux
17. Les événements nationaux, par exemple, les sports olympiques, Oktoberfest

C. Les raisons personnelles
18. Faire un séjour chez des parents et des amis
19. Rencontrer les nouveaux gens et rechercher des nouvelles amitiés
20. Rechercher des nouvelles expériences qui sont différentes dans des environnements différents
21. Échapper de votre propre environnement permanent et social (c'est-à-dire, désir du changement)
22. Passion des voyages
23. Visiter des endroits et des gens pour des raisons spirituelles (c'est-à-dire, des pèlerinages)
24. Voyager simplement pour voyager

D. Les autres raisons
25. Poursuivre des passe-temps favoris
26. Continuation de l'éducation ou de l'érudition
27. Rechercher des contacts d'affaires dans un but professionnel
28. Suivre des conférences et des rencontres
29. Par orgueil
30. Poursuivre la mode
31. Les autres:
Les Attractions
Voudrez-vous lire chaque des attractions au-dessous d'ici alors cocher (☐) ces attractions que vous voulez visiter ou dont vous voulez vous servir.

A. Les attractions culturelles
1. Les sites et les endroits d'intérêt archéologique
2. Les bâtiments et les monuments historiques
3. Les enroits d'importance historique
4. Les musées
5. Les cultures modernes
6. Les établissements politiques
7. Les établissements pédagogiques
8. Les religions

B. Les traditions
9. Les festivals nationaux et les fêtes nationales
10. Les œuvres d'arts et d'artisanat
11. Les musiques
12. Le folklore
13. La vie du pays et les coutumes du pays

C. Les attractions pittoresques
14. Les panoramas remarquables
15. Les endroits de beauté naturelle
16. Les parcs nationaux
17. Les animaux sauvages

D. Les amusements
21. La participation aux sports et les observer
22. Les parcs d'attractions et de récréations
23. Les zoos et les oceanariums
24. Les cinémas et les théâtres
25. La vie de nuit
26. La cuisine et les mets du pays

E. Les autres attractions
27. Le climat
28. Les stations sanitaires ou les stations thermales
29. Les attractions uniques qu'on ne trouve pas ailleurs
### Les activités

Voudrez-vous lire la liste suivant alors cocher (☑) la case appropriée à droite de chaque activité que réfléchit la fréquence de votre participation?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Les Activités</th>
<th>Rare-</th>
<th>Pars-</th>
<th>Sou-</th>
<th>Tou-</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Est-ce que vous:</td>
<td>Jamais</td>
<td>Ment</td>
<td>Fois</td>
<td>Vent</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Prenez des photos?</td>
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<td>2. Achetez des souvenirs?</td>
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<td>3. Visitez des endroits célèbres?</td>
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<td>4. Recherchez le sens de la vie?</td>
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<td>5. Prenez des risques physiques?</td>
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<td>6. Vivez de luxe?</td>
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<td>7. Sentez la situation sociale?</td>
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<td>8. Préférez agir conjointement avec les personnes de votre genre?</td>
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<td>9. Sentez comme un étranger dans votre société?</td>
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<td>10. Séjourez rapidement dans un endroit?</td>
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<td>11. Explorez en privé des endroits?</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Vous souciez des environnements du pays que vous visitez?</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Observez la société que vous visitez en détail?</td>
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<td>14. Sentez que vous comprenez des communautés du pays</td>
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<td>15. Sentez que vous êtes membre des communautés du pays que vous visitez?</td>
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<td>16. Donnez à l'économie du pays?</td>
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<td>17. Confrontation avec les problèmes avec les langues?</td>
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<td>18. Expérimentez les cuisines du pays?</td>
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<tr>
<td>LE PLUS D'ASPECTS QUE VOUS AVEZ APPRECIÉE</td>
<td>PAR RANG DE 1-16+</td>
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<td>1. Les gens / Les habitants</td>
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<td>2. Le paysage</td>
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<td>3. La faune et les plantes sauvages</td>
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<td>4. La réunion de famille</td>
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<td>5. La nature</td>
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<td>6. Les plages</td>
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<td>7. Le style de la vie</td>
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<td>8. Les achats et faire des courses</td>
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<td>9. Les grands espaces</td>
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<td>10. La Grande Barrière du Récif de Corail</td>
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<td>11. La cuisine</td>
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<td>12. Le pays propre</td>
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<td>13. Les amis et les amies</td>
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<td>14. Le sport</td>
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<td>15. Parcourir sans danger</td>
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<td>16. Les autres raisons:</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
**LES APPROXIMATIVES PAR UNE ESCALE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Les articles de dépenses de croisière</th>
<th>Les dépenses à votre avis pour votre séjour</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>La viande, les denrées, les chocolats</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>L'alcool, (La bière, le vin, les alcools)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Les cigarettes et le tabac</td>
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<tr>
<td>Les vêtements et les chaussures</td>
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<tr>
<td>Les parfums, les produits de beauté, les articles de toilette</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Les jouets (y compris les souvenirs)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Les livres</td>
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<tr>
<td>Les équipements photographiques et les films le matériel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Les tableaux, les sculptures sur bois, les sculptures</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les marchandises d’art</td>
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<tr>
<td>Les bijoux et les pierres précieuses</td>
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<tr>
<td>Les prix du téléphone et les tarifs postaux</td>
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<tr>
<td>Les transports en commun et les autres transports</td>
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<tr>
<td>Les chambres (Pas sur votre bateau)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Les voyages et les loisirs</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Les dépenses pour votre bateau</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Les droits pour votre bateau et pour les voyages (les permis, les visas, etc.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Les prix de la marina</td>
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<td>Les prix du combustible</td>
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<tr>
<td>L'entretien de votre bateau</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>La nouvel équipement pour votre bateau</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Quelle est la durée de votre séjour?: __________________________