OCEAN CRUISING: A STUDY OF AFFIRMATIVE DEVIANCE

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This thesis is presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Murdoch University

1985
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 University.

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ABSTRACT

Modern day ocean voyaging in private sailing vessels dates back to the turn of the century. Despite this, the present thesis is the first academic study of ocean cruising to be completed. Of the thousands of people who make ocean voyages only a few hundred are committed to the lifestyle of cruising, that is, see cruising as a whole way of life that they will pursue indefinitely. The thesis first presents an ethnography of the lifestyle of cruising with particular attention to (1) what activities constitute the lifestyle, (2) why people cruise, and (3) what values, attitudes, and characteristics attach to the participants. Second, the thesis relates this ethnography to several theories in sociology and psychology.

In sociology, subculture and deviance theories are used to place cruising in the context of the wider scholastic study of society. Pearson (1979) and others are drawn upon in placing cruising in the context of subcultures while the work of Walter Buckley (1967) is used to modify deviance theory to account for the apparently positive nature of the deviance inherent in the cruising lifestyle.

In psychology, theories of autotelic rewards, enjoyment, and human satisfaction are used to understand the experience of and motivation to cruise. In addition, theories of personal growth developed by Hampden-Turner (1970) and others are applied to cruisers and their way of life.

The thesis concludes that cruisers, as cultural 'heroes', can be seen as affirmative deviants. That is to say, given an humanistic and western individualistic value system their deviance can be seen as contributing to their individual health and growth, and to positive social evolution.
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PREFACE

It is no myth - in this world there are people who sail the oceans for years on end. Some have no goal in mind and others have very clear ideas of where they are going. Many of these people have been ocean cruising, as it is called, for up to twenty years and others for fewer years but with no final destination in mind. Of the thousands of people who make ocean passages only a few are committed to the lifestyle of cruising, that is, few see cruising as a whole way of life that they will pursue indefinitely. It is to these committed long-term cruisers that this study is directed. Why do they go cruising? Why do they stay cruising and make it a way of life? What kind of people can survive? What do they want for themselves and what do they want for human societies?

Estimates vary regarding the number of long-term cruisers. However, my research and experience suggest there are between 400 and 1500 people in the world who have been cruising for longer than a year and who have no plans to stop cruising. They are the population of interest in this study. Coming from all walks of life and from many different countries they range in age from babies to retirees in their seventies. Not surprisingly, they come predominantly from the western, affluent countries and tend to have a high level of education.1 While all cruisers have a sizeable asset in their boat, most do not have

1 See Appendix I for Biographical details of the sample interviewed for this study.
sizeable incomes. Most have to work part of each year in order to survive financially and very few can afford to hire crew or maintenance helpers.

The mythology about cruising tends to extremes - from trade-wind sailing and anchoring in tropical island lagoons to violent storms and shipwrecks at sea. Neither extreme comes close to representing the totality of the cruising lifestyle - and it is a lifestyle, not simply a set of exotic activities tacked on to the everyday reality of urban living. Not only is there a lifestyle extant in cruising, but it is uniform enough to be called a subculture.

This study came about because of a conjunction of professional and personal interests. I had long been attracted to the sea and maritime communities but had never been more than a distant observer and, latterly, a resident in an ocean-side suburb. Then in 1976 I bought a thirty-year old boat and learned to sail. About the same time I was completing a major research project that was of only marginal interest but was professionally relevant. I decided that my next research project would have to be both professionally relevant and personally interesting. By 1977 I had decided that cruising was worthy of study. My humanistic orientation suggested that cruising might represent psychological health, that people's reasons for cruising might represent their attempt to actualise themselves in terms of so-called higher needs.

I also wondered what lay beyond the myth. So, in 1977, I began reading their stories, beginning with an anthology that spanned the years 1900 to 1935. That whetted my appetite. During 1977 I read widely until in my mind I had circumnavigated the world many times, had fought the Straits of Magellan and been around 'the Horn' both singlehanded and on crewed boats. I'd 'joined' the first catamaran circumnavigation and been dismasted a few times, including twice in the Southern Ocean. I'd sailed on all oceans and seas of the world from the Baltic and North Atlantic to the Indian and Southern Oceans. Tropical
islands had been enjoyed as had the magic of ocean passages in the trades. Authors had led me from the earliest building stages through provisioning, shake-down cruises, the first passage and landfall and through to the successful completion of their lifelong dream to circumnavigate the world. I had 'lived' with cruisers aboard their boats and as they tried to arrange repairs, cope with officials, shop in foreign languages, and adjust to strange foods and customs. I was beginning to have a clearer idea of the life involved and to realise that there was a subculture of cruising, a whole way of life that was worth studying. There appeared to be no previous academic study and no other surveys either.\(^2\)

With 1977 over, I used study leave to design a research instrument and to carry out the first stage of the field work. As well as interviewing, I planned my research effort in order to experience cruising first-hand. Therefore, I spent six months cruising and living on boats in the Pacific Ocean. At the same time I conducted the first half of the interviews. This was followed up in other years, especially 1981, with further interviewing and the two racing surveys.

Being in and involved with the cruising lifestyle was an enjoyable phase in my life. Much harder, but satisfying in its own way, has been the attempt to make sense of these people, their motivations, their characteristics, and their way of life. In reporting how they see themselves and in developing an understanding of the lifestyle it has been hard to avoid an appearance of favourable bias, of seeing cruising through 'rose coloured glasses'. This problem is exacerbated because I am studying those committed to cruising, not those who have left it disillusioned; this is a study of people who choose to stay cruising. Certainly, their disillusionment comes through occasionally; the

\(^2\) A number of cruising surveys have now been published by cruisers but they are not academically oriented and tend more to issues of cost, boat design, and so forth. Cornell (1983) is the most recent and comprehensive.
loneliness of some of the singlehanders is obvious. But, by and large, these are minor issues overshadowed by their commitment to a way of life that suits their values, attitudes, personality, skills, and most of their needs.

The underlying 'hunch', then, was that people who cruise sail as a way of life would not be 'no-hopers', would perhaps be more than simply 'escaping' modern society, and would be making personally fulfilling and healthy choices. They could be seen as in a 'growthful' experience in psychological terms. Because I did not want to study ill-health nor people or lifestyles which were pathological this latter 'hunch' was one of the things that intrigued me. I was also interested in these people as deviants but it seemed to me that the pejorative view of deviance probably would not be applicable. At the earliest stage, then, I thought of these people as 'affirmative deviants', a term I have now developed in detail. Clearly, there are aspects of cruising which are 'affirmative' especially for individuals but it is arguable that the lifestyle itself is affirmative in societal terms.

We may be reminded of C. Wright Mills' admonition that "social scientists' foremost political and intellectual task [is] ... to make clear the elements of contemporary uneasiness and indifference." (1959:20) Not only do cruisers espouse an expression of uneasiness about modern society but they are important for two other reasons. First, the plethora of books, articles and such like suggests a fascination by many people outside cruising that places cruising in the realm of 'fantasy' for millions of people. In this regard, cruisers also represent an uneasiness in modern society.

Second, cruisers are important in Mills' terms because they speak as the 'advantaged' in society, they are what Flacks (1967) called 'a revolt of the advantaged.' In the social sciences there has been a tendency to 'study down' and to believe that the problems and issues deemed legitimate for the social sciences are those of the, shall we say, 'subordinate groups'. They are the less advantaged in society who
cannot resist the researcher as effectively as can the societal hegemony. At the same time, social sciences have seen as their duty and aim to 'help' the disadvantaged, that is, these 'subordinate groups'. This has been especially noted in relation to the sociology of deviance but it has also been alluded to in relation to psychology where there has been an overwhelming tendency to study ill-health and ignore, for the most part, healthy people. Of course, psychology's use of mental institutions and first year psychology students as sources of subjects again means a focus on those with less power and a consequent ignorance of those with more power. There is a need, then, to study the advantaged, something this research in effect does. In the same way as humanistic psychology tries to understand health by study of the healthy so to can we get further knowledge of society by a study of a select group of the advantaged. Cruisers are among the advantaged of modern society and their deviance, or 'revolt', can tell us something about society that others cannot because of a different underlying perspective.

This is a study that is first and foremost of personal interest and relevance and which can at the same time be seen as socially relevant.

* * * * *

I want to acknowledge the help and encouragement of a number of people. Over the course of this study, three supervisors have guided first the research and then the thesis. John Raser's most important role was in encouraging me to use participant observation and to survey using an interview not a formal questionnaire. Geoff Stokes came toward the end and his real help was in pushing me to effectively synthesize the entire thesis. Patsy Hallen's contribution was more general throughout the years providing a foil to the others and reading numerous drafts - and because her experience as an ocean sailor helped her to see where I'd got it wrong. I thank them all for their patient reading of too many drafts.
To numerous typists, I say thanks, too. Especially, though, thank you to Karen Gillen for a lot of keying (and re-keying) and for patiently teaching me to use the word processor. Thanks to Annette Ritchie for finding room in the system for yet another thesis.

And last, because her important task was done last, there is Lorraine Marshall. Just when I thought the dissertation was ready, she decided my grammar and style needed some work! Thanks, Lorraine, your thorough reading of the manuscript came at a good time for the final product. Thank-you, too, for your support over the years.

This study could not have been accomplished without the help of the subjects - authors unwittingly and survey respondents directly. The latter each contributed hours of their time in answering my questions and to them especially I say thank-you.

Good sailing all!
PART I

INTRODUCTION
CHAPTER 1

THE STUDY OF OCEAN CRUISING

This thesis explores the lifestyle of a set of individuals who, in response to life in modern society, have chosen to deviate from the norm by adopting an alternative: long-term ocean cruising. The study investigates the subculture that results from this deviation and also the analysis of modern society espoused by the individuals. While clearly deviant, this lifestyle cannot easily be accorded the usual disparaging label and in fact may be seen as affirmative for the individuals and the society from which they emerge. As an alternative lifestyle, it provides an escape from many aspects of modern society and at the same time provides a viable and satisfying way of living.

At a more fundamental level, however, this thesis seeks to make a broader contribution to our knowledge of human nature and society. It embraces the ageless objective of enquiring into the nature of the 'good life'. Such an enquiry has traditionally fallen into one of two approaches: a philosophical and speculative enterprise on the one hand or an enquiry into the nature of dissatisfaction on the other. This thesis embraces neither of these approaches but, rather, is based upon empirical analysis of those who have explicitly sought a more satisfying life than they previously experienced. Accordingly, while appraising the nature and quality of the ideas and experiences of the individuals it uses a descriptive or phenomenological approach that studies satisfaction in order to further understand the 'good life'. The analysis takes the study beyond the purely empirical, however, by setting the lifestyle of ocean cruising against the criteria set by humanistic psychology and sociological theories of subculture and deviance.
The approach to this study departs in another way from the more conventional empirical sociological practice. As in much of psychology where the mainstream of research is into human dysfunction or 'ill health', in sociology it is a more usual practice to study the dissatisfied and disadvantaged in society, as with theories of disadvantage, inequality, deviance or subculture. This study, on the other hand, is based on the premise that we can also learn from the study of the advantaged, from the satisfied, from those who have self-consciously sought satisfaction in their own way outside mainstream society. Underlying this study and the resultant thesis was and is the belief that it is by studying the more utopian individual aspirations and practices and not just the impediments to them that our knowledge of the 'good life' and human satisfaction can be expanded. The translation into action of this fundamental motivation and the concommitant humanistic perspective led to the selection for study of an alternative way of living that appeared to attract many adherents but without the usual extrinsic material and status rewards as inducements. That is, the lifestyle appeared to be motivated by goals and rewards other than those dominant in Western society. It seemed likely, therefore, that the lifestyle might be intrinsically rewarding and so represent a satisfying way of life.

The alternative lifestyle studied is that of long-term ocean cruising. It was chosen for study because of its intrinsic interest to me and, judging by its folk literature, many others, because of its potential for illuminating the issue of human satisfaction, and because it also encompasses a critique of modern society. There are, therefore, three reasons for studying cruising. First, it is a set of activities or lifestyle that has not been subjected to academic description and analysis and so has not been understood in relation to academic paradigms. Second, such an analysis is also a means to a fundamental aim of the study and that is to use what appears to be a non-pathological solution to broaden our conception of the 'good life'. The lifestyle allows a perspective on one way to alleviate personal 'troubles' stemming from life in modern society and at the same time provides a critical perspective on a set of solutions that may impinge
on the wider societal 'issues'.\textsuperscript{1} Third, a lifestyle that attracts such a wide and comprehensive literature and so much related activity\textsuperscript{2} can rightly be seen as providing a sort of cultural 'hero'. Cruisers' activities help create a fantasy life for millions of bystanders and so their importance goes well beyond their actual numbers - they are archetypal heroes to these bystanders because cruisers represent a dream. This study set out to explore this dream. Is the reality a dream? Is it a nightmare? Or, is it a myth?

\section{Thesis Argument}

This dissertation will argue that cruising has a dual orientation: \textbf{it is both creative and critical}. Cruising is creative because it is an end in itself, it is a way of living that is sought for its own sake because its constituent parts combine to produce a lifestyle which is intrinsically satisfying to the individual. But, cruising is also critical in its orientation to modern society. This duality makes cruising useful in conceptual terms because it forces the analysis to go beyond the pejorative connotation that can too easily be applied to what can appear as an 'escapist' orientation. It presses us to recognise that simply labelling cruising as deviant will be to ignore the creative and possibly beneficial purposes the lifestyle may provide. Therefore, while the subculture of cruising may be recognised as deviant, its creative thesis demands that this deviance be seen as affirmative for the participants. Of course, a value judgement is involved in determining the relative quality of the lifestyle; the value perspective involved in this judgement will be made clear. The other aspect of the duality, its critique, demands on the other hand that we investigate the nature of modern society.

\textsuperscript{1} C. Wright Mills (1959) sees 'troubles' as individual and 'issues' as involving society.

\textsuperscript{2} Books, yachting magazines, cruising clubs, and film nights, for example, abound and attest to the popular appeal of cruising.
The development of the thesis makes use of a number of research techniques. The ethnographic task of describing and analysing cruising and cruising people is the underlying source of data upon which the argument is based. The knowledge of cruising derived from this allows the lifestyle to be conceptualised in relation to a number of theoretical paradigms and then as affirmative in relation to modern society. To show cruising as affirmative in individual and/or societal terms requires adopting some position with which to compare cruisers and cruising. That is, a characterisation of modern society must be sketched and the values inherent in humanistic psychology must be illustrated. These tasks are done as and where appropriate in the thesis.

However, at this point, it is necessary to begin the process of identifying the subjects of this study in more detail. Following, therefore, is a discussion placing cruisers in the context of other similar sailing situations and showing the working definition of a cruiser used in this research.

II. DEFINING A CRUISER

People inside and outside the yachting community use the term 'cruiser' in a variety of ways and without much distinction between obviously different groups of sailors. The research for this thesis required that a differentiation be made so that the data gathering could focus on an appropriate sailing sub-group. My interest from the beginning of this project has been with long-term cruising, or offshore cruising, or as some call it, voyaging (Hiscock 1970).

Preliminary investigations in the early stages of this project suggested that it was possible to separate cruisers into three basic categories:

1. Day-sailors: these people sail locally or within a restricted range, restricted by length of vacation and consideration of a full-time occupation;

2. Short-term cruisers: these people plan a trip of from 6 months to a year and take leave of absence from an occupation for that
period. They usually have an ambitious sailing programme to complete in that time;

3. Cruisers (or voyagers): some people from the previous categories then become cruisers, that is they decide to carry on indefinitely or until a longer-term goal, such as a circumnavigation of the world, is complete. A few other people enter cruising directly, but the lack of experience means their intention to become cruisers is often thwarted.

The last category could be referred to as full-time cruisers in that their entire lifestyle is involved with cruising; it is more than an activity or hobby within a lifestyle dominated by an occupation. This issue is explored further elsewhere in the thesis and it will suffice to say here that it is partly this issue of a full-time commitment that helps differentiate the lifestyle cruisers from other categories within the sailing community. My initial interest led me to look for the lifestyle cruisers as my subjects and, as I have intimated above, preliminary investigation suggested that an identifiable category of cruisers could be isolated for research purposes.

It was determined, therefore, that the population for study was any cruising sailors who had been away from their home port for at least 15 months and did not have a job to return to by a certain date. In two cases, people were interviewed with only 13 months of cruising but other circumstances and their intention to cruise indefinitely convinced me that they fitted the spirit of my criteria. In addition, one person was interviewed who, although only months away from his home port, had been cruising for five years. Two other people were interviewed who had recently completed nine years of cruising and who would set off again as soon as they completed building their new boat.

To ensure that the criteria established beforehand were seen as consistent with cruiser's own self-conception, I asked interviewees how they would define a cruiser and what sort of distinctions they make in referring to (cruising) sailors. While all but one agreed that day-sailing does not qualify as cruising, a few did suggest that anyone who cruises extensively over a period of years, even while retaining an occupation, could qualify as a cruiser, providing they meet certain
other considerations. The overwhelming consensus of opinion, however, is that nobody is really a cruiser until, first, they are without any conscious or imminent deadline for a return to their home port. Secondly, they must have been cruising for a significant period of time such as a year. The accepted understanding is that once the first year has passed and without a definite return date, cruisers move into a phase where new perspectives develop and where the maintenance of the boat and finances become more problematic. Departure from a home port is usually accompanied by a year's supply of provisions, many maintenance jobs on yachts go in yearly cycles, and after a full year of offshore cruising a lot of mechanical and structural weaknesses that survive the relatively undemanding nature of local sailing will become obvious.

Most of the subjects affirm that you "can not call them cruisers after one little trip but after a year they are cruisers" (025) and especially if "the desire to cruise indefinitely is there" (012). However, another asserted that "anyone who is out 'here' in a yacht is a cruiser, no matter how long they go for" (011). But, "day-sailors are different they have a job and they sail or cruise as a hobby, something on the side; cruising is a job in itself" (049).

Ignoring the day-sailors entirely, most respondents spoke in terms of there being "two distinct types - the California Highway type and the long-term" (010). The use of this term the 'California Highway' came about because most of the interviewing for this research was undertaken in the Pacific Ocean and because all respondents had sailed at one time or another in the Pacific. This fact of geography gave rise to the frequent use of the term 'California Highway'. The term was used to describe a common sailing pattern engaged in by short-term, fixed-time destination cruisers who were, therefore, not normally included in the definition of a cruiser.4

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3 These numbers refer to interviewees. 000's are cruisers, 600's are Soling racers, and 700's are ocean racers. The inclusion of the latter two (racing) groups will be explained in Chapter 2. All quotations from interviews have been edited for clarity but the original sense and intent of the speaker is preserved.

4 I expect there are conceptually equivalent trips on the Eastern side of North America and in Europe but their names are not known to me.
The 'California Highway' is the archetypal route taken in the Pacific by people who have about a year off work and enough savings to last that long. They depart the west coast of America, usually California, and sail back to the west coast via the Marquesas, Tuomotos, French Polynesia (Tahiti, Bora Bora, etc), the Cook Islands, Fiji, the Samoas, and Hawaii. This trip is a gruelling one because there is too much to see in a year and too many of the passages between countries, and especially the last two passages, are 'uphill', that is, to windward.

California Highway people are cruisers as they are doing it. But, I do see a distinction here in monetary level of spending; that is the short-termers tend to have more to spend and less time to do their own work. Short-termers are on vacation. (009)

While the above quotation suggests mainly a monetary difference between cruising types, the following respondent is beginning to illustrate the conceptual differences between short and long-term cruising.

There is a difference between the short and long-termers. The short-termers are governed by the tyranny of the schedule to get back, which does not allow them to relax. Also, one-year people keep the security blanket of a job. The one-year ones are not 'cruising' because cruising means no schedule except the weather and not blitzing through places. I make a definite distinction between the ones who have a definite job to go back to and those who really have cut loose. (008)

This quotation suggests that people on the California Highway can not experience the true process of cruising because they are in too much of a hurry and have a destination with a time limit.

Another dimension was added by two of the long-term cruisers I interviewed. This couple had been cruising 11 years and said:

We are not sure that we ourselves are cruisers because we only use the boat to get to special places and as a good way to get there. We see lots of cruisers who are the same, that is, who do not really like sailing but really want to see the world. (016/017)
This distinction was mentioned by another respondent who sees two groups of cruisers, one group is for visiting countries and one group is for sailing but those who do the California Highway are not cruisers. (020)

Probably the most fortunate cruisers are those who really enjoy passages and who find foreign countries interesting and enjoyable. They get the best of all that cruising has to offer.

In terms of their own self-conceptions, it is therefore reasonable to define a cruiser as someone who has cruised for at least 15 months and who has become committed to a more or less indefinite period of cruising. However, such quantitative measures clearly do not fully encompass the concept of a cruiser – a state of mind has to exist, a lifestyle has to be adopted for the person to be a cruiser.

It is here that there is a shift in the analysis from the quantitative definition of a cruiser to introducing qualitative distinctions. The following quotations (and discussion elsewhere in this thesis) confirm that defining a cruising person is a matter of attitudes and lifestyle, rather than simply time.

It is more than passage-making; someone who makes it a way of life; someone who has a firm attachment to the sea and boats, that is addicted to boats and the life; they just do not see anything else for themselves. They do not have to be fast, for example, they could stay 3-4 years in a spot but still be on the move; no firm base is the criteria. (019)

Real cruisers have their whole life staked in their boat and in their lifestyle of cruising. (008)

You're a cruiser if you've been cruising long enough to get rid of the Johnson [outboard] and get a Seagull – the true cruiser goes for simplicity and reliability and service availability (005)\footnote{Seagull outboard motors are the most basic, no-frills engine on the market for dinghys and are known for their durability and reliability.}

These three quotations point to central elements in the lifestyle of long-term cruising and help to confirm the distinction between long-term and short-term cruising. They point to the notion that a fundamental shift in values and way of life occurs as a person moves beyond the activity of sailing for recreation and into a lifestyle. There is an
orientation to function and reliability, simplicity and a lack of superfluity.

Cruisers, for the purpose of this research, then, are people who have a significant cruising history and who have been able to make the shift to the lifestyle orientation necessary for a long-term commitment to the way of life. This way of life will be explored in this thesis.

III. THESIS OUTLINE

Thus far, this chapter has discussed the underlying aim of the thesis, outlined the basic argument and defined the subjects. It remains, then, by way of introduction, to outline the plan of the rest of the thesis. Chapter 2 completes Part I by discussing the research design. There are then three remaining sections to the thesis; the ethnography, the theoretical contexts, and the conclusion.

Part II, The Ethnography relies on biographical and survey research data to provide a description of the people and their aspirations, and a conceptualisation of why they seek an alternative way of living. It contains four chapters, numbers three through six. Chapter 3, almost exclusively the words of cruisers, is a composite cruising story and is designed as the reader's 'participant observation'. This chapter provides an insight into the kind of events, activities and experiences that make up the day-to-day life of cruisers. It provides an orientation for the reader, an insight into the lifestyle in cruisers' own words.

The remaining three chapters in Part II deal, in turn, with aspirations, motivations, and characteristics, each contributing to the understanding of cruisers. Aspirations are the main concern of Chapter 4 with a discussion based on information provided by the cruisers who took part in the survey interview. Their aspirations and concerns in relation to their own life and to their society are reported here. Such information forms part of the basis for understanding how the cruising lifestyle is both a creative and a critical orientation.
Chapter 5 focuses on the issue of aspirations by concerning itself with motivation - it attempts to answer the specific question: why do people cruise? The answer is shown to have two fundamental parts, a search and an escape. People cruise to escape. But, they also cruise to create a lifestyle more specifically compatible with their general aspirations.

Having investigated the aspirations and motivations of cruisers in Chapters 4 and 5, Chapter 6 concludes the ethnography by showing what characteristics long-term cruising people see as necessary for the meeting of these aspirations. This shows what sort of people stay cruising.

The Ethnography in Part II is given theoretical context in Part III where four theoretical 'lenses' are used as ways of conceptualising cruising. Each lens focuses on a different aspect of cruising or from a different perspective. Each theoretical lens is found wanting in some way but still contributes to the basic aim of understanding cruising and placing it within the wider intellectual and theoretical contexts. Part III begins with subculture theory and the relationship of cruising to that sociological schema. Further, the subculture chapter details the processes through which a non-cruiser, even a non-sailor, would go to share fully the world view or ideology of the subculture and become an active participant. This model also illustrates the stages through which cruising 'dreamers' might progress even though they never fully actualise the subcultural ideology. Cruising is found to fit subculture theory. That is, cruising is empirically identifiable and can be categorised by subculture theory. However, this process constitutes a descriptive categorisation and does not provide a qualitative or normative framework for understanding the deviation inherent in the commitment to cruising. Before such a framework is developed, however, the nature of the shared ideology that helps define this subculture is explored further.

6 In this thesis I have used diagrams or schemas to visually depict the ideas and data. These models are heuristic devices and should be seen in conjunction with the discussion. In most cases, I have created these models and so indicate when a model from another writer is used in whole or in part.
The notion of a subculture implies a certain commonality of values, aspirations, attitudes, and ways of living. Chapters 8 and 9 take up this commonality in very specific ways and explore the nature of that commonality. Hampden-Turner's humanistic model of psycho-social development is used in Chapter 8 to understand how cruising is an activation of human potential. The chapter helps to show how cruising people share certain perspectives and ways of being. For example, application of the model suggests that cruisers accept the notion of existential freedom and that responsibility for developing that potential rests with each individual. They also share a similar attitude toward psychological and physical risk.

A different aspect of cruisers' experience of the lifestyle is the subject of Chapter 9, People of Flow. Whereas the previous chapter is oriented towards the approach people take to life, People of Flow is oriented towards understanding the nature of the experiences of the lifestyle. Both chapters recognise intrinsic rewards, the first implicitly and the second explicitly. People of Flow is a further reinforcement for the conceptualisation of cruising as a subculture because it is a clear example of a shared ideology. It shows how cruisers share an orientation to and expectation of intrinsic rewards and the priority such rewards should take over extrinsic, material rewards. Cruisers, then, share a desire for a lifestyle that is replete with intrinsic rewards irrespective of the situation with regard to extrinsic rewards.

Each of these three theory chapters adds a further analytical dimension but does not provide an overall normative framework. Certainly, there are 'values' attached to the intrinsic reward orientation and to humanistic psychology but the subculture model, as an organising framework, does not facilitate the making of judgements nor does it consider function or purpose.

In order to evaluate cruising in a wider context and to understand its purpose I turned to deviance theory - and found it burdened with pejorative connotations. It was therefore necessary to adapt the purposive perspective in systems theory to suit and modify deviance theory to account for both positive and negative connotations. This new model of deviance I term the 'normal curve of deviance' and it is
explored in Chapter 10. The development of this model, when combined with the descriptions of modern society and the cruising lifestyle, with humanistic values, cruisers' aspirations, cruisers' characteristics, and with the nature of the cruising lifestyle, allows me to make a normative assessment of cruising in relation to deviance, that is, to talk of affirmative deviance.

In summary, this dissertation will explore the subcultural lifestyle known as 'ocean cruising' and, in the process, provide an ethnographic description of this alternative lifestyle. In addition, cruising will be placed in the context of theory in sociology and psychology. Cruising will be shown to embody a critical and a creative orientation and an affirmative alternative to modern western society. This thesis, then, reports a study of affirmative deviance.
CHAPTER 2

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

Given the aim of this research to understand the values, attitudes and way of life of a subculture of western society it seemed appropriate to use primarily ethnographic techniques of research. This was considered fruitful because there were no previously published academic studies of cruisers and their lifestyle on which to base a more quantitative hypothesis-testing research design. That is, there was no easily ascertainable nor readily usable body of theory or empirical work about cruisers. It was also appropriate because of the need to be accepted by the subculture, the need to experience and be part of that subculture. The aim of this chapter is to outline the method of data collection and the rationale behind the choice of research instruments and processes.

The research design was also partly dictated by the demands of the situation. Cruisers are mobile people who by the nature of their lifestyle and experience were unlikely to be available for survey by a less 'involved' research design. To gather data from this group of people the researcher needed to follow the adherents in their ocean wanderings and be prepared to conduct the survey instrument as and when the subjects allowed.

'Traveller's tales' provided the starting point for this research partly because there is no academic research on which to rely and partly because here may be found a rich, untapped source of data based upon autobiographical accounts which sometimes contain extremely detailed descriptions of daily life at sea or at anchor. Some authors tend to write more thoroughly about life at sea while others write about the cruiser's experience at anchor and in foreign ports. Other books are basically technical manuals and a few are integrative and analytical
studies of other cruisers and their exploits. None is academic in intent or depth but all have insights to provide. These publications are case studies which served both as a stimulus and guide to the early research and later as data for the analysis in this dissertation. Collecting these case studies constituted the first stage of the data gathering and provided the basis upon which the field work could be designed and undertaken.¹

The lack of previous academic research on cruising meant that this study had to break new ground or, to use a sympathetic metaphor, chart new seas. This fact, combined with my preference for ethnographic research, led to a research design that stressed subjective data. While the research did not set out with a 'theory' nor try to simply test an hypothesis, its design sought to use the advantages of the survey interview and participant observation to produce data that could be analysed by theories - hence the theoretical lenses used in Part III of this thesis.

The research design aimed to achieve a balance between research methods. This means that various aspects of the design were seen to be complementary rather than mutually exclusive. Such a balance was achieved by using biographical literature, participant observation, content analysis, and the survey method. Interviewing was the survey method adopted and a balance was also sought within the interview and attained by combining within a semi-structured design open-ended, fixed-choice and forced choice questions.

One other feature of the research effort should be mentioned here - the comparison groups. It was decided to survey two other sailing-based activities to provide comparative data in relation to a number of key aspects of the cruising interview. Ocean racing and inshore racing were selected as suitable, the latter being specifically Soling racers. Ocean, or offshore, racing involves large yachts and in this research was restricted to races with a minimum of an overnight component between the start and finish. In fact, all respondents had competed in races which were much longer. Soling racing is very

¹ These biographical sources form the basis of Chapter 3 and are listed in Bibliography I.
different in that it is of short duration (2-3 hours) and on smaller boats. A Soling is an 8.2m Olympic class keel boat without a cabin or other crew amenities. These two groups, then, provided comparative information of direct relevance to the understanding of cruisers. However, they also answered questions about why they race, and while most of this information is not directly relevant to cruising, it does provide an interesting contrast to an understanding of why certain other people cruise.

In the remainder of this chapter the research design will be discussed in detail and each part of the research process explained. Figure 2.1 Research Design Schema lists the three main parts of the research design: the literature, participant observation, and the interviews. As the main focus of this research is cruising, I will discuss the three sources of data in relation to cruising but where relevant I will also indicate within each one how variations developed to deal with the differing conditions of the two comparison groups, ocean racers and Soling racers.

I. THE LITERATURE

The cruising literature is, at first glance, simply a tale of romance and escape — it is the stuff of armchair dreams. However, there is more substance to this literature because it provides a detailed historical record of cruising and the cruising lifestyle. It has been a valuable source of insight into all aspects of cruising from well before the focus of the research on cruising became clear. It was my thorough reading of the cruising literature (the 'case' studies) which convinced me that there was likely to be identifiable a group of people whose lifestyle was sufficiently unique to be worth studying. It was this literature that began my orientation on how to go about the research and where to conduct it, leading me to realise that there was more to the lifestyle than the romance of sailing the 'south seas'. The literature revealed the complexity of the lifestyle and convinced me that only participation would allow a full understanding of the lifestyle and the people. It became clear from the literature that participation was
Figure 2.1

Research Design Schema

I. THE LITERATURE

- Accounts of cruising - books
  - magazines
- Accounts of racing - books
  - magazines
- History of cruising
- Related literature - e.g. outdoors; alternative lifestyles

II. THE FIELDWORK

A. Participant Observation
- Ocean passages (5000 miles)
- Live in community (7 Mths)
- Yacht ownership (6 yrs)
- Live aboard (2 yrs total)
- Inshore racing
- Offshore (ocean) racing

B. Interviews
- Open-ended questions (with re-question)
- Open-ended questions with fixed-choice prompt card
- Open-ended questions with self-anchoring ranking/rating(Cantril)
- Forced choice questions (Csikszentmihalyi)
- Modified for Soling questionnaire
desirable in order to learn how to 'do' the lifestyle things cruisers take for granted. Without at the time realising it, I accepted the ethnomethodologist's injunction to 'become the phenomenon' under study. More on that in a moment. While the literature or 'case' studies were a useful starting point they have also provided meaningful data for direct use in the analysis. In addition, quotations from the case studies form the basis of what might be called an 'orientation' in Chapter 3. This orientation chapter, which is outlined in cruiser's own language, is included to help the reader develop an appreciation of the events, experiences and motives of people who cruise.

The 'case' studies which I read prior to the field work were important in designing the research instrument because they gave insights which suggested the nature of the lifestyle and how to collect information about cruising and cruisers. A discussion of the fieldwork that was then undertaken now follows.

II. THE FIELDWORK

My fieldwork was guided by the assumptions quoted below:

If the purpose of the research is to know the reality ... of a phenomenon, then the research must begin by first becoming the phenomenon. The researcher must become a full-time member of the reality to be studied ... Membership cannot be simulated. The researcher must not hold back. The researcher who holds back in the name of objectivity never comes to respect that reality or be respected by its practitioners. (Mehan and Wood 1975:227)

As indicated, it seemed clear to me from the beginning that to really 'know' the experience of living for extended periods of time (i.e. years) aboard a small sailing vessel I had to become part of the community of long-term cruisers. I had to engage the community and its reality at an action level, to be part of the year-in, year-out process of passage-making, provisioning, earning income, coping with damage and breakages, coping with danger, and living in and with nature in all its peace and power.
The majority of the fieldwork in relation to cruisers was conducted during two field trips in the Pacific Ocean, one in 1978 and the other in 1981. The former was by far the most significant because it involved six months living in the community, interviewing, and passage making. During the six months I sailed about 5000 nautical miles on three different yachts in the north and south Pacific ocean. During this time I conducted the first 38 cruising interviews. The 1982 field trip involved 2 months interviewing cruisers in Fiji (Suva is a major crossroads for cruisers) and conducting half of the ocean racing interviews in Canada.

The remainder of the ocean racer interviews were conducted in Western Australia, most of them in early 1982. At the same time, the interview schedule was modified to questionnaire format and mailed to the participants of the 1982 Soling World Championships. With the exception of ongoing participant observation, the fieldwork was complete by mid-1982.

It will be apparent to the reader that this is largely a 'South Pacific' study as the survey and participant observation were conducted almost exclusively in the Pacific ocean area. I do not consider this detracts from the generalisability of the results to long-term cruisers anywhere for a variety of reasons. Aside from the fact that most of my sample had cruised in other oceans, the Pacific ocean presents the cruiser with numerous long offshore passages and requires a self-sufficiency in repairs, provisioning and navigation that is unknown in the coastal waters of European, Mediterranean and Caribbean areas. This is not to deny the danger involved in sailing these waters but simply to note the isolation, vast distances, and relative lack of facilities in the Pacific.2 There is, then, no reason to expect the motivation, experience, and characteristics of long-term cruisers anywhere to differ markedly from that of the group examined in this research.

There are, then, two kinds of data from the fieldwork, namely, the interviews and participant observation. This applies to both cruising and racing and both kinds of data were gathered concurrently. Figure 2.2 below details the timetable of fieldwork.

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2 See also Cornell (1983:4), who supports this assumption.
Figure 2.2  Fieldwork Timetable

STAGE 1: January 1978 to January 1979 (Pacific Ocean)
   a. Participant observation
      - approximately 5000 miles of ocean passages
      - round-the-buoys racing March-June
      - continuous living in cruising community July-Jan.
   b. Interviews - Cruisers numbers 001-037

STAGE 2: February 1979 to June 1981 (Indian Ocean)
   a. Participant observation
      - some ocean racing
      - ownership and use of own cruising yacht
   b. Interviews - Cruisers numbers 038-044
      - Ocean racers numbers 510, 511

STAGE 3: July 1981 to December 1981 (Pacific Ocean)
   a. Participant observation
      - 2 months in Suva and Nadi waters, Fiji
   b. Interviews - Cruisers numbers 045-068
      - Ocean racers numbers 501-509

STAGE 4: January 1982 to August 1982\(^3\) (Indian Ocean)
   a. Participant observation
      - ownership and use of own cruising yacht
      (continues to the present)
   b. Interviews - Ocean racers numbers 512-519
   c. Survey - Soling racers numbers 601-622

\(^3\) 'Case' study reading from both books and magazines was continuous throughout the period covered by Figure 2.2 and for the year prior to beginning fieldwork. While interviewing was completed in mid-1982, participant observation and 'case' study reading continues to the time of writing.
A. Participant Observation

The long tradition of participant observation in anthropology and sociology provided the base and background for the study. Its strengths in terms of empathy and first-hand knowledge were of incalculable value in formulating the design, in getting data, and in the analysis and reporting. The weaknesses of participant observation were balanced by the use of interviews and reading allowing the richness of participant observation an important but not independent role in the results. I lived in the community of cruisers concomittantly with the fieldwork, and had extensive sailing experience, including five significant ocean passages, before the bulk of the interviewing was conducted. The important point is that I was an active part of the cruising community during the interviewing of the first half of the subjects and for most of the time during the rest of the interviewing.

Being part of the community was important for a number of reasons. Primarily, it gave me a personal experience of the lifestyle which would have been unobtainable through any other means. Second, engaging in passages and living in the community gave me access to a fairly closed community of people who generally do not explain their life to journalists and others who have not been part of that lifestyle. Participant observation allowed an informal relationship to develop with a consequent sharing of ideas, experience, knowledge and opinion. So I could not only talk their language but could also comprehend their meanings.

Passage-making and living in the community were vitally important to the data gathering stage. However, they and other participation activities were also important for the analysis and writing stages of the research. I own an ocean-going sailboat and live aboard it for part of each year. This has provided an atmosphere consistent with the research subject in which to work on the research.

My experience with racing is less comprehensive than with cruising. During periods when I've not owned my own boat I have joined the crews of racing boats, both inshore and ocean racing. While I have not engaged in any very long offshore races I have been on an overnight ocean race and many shorter ocean races. I have also sailed regularly for some months in what is known as round-the-buoys racing - 2 to 3 hour races in protected waters. This has all been relevant experience that
has aided my understanding of the experience of and motivation for ocean racing.

I sought to complement participant observation through the use of a survey (see B. below) and thereby also to compensate for its disadvantages. The strength of participant observation in this research is not only that it provided the praxis through which I could know cruising on a firsthand basis, including the visceral experience of a gale at sea and a masting near a reef, but also that I could communicate with and understand the meanings of cruisers. The participant observation also continues to keep me in touch with the experience of cruising as I make use of my own boat. This contact is important because a lack of direct contact with the sailing and cruising experience would provide an analytically disadvantageous distancing. The 'distance' from cruising provided by the fact that I am not currently cruising is useful to intellectual objectivity but the contact provided by sailing and the interaction with my own boat has helped the intellectual comprehension of cruising.

Ackroyd and Hughes (1981:107-8) suggest four possible roles that can be used to categorise different strategies of participant observation. There is the 'complete participant' where the research purpose is not revealed as the researcher becomes a full member of the subject group. At another extreme, the 'complete observer' role requires there be no social contact with the subjects. In the case of the third category, 'observer-as-participant', the researcher remains uninvolved with the subjects and the observer role dominates. It is the fourth role that best describes the use of the participant observation in this research - the 'participant-as-observer'. In this situation the researcher's role is public and known, a necessity because the survey work was done concomittantly with the participant observation and each was mutually enhancing.

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4 As I write this I am assailed by wind and waves in an anchorage at an offshore island; I am within nature's embrace in a way that cruisers are.

5 I acknowledge that such contact is but a pale imitation of lifestyle cruising but many of the elements are present; for example, boat maintenance, sailing in rough conditions, worrying about a dragging anchor, feeling the force of nature as the boat rolls and heaves to wind and wave.
The ability to put oneself into another's position and share his experience vicariously seems generally to depend on similarity of experiential backgrounds, purposes, standards for sensing satisfaction, values. (Cantril 1965:6)\(^6\)

The explicit aim of the participant observation was to obtain just such an experience of the others' lives.

B. The Survey

In the same way I sought to balance the research design through the use of participant observation, case study content analysis, and survey methods, I sought within the survey section itself to achieve a similar balance. As discussed below this meant minimising the inherent difficulties with surveys while still taking advantage of structured and unstructured procedures. The result was a semi-structured interview administered in situ by only one interviewer. At this point, a number of issues should be addressed to illustrate this balance, viz. survey structure, the survey environment, the issue of rapport, and data analysis.

1. Survey structure: With the exception of Soling racers, the survey was conducted by means of a semi-structured interview. The interview relied on a funnelling process to move from the general to the particular and from the public and less personal to the more private and personal. The sequence of questions was chosen to allow a natural flow of topics but was flexible enough to facilitate responding to specific interviewee conditions. The first few interviews helped confirm the generally appropriate order. There were open-ended questions with re-question prompts, open-ended questions with list prompts, forced-choice questions and fixed format questions. Silence was used as a 'prompt', especially while notes were being taken, to allow the respondent to elaborate. The sequence of subject matter and the type of questions

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\(^6\) This thesis, with the exception of the word 'hero', is written without sexist language. However, many quotations contain sexist usage that cannot rightly be modified. To avoid the frequent use of [sic] please note that all sexist language is in the original.
varied in a complementary way so that not only did subjects follow logically one to another but question types varied in order to allay boredom and/or fatigue in interviews that averaged about 2 hours in length.\(^7\) Of course, the respondents in the longer interviews probably did not suffer from boredom as it was, they who were doing all the talking! The interviews were also structured to provide an overlap of information from different parts of the interview and from different types of questions. For example, information relevant to discovering why people cruise was elicited in a specific open-ended question on that subject, in a fixed-choice ranking question, and in the application of the Cantril instrument. Likewise, the social critique emerged in responses to a variety of parts of the interview. Such an overlap helped to provide depth and a cross-check for contradictions.

**ii. The survey environment:** The success of any interview will be dependent, to some degree, on the environment, and it is appropriate therefore to have an interview environment which is not likely to be disruptive or in any way antagonistic to the interview process and subject matter, to the interviewee and interviewer. In the case of this research, an environment proximate to the lifestyle environment was desirable to aid interview development and focussing. With these parameters in mind and with only a few exceptions, the cruising interviews were conducted on the respondent's boat or, in a few cases, on the one on which I was living. Of the exceptions, two were conducted some miles from the ocean but at the location where the respondents were building their new boat. The rest of the exceptions were interviewed in yacht club or dockside circumstances within sight of the respondent's yacht. So, the cruiser interviews were conducted in the cruising environment. The ocean racing interviews, on the other hand, were largely conducted in the respondent's homes or offices, with only a few conducted on a boat or at a yacht club.

**iii. Rapport:** While establishing rapport may not be absolutely vital to an interview, there seems little doubt that a certain amount is

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7 Interview length ranged from 1 hour to about 6 hours.
necessary. In this research, the interviews were arranged through personal contact and while a few interviews took place immediately most occurred at an appointed time a few hours or days later. In either case the interviewee was likely to know of the interviewer and the project because of the participant observation component. Permission to interview, then, was often given with some knowledge of the interviewer and the project. Rapport in the interview itself developed because of interview location, interview structure, and interviewer manner. The interviewer manner was non-confrontationist and while searching and using re-questioning it did not rely on disagreement to get further information. Responses were accepted at face value except to the extent that the interviewee was re-questioned and/or asked to elaborate or explain; that is, no attempt was made to pursue unconscious or subconscious meanings.

iv. Data analysis: The responses were recorded by the interviewer in long-hand or recorded on the appropriate format for the forced choice questions. The existence of the code developed by Cantril (1965) was very useful for coding that portion of the data. Codes were developed for other aspects of the cruising and racing interviews using a format similar to the Cantril system.

* * * * *

It remains to discuss the interview format directly. The ocean racing interview was essentially similar to but shorter than the cruiser interview. It omitted the 'Cruising Person' section and substituted a 'Why Race?' section for the 'Why Cruise?' section. The Soling racing questionnaire used the same format as the ocean racer interview.

The six parts of the interview were generally conducted in the order discussed below but variations occurred if necessary. Except for the '8 Reasons' and the 'adjective' list, the questions were for my

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8 With personal short-hand and practice the notes were verbatim in key areas.

9 See Appendix IV for the full code.

10 Appendix III contains the format of the questions, most of which were prompts for my own use.
eyes only and were for my own prompting. The questions for the Cantril Self-Anchoring Striving scale were an exception to this as I used the same format in posing the questions to each respondent. Following is a brief discussion of each question area and what sort of issues were canvassed and why.

i. History: There were a number of purposes for this series of questions. Besides serving as a warm-up to the more substantial questions of other sections, the history inquiry provided information about personal background, general sailing experience, how the subject got into cruising, and where they had sailed. The questions I posed developed out of a need to get the above information and in response to the orientation of the subject. The line of questioning generally flowed automatically into a discussion of why the person went cruising.

ii. Why Cruise?: A discussion of the motivation for cruising followed on naturally from the history questions, subjects automatically beginning to talk about their original goals in cruising. I utilised the concept of a 'decision point' in the questioning, especially when subjects had originally only planned a short duration cruise and at some point had decided to cruise indefinitely. The 'decision point' concept facilitated a focussing of attention on the positive and negative aspects of cruising by asking the respondents to identify the reasons developed in their personal debate about whether to continue cruising or return to a land base. This concept was foreshadowed in the planning of the survey and proved useful in a number of interviews. In others it was of no appreciable benefit because the respondent had not seriously considered returning to a land base up to that time. The questioning also began the process of differentiating between the reasons for leaving the previous environment from the reasons why the current one was satisfying.

iii. The '8 Reasons': Each subject was given the list of reasons developed by Csikszentmihalyi (1975) and asked to rank the reasons in order of importance as reasons for cruising. This forced-choice question is an extension of (ii) above and was introduced into the interview when discussion under (ii) had flagged. However, in some
cases upon completion of the '8 Reasons' ranking, subjects continued to talk about their reasons for cruising. While Csikszentmihalyi developed the '8 Reasons' to survey the experience of discreet activities (e.g. rock climbing) I found subjects had no problem with ranking the items in relation to their lifestyle.\textsuperscript{11}

\textbf{iv. The Cruising Person:} This set of questions aimed to find out the kind of personal characteristics required to survive cruising. To 'survive' means to be able to maintain the lifestyle financially and physically (i.e. sail safely) and to be able to remain satisfied with the lifestyle, that is, to be able to survive psychologically and socially. A two-stage process was utilised, the first being a totally open-ended question such as that shown in Appendix III. When the subject had no more to say after minimal re-questioning, the second stage was entered. This entailed showing the subject the list of words included in Appendix III and asking the subject to respond to any or all of the words. There was tremendous variation in the answering style in response to this list. On the one hand, there were a few people who addressed themselves, often at some length, to each word; alternatively, others simply noted a few words that to them typified cruisers.

\textbf{v. The Cantril Self-Anchoring Striving Scale:} The Cantril Self-Anchoring Striving Scale\textsuperscript{12} was designed by Hadley Cantril in order to undertake a cross-cultural study of human aspirations in thirteen countries. Cantril was concerned with the difficulty of standardising meanings and values across cultures and therefore set out to design an instrument that would allow people to speak for themselves in their own terms, and that would not impose a structure on their responses yet would be amenable to (computer) analysis. Cantril notes that he "tried to understand people in their own terms" (1965:7). The information elicited was then coded by trained and qualified locals using a standard Code created from the data and modified as necessary to suit local

\textsuperscript{11} I discuss elsewhere the theoretical issue of the transfer from a fragment of life to a lifestyle. See especially Chapter 9.

\textsuperscript{12} Hereafter called the Striving Scale or Cantril Instrument.
conditions. That Code formed the basis of the Code used in this research but was modified by the addition of significant items.

Any superimposing of preconceived ideas which forces patterns upon people's reports loses the richness, the uniqueness, the flavor, or the authenticity of what they are trying to say about themselves. What is needed is information which transmits reliably, in people's own terms, what they are feeling. (Cantril 1965:vii)

This quotation identifies the benefit of the Cantril Instrument in its ability to tap people's values, attitudes, and motivations in their own words and using a codable format. In the context of this research the Striving Scale also provided an instrument that did not focus specifically on cruising per se yet one which would elicit information useful in cross-checking with specifically cruising oriented questions. For example, the responses to the Striving Scale questions tap attitudes to society that can be compared to those elicited under the 'Why Cruise?' rubric. The portion of the interview taken up by the Striving Scale was often the single longest section of the survey. It asked complex questions which some respondents discussed at great length, thereby producing a rich bank of information. The Cantril instrument also proved to be complementary to and consistent with the other parts of the research design.

vi. Biographical: The interviews were completed by collecting some simple biographical details and statistics about the respondents and their cruising experience. The vital statistics of the boat were also collected. A general discussion often ensued at this point following the asking of respondents if they had any questions for the interviewer. Further fruitful data often resulted from these discussions.

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13 Chapter 4 and Appendices IV, V, VI illustrate this richness; the actual questions are to be found in Appendix III.
In conclusion, it is worth emphasising the mobility of the subjects. In the course of my research, I visited eleven countries, some twice, and I circled the world one and half times in the elusive search for a reasonable cross-section of cruising people. The fieldwork stage was personally and professionally rewarding making the choice of research design both valuable and enjoyable.

The research was enjoyable because of the physical, emotional, and intellectual experience it gave me of another lifestyle, another way of seeing the world. It was also a very personal research design and one which resulted in a reduction of interpersonal distance as opposed to the distancing that can arise from the more formal and standardised formats. The research design was valuable because it complemented the fundamental aims of the research by enabling the researcher to become knowledgeable about the lifestyle at the physical, emotional, and intellectual levels which paralleled the satisfaction mentioned above. The aim of the research was to know a subculture and to understand their perspective on the world. This research design allowed that aim to come to fruition.

From these different but complementary sources and research methods has come a rich and diverse data base of which the analysis in the thesis aims to take full advantage. The remainder of the thesis, Parts II, III, and IV will present the analysis of this data and place it in the context of various sociological and psychological paradigms.
PART II

THE ETHNOGRAPHY: THE PEOPLE AND THEIR LIFESTYLE

The aim of this section of the thesis is to provide an ethnography of long-term ocean cruising. The creation of this ethnography was one of the primary aims of this research, an objective necessitated by the lack of any systematic or academic body of knowledge about cruising. The last two parts of the thesis, Part III, Cruising in Four Theoretical Contexts and Part IV, Conclusion - Affirmative Deviance rely on the ethnography to inform the reader about cruising as a lifestyle and as a
source of data upon which theoretical discussion can be based. The ethnography is a major tool in establishing that cruising is a subculture with a shared world view.

The four chapters in The Ethnography relate closely to the research design outlined in the previous chapter. That is to say, the three main tools of the research design - participant observation, interviewing and the literature - each feed into specific parts of The Ethnography.

The literature forms the basis of Chapter 3, The Cruising Life and thus is used as the reader's 'participant observation'. The chapter relies on the literature to illustrate some of the day-to-day events that make up the cruising lifestyle both at sea and anchor.

With this knowledge, specific questions about the lifestyle can then be approached. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 each focus on different aspects of cruising and of the people who cruise. Chapter 4, Cruiser's Aspirations and Concerns emerges from a specific set of questions posed in the interviews, namely the Cantril Self-Anchoring Striving Scale. It shows that cruisers can be differentiated from the two racing subject groups and that their underlying concern is with their own autonomy. Given this understanding of cruisers' general aspirations, the next chapter, Why They Cruise explores what is essentially cruisers' specific way of living their general aspirations. Chapter 5, Why They Cruise, then goes on to conceptualize why people go cruising and why they continue to cruise. It identifies two main aspects in this motivation - a search aspect and an escape aspect.

But all of this still does not tell us what kind of people can survive in and enjoy the cruising lifestyle. Chapter 6, Portrait of a Cruiser aims to fill this void, using data generated in the interviews to synthesize cruisers' image of themselves. This Chapter analyses how long-term cruisers see themselves, what characteristics they see as necessary for and descriptive of cruisers.

Part II The Ethnography, then, describes the lifestyle and the people and so provides the basis for further theoretical and speculative discussion.
CHAPTER 3

THE CRUISING LIFE: EVENTS AND ACTIVITIES

An ethnography of cruising must aim to present the richness of the lifestyle as much as categorise and analyse the components of that lifestyle. The aim of this chapter is to begin the process of introducing the reader to that richness. It has been 'compiled' to give the reader an insight into the everyday life of cruising people and their boats. It comprises quotations from the writings of long-term cruisers. Many, in fact, had circumnavigated the world at least once, and six of them had cruised for more than ten years. The quotations have been selected to be representative of the sorts of events that make up the average cruiser's daily life, including passage-making, anchoring, and provisioning. I have attempted to keep the quotations brief but a number of situations simply could not have been explored without lengthy detail. This is especially so with the situations of crisis such as a serious anchoring problem, a dismasting, and a holing of a boat at sea. Other situations or impressions are represented by very brief quotations and, in combination with the longer quotations, aim to communicate the sense of the life of cruising.

This chapter focuses primarily on activities and events without reference to cruisers' wider social philosophy. However, these omissions are covered in other parts of the thesis. For example, the social critique is explored in quotation form in Appendix VII while Chapter 5 contains quotations on why they cruise. The quotations in the present chapter are organized into five sections, each representing a different aspect of cruising. While there is no attempt to be fully comprehensive in covering every aspect of life while cruising, there is
a concerted attempt to be indicative and representative. The five sections are:

I  Pre-cruising issues and activities
II Passage-making
III Anchoring and anchorages
IV Everyday life
V Issues about the cruising life

I. PRE-CRUISING ISSUES AND ACTIVITIES

This section aims to provide an insight into the role of boat construction and other preparations in the pre-cruise period. As the first quotation indicates, the 'trip' begins long before departure.

This trip began a long time ago - years ago, really. Very few people have the courage to make a sudden decision. In my case it wasn't even a decision but a slowly growing awareness that I wanted to do something different. It began on a whole series of Minnesota winter mornings: twenty degrees below, the car wouldn't start, the snowplow didn't arrive, and the boys missed the bus to school. It began on five thousand exhausted drives home on monoxide-choked evenings, a thousand business conferences where everyone said the same thing over and over again, and hundreds of martini lunches where everyone said the same thing over and over again. (Mann 1978:9)

For most cruisers, a long preparation time is needed to get a boat ready, even if only to refit an existing boat. At the same time there are many other issues with which to deal.

In fact, refurbishing Mesager took nearly four years of torturous sacrifice for all of us. That labor completed, I went to the school our children attended to explain our plans and to notify the officials of our departure date. I encountered one of their teachers. As I stood in the hallway, she placed her hands on my shoulders and spoke with concern in her eyes.

"How could you do such an irresponsible thing to your children" - she demanded - "exposing them to dangers, taking them away from their education and friends?"

Taking them away from it? I had wanted to say, I'm taking them toward it. I wanted to explain that Dee and I wished to offer our children alternatives in life to choose from, not
just routine suburbia USA. We wanted them to have breadth of experience, to enable them to think in terms of the world rather than the subdivision, to encourage them to see the value of a person, thing, or event for themselves rather than through the values laid down by the group they live in. But it all seemed impossible to explain; so I said nothing. (Merrifield and Langlois 1978:88)

Some pre-cruisers begin their task not by sailing but by boat-building. Quen Cultra was one such person. He built his own trimaran thousands of miles inland and went on to complete a circumnavigation.

Working alone is difficult but it has advantages. I could take my time and do things exactly as I wanted. This slow, exacting process was very important because I didn't know the difference between a chine line and a chain plate. For the planned voyage, I couldn't afford any mistakes.

As I toiled in the hot summer days, the boat became the focal point of my life. I experienced a great feeling of self-satisfaction and pride in my work. They were good days, filled with hard labor and long hours. I enjoyed working with my hands and learning a step at a time something I knew nothing about. (Cultra 1978:20)

Clearly the construction process is in itself a very satisfying experience, a factor that also emerges in the next quotation. While accurately detailing the process of building, it does gloss over the frustrations.

There was little I needed help for now, and I was able to get much done, as the winter had arrived and I was working full time on the boat. From the pile of lumber she was slowly taking shape as the bulkheads, ribbons and steamed frames were fastened into position. Soon I had started planking, using 9/16-inch red cedar strakes, which were edge-glued together and fastened with copper nails through the bent frames.

I feel there is something almost sacred about building a boat. It is a difficult thing to explain, but I have found that other boatbuilders have shared this feeling. It is almost like creating a living being, a boat seems to have a soul and character all of her own. Perhaps it is because of this that boats are usually thought of as being feminine....

When I had planked Trekka down to the turn of the bilge, she was ready to be turned over so that I could work on the bottom. After wondering how I was going to do this, I once again made my way to the Y.M.C.A. A friend of mine was a weightlifter there, and I told him and some of his friends about the little boat I was building. They became quite interested, and I invited them to come and have a look at her. Four unsuspecting weightlifters followed me to where the half-planked Trekka waited. Another little problem was solved.
When the planking was finished I had to rivet over three thousand fastenings, this was a job I could not do alone and a friend helped me for a few days at this noisy work. We were not very popular with the restaurant next door, and the staff used to hammer on the wall for silence. I got the impression that they did not approve of my boat-building.

My husky friends turned Trekka right way up again, and I fitted the laminated deck-beams and then glued and screwed the 3/8-inch plywood deck down. Spring came, and work slowed, as I was back at a regular job again, and could only work on the little boat at night or at week-ends, but slowly and carefully I finished her. I fibreglassed the deck and made myself even more unpopular with the restaurant next door, as they thought they had a gas leek and would not light the stoves in case of an explosion. The gas man soon discovered that the fumes were from my fibreglass. I heard muttered threats and decided that I'd better hurry up before they resulted in sabotage.

Towards the end of August 1954, just over nine months since I started, the blue-painted hull was ready to be launched. On a Saturday morning we skidded her out of the store and took her down to the inner harbour, where there was a crane to lift her. The keel was bolted on, and then she was lowered gently into the water.

There was still quite a lot to do aboard, and as the summer was well advanced I did not try to get Trekka sailing that year. I took things easy, fitted out the interior and made the hollow masts out of silver spruce. I knew that there would be all the sailing I wanted the following year.

In January and February I saw snow on the deck and wondered where we would be when winter returned the following year, somewhere in the tropics, I hoped. The wet, cold days of winter passed slowly, but the sun gradually crept north day by day, and suddenly it was spring. The shoots were bursting out on the tree by my window and there was much activity along the waterfront as the skippers of the salmon-boats prepared for the coming season. I stepped Trekka's masts and spliced up the stainless-steel rigging.

Then came the long-awaited day when I bent on the new suit of sails, let go the mooring lines and felt life in the tiller for the first time. It was a very satisfying moment. I realised that I had a fine little yacht, she was quite fast and stood up to her sail well in fresh conditions. I found that she would steer herself to windward quite easily and just as well as I could do.

During the next few weeks I got to know her better as I sailed about the harbour, sometimes with friends, sometimes alone. I was a very contented young man. There is something very exciting about preparing for a long voyage alone, especially when you have never done it before. (Guzzwell 1963:15-17)
At the same time that the boat itself was growing, Guzzwell was accumulating the stores and supplies needed for his circumnavigation.

Every week when I bought my groceries, I got a few extra cans of food, and I now had three hundred stacked away in a cupboard. Scattered about the rest of the room on chairs, on the table, or under the bed was all the rest of the gear I was going to need. Sails, rope, paint and charts, the sextant I had bought at a junk yard, blocks and the patent log. The room looked and smelt like a ship's chandler's. I wondered how I was going to fit it all inside a twenty-footer. (Guzzwell 1963:17)

Eventually, departure day arrives. 'Nerves' and excitement are the order of the day, even for a seasoned circumnavigator such as Hiscock. A master of understatement, Hiscock still manages to communicate the sense of departure.

Although the commencement of a long voyage in a small sailing vessel is not yet an everyday happening, it is not uncommon, and I sometimes wonder if the people concerned suffer from similar feelings to mine on such occasions: tense apprehension because of the knowledge that we will be dependent entirely on our own skill and resources, and a sad empty feeling at leaving behind the people and the things we love. I had hoped, as the years went by and I gained experience and a little more confidence in myself, that such feelings might become less strong; but I found on this departure in late June, when we slipped almost unnoticed from our home port, that I was just as apprehensive and just as sad as ever I had been before. However, a small sailing vessel can be relied upon to call for so much mental and physical agility that one cannot remain miserable for long, and soon it is not so much the immediate problems or the memories of what lies astern that matter, but the looking forward with keen anticipation to what lies ahead: the freedom, the progress, the landfall, the port, and the people - above all the people, for no matter how beautiful or how hideous a place may be, it is the inhabitants who make it a worthwhile stop or a place to leave and forget as soon as possible. (Hiscock 1968:3, 6)

The precruising period is vital to the success of any cruise. It can be a major stimulus to future enjoyment or it can be the 'end' of enjoyment. It is the end in cases where, for example, the pre-cruising period has not included enough sailing - called 'shake-down' cruises - to adequately prepare the vessel and the crew. The quotations above highlight the joys of preparation and indicate that the physical preparation is as much a mental or psychological process. It entails a systematic collection of supplies and skills and a mental preparedness. The quotations do not adequately illustrate the shake-
down cruise that precedes most successful longer trips. The shake-down cruise(s) may occur many times over a number of years but is basically an integral part of the preparation of most cruises. It involves testing the vessel and the crew in typical cruising situations but usually within proximity to the home port and returning thereto. Navigation, night sailing, boat handling, cooking, crew routines, and equipment are all aspects of cruising that can be tried out on a shake-down cruise. Such a shake-down is even more vital when the new cruiser undertakes a very long ocean passage as the first leg of a trip, a not uncommon situation. As Hiscock pointed out above, even the accomplished cruiser will experience a sense of nervousness and excitement at departure time, especially if a long passage is involved.

II PASSAGE-MAKING

Departure from home port does not always lead to an immediate passage but most cruisers do not really feel they have 'started' until the first ocean crossing has been made. Passages are a central aspect of cruising, a focal point, not because they take up a large part of each year but because they are in themselves an important event and experience. This section cannot hope to give a complete view of passage life but it does capture a variety of situations and experiences as well as give details of two serious crises - a dismasting and a holing.

First, it can be seen that the true passage-maker, the cruiser who loves passages, begins to 'feel' it is time to leave:

[T]he end of the dry season was at hand, and we were soon to be having wilder weather. Nor was I too happy now in Durban because if you spend too long in harbour your boat is inclined to develop rot - and the crew, too.

It was time, then, to move on, towards the wind and the spray that would soon impregnate Marie-Therese II's sturdy hull with salt, and wash the stains from her captain's soul. I have always had the feeling that these long voyages act upon my system as a thorough cleansing of all the nastiness that accumulates during a period on shore. Once out of sight of the coast, a man is all alone in the presence of his Creator, and he cannot remain a stranger to the forces of nature that
surround him. Soon he will be part of these himself, regaining his simplicity and refining himself in contact with the brute forces that embrace him and swallow him up.

And it is, I believe, this need not simply for novelty, but for physical and spiritual cleanliness which drives the lone sailor towards other shores; there, his body and mind are freed from their terrestrial ties and bondage, and can regain their essence and integrity in the natural elements which the ancients deified.

Wind, Sun and Sea: the seaman's triune god! (Moitessier 1960:83)

Moitessier here speaks of the emotional, psychological experience of passagemaking, of how he starts to feel a need for being away from land and out on the face of the vast ocean. The sea presents many different experiences and conditions; the first two quotations below represent the benign face of ocean passages.

A rectangle of sunlight travels back and forth across the chart table to starboard in the space below the bridge deck, illuminating in turn a page of H.O. 214, a plotting sheet on which several pencil lines parallel each other or converge and cross; and a sheet of notebook paper, half covered with all those little figures associated with a morning sun sight and a meridian altitude at noon. There is a swivel chair at this chart table, facing outboard, and looking up from working our noon position I see, for the most part, a pale blue sky and fair weather clouds, as we are broad reaching on the starboard tack. As we roll off each wave in turn the nearest breaking crest of the endless procession that has been overtaking us for days and will continue to do so for days to come flashes above the porthole, or maybe smothers it for a moment in backlit suds. And as we roll to port the patch of sunlight travels across the cabin to hover over a plastic wash basin filled with rising bread dough, resting in the sail bin to port. The sail bin is a good place to let dough rise, because you can nest the bowl into the sail bags at an angle which compensates for the average heel....

The boat is full of sound, although mostly muted: all the rushing noises of the water passing the hull, a sizzling of bubbles, the slap and thud of waves at the bow, the soft, foamy sound of a crest alongside; it all sounds as if we are travelling even faster than we are. From aloft comes the crack of the topping lift against the main; there is a chinking of dishes in the dish rack, the tick of the chain drive of the pedestal steerer over my head. Only the rising dough is silent. A boat at sea, even were we becalmed, is never silent....
And so it is at sea. At first nerves and novelty stimulate one to wakefulness, but in due course one succumbs to the rhythm of the sea, to the rhythm of life at sea, and except for those rare wild nights, sleep comes as if one had returned to the womb. (Carter 1978:1-3)

Carter has managed to capture a kind of languorousness, a sense of secure serenity, in his description of a typical morning and the sounds of a sailboat moving across a friendly ocean. While he keeps us inside the boat looking out, the quotation following takes us out to interact with the sea life, which for the veteran single-hander, Bernard Moitessier, provides the only companionship.

The days go by, never monotonous. Even when they appear exactly alike they are never quite the same. That is what gives life at sea its special dimension, made up of contemplation and very simple contrasts. Sea, winds, calms, sun, clouds, porpoises. Peace, and the joy of being alive in harmony.

Albatrosses, malamocks, Cape pigeons, shearwaters and a species I do not know which I dub 'Cape robins' have been keeping Joshua company since the 35th parallel in the Atlantic. They seem to feed on spray and fresh air, skimming the waves without ever dipping their beaks.

Albatrosses and malamocks are loners. The others live in communities, with the smaller birds like the Cape robins making up the densest flocks. Joshua passes through groups of more than a hundred of these very little birds, about the size of robins, with silvery plumage, whose quick turns and sideslips remind me of swallows before a storm. Their undersides are white, the tails dark grey, and a big W marks the tops of their wings. They zig-zag along the water, often putting a leg down as if to help them turn. No relation to the tiny black and white petrels, who play in the air as lightly as butterflies. They too often turn by pushing a foot against the water. (Moitessier 1971:62-3)

Here we get some idea of the rich bird life to be found far from shore even, as in this case, in the mighty Southern Ocean. Moitessier has a very deep affection for sea life and this quotation shows how passage life is enriched by his contact with and observation of sea birds. He feels the same way about dolphins, who, we see later, play an important role in his very survival. But, conditions are not always so idyllic

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1 H.O. 214 is a book of navigational tables used in calculating position in conjunction with astro-navigation.
and too often it is cold and wet when major sail changes have to be undertaken.

Writing is near impossible, with Griffin standing on her head in a heavy confused sea with a Force 6 wind. We are rounding Cape Farewell, and a horrible time it is giving us. Christiansund Radio in Greenland gave us a warning of Force 7 - it came. I went on ice watch at midnight, with Tim steering. It was pretty rough. At the relief of watch, Peter Comber came to the helm and Peter Haward went on ice watch. At the change of watch, Peter Haward decided - rightly - that it was time our big jib came in, and he and I went forward to hand the sail, wearing safety belts. While we were up on the foredecks she gybed - I don't blame Peter Comber, for it was vilely difficult steering. The mainsail came across like thunder - fortunately a good bit of the strain was taken by the preventer. It carried away, but it did its job before carrying away - this is what it is for. The rope held, but the top of the cleat to which the preventer was made fast forward broke clean off. Tim rushed up to help, and made up the lee runner, which helped to take the strain. There was general chaos for a bit, and the main sheet got tangled in the steering wheel. Peter Haward and Tim Lee gradually restored order, and Peter Haward and I were then able to set the yankee. While trying to get hold of a sheet, I was flung practically over the life rail - fortunately my safety belt was shackled on to a shroud and everything held - otherwise I wouldn't be writing this. Next, a shackles on the yankee came adrift and I went right forward to fix it. My hands froze. I was thankful to get below, and gradually thawed out. I was on watch again at 0500, so did not get much sleep. In Reg Garrod's watch, before mine, the yankee was hauled, and I took over Griffin running fast under the double-reefed main alone. (Anderson 1967:134-5)²

The quotation highlights a fairly normal and not infrequent type of situation. The wind in this case was quite strong and it was very cold but nonetheless the process of sail changing depicted - at night in high wind - is common and dangerous. But, such a situation need not lead to serious problems because skill, forethought, and safety precautions (eg. safety harnesses and boom (gybe) preventors) reduce the risk to a manageable level.

² To gybe is a potentially very dangerous maneuver, especially when it happens by accident as here. The boom moves across the boat with such force in these conditions that the boat can be damaged or crew injured. The 'runner' is a special part of the rigging used to stabilise the mast. The main sheet is the rope used for controlling the mainsail, usually the largest sail on the boat. To 'hand' the 'yankee' is to take down a small sail carried at the bow (front) of the boat.
Non-cruisers and cruisers alike do think about disasters at sea, of sinking and of death. While many cruisers consider passage-making at least as safe as driving on a freeway, disasters do occur. Here are two long quotations that portray two quite different events and situations—one a dismasting in the Southern Ocean not far from the infamous Cape Horn and the other a holing of the boat only a hundred miles from tropical Fiji. Both boats made port successfully.

*Tsu Hang* gave a violent lurch to port, and I put my hand out to grab the fuel tank opposite. I had a sudden feeling that something terrible was happening. Then everything was blackness and solid water hit me. I was conscious of a roaring sound and that we were already very deep. "She's been hit by an enormous sea, and is full of water. She is already sinking, I must get out." These were the thoughts that flashed through my mind. I knew that I had to go forward then up out of the doghouse [deckcabin] hatch and I started to fight my way against the solid water. Suddenly I was looking at a large blue square. "What on earth is that?" I wondered. Then I heard Miles's anguished voice, "Where's B.? Where's B.? Oh, God, where's B.?" He stumbled past me crying out, "Where's B.?" and I watched him climb into the blue square. I realised that I was lying on my back in the galley and looking at the sky through the opening in the deck where the doghouse had been.

I scrambled out on to the deck and saw B. in the water about thirty yards away. It is a picture I will never forget. She was wearing a bright yellow oilskin, the sea was almost white with spume and overhead the sky was a hard blue. B.'s face was covered with blood and for a crazy moment I thought, "Oh, what a shot for a colour film."

B. raised her hand and shouted, "I'm all right, I'm all right." While she started to swim towards us I looked about me and saw that both masts were in the water and all smashed into short lengths as though they had exploded apart. The doghouse had been wiped off at deck level and I noticed that both dinghies had gone. The side skylights were both smashed and the lids had gone, too. I looked up and saw another monster of a sea approaching and I thought "What a bloody shame! No one will ever know what happened to us."

"Hang on," I shouted, and *Tsu Hang* lifted sluggishly to meet the crest, she had a slow hopeless feel about her and I watched more water pour down the great hole in the deck.

Miles called to me to give a hand at getting B. aboard. I looked at the ruin everywhere and thought "I might as well jump in alongside her."
B. had something the matter with her arm, for when we hauled her aboard she thought I was kneeling on it.

"Well, this is it, Miles," I said, knowing that we had come to the end of the trail.

He nodded. "Yes, it looks like it, John."

"Hang on!" I cried, as another big sea came along. Tau Hang again made a tremendous effort, but she lifted, and I felt a spark of hope. "We've got a chance," I cried. And just then B. said, "I know where the buckets are."

The two of us climbed down into the waist-deep water that was splashing backwards and forwards in what a few seconds before had been our comfortable little home. My main thought was to prevent more water getting below and that meant we had to cover the doghouse opening with sails or something. I climbed into the forecastle and started pulling the twin staysails aft, they would help. ...

Miles got some sights that day and to my amazement I found that my radio was still working. We checked the chronometer and noticed that its rate had not altered. Miles's sights put us at 51° 17' S. Latitude and 98° W. Longitude, just under a thousand miles due west of the entrance of the Straits of Magellan. (Guzzwell 1963:76-81) Guzzwell there describes the momentary puzzlement, anguish and resignation — then the spark of hope that led to action and recovery. Unassisted, they made port in South America some weeks later.

That event took place on the Smeaton's 46ft boat with a crew of three. The following event occurs on a 50 footer being sailed single-handed from Suva, Fiji to New Zealand. The first time I read of this event in a letter I was struck not only by the horror of the situation but by the fact that here were friends—man and boat, both — in trouble. I had sailed aboard this yacht for three weeks in Fiji, two years prior to the holing. Gus Wollmar writes of being roused from near sleep by an unusual noise and of the subsequent events when he almost abandoned his yacht, his home of 10 years, but decided on a further attempt to get her ashore on a remote island beach.

My troubles were not all behind me, however. Shortly after 0300 the following morning something went crash. Dio and I have suffered and survived bangs, thumps, boings, bumps, cracks in the night having to do with mizzens falling down, hitting small objects, falling off waves, shrouds and stays stranding, sheets, guys and steering cables parting: but never a sound quite like this one. The stuff of nightmares. Dio had hit, or
been hit by, something big and hard. I wasn't quite asleep at
the time and must have been on deck within 5 seconds. It was
overcast and absolutely dark; I could not see the hateful
object, but it had taken its toll. Checking the bilge it was
obvious that water was coming in at a terrific rate. I knew
instinctively that the damage was forward and likely in the lee
(starboard) bows. There is so much gear, stuff and sails in
the forward cabin that I determined to find the thing
externally, where I must prepare to repair in any event.
Bathing at sea in the S. Pacific is often exhilarating, but not
at 0330 on such an occasion as this. It was frightening and I
was practically petrified. Sharks? All sail had been brought
in, of course, and there was no forward motion but the boat
nevertheless moved about. It wasn't at all rough, but she had
been moving at 5 to 6 knots, so the wind would have been about
10 to 12.

No problem finding the damage; she was stove in, one plank's
width and roughly 15" long. Mr Murphy, of the famous Law had
me underestimate the length of the thing, of course, in my rush
to get back aboard, fabricate a patch and pump like crazy. So
the first patch was too small. Ineffective. Naturally, I lost
the hammer despite the lanyard round my wrist; the knot there
came undone; very professional. And believe me, it's difficult
to hit those little nails when they're moving and you're trying
to direct a light on the subject and hang onto a line (looped)
with one other hand. I really could have done with a third and
fourth hand. Quite disheartened and cold for a while, I
prepared materials for a larger patch; that is, the heavy
rubber gasket material, boat nails, 2nd hammer, sealant/goo,
ext. into the aft cabin where I sat pumping and smacking nails
around the circumference of the new patch. By the time this
one was ready I could already see the outline of Kandavu
against the greyling sky. Still no light at Cape Washington, so
unable to get a half decent fix. Wind and drift would be
setting me off to the W, a bit N. At this point I was thinking
just of getting back to Suva for at least temporary repairs.
Unpleasant prospect. And then the big Edson pump stopped
working. It owes me nothing; I've used it enormously over the
years; on the 38 day passage from Morebsby to Suva in '81 I was
pumping 600 strokes/day. The little navy pump in the cockpit
couldn't begin to keep up with the inflow. What to do?

The engine raw water cooling trick. I've read about it,
thought about it, knew it would work but have had nightmares
about the necessity of doing it. Here we are, pal, do it
now. It didn't work! Closed the seacock, removed the hose
from seacock and drove it deep into the bilgewater and nothing
happened except that the engine overheated in a hurry. Shut it
down. Get that other patch on quick. Now it's light enough
that I don't need to hold the torch along with everything
else. Last hammer I can find; well secured to wrist. This is
a big patch with probably 50 nails wanting to be driven.
Difficult little moving targets. The mastic tarry goo that I'd
used on the patch didn't want to adhere to the painted surface surrounding the impact area; finally on, the new patch was hardly better than the first.

What the hell to do? Abandon? Alright, at least get the dinghies in the water and be ready. The little Zodiac was inflated and bottom up over the main skylight. That was easy enough, I've had practice throwing that thing overboard. The hard dinghy on the starboard quarter is quite another story; it's terribly heavy, and even with the mizzen halyard to heave it up on, in a seaway it's a sloppy and difficult procedure. But it happened. Get them along the lee side and start throwing things into them: water, some food, beer, Scotch, compass, money, outboard, fuel, papers, photo albums, clothes, chart (I could see Kandavu clearly now), it really became absurd. What to choose to take and sacrifice; why? I couldn't do it. It wasn't a matter of losing the single piece of substantial property I own, or her contents, which in aggregate must come to many digits. I wasn't thinking in such terms. This home, this boat, this entity is too important to abandon when there's a beach only 8 miles away or less. Beach her. SAVE HER DAMMIT.

Tried the engine, it worked; water now well up to the crankcase, almost to the wiring and starter motor. Try that suction routine with the cooling intake hose. That worked after I'd force fed it with my hand a few times. Back in business. Get on deck and head for the beach. Sail up, a little (foresails and mizzen) to give her a bit more speed. Now find a spot with a clean bottom to lay her down in. The only chart I have is in the damn dinghy and has next to no detail. Eyeball it. Engine overheating. Flotsam everywhere in the main cabin and engine room; paper and crap sloshing about and some of it got into the filter and she's boiling out the fresh cooling water. Shut down, refill the header tank with fresh water and let the engine cool a little. No time to clear the filter. Sail in. Bail with a bucket from main cabin to cockpit. Get up, steer and find a way into the beach. Get below and bail; water mid-calf in main cabin; sole plates floating around smacking into my legs and everything else. Pandemonium in a quiet sinister vein. Bail. Now I remember Webb Chiles' account of bailing his Ericson 39 on his first circumnavigation. Desperate, yes, but dammit you're strong and durable; BAIL. Save her. Half an hour. She's been so damn good to you, return it; get her ashore.

Crunch. Coral. It's about 0800, overcast and what light prevails coming from forward. Can't see the reefs, niggerheads and other bricks. Get the engine going, back off, go around, try again. Crunch again. But only moving at 1.5 or 2 knots, mostly glancing shots. One, however, dead on the stem. She's so low in the water and slow to respond to the helm. Crunch again. Get up the mast; must back down, get out a little and
then around SE toward that village. There are beacons (posts) and must be a clear water channel; then onto the beach. Wrong side of the first beacon. Small crunch. Back down; go the other side. Into the beach steam everywhere; engine about to blow. Shut it down; sail her on. Done and done.

A few people on the beach; a couple of yellow slickers (it's raining a bit) waving and laughing. Stupid yachtly driving right up on the beach at high tide. What these white people won't do for a laugh. Slithering into soft sand or mud; put the helm right over so that she'll settle on port side; drag dinghies along portside and tie them short so that their weight will (in conjunction with mizzen) press her down to port. Unload the hard one immediately onto port sidedeck, row out the main anchor as a kedge immediately toward deep water and then row toward the beach for help. The young guy with the yellow slicker wasn't laughing now. Did he want a job for a day or two? Say 'yes'. Yes. Now!; start right now. OK. Get in Please, I have a problem out there.

The tide must have been nearly ideal, just off the high and ebbing. This local guy, Peter, was put to bailing, main cabin to cockpit. I helped with the buckets and after an hour we were gaining; the tide definitely leaving her, and we both were a bit tired - I more than he, I suspect, but still 'wired'. Sent him ashore with the dinghy to get some help while I continued bailing rather slowly. We were winning. Over she went onto port side into heavy mud, no coral or rocks apparent under her. Incredible luck. She deserves it. Three subsequent days were spent without any panic; routine stuff. Put on two proper patches; clean engine room and main cabin (engine drip pan had been overflooded, of course; oil and diesel corruption floated freely about the whole flooded boat). Engine filter cleared, regasketed, refitted: Edson pump rebuilt (spares on hand; both flapper valve and diaphragm itself had failed). Papers, photos & tools dried and reconditioned as well as possible. Weather ideal; absolutely perfect. Plenty to do. Put out a second anchor (Danforth) next day at low tide and moved the first one. At high tide I or we would winch her closer to blue water. Move both anchors each low. Plenty of exercise for us, horseing anchors around with plenty of chain at low water, then grinding at the height of the tide. And a few projects in between. I had beached her about 0830 Nov. 9th and sailed away from Kandavu mid-morning Sat. the 12th; bound for NZ, not Suva. I reckoned my chances to be better that way.

It very soon was apparent that I'd missed at least one serious leak; probably one resulting from the groundings before the actual beaching. While at rest it wasn't obvious, but as soon as she began moving well especially on port tack water poured in. Stopped her again and did another reconnoiter with mask and fins; found a suspicious-looking spot (don't understand how I'd missed it when beached) and pounded on yet
another patch. Even though bright daylight, as there was a fair sea running the motion up in the bows was sufficient to make a straightforward little job exceedingly difficult. The nails moved in erratic 3- to 4-foot arcs, usually in a direction different from my own. It's a terribly messy-looking thing, but it helped. Suddenly I remembered a little electric Rule bilge pump which I'd never installed or even used; got it out, wired and plumbed it into the cockpit and from that point it took most of the strain from the Edson, and my back. When heeled, bilgewater runs forward to about the widest part of the boat, roughly the after end of the main cabin. So I needed only to open a sole plate a few inches, locate the pump in the deepest water and connect it. At speed on the port tack it was necessary to do this at least every hour but only for a duration of 5 minutes or so. ...

Fortune gave us essentially good weather; while winds were generally southerly (virtually on the nose), they were mostly light. A few brisk squalls, of course, but no heavy prolonged bad stuff. I didn't want the boat to be driven very fast in any event, as she took too much water then. The passage from Kandavu to Opua, Bay of Islands, NZ, took exactly 2 weeks and 2 hours; having steamed slowly for 60 minutes at one point, primarily for the batteries. Needless to say I'm delighted to be back here; the boat will be slipped/hailed within 4 or 5 days and I have recruited one of the most able shipwrights in the area to do the more serious repair work. Dio wanted new anti-fouling anyway, and likely there will be time enough to do that properly as well. Not grieve; we're surviving out here: I'm delighted with this outcome! The alternatives were too hideous. I could never have forgiven myself if I'd let her go. She'll soon be well again. I hope that you are. (Wollmar: 1983)

While Wollmar's life was not in imminent danger, his yacht Diogenes was. A combination of luck, skill, and sheer physical exertion enabled him to get the boat to a beach. He was lucky because of Kandavu's proximity and that the reef was penetratable at that point. His skill as a sailor and his physical strength and endurance then came to bear on the success of the operation. Most cruisers do not experience the situations depicted in these last two excerpts but all need to be prepared for such eventualities. Some who are not prepared lose their

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3 The mizzen is the rearmost of the two masts on a ketch. Kandavu is an island in the Fiji group about 100km south of Suva. The 'engine raw water cooling trick' uses the engine cooling water intake hose as a bilge pump. It takes water from inside the boat rather than the usual outside source.
boats or their lives, or both, often in much less demanding circumstances. And yet, such 'events' seem not to dissuade cruisers from passage-making. The experience of being at sea provides a balance that makes the risks and hardships acceptable. The next quotation illustrates this.

I looked up at the neat triangles of sails enclosed by the strong rigging and varnished spars and marvelled that man could harness the wind in such splendid fashion. Like the steam locomotive, the windmill, and the stagecoach, sailing was hopelessly outdated, a kind of archaeological oddity; yet it was a wonderful, free kind of life where money and possessions counted for little. You lived at a level where a simple act like identifying a curious bird became profound and surrounded with wonder. You would see a coconut bewhiskered with barnacles and grass and speculate where its parent tree grew. A fish would jump out of the water and you had time to think about the complex world of sea creatures below you. At night there were the stars! I never saw the world above until I went to sea. (Roth 1972:157-8)

Although these quotations about life at sea have only scratched the surface of that experience they have depicted clearly some of the extremes cruisers face. The nature of passages and why people like and dislike them is discussed further in a later chapter. However, it should be noted that passages are a powerful psychological experience and situation whose influence on the cruising life is disproportionately potent when considering how little time is spent passage-making. There appears to be a fundamental relationship to nature in passages that gives any passage a depth and import that transcends the time and place itself. Later discussion (especially in Chapter 5) will further explore these issues.

In the meantime, there are numerous other aspects of cruising that call for explication. Anchoring and anchorages logically follow passages and are dealt with next.
III ANCHORING AND ANCHORAGES

Most cruising boats spend about 75% of each year at anchor, often in busy anchorages and harbours such as that in Suva, Fiji, where up to 100 yachts may congregate in the southern winter. Each anchorage has its own character and experience, some being grimy urban harbours and other pristine island bays. Each kind has its own frustrations, terrors, and joys as is shown in the quotations below.

But first, a word on anchorage etiquette from one of the masters of cruising.

Perhaps because they are accustomed to living and working in a crowd, and searching for parking spaces for their cars, many sailing people appear to be of a gregarious nature. Most of those of us who prefer some degree of solitude have had the experience of anchoring in a spot well away from other yachts only to be almost overlaid by the next yacht to arrive, which brings up so close that there is risk of collision, and one can hear her crockery being washed and her heads being pumped. I would suggest that those who like being in a crowd might go and find themselves a crowd (that should present no problem except in high latitudes) and leave the yacht lying alone on her own, for she probably values her peace and privacy. But having found a crowd, some discretion in picking a berth ought still to be exercised, and it is important that this be not so close to any other vessel as to give her a foul berth, that is, with any risk of touching her in any conditions of wind or tide. If one cannot be sure about this one should bring up outside and to leeward of the fleet, even though that may be inconveniently far from the shore—the first to arrive have naturally picked the best berths and are entitled to them. It is particularly bad seamanship to anchor close to windward of another vessel so that when cable has been veered one lies only a few feet from her; although the newcomer may feel confident his anchor has a good hold, the people in the other vessel cannot know this, and may spend anxious hours awaiting a collision, or in self-defence may even be driven to shifting berth, especially if the people from the newcomer have gone ashore leaving their vessel unattended. (Hiscock 1978:131).

Hiscock points to the etiquette involved in being considerate of other yachts. However, his words also contain a message of safety—it is dangerous for boats to anchor too closely to each other as one may interfere with the other's safe movement. This was demonstrated in the Mexican port of Cabo San Lucas when a freak storm washed a number of boats ashore. Some of those boats were destroyed because they were
restricted or hit by yachts anchored too close to them. But, again, such events are not everyday occurrences whereas the following is. Hiscock's ideas on anchoring are reflected in this example of an isolated Malaysian anchorage.

As we climbed back down the moss-encrusted rocks we saw a bright yellow ketch tacking slowly into the bay on the last of the evening's breeze. They anchored almost half a mile away from Seraffyn, but we seemed to both want and need company to break the spell [created by our experience with the legend of the] mongoose. Lynne and Claude Arnould saw us rowing toward them and called the usual greetings. "Come on aboard, where you coming from?" Then as soon as we had secured the dinghy painter, Lynne asked, "Did you go near the lake? It's dangerous, you know. I heard that a white crocodile lives there." But rum cocktails, cheese, and a rush of information trading that happens whenever sailors headed in opposite directions meet quickly drowned any memories of our strange afternoon.

Lynne and Claude were planning to stop only for the night. They were bound for Sri Lanka and eventually France after six months of cruising and outfitting their still unfinished steel thirty-six-footer. They'd built the hull, deck, and rig in Australia; the interior was an underway project. We looked over their charts of Malaysia, noting anchorages they'd especially liked, writing down places to buy stores or haul out if need be. (Pardey and Pardey 1983a:142)

That quotation also mentions the sharing of information, one of the most common of occurrences. There are many rituals in the cruising life and one of them is the exchange of information about officials, expenses, shopping, the anchorage itself, and general navigational knowledge.5

The sense of arrival can be one of the most powerful experiences in cruising, whether it be a landfall after 20 days at sea or just an especially enjoyable situation. The following two quotations illustrate the latter point.


5 This event occurred about 2 months before I met the Pardeys in Malaysia at the very start of this project. I spent 2 weeks with them and encountered a wide range of anchorage experiences in that time. Since then I have spent a further six months in anchorages on various boats plus the time spent at anchor in my own boat over the last six years.
The southerly breeze was growing lighter as we headed toward Gouvia. There were no navigation lights to guide us past the shoals at the entrance, so we packed on every bit of canvas we could as the light faded into a pink and gray sunset. It was almost dark when we lined up to sail between a tree-covered point and a low, sandy spit with a tiny stone building on its end. Even though the shoals were completely unmarked, there was no cause for concern as we trickled into the bay after dark. There was absolutely no swell; the water was flat and calm; the bottom, soft mud. So, even if we ran aground it didn't really matter.

I coiled the lead line, then heaved it, chanting, "Four fathoms, four fathoms, three and a half fathoms." Larry steered along the bearing that led to a safe, protected part of the bay. I enjoyed the feeling of the lead line, the slight pull as each mark slid through my fingers. I leaned against the starboard shrouds and heaved, let the lead settle, and waited until Serraffyn slid alongside the line. When it stood perpendicular to our deck, I'd note the knots or pieces of rag nearest the waterline, call the depth, and jerk the line to pull it free of the bottom mud and coil it carefully to keep the lead from banging our topsides. In the light shed by our stern oil lamp, this ancient seaman's ritual seemed to suit the quiet bay. Only a few lights filtered through the trees onshore. We could hear crickets or frogs calling across the water. The only other sound came from Serraffyn's tiny bow wave, then our quiet discussion when my line showed two fathoms. "We'll round up now. You drop the anchor, I'll get the sails down," Larry said. "Then let's eat that spaghetti you cooked up this afternoon."

Once again we enjoyed that end-of-the-voyage feeling, a feeling that never seems to grow old. Anchor down in good holding ground, boat secure for the night, hot food and a bottle of wine on the table, and no watches to stand. But this time we had a special treat. When we climbed into the cockpit after dinner to enjoy the quiet evening sounds, a firefly flew out from shore. It was the brightest one I'd ever seen, and it chose Larry's hair as its landing field. Bright flashes filtered through Larry's curly hair like the flash from a lighthouse beacon welcoming a weary sailor from a storm-tossed sea. Onshore we could see the pinpoints of light as other fireflies flitted from bush to bush. But that lone long-range dot of living light made us feel especially welcome. Larry was reluctant to brush him from his hair until we were ready to go below and climb into our warm double bunk. (Pardey and Pardey 1983a:21-2).

Quite a different experience is described by Moitessier on his arrival in the Tuamotus, a place that became his home years later. While he had already sailed from Vietnam to the Caribbean via South
Africa and now from France to the Tuamotus via the Panama canal, Moitessier had not before sailed into the lagoon of a South Pacific atoll.

And woosh ... we entered the channel at 7 knots, our nerves at breaking point, all our senses (including the sixth which had awoken) acutely alert ... I had been sailing since I was a youngster but I had never before felt such complete perfection in the handling of a sailing boat. No night entry into a port, no technically perfect piece of manoeuvring while berthing between two boats, nothing I had ever experienced could match the intensity of this burst under sail into my first atoll. On either side of us half-submerged corals rushed past like lightning, scintillating greens, browns, mauves, reds, blacks, all mingled with the surface swirl of a very weak following current. The long defile of light green was studded with brilliant jewels, paved with coloured patches and large pools of brown where the coral rose to the surface, causing eddies through which Joshua rushed. I turned the wheel hard down on one tack, then hard down on the other, while Françoise at the mizzen paid off and sheeted in, paid off and sheeted in. We were living through these moments at the speed of light.

'Gybe-o'.

There were another fifty yards to go before we would have to alter course sharply to the left and shoot out into open water. We could clearly see the change in the colour of the water which marked the right-angle turn ... another thirty yards ... here was Bluche's big whirlpool ... nothing vicious about it ... it was slack water ... or almost ... Joshua rushed on ... I had never felt so much one with my boat ... and suddenly we were out in the blue lagoon, almost speechless, but talking of spending the rest of our lives in the Tuamotus to savour again and again the magic of these luminous, coral-flanked channels where the whole of the atoll becomes crystallised in the ultimate purity of sail. I was perhaps beginning to understand what Gerbault felt: pure sailing ... this light shining round the boat ... these tremendous electrical discharges which surge through your vitals and guide you on without releasing you until you emerge in the blue and green lagoon with this feeling of absolute perfection. It was the finest experience in the whole of my sailing career. (Moitessier 1967:146-7 [Ellipses in original])

But, anchoring is not all pleasant, as the following quotation shows. The situation described represents the worst anchorage and anchoring circumstances I've read about or experienced. Not far from Cape Horn, the yacht *Awhnee* was fighting for her life amid the channels
of Patagonia and her story provides not only a description of the situation but a lesson in anchoring technique and tactics.

For the next half-hour a snow squall blotted out everything. When it cleared, we found kelp floating in the water. Usually kelp means danger, but that night it said to us, simply, "bottom" - rocky bottom, to be sure, but we were relieved nonetheless. A good-sized kelp bed will quiet breaking waves and damp a swell. When there is no other protection available, one can anchor within or behind a bed of kelp, which in the Pacific can have fronds up to 300 feet long. We sailed slowly through the bed and found bottom at eight fathoms, shelving to six. Again we passed through the kelp, tacking to windward, and detected no shoals or pinnacles to endanger anchoring. This was the best we could find, and it would have to be good enough.

Maneuvering to remain in what scant shelter there was, we prepared three anchors. It is doubtful that many sailors will end up trying to anchor at the bottom of the earth in snow squalls and galeforce winds, but the procedure we went through illustrates a successful approach to anchoring in a blow. To starboard I shackled a folding 45-pound Northill on my longest chain lead, 60 feet of 7/16-inch link, and made it fast to my longest rode, 360 feet of one-inch polypropylene line. The second anchor, a 45-pound Herreshoff, was rigged to port on 30 feet of heavy chain and 300 feet of three-quarter-inch polypropylene. We set the two anchors and adjusted their rodes so that we lay to each equally, with plenty of scope. Our stern was about 500 yards from the rocks. The boat pitched in the heavy swell, and the wind showed not the slightest sign of diminishing. 

Awhnee was uneasy, and so were we.

Then we put down our insurance. I shackled the other big Northill to the main anchor chain and lowered it to the bottom, paying out a few fathoms of chain as we eased back about half a boat length on the two rodes that were already out. This chain was then seized to the stemhead fitting with several turns of light cord, and we flaked out about 25 fathoms more on deck, securing it to the windlass. This was the fail-safe: if the two anchors failed to hold, the main chain would come under tension, break the cord, and feed off the deck until it came tight as the boat dragged. The accumulation of weight and friction of all three anchors together would hold us off the rocks. And if we didn't drag, there were only a few fathoms of chain and the third anchor to pick up before recovering the other two.

Too tired to speculate on how hard the wind was blowing, the four of us went below to thaw out over Awhnee one-pot foul weather slumgullion: powdered potatoes with a can of corned beef and some dried onion stirred in. As we ate, the anchor chain rattled across the deck in two prolonged bursts and we knew the first two anchors were not holding. Half an hour
later there was a chunkkk on deck and a distinct change in the pitching of the boat as we came back against the chain. Now all three anchors were working and would hold Awahnee—we hoped. The wind raged on undiminished, and the williwaws that accompanied the snow squalls were ferocious.

The first man on anchor watch dropped a sounding lead over at the chainplates to check for drag as the boat bucked violently in the steep swell. The rest of us tried to get warm enough to sleep. Later we awakened to hear occasional waves break, whooshing past our ears a few inches away outside the hull. The wind had shifted so that it was blowing over a fetch of some three miles from the opposite side of the channel. There was no point in considering the imponderables of the situation, so we slept fitfully on until each in turn was called for anchor watch.

In the cold light of dawn we must have been a strange sight, wind-ravaged and encrusted with rime, had there been anyone to see us. The cliffs were black even by daylight, and the waves still broke all around us in the kelp. But the headline told us we had not dragged further. It was blowing much too hard to consider leaving a successful though fully exposed anchorage, so there was nothing to do but wait it out. We went below and had a breakfast that lasted most of the morning. By noon the wind had eased somewhat, and we decided to get underway to make another anchorage before dark, one without so close and menacing a lee shore.

The port and starboard anchors with their floating rodes came up without any great difficulty, except that dozens of long kelp streamers had wound around the rodes. As we cranked them in, one man lay on the foredeck and reached over the bow to cut the kelp away with my Italian Carabinieri sword, a prize of World War II.

The main chain was another story. Hauling with the windlass, we were unable to bring in more than half of it in an hour of tough work. The chain was fouled on the bottom. We hoisted the triple-reefed main and staysail and tried to sail it out, going strongly against it on first one tack and then the other. We gained a fathom or two, but it was putting a terrible strain on the windlass, which was lifting off the deck at its after end. To make matters worse, the pawl jumped a cog and flipped the windlass handle irretrievably overboard. Dismayed but undaunted, we used the big crescent wrench. It wasn't worth a damn. We lowered the sails and rigged a four-power handy billy from the chain to the spinnaker winch aft, bypassing the windlass altogether. The rig was about 40 feet long, so we made that much on the chain each time we winched 160 feet of line through the handy billy and two-blocked it. When we got the chain up fairly short, we hoisted the sails again and let them luff; with the shore so close, I wanted to fall off sailing as soon as the anchor broke out of the bottom.
At last it came up - in the center of a ten-foot ball of kelp which must have weighed a ton. We sailed this mass through the water while our swordsman slashed the kelp away, finally hoisting the Northill on board far out in the channel. Rid of its wrapping the anchor revealed the result of extreme forces spent in recovering it. One fluke was torn at the welds, the stock was bent and twisted, and the half-inch stainless steel shackle was drawn out oblong.

We sailed ten miles further into Beagle Channel to Cook's Anchorage on Picton Island, where a two-man outpost of the Chilean army, as astonished to see us as we were to find them, provided us with a weather report: "continued force eight". But it was snug there, and we rested easy. (Griffith 1979:224-7)\(^6\)

_Awahnee_ survived a very difficult situation because of personal skill and the correct equipment. Both factors are essential to safe cruising although there is much disagreement about what is 'correct' equipment. Griffith's system worked here although it might not have done so in another situation. Anchoring safely is seen by cruisers as an 'art', but it is undoubtedly an art tempered with thought, experience and skill. Peace of mind in an anchorage, even at a South Pacific atoll, depends on trust in the 'ground tackle'.

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IV  EVERYDAY LIFE

The everyday life of cruising is diverse, complex, often frustrating and seldom boring. In this section, everyday life while in harbour is explored and illustrated - provisioning, repair work, encounters with foreign cultures, finances (or lack thereof), socialising, and departure are all aspects of life touched on in the quotations below. The first quotation combines a comment about the boat as 'home' to the weary traveller with an insight into the problems and benefits of provisioning in a foreign port.

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\(^6\) The reference to finding 'bottom' here means that the water was shallow enough in which to anchor. A leeshore is downwind and if the anchors do not hold the boat it will be blown onto the cliffs or beach.
For ten years I'd traveled widely on photographic assignments, living out of suitcases in characterless motel rooms that had been mass decorated according to some executive's idea of Mr. and Mrs. Average Citizen's taste. Nowhere could I find anything of myself, and I camped in those rooms reluctantly, Pitching a tent of personal mementos about myself to remind me of the person I was. If the assignment was lengthy I began to suffer from a peculiar malaise that must be familiar to most people who travel for a living. I would begin feeling disjointed, alienated from myself, depersonalized by the commercial anonymity of my temporary world, against which I sometimes reacted with fear or hostility. I think it must be the same for most tourists; I consider being a tourist very hard work. Yet I like to travel, and now Aquarius has provided an escape for all of us from many of the anxieties of travel.

In Bermuda it was our haven, the repository of our books, pictures and other personal possessions. The polished woodwork and cabin appointments reflected us as intimately as had our apartment in New Orleans, and whenever exploring St. George grew tiresome, we could retreat to this personal floating turf and feel refreshed and whole again.

There were other reasons we began to feel like residents of St. George. We had business to conduct here, the important business of final preparation for the Atlantic crossing, and it led us into personal relationships with the townspeople. Every day our separate tracks fanned out across the cobbles of the King's Parade. I became a familiar figure at the hardware store off the north corner of the square; the manager greeted me at least ten times daily as I completed final repairs on the boat. (I think Aquarius ate brass screws!) At the marine repair shop down King Street I was known to the man in the musty front office. His establishment made several mast fittings and a crank for Methuselah which I returned twice because I had got the dimensions wrong. He charged me $10 for all their work—a gift more than a business transaction. The Barclay's banker knew me well. I sat in his office on the east side of the Parade several afternoons as we tried to conjure forth a money order lost in the bowels of Western Union. For days all elements along the system denied its existence, but at last, encouraged by a physic of plaintive cables, the money burst forth with a loud jangle astonishing us all.

One morning I clattered across the Parade looking like a mechanized Mexican peasant. My donkey was an asthmatic motorbike borrowed from a yachtsman along the quay, and in place of the traditional woven baskets of produce, my steed carried a rattling bundle of five-gallon hydraulic fluid cans scavenged at the jetport on St. David's Island across the harbor. With our fifteen-gallon fuel tank, the cans gave us enough gasoline capacity in deck cargo for fifty-five hours of engine use, plenty for charging the battery daily, running in calms, and negotiating the harbor in the Azores. With a crank,

Herron has depicted two important issues to cruisers - the need for a sense of being 'home' which the boat provides the traveller and the varied experience of provisioning and organising financial transactions. However, actually earning income is a problem for most long-term cruisers, the Payson's being no exception. Their attitude to 'low-budget' cruising and the way they create an income are not unusual in the cruising fleet.

For most of us low-budget cruisers, lack of money failed to inhibit our fun or our mobility. What it did do was give us a whole new outlook on security: disparity of funds made the various yachitias apportion their worries differently while in port, but when we were at sea we all worried about the same things.

Is Pollyanna speaking? Do I whisper the words of self-delusion? Maybe it really is hell to voyage economy-class and we just don't know any better. Or maybe it's like the man said when his wife, concerning her beauty, bitched about the ravages of time. "You know, my dear, you have a point, but are you ready for the alternative?" Would we do it again on the cheap as opposed to staying home, knowing what it would be like? Yes, was our emphatic reply.

Armed with $43, Nancy, Craig, and I motored a patched up Sea Foam to Moorea and once more dropped anchor in Robinson's Cove. A new boutique had opened, and Nancy had all the sewing she could handle. I jacked up my writing schedule to six hours or ten pages daily. More articles sold, and I began work on my fondest ambition: a book. Craig made coconut planters and sunvisors with MOOREA on them for the boutique; these, plus some choice shells, sold to tourists like hotcakes. Life was simple and productive.

For me, those few waeeks were perfect. Never mind that we needed new sails, a new dinghy, and money for another haulout. I was doing exactly what I wanted to do, where I wanted to do it. I had the serenity necessary for concentration. I knew that if we sailed to California and got jobs, I would never finish the book. We would lose the pace of the cruising life, maybe forever. (Payson 1980:218-9).

But, to a degree, such income depends on a plethora of cruisers, and that crowd is both a problem and a blessing in Tahiti.
"Everyone's sailing down here," I mused authoritatively one evening. "Tahiti's turning into a marina."


"Paradise is overcrowded," I persisted. "SRO. No room at the inn." I waved my wine glass, imagining myself conducting muted cellos, minor chords.

"Nsns," answered Nancy, a dozen pins in her mouth, her right hand revving up her chartreuse, handcrank sewing machine. "Thr's plnty'v rm. Besides," she continued, pinless, "if there weren't lots of yachtsies I wouldn't be selling all these shirts and we'd be back on beans and rice." She was referring to Nancy's Originals - shirts, skirts, tops, and pants which made imaginative use of the inexpensive, brightly imprinted flour sacks available locally. She had started a rage. Fifty percent of all yachtsies in Papeete in July 1977 boasted a flour-sack shirt in their wardrobe. Picnics in the park looked like the stockroom of a bakery. During the hot, humid nights you could walk down the quay and see all the yachtsies sacked out on deck. Days, thanks to Nancy, you'd see them decked out in sacks. (Payson 1980:134-5).

Socialising is probably an occupier of time second only to shopping for food and spares and life does not appear to have changed much since the following occurred in the 1950's:

Supper that evening found the three French single-handers in Korrigan's cabin, sitting down to Madeleine's excellent soup. The four dinghies lay quietly tied up astern, like four little dogs obediently awaiting their masters' good pleasure. Soon, however, we had to restore order among them, because they were starting to come to blows. The south-wester which had developed was responsible for this growling and snapping (the sea gets up with the wind, even in harbour sometimes). There followed a certain amount of pushing and pulling in Korrigan's cockpit, each trying to protect his own first-born (for of course, each one of our geese are swans). Soon they were settled down or at any rate mastered, carefully tied up stern to stern.

We went back to the cabin, where Madeleine gave us a towel which we shared in turn, for the south-wester, now blowing hard, had brought rain.

There was a storm raging in the cabin, too: not an ugly storm, but somewhat acrimonious all the same - on a subject that rouses every seaman in the world and about which they can never reach agreement.

There were two items on the agenda: heaving, or lying, to and sea-anchors. The storm [argument] broke while Jean Gau was
making me tell them about my last passage. I had just reached the famous sea that broke over us, 'And how were you hove-to at the time?' asked Jean. (Moitessier 1960:59)\(^7\)

And that 'storm' continues to rage in magazines and books and aboard yachts all over the world. Each person shares experience and an opinion of the effectiveness of various tactics, hoping never to have to put the ideas to the test again - but aware that no cruiser can expect to avoid 'survival' storms altogether. In addition, that quotation illustrates a very common scene in any cruising anchorage - a clutch of dinghies tied to one yacht. Cruisers socialise like any other social group but they spend a lot of that time sharing vital survival information and tactics. A previous quotation illustrated a sharing of anchorage information while here, at-sea knowledge was shared, debated and contended.

In the end, though, one of the main objects of everyday life is preparing for the next major journey. Here, Hiscock, prior to transit through the Panama Canal and crossing the Pacific Ocean, muses on life in Cristobal.

We had a busy five days (the longest period one might remain at the club) for this would be our last opportunity to buy much in the way of stores until we reached Tahiti in perhaps two to three months' time. Potatoes, onions and fruit had to be picked over for bad ones and cockroaches and stowed away; eight dozen eggs had to be greased to preserve them, fresh butter had to be salted down in sterilized jars, and there was some work to be done on deck and aloft. Often our saloon was filled with visitors, for Cristobal is a great staging point for voyagers - each a little apprehensive about the forthcoming transit, not only because of the stories they had heard, but because for most owners this would be the first occasion that their yachts were not under their own control - and much interest was shown in them by people living in the Zone. On one occasion, three doctors were on board having a consultation about Susan's ear, the drum of which had become perforated while she was diving in Bequia, and a remarkable scene it was, for one doctor was in smart army uniform, another in tee-shirt and slacks, and the third, owner of the Swiss yacht, Sarah la Noire, wore only the briefest of bathing pants. (Hiscock 1978:166)

\(^7\) 'Heaving to' is a technique for dealing with storms that uses the sails to stabilise the boat through holding it on a steady course but while creating very little forward movement.
Then, preparations made, it is time to leave.

So it was that we found ourselves in Whangarei. Once more Sea Foam was stuffed with food, water, and fuel. Most of the little last-minute things were bought and stored. Days of errand-running, price-shopping, and parts-seeking had passed slowly by, and lists and tempers gradually grew shorter. Tempers can grow infinitesimally short, whereas lists never do, and there came a day when we were psychologically ready to leave, if not materially.

"Let's leave," uttered a random mouth speaking for a mind fed up with lying in a muddy river in the middle of a dirty, noisy city.

"Just another day or two," responded another mouth, speaking for a mind totally involved in readying his or her special domain. Just a few more things to find, get, stow, prepare, change, collect, mail, receive, buy, or make.

"Let's damn well leave," said one, said two, said all.

"Leave!" said Immigration.

We left. (Payson 1980:194)

Everyday life in cruising is always full, whether at sea or at anchor and the quotations above have only illustrated a few of the myriad tasks and activities. The ubiquitous boat maintenance activity is not mentioned and nor are the household chores of collecting water, washing clothes (usually with severe space, equipment, and water restrictions), baking bread, and cooking. Equally, the island pastimes of fishing, diving, shell collecting and cleaning, and exploring have been omitted. These pastimes are multipurpose by providing food or income, souveniers, gifts, or just plain fun. They are all part of the variety that is the everyday life of cruising.

V. ISSUES ABOUT THE CRUISING LIFE

This last section previews some of the thoughts cruisers have in relation to fundamental issues in cruising. Why people cruise; the relationship to nature, safety and independence and the use of radios
are mentioned here and will also appear in the analysis presented in later chapters. The first four quotations touch on answers to questions often posed by people thinking about going cruising, including "is it lonely?" People also ask what it is that makes the cruising experience worthwhile. There are some insights into that motivation here.

Do we feel lonely? I think the answer is no. Alone, yes, but not really lonely. It's a hackneyed question and answer, which seems never to lose its fascination for the landsman and the dreamer. The truth may be that the types who wind up out there are not the types who feel its loneliness, while those who would feel it either have the good sense not to go or, having tried it, never return. And there must be some who feel loneliness is a small price to pay for the adventure. (Carter 1978:17).

However, all small-boat voyagers have two things in common: a love of freedom — for they can go where they will almost unhampered by rules or restrictions, except those which are a part of the seaman's lore — and a desire to pit their skill, wits, and courage against the oceans in every mood. The mainspring of this activity is, I believe, not the desire to be well thought of by others, but the desire to think well of oneself. (Hiscock 1959:IX).

Traveling in a small boat over great distances of ocean, our sympathies turned readily to life around us — each bird, every fish had meaning for us as an individual inhabitant of our 500 square foot world floating across millions of square miles of potentially hostile seas. We considered ourselves guests of a delicately balanced environment — almost like trespassers in a garden of Eden. All life became more precious. Any unnecessary taking of it was not only senseless, but seemed a challenge to fate itself. There was little chance of successfully completing our voyage without some luck along the way. But I had faith in our practical ability to survive and I was skeptical about our feeling for the sea, calling it first superstition, then sentimental attachment but finally realizing it was a subjective reverence for life wherever I found it, above and below the surface. It was a feeling and realization forced by my peculiar circumstances, but true nevertheless. If it took the risks of a voyage such as this to discover an attachment to life, the trip was worth it. (Cultra 1978:74-5).

Log excerpt: "Dropped anchor behind Anchorage Island about 1515 local time. Three other boats. Tidied up Sea Foam. Rowed ashore about sunset to find an all-male, predominantly New Zealand picnic going on. Were immediately invited to have a drink of gin, Nancy being the sole, smiling flower in a swarm of bees. Sat around drinking gin and looking at God's sunset through God's palm trees, and some of the romance of the
cruising life struck us all. We discussed loneliness; the absence of movies, night clubs, bright lights."

Since then I've given considerable thought to the "why" of cruising. For us it lies hidden somewhere in the process of search and discovery, the mixture of action and stillness, the yin and yang of adventure and peace. It involves a gut-level response to the idea that there is something more important than comfort and safety. But until someone can say what that something is, in plain language, I am content merely to note its indescribable existence and to continue to live as if the idea were true. (Payson 1980:250)

In those four quotations, we can see individual views on independence, on survival, and on nature - cruisers value all three. But there is also a hint of cruisers' relationship to modern society, a subject that will be discussed extensively in later chapters. Ignored in these quotations are questions raised in other books, including the potential danger to this independence caused by modern technology. The radio is a good example.

If a person wishes to sail in an unseaworthy vessel, or put to sea with little knowledge of seamanship or navigation, that I consider is entirely his or her own affair provided he does not harm or inconvenience others; I therefore do not understand why he should be advised, bullied or compelled to carry with him rescue and survival equipment. In the unlikely event that I were asked to legislate for yachts, the only rule I would make would be that, except for yachts taking part in a race for which some club or other organisation felt responsible, no yacht should be permitted to carry ship/shore radio. We in yachts do not have to go to sea like the professional seaman does, we go because we want to, and therefore we have no right when in trouble to call on others, perhaps with risk to them, to get us out of a difficulty which, with a bit of planning and some common sense, we could probably have avoided. It is the 'mayday' calls that set off the air/sea searches which give all of us a bad public image. We are frequently told that the lifeboat, coastguard, or other services are almost overwhelmed by the large numbers of private craft that get into trouble and call for help - in 1973 in United States waters I understand there were 782,000 incidents in which people in boats needed rescue or assistance - and again and again there are government threats that because of this we shall all have to pass tests and our vessels be inspected; not only would that restrict our freedom but it would cost money to pay the bureaucrats who are so keen to protect us from ourselves. Such ideas need to be strongly opposed, for we must be allowed to go unrestricted on our suicidal way, otherwise our precious freedom, which already is being eroded by immigration laws, will be lost. In most
walks of life there are little men who delight in controlling their fellows, and we must do all we can to keep their poking noses and prying fingers out of yacht cruising and voyaging, which at present are occupations open to any man or woman with a free spirit and an ability to rely on his or her own guts. (Hiscock 1978:199-200).

Hiscock calls here for cruisers to be allowed to endanger their own lives but at the same time says they should take full responsibility for their own safety. And that means no radio transmitter, no calling for help at sea. But, many cruisers do carry radios and put them to a variety of uses. Besides calling for a tow into harbour, as did one yacht on which I sailed, the radio is used for the communication of information, from weather to medical. The series of quotations following exemplify the use of the radio for medical purposes.

The yacht Resolve, becalmed about 500 miles from Fiji and over 700 from New Zealand, has a medical problem on board. Carkhuff believes that "[i]f you can't have a doctor aboard, the next best thing is to have one on a radio." (1981:42). The doctor was contacted on the ham radio set and treatment suggested.

[T]hat afternoon Sy got worse. The swelling ran from his knee to his ankle, and there were poisonous red streaks running up the inside of his leg to his groin .... [Later] when David and I had been lying on the foredeck counting jellyfish that drifted by the bow, a plane passed over us headed toward Fiji, and I had caught myself wishing we were part of that world up there, an hour away from doctors and hospitals. But that night I knew we had no right to feel sorry for ourselves for being in this predicament. The fault was ours alone, for failing to treat the small cut that had caused the infection, for getting smug and careless, and, of course, for choosing to be out here in the first place. (Carkhuff 1981:46).

Eventually, an antibiotic began to work and Resolve continued on to New Zealand, the crew a bit more careful and a bit more philosophical.

Boats and problems are synonymous, everybody knows that. And because of what we call the Rule of Resolve things only break, tear, quit, or let go when you're using them - every problem is a crisis. Successful long-distance cruisers (even short-distance ones) learn to live with this state of affairs and develop both the skills necessary to fix most of what goes wrong and the ability to look at the whole thing with a touch of distance and philosophy. Adaptation to the cruising life requires that you come to love self-sufficiency, as we had. But there is a danger here, too, and it is the one that lulled us that morning south of Fiji. It is the danger that you come to believe that you actually are self-sufficient. There's
another way to say it, too, and that is that on that morning we weren't properly scared anymore, and it's always wiser and safer at sea to be scared. (Carkhuff 1981:47)

Carkhuff could have more accurately used the term 'self-reliant' than 'self-sufficient'. In effect she supports Hiscock's view that radios should not be carried on off-shore cruising boats but for different reasons. It is not clear whether or not Carkhuff recognises the issue that radios not only give a false sense of security but do actually erode the self-reliance of the crew.

............... 

This chapter has briefly illustrated a few selected events and activities. To conclude this composite story, however, are three quotations written at the end of their authors' first major cruising experiences. Reflected are the cruisers' experiences of foreign cultures, comments on their own culture, and the role of freedom, independence, and self-reliance in their lives.

And what were the most important lessons I had learnt from a cruise of two oceans? Unquestionably the outstanding experience was of people: of black, brown and white people. Almost wherever we went ashore we made friends. Previously I had known only people who, like me, had grown up within the framework of a greedy, profit-motivated society in which man is the product of the immoral pressures that such a society engenders, unconsciously succumbing to the selfish goal of personal gratification. Yet during twelve months of travelling I had met people who had either rejected the profit motive, or did not even know the meaning of it in the economic sense; and they were richer for it - richer not in relation to, but in relations with their fellows. (Isles 1975:160).

What did the voyage prove? Many things, I believe. First of all, it proved freedom still exists in this computerized world for those of independent spirit, for there are no man-made restrictions at sea, only the laws of nature. And the endless sea abounds with adventure for all those who wish to challenge her.

It proved ingenuity and common sense are the most important qualities for a successful circumnavigation, more so than experience or a stack of how-to books. (Cultra 1978:272)
Since we came back to land we've been trying our utmost to conform and please. But I doubt if we'll ever make it in this alien element. The sound of the sea always rings in our ears, and our eyes scan far horizons.

...

Nearly five glorious years have passed [cruising]. Now we can answer the question asked by so many people - "Why do you live this way?".

We're free and happy. Voyaging is a whole new way of living, and one we intend to continue. We can go where and when we please. We make our own pattern of living. We're not bound by regulations and restrictions, only the law of the sea and the laws of the countries we visit. We're not slaves to fashion and so life has become simple and uncomplicated. Our taste in pleasure has changed. The things we enjoy doing most are free and by far the most satisfying.

We're not alone. We belong to a large yacht club, the cruising yacht club of the world, where membership is free. There are scores of people like us roaming the world, with everyone ready to help each other. It all makes us wonder - why didn't we start ten years ago? (Martin 1977:192).

Each of the issues mentioned in these quotations will reappear in the thesis and each will be drawn into the complex web that forms the underlying framework in this analysis of the cruising lifestyle. People cruise to obtain freedom and to avoid an urban lifestyle, to let their independent spirit grow away from the restrictions of the profit motive and fashion, and to live a travelling existence among a loosely knit community of like-minded people. To want to cruise is a romantic but powerful imperative. The next chapter begins the analysis of cruising by considering cruisers' aspirations in life generally and for their home society and the world. The discussion will reflect that cruisers' orientation is both creative and critical, that they seek equally to build a new lifestyle for themselves and to escape the lifestyle left behind.
CHAPTER 4

CRUISERS' ASPIRATIONS AND CONCERNS

This chapter will argue that the underlying concerns of cruisers are with issues of autonomy. At personal and societal levels cruisers' conception of 'the good life' envisages autonomy as a central life value. This conclusion is based on the data gathered through the use of the Self-Anchoraging Striving Scale developed by Hadley Cantril (1965)\(^1\).

The previous chapter provided an insight into the cruising life based on primary literature, that is, cruiser's own written words. Chapter 4, and the two following chapters, are quite different in that they report and analyse data obtained in interviews. While the focus of interest is primarily cruisers, data from the research with ocean and Soling racers is also drawn upon in Chapter 4 for comparative purposes.

The Cantril Self-Anchoraging Striving Scale is designed to enable respondents to create their own criteria, as it were, and to this end the questions are completely open-ended and respondents are not asked about any specific issues. It is designed to collect information that facilitates seeing how the subjects view their own personal 'good' life; it does not attempt to force the responses into preconceived categories in the interview. The resultant data were then analysed into a Code based on Cantril's original Code, modified by the addition of specific sections to reflect the three subject groups.\(^2\)

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1 Hereafter, it is referred to as the Striving Scale or the Cantril instrument. See Chapter 2 and the Appendices for detail of the method, questions, coding system, and data.

2 See Appendix IV.
The three groups, cruisers, ocean racers, and Soling racers were administered this instrument by interview in the case of the first two groups and by questionnaire in the case of the latter. The data from all three are reported and analysed in this chapter and in the relevant Appendices but it must be emphasised that it is the cruising subjects that are of central concern. The two racing groups are included in the research, and hence here, in order to highlight the orientations of cruisers. As with other parts of the research, the two racing groups were surveyed to provide comparative information and to provide data that helps to show if cruisers can be separated and distinguished from other groups.  

The chapter is divided into three main sections: Personal, Societal, and the Ladder Ratings. The first section is concerned with reporting the responses to the open-ended questions about PERSONAL aspirations and concerns; the second reports on the Aspirations and Concerns for SOCIETY; and the third discusses the so-called LADDER-RATINGS given in relation to both Personal and Society questions.

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3 It also must be emphasised that this is an interpretive chapter and that the raw data are not included. Appendix V, however, does present examples of actual responses which are organised code section by code section. This information is further supplemented by the presentation in Appendix VI of tabulations showing response rates to all code sections. A direct comparison of information in these two Appendices with the full Code in Appendix IV allows the reader access to the original data only one step removed from a full transcript.

4 Respondents were first asked to describe in words their aspirations and concerns for themselves personally (and subsequently for society) before being asked to rank themselves on an 11-point scale in relation to the two extremes they described. The scale was diagrammatically represented as a 'ladder', hence the notion of 'ladder ratings'. See Appendix III for the actual questions.

5 The reporting here does not follow the order of the interviews in that the ladder ratings for the Personal section were obtained before Society questions were asked.
I. PERSONAL ASPIRATIONS AND CONCERNS

The discussion that follows will argue that, consistent with other parts of the research, cruisers' responses can be distinguished on the basis of issues such as autonomy, self-reliance, and challenge-seeking. This is in distinct contrast to the two racing groups' responses which differ primarily because of their concerns about occupations. The three groups are 'agreed' on the importance of such personal issues as physical and emotional health, a sense of personal worth, and a happy family life. The characteristics which differentiate cruisers from the racing groups are those associated with the humanistic/existential view of human nature. This clustering of such characteristics to cruisers suggests that the life goals of cruisers, while sharing commonality with, do differ significantly from, the racing groups.⁶

The most significant and substantial insight into cruisers' views in the context of the Striving Scale comes, in my view, from analysis of the interview responses of the subjects as opposed to the 'ladder' ratings. It is in the former, that is in answering the open-ended, in-depth questions, that the subjects provide a view of the world in their own terms, in their own words. It is here that the respondents discuss what is important to them. In discussing these responses it is well to remember that respondents were asked to discuss their aspirations first; that is they were asked to describe how their life would be if it were as good as it could be. They were then asked to describe what they feared, how their life would be if it were as bad as it could be for them.⁷

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⁶ It must be remembered that all three subject groups were asked these questions in relation to their total life or lifestyle not specifically in relation to cruising or racing.

⁷ The actual questions are in Appendix III.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cruiser Ranks</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Short Description</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Ocean Racer Ranks</th>
<th>Soling Ranks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>Happy Family Life</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>Stay with the Sea</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>Standard of Living</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>Recreation, Travel</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>Personal Flexibility</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
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<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>Variety, Challenge</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>Self-Development</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>138</td>
<td>A Shore Base</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
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<td>105</td>
<td>Own Personal Worth</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>137</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>No Steady Employment</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>-</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ocean Racer Ranks</th>
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<th>Short Description</th>
<th>%</th>
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<th>Cruiser Ranks</th>
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<td>47.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>Recreation, Travel</td>
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<td>131</td>
<td>One's Own Health</td>
<td>36.8</td>
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<td>Acceptance by Others</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<tr>
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<td>142</td>
<td>Relatives</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>103</td>
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<td>26.3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
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<td>135</td>
<td>Stay with the Sea</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>114</td>
<td>Have Own House, Boat, Etc.</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>Maintain Status Quo</td>
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<td>Emotional Stability, Maturity</td>
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<tr>
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<td>105</td>
<td>Own Personal Worth</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>Good, Congenial Job</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>Success in One's Work</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
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</table>
Table 4.3: Personal Aspirations - Rank Order Comparisons - Sailing Rankings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sailing Ranks</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Short Description</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Crusier Ranks</th>
<th>Ocean Racer Ranks</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>Happy Family Life</td>
<td>55.6</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>Recreation, Travel</td>
<td>44.4</td>
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<td>101</td>
<td>Emotional Stability, Maturity</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>Good Job, Congenial Work</td>
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<td>27.8</td>
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<td>22.2</td>
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<td>131</td>
<td>One's Own Health</td>
<td>16.7</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The relative and absolute importance of each code section is shown in Tables 4.1 through 4.6 where a ranked listing is found. The code sections with the highest percentages are those which the highest number of respondents mentioned. It must be remembered that respondents did not rank nor assign a priority to these code sections and that the issues they mentioned were unprompted and undirected.

---

8 Tables 4.4, 4.5, and 4.6 are to be found in Section B. Cantril, in his original study, reported only code sections that received at least 5% response rate. The reporting here, however, uses a 12% cut-off. Below 12%, the numbers of respondents become very small, especially for the two racing groups. The phrase 'code section' is used to refer to a single part of the total code, each of which bears a unique number.
A. Aspirations

Cruisers were asked to what they aspire in life and here I analyse the answers to that question. The Striving Scale juxtaposes aspirations with concerns (or fears, worries) in order to develop an understanding of the world view of the particular subjects being considered.

The data gathered with the Cantril Self-Anchororing Striving Scale suggest that cruisers aspire to a healthy life with a happy family, and a lifestyle characterised by variety, freedom, and challenges, all within a natural environment. In one sense, these aspirations are no surprise. However, the fact that neither racing group emphasised all of these aspirations suggests cruisers may be somewhat different, a topic that will be explored after the commonality between all three subject groups has been discussed. As Tables 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 show, the code sections held in common were:

101 Emotional stability and maturity
103 Self-development or improvement
104 Acceptance by others
105 Achieve sense of own personal worth
131 One's own health
133 Recreation, travel, leisure time
141 Happy family life

There were also three other code sections where only the cruisers and ocean racers overlapped:

111 Improved or decent standard of living for self or family
114 Have own house, boat, etc. or get better ones
135 Stay with the sea

Where there is overlap of responses between cruisers and one or both of the racer groups, we cannot easily distinguish between cruisers and the comparison racing groups. This common ground is not particularly unexpected as it deals with, or points to, fairly universal human needs, for example, needs for recognition by others, a sense of
self-worth, personal health and maturity and a decent standard of living. Most of these code sections fit well with the lower sections of Maslow's hierarchy of human needs (Maslow 1943) and with the findings of Cantril (1965) in the original study.

What is of most interest in these tables are the code sections which distinguish one group from another. On the one hand, there are code sections which only cruisers ranked and, on the other, there are code sections which only racers ranked. The code sections which only cruisers ranked are:

124 Not employee, steady job
134 Variety, challenge, an active life
136 Personal flexibility
137 Concern for place of living
138 A shore base
151 Freedom

On the other hand, the code sections ranked only by either racing group were:

121 Good job, congenial work (both)
123 Success in one's work (both)
142 Concern for relatives (ocean racers only)
196 Status quo (ocean racers only)

Underlying four of the six code sections specific to cruisers is the expression of personal freedom and flexibility, the desire to avoid the "tyranny of the collective will and decision" (001). I will highlight these four codes individually. Code 134, 'Variety, challenge, an active life' has a descriptive and obvious title. However, the sentiments expressed in the items coded here include the need to be creative and adventurous, situations normally requiring freedom of action. Likewise, on Code 136 'Personal Flexibility' can be found a cluster of concepts related to freedom and particularly to a desire to be free of the social pressure to conform and be personally restricted. Underlying this code is a critique of western, urban
society which asserts that a mass society can be debilitating and restricting and that the individual in such a society is consciously and unconsciously forced to conform to mores and timetables antagonistic to natural rhythms.

It is this belief in the value of natural rhythms that becomes explicit in Code 137 'Concern for Place of Living', focusing on the desire to live near nature and out-of-doors. This is consistent with the discussion in Chapter 5 of the perceived value of ocean passages. There is an underlying belief here that the artificial environments created in cities do not facilitate freedom, flexibility and creativity. The fourth of the codes unique to cruisers makes explicit what is implicit in the others - Freedom (151). While this code does include such specific freedoms as those of speech, religion and occupation, it is freedom of movement that cruisers emphasise. Freedom of movement is obviously needed for a nomadic lifestyle and this is especially important to one where the forces of nature restrict and dictate when movement can be made safely.

These are the four codes that most clearly set cruisers apart as people, and that set their motivation, goals, and values apart from the other two subject groups. It is this need for the freedom associated with nature's imperatives that separates cruisers from those who accept what cruisers see as the lack of freedom inherent in the artificial imperatives of urban, western society with its all-pervasive governance. Cruisers reject what they see as such a restriction upon their flexibility and such a loss of natural freedom. As explored elsewhere, cruisers are not unaware that the forces of nature restrict freedom to a large degree and that they cannot simply expect to do as they please when they please. However, the restriction upon freedom by the forces of nature such as seasonal changes are seen as more acceptable than are the restrictions created by the artificial social/political environment. The latter are seen as seriously dehumanising while the former are not. Nature's imperatives are thought to allow freedoms that cruisers believe are absent in Western society.

Presented above is the idealised view, the desired state of affairs, that sets cruisers apart from the other two groups in terms of their objectives in life. The individual reality, of course, is
somewhat more complex. The demands of nature can be so overwhelming to some people, such that it can be beyond their resources to cope. But, while some cruisers may leave cruising because of the forces of nature there are few who said they would like to go back to living in a big city with a nine-to-five job.

Suffice it to say, while idealising it or not, the people who continue to cruise seek both to avoid the restrictions of urban employment and living, and to actively place themselves in an environment where nature is a predominant force, one which is perceived as allowing a person the freedoms that urban, western society restricts. There is no suggestion that these freedoms are undemanding nor that they are always enjoyable, but meeting the demands of these freedoms and coping with their exigencies is considered to be satisfying and self-affirming.

The fifth code unique to cruisers, 'A Shore Base, not cruise forever' recognises that most people cannot cruise forever and also that some clearly do not see it as a lifetime pursuit; there are other things to do in life. One of the 'other things' is to travel on land by campervan. This alternative was mentioned in interviews and in subsequent communication. One ex-cruiser even commented how prevalent the practice was of going from yacht to campervan. It remains to another study to fully explore the switch to campervan travel and the lifestyle inherent in the use of campervans and caravans over extended periods of time.

As listed previously, there are areas of the code specific to the racing groups. Two of the codes that are common to both groups but that were ignored by cruisers are 'Good job, congenial work for self' (121) and 'Success in one's work' (123). Clearly, these two codes are closely related as they both deal with employment and it is hardly surprising that such considerations should not dominate cruisers' concerns. In fact, as is shown below, cruisers are more interested in avoiding full-time employment and in being able to get casual employment as required to survive.

Further insight was given into this when the miscellaneous code for this section was taken into account. That code, number 129, showed that the work responses of cruisers are couched in the negative. With
this in mind, a new code (124) was created to account for the 12.7% of cruisers who fit this notion. Cruisers either do not want to have to work or do not want a regular job. Their aim is to stay out of the confining situation represented by regular work and career structures within society. Success in such a society would be antagonistic to the basic aims of cruising people: freedom, flexibility and variety. To accept the demands of a regular job and career would be to reject what is central to the definition of the cruisers' aspirations. Related to this code, of course is 122 which focusses on having steady employment. No subjects mentioned items which coded into this code.\(^9\)

In summary, as far as the concept of work and employment is concerned, cruisers want out and racers want in. The racing groups are interested in being part of the system of work and career at the heart of urban western society while cruisers are only instrumentally interested in working on a casual basis in order to keep the cruising life-style together. They do not want a steady job; on the contrary, they want access to casual employment when funds run short. This orientation to work is fundamental to being able to enjoy cruising. A number of interviewees comment on the difficulty they had in overcoming the power of the work ethic when they first began cruising. It was more than the security of having a job that has to be overcome; it was the feeling that a total cultural change is taking place whereby work moves from being a central life concern to one where it becomes totally instrumental and relegated to the background.

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 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

\(^9\) The implication of having a 'career' are anathema to the central values of cruising. A 'career' demands a long-term commitment to an employment situation and has implications for the subverting of personal goals and values to the overriding imperatives of the organisation or profession. That is to say, the individual must be prepared to take second place to the organisation when a 'career' path is being negotiated.
include electronics, civil engineering, medicine, photography, commercial art, law, academia, and business. Cruisers are often people who have been in a successful career and who, given the financial rewards of it, have been able to move into a different kind of life.

Code 142 'Relatives' is listed for ocean racers only. No Soling items coded into this one while only a few cruisers did. What is interesting is that the few cruisers who did have items for this code were more concerned with proximity, while the ocean racers were concerned with general welfare. This difference in focus is understandable given the mobile nature of the cruising life-style and the fact that most cruisers cannot afford to fly home to visit family very often. In fact, cruisers often use paid yacht delivery jobs in order to get to their home country for a visit.

In summary, responses in the Personal Aspirations section effectively and consistently show cruisers to have significantly different preoccupations from those of the surveyed racers. Cruisers are different in their concern for personal autonomy, a preoccupation that emerges as well in the next section, Personal Concerns.

B. Personal Concerns

In this section the discussion centers on what most concerns the respondents, what they most fear going wrong in their personal lives. As with the previous discussion, what is unique to each group tells us the most about what differentiates one group from another in terms of their attitudes toward life and their values. Tables 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6 display the results of the coding for this part of Cantril instrument.

There is less commonality between all three groups in this section than the previous one, there being only three codes in common, namely:

231 Ill health, accident, death for self.
241 No or unhappy family life.
243 Ill health, accident, death for family.
The issues pointed to in these three codes are not very surprising as again they encompass values central to human societies, family and health. As in the Aspirations section, the commonality found embraces universal human values and as such does not undermine the specific differences of cruisers from racers.

Further apparent commonality occurs between cruisers and each of the racing groups. In the case with Solings the commonality is with Code 221 'Poor job, uncongenial work'. However, the actual items in the code show a very different orientation between the cruisers and the Soling items. The Soling respondents expect to work in occupations on a regular basis and their concerns as expressed here are with satisfactions obtainable in their jobs they want to enjoy their jobs. On the other hand, the responses of cruisers here reflect their distaste for working in a regular job. They do not want to go back to working in the law or on assembly lines. Given cruiser's orientation to freedom explored earlier, the notion of having to work would be negative but the thought of working in a poor or uncongenial job would be even worse. This seems to be reflected in cruiser responses to this issue. It is clear from the earlier discussion that cruisers do not see work as an important aspect of the life style to which they aspire whereas both racing groups did. In contemplating a personal life they would dislike, though, cruisers consider having to work in an uncongenial job as a part of that undesirable personal life.

The commonality cruisers have with ocean racers in this section is again only an apparent difference because the similarities of the Code 211 'Standard of Living' disappears when the meanings attributed to the items in it are analysed. Racers are concerned about their luxuries, about maintaining their high standard of living. Cruisers on the other hand, mention such basics as starvation. However, cruisers also worry about being in debt to such an extent that they have to stay working in the system. This is consistent with their dislike for regular employment and the constraints of an urban occupation, and it also reinforces the recurring theme that cruisers do not wish to be tied to the usual social and economic structure.

Cruisers and ocean racers also share a concern for the loss of the boat, something that Solings do not even mention. This concern for
### Table 4.4: Personal Worries - Rank Order Comparisons, Cruiser Rankings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ocean Racer Ranks</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Short Description</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Cruiser Ranks</th>
<th>Soling Ranks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>Ill health - self</td>
<td>52.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>Ill health - family</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>Loss of personal flexibility</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>Poor job, uncongenial work</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>Living in uncongenial place</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>Loss of boat</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>Inadequate standard of living</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>Loss of personal freedom</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>No or unhappy family life</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>To be dependent on others</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>No sense of personal worth</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>Lack of freedom</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>War</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 4.5: Personal Worries - Rank Order Comparisons, Racer Rankings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ocean Racer Ranks</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Short Description</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Soling Ranks</th>
<th>Cruiser Ranks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>Ill health - self</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>Inadequate standard of living</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>No or unhappy family life</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>War</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>Loss of boat</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>Relatives</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>Ill health - family</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.6: Personal Worries - Rank Order Comparisons, Soling Rankings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soling Ranks</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Short Description</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Cruiser Ranks</th>
<th>Ocean Racer Ranks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>Ill health - self</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>Poor job, uncongenial work</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>No or unhappy family life</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>Ill health - family</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The boat by both cruisers and ocean racers could be because both groups are involved in much more substantial sail boats and, in the case of cruisers at least, the boat is central to their lifestyle. Other parts of the interviews suggest that long-distance ocean racing people relate to the sea and their boat in a way more akin to cruisers than do Soling sailors. The items in this code would tend to confirm such a view.

The fear of 'War' (291) is also common to ocean racers and cruisers. Nuclear War is mentioned specifically here but is not an overwhelming aspect of the response. Cruisers' recognition and fear of war is not hard to explain given the nature of their social critique as evidenced throughout this thesis. However, it is not clear why ocean racers focussed on this issue while Soling racers did not. The average age of ocean racers is higher than that of Soling racers which may account for this awareness.

The foregoing discussion has highlighted some of the similarities between the three respondent groups. Following is a discussion of those codes that were unique to cruisers, and which help to show how their

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10 The yachts are more 'substantial' in terms of size, equipment, accommodation and cost, and in their ability to transport people across oceans. Solings, on the other hand, have no cabin or accommodation of any sort when used for racing.
concerns differ from the other two groups. The six codes of concern are:

232 To be dependent on others
236 Loss of personal flexibility
238 Loss of personal freedoms
251 Lack of freedom
205 No sense of personal worth
237 Living in an un congenial place

The first four of these codes are a virtual mirror image of the codes that were unique to cruisers in the Aspirations section. These issues are obviously central to cruisers' conception of a desirable lifestyle because not only is the existence of these issues desired but also their absence is feared. These 'freedom' issues are not perceived as simply neutral or positive; their absence would be negative.

The loss of freedom is prominent as a fear. The epitome of this is a fear of being in jail, specific mention of which was notable in the data (and included in Code 238). The lack of Racer items in this code certainly suggests that those two groups take their physical freedoms more for granted than do cruisers. In fact, none of the freedom codes were mentioned by at least 12% of either racer group and so do not show up in the tables. It appears, also, that they take their personal independence so much for granted that the issue did not surface. Cruisers very clearly expressed their fear of dependence on others (Code 232) in terms of both physical dependence and social psychological dependence on the infrastructure of society. It appears that the two racing groups accept their dependence on society in a way that cruisers do not. The racers are involved in life styles intimately tied to western urban society; they are part of the mutual dependence that typifies the integrated nature of the modern urban environment.\(^{11}\)

\(^{11}\) See Appendix VII. This 'dependence' and 'integration' involves more than the familial and primary group social processes that characterise many societies and which are perceived as essentially positive in such societies. Cruisers perceive their lifestyle as characterised by cooperativeness which implies a certain degree of integration and interdependence. On the other hand, the dependence and
Cruisers do not wish to be an integral part of this environment and fear the dependence, or interdependence, that such an integration brings.12

The other three Codes (236, 238, 251) which refer to a fear of dependence are consistent with the more subtle dependence involved in Code 232 above. Code 236, 'Loss of Personal Flexibility', is not a political thing to cruisers. Rather, they are concerned here not to become tied into the system of materialistic ownership that necessitates debts and mortgages. They perceive certain societal imperatives as 'trapping' people through materialism and the debt system used to finance a materialistic lifestyle. Cruisers fear losing their personal flexibility by themselves being trapped.

Code 251, 'Lack of Freedom', adds another dimension to this aspect of a restrictive society. Besides the predictable and obvious concern that free movement across the oceans and between countries be allowed, cruisers believe that increases in bureaucracy also affect more subtle pressures on freedom. Consistent with themes expressed elsewhere in the research, they believe that increasing bureaucracy, private and public, is eroding the freedom of individuals.13 Cruisers seek to minimise this fear by trying to live outside the mainstream of the highly structured urban environment.

Cruisers' concern for 'freedom' is in marked contrast not only to the two racing subgroups but also to Cantril's original study. In fact,

integration cruisers appear to castigate in these data and context is that characteristic of large bureaucratic and economic units, that is, dependence beyond the primary group socially and economically. Discussion in Appendix VII highlights large government bureaucracies and transnational corporations as central to the creation of this dependence.

12 Cruisers recognise they are not totally independent of society and its products. However, while they do not go to the extreme offered by subsistence farming, for example, most do attempt to reduce their dependence. The cruisers who shun radar, satellite navigators, radio transmitters, and freezers do so in part because the maintenance of these items ties them inextricably to shore-based repair facilities and supplies and, hence, to the larger cities. See, for example, Naranjo 1983.

13 The substance of these fears is obvious in cruisers' critical appraisal of society and will be elaborated upon later.
Cantril says in his concluding chapter that "few people indeed seemed to be self-consciously concerned with 'freedom' as a category in the code" (1965:318). Cantril had designed the Code to reflect the data and did modify it as necessary in response to concerns emerging from different sections of his samples (1965:26-7). It is not clear why a code section was never inserted for 'psychological freedom' as Cantril refers to it (1965:319). However, it must be assumed that such issues of freedom seldom arose in his samples, in the same way that they did not arise in my data for the two racing groups.

The code sections inserted to respond accurately to the statements of cruisers do include this 'psychological freedom' and further highlight how the cruiser respondents differ on this dimension from the other groups and from Cantril's original sample. The above discussion shows clearly that cruisers are concerned about the subtleties of their own freedom, and that their concerns go beyond the 'political' freedoms of religion, of speech and so on. These latter are of concern to cruisers but are not their only concerns about freedom. They are also not the ones which go to the essence of the motivation to cruise, a motivation that involves freedom at a personal, psychological level. This will be discussed further below.

Two other codes were unique to cruiser responses. The first of these, 'Living in an uncongenial place' (237), is consistent in its underlying form with the freedom issues discussed above. The explicit statements in this code reflect a fear of living in urban environments, yet 'Uncongenial' has wider connotations than just noise and other pollution. Since cruisers relate strongly to the rhythm of nature, they prefer nature's imperatives to those of artificial urban environments. It is this issue, too, that links fears of living in a city to freedom issues because, as has also been previously argued, cruisers believe that cities encourage social and physical restrictions which are anathema to a free life style.

The last code unique to cruisers, 'No sense of personal worth' (205), reflects the need to be and feel a sense of self-worth. This is consistent with that psychological theory which stresses that a sense of self-worth is of fundamental importance to the psychological health and well-being of human beings. It is logical that a sense of self-worth
would be even more important to persons pursuing a lifestyle that falls outside the mainstream of society. This is because society gives plenty of guidance to those who stay within the taken-for-granted pathways of society while those who step outside these normal pathways must rely more heavily on their own sense of self-worth, their own confidence, their own ability. The other side of this is that cruisers appear to seek cruising as a lifestyle because it allows the independence which forces a person to rely on their own resources. Implicitly, a sense of self-worth is recognised as being an important aspect of coping with the independence demanded in cruising.

C. Summary

The analysis of the Personal responses above shows that the underlying preoccupation of cruisers is with autonomy. In the case of the Cantril instrument at the personal level, autonomy manifests itself clearly and explicitly in the data. When compared to the two racing groups, cruisers uniquely identify issues of autonomy as pre-occupations; it is at the forefront of their consciousness. The data suggest that autonomy manifests itself at a personal and an interactive, or social, level. Firstly, at a personal level, this concern is explicit in the identification of personal flexibility and freedoms as central concerns. However, at an implicit level the link is made between personal autonomy and a strong sense of self-worth; the cruising respondents suggest that without this sense of self-worth there is no means of asserting, activating, or utilising their freedom and flexibility. It may be possible to be active and to be free without a strong sense of self-worth but the conjuncture of these issues by cruisers suggests that they see them very much as interactive issues. That is to say, they think it takes a self-confident person to make full use of the possibility of choice, to make use of freedom.

Secondly, this conjuncture of freedom and self-worth as an underlying aspect of autonomy is further strengthened when the interactive level of personal concerns is considered. 14 However, it is

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14 I have used the term 'interactive' to avoid confusion with the 'Society' discussion to follow.
still necessary to recognise that cruisers also couch their desire for personal autonomy as related to the constraints put on them as a result of their interaction with other people and with social institutions. The thrust of their concern for autonomy in this context is with two main issues: i) they are naturally and logically concerned that basic human freedoms and rights be maintained, with a strong and predictable emphasis on freedom of movement; ii) at a more subtle level, cruisers are concerned that their basic autonomy not be undermined by their environment, believing that many of the factors involved in urban society represent a powerful loss of personal autonomy. They specifically mention the constraints inherent in the materialistic lifestyle which is based on debt and mortgages. They see debt as being a major constraint to autonomy because it is debt that 'locks' a person into the economic system, ties the person to a job, a routine, and a place of living that is generally seen as uncongenial.

Urban environments are seen as uncongenial by cruisers because in many ways they are the antithesis of cruising. They are considered unnatural environments, out of touch with natural rhythms and cycles, which therefore impose constraints on personal autonomy. Cruisers suggest that the individual may be aware of these constraints as debilitating to personal autonomy, yet still find that the routine and integrated structure of urban living is unavoidable. While cruisers acknowledge that urban societies have, in some cases, produced an impressive array of legal freedoms, they seem to experience the sense of an underlying process in an urban environment that reduces autonomy.

Cantril (1965:283-4) concluded that education level was clearly related to the range of aspirations his respondents identified. At the same time, he noted that an urban environment also increased the "horizons of awareness of potentialities available both to individuals and to nations". On the other hand, economic position was not clearly related to the range and level of aspirations. The significance of this for the present study is obvious. Cruisers are not 'poor' by anyone's standards, they are well educated and have usually lived in an urban environment. Their personal concerns certainly transcend the material and are, therefore, quite consistent with Cantril's findings. At the same time, cruisers contrast very markedly with Cantril's data in their
concern for personal freedom, flexibility, challenge, and self-development, issues that do not appear as significant to even the subjects in the Western nations of Cantril's study (Cantril 1965:34-66). It appears that, when compared with Cantril's study results, the cruising subculture has a wider range of aspirations and concerns, especially in relation to the issues of independence and freedom. Because neither ocean nor Soling racers focus on issues of personal flexibility, freedom, and variety, as do cruisers, the concerns of the racers are more consistent with the Cantril results than are the cruisers'. This fact further highlights the different life orientation of the cruising respondents, their differing ideology.

II. CRUISER'S ASPIRATIONS AND CONCERNS FOR SOCIETY

Cruisers are people who have deviated from the lifestyle expected as the norm in western culture. Consistent with such deviation, these people have a strong sense of what is good and bad about the society they have left behind. The literature and data discussed elsewhere in this thesis suggest that while some cruisers had a very strong social critique of which they were aware before they started cruising, others have only become conscious of their critique while in the process of creating their cruising lifestyle. More important, the social comment articulated by cruisers reflects more than a need to escape. There is also a need to create a 'society' or lifestyle congruent with their needs. Clearly, cruisers see things they wish to avoid and at the same time see things they wish to embrace. The Personal section of this chapter has shown that distinction and here the Society section demonstrates the same kind of distinction.

Not unexpectedly, these people have strong views on what society should be like and what they fear most in social and national developments. These attitudes were articulated clearly and consistently

15 Poland was an exception in mentioning self-development.
in response to the questions posed by the Cantril Self-anchoring Striving Scale. Such opinions are also consistent and complementary with those discussed above in the Personal section. It will be recalled that there was a fair degree of commonality in the desirable qualities of a personal future between the three groups of respondents while, at the same time, cruisers expressed significantly different sentiments along a number of dimensions. However, in the Society section there is very little commonality in regard to code sections. In fact, the three respondent groups did not share an emphasis on any single code section in the Aspirations section and agreed on only two code sections in the Concerns section of the questions. Consequently, we are apparently faced with three quite different views of what a desirable society is like.

However, although a perusal of the cruiser and ocean racer lists shows little Code section agreement, it does show a degree of conceptual agreement on what constitutes a good society (see Tables 4.7, 4.8 and 4.9). Both groups share a hope for 'An Humanistic Society' and 'Social Justice'. This agreement is enhanced by the conceptually similar emphasis on 'A concern for the environment' and 'Less Materialism' by cruisers and 'Elimination of inequality' and 'Social and Political Responsibility' by ocean racers. The six codes mentioned here are conceptually similar in their concern for ethical and moral issues, for human values as opposed to material values, and in their non-economic orientation. The Soling racers distinguished themselves from the others by focussing almost exclusively on material and economic issues.

A. Aspirations

Cruiser aspirations for society are consistent with their orientation in the Personal section and with data discussed in other chapters. Their overall orientation is towards the fostering of autonomy in individuals in a non-aggressive, caring society, one that respects nature and the environment generally. However, before discussing this overall orientation of cruisers, it is worthwhile taking a closer look at those codes only cruisers emphasised.
### Table 4.7
Society Aspirations - Rank Order Comparisons, Cruiser Rankings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cruiser Ranks</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Short Description</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Ocean Racer Ranks</th>
<th>Soling Ranks</th>
</tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>An Humanistic Society</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>Concern for Environment</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>Concern for Education</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>Efficient Government</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>Peace</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>Freedom</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>Social Justice</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
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<td>8</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>Self-reliance</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>Limited Population Growth</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>Less Materialism</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>Less Bigness in Government and Business</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>Better World</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>487</td>
<td>Less Nationalism</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 4.8
Society Aspirations - Rank Order Comparisons, Ocean Racer Rankings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ocean Racer Ranks</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Short Description</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Soling Ranks</th>
<th>Cruiser Ranks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>Eliminate Inequality</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>Social &amp; Political Responsibility</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>Less Welfare</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>Improved Standard of Living</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>National Independence</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>Maintain Status Quo</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>402</td>
<td>Efficient Government</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>Balanced Government</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>An Humanistic Society</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>Capitalistic</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>Social Justice</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>Public Health</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>-</td>
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Table 4.9
Society Aspirations - Rank Order Comparisons, Soling Racer Rankings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soling Ranks</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Short Description</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Cruiser Ranks</th>
<th>Ocean Racer Ranks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>Standard of Living</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>Economic Stability</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>Control of Labour</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>Peace</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three themes appear to conceptualise the explicit sentiments in the codes unique to cruisers. I have labelled these three themes: Environment, Excesses, and Freedom. After discussing these themes (and their respective parts of the Code) I will explore what appear to be two underlying Code sections. The first of these is the Code section 'Better World' (466), which is oriented toward international and racial understanding, while the second is the created code section 'An Humanistic Society'.

(i) **Environment theme:** The strong emphasis by cruisers on this code section (493 Concern for Environment) reflects the immersion of the cruising lifestyle within a natural environment. Cruisers are in daily contact with nature in a way that urban dwellers are not. For example, they are continually alert for changes in tide and in weather, and to the passage of the seasons. Knowledge of these phenomena is vital to the survival of a small sailing vessel, whether in port or at sea. It appears that this close, intimate, and integral contact with and dependence on nature makes cruisers more aware of and concerned for the natural environment. The concerns expressed here include pollution, over-exploitation of resources, nuclear power, and nature's rhythms. While there is a qualitative difference between the first three of these issues and the fourth, together they comprise a theme which represents a
belief among cruisers that a desirable society is one that recognises and lives by the principles of an ecological balance.\(^{16}\)

(ii) **Excesses theme:** It seems that cruisers are people who believe that excesses in a society are not good for that society. To a large degree, this theme reflects the cruising lifestyle which is certainly not dominated by artificial excesses. There is seldom an excess of money, the lifestyle is not materialistic, and it relies on small scale, intermediate technology. Evidence that cruisers are concerned to reduce what I have called excesses is to be found in the placement of four codes, namely:

- 446  Less materialism
- 442  Limited population growth
- 413  Less bigness in government and business
- 487  Less nationalism

Cruisers emanate from a highly materialistic society, one that has provided them with the material wealth to go cruising.\(^{17}\) At the same time, however, while cruisers are not highly materialistic in their orientation to possessions, they have opted for voluntary simplicity. Cruising is a non-materialistic lifestyle and a non-consumption oriented lifestyle and it is therefore hardly surprising that cruisers' ideal society does not emphasise what they see as a shallow and restrictive way of life. 'Less materialism' (446) is seen to facilitate a deeper human society and concomitantly, a more ecologically balanced society.

The second of the excesses codes (442) is a suggestion that our earth cannot sustain unlimited population growth. It takes little imagination and awareness to see that unlimited population growth could pose serious problems in itself (e.g. starvation, poor health). However, the responses suggest that cruisers see such population growth as a problem on a deeper level. They suggest that urban areas will

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\(^{16}\) Pollution, over-exploitation of resources, and nuclear power are specific and arguably negative while 'nature's rhythms' is a neutral and general term.

\(^{17}\) See Chapter 8 for a discussion of the high capital, low consumption rate in cruising.
inevitably grow, too, and with them will come an increase in the urban problems cruisers noted earlier.

The third theme concerning excesses focusses on the growth of big business and big government (413). As with population and urban concerns, cruisers believe that 'bigness' and mass situations are potential problems. Cruisers antipathy toward large organisations, be they government, business, or cities, has been obvious in many parts of the research. They believe that individuals are dwarfed by large organisations and that there is a loss of personal power and freedom in relation to such organisations because of the inertia of giantism. Cruisers see, as one of the keys to their own lifestyle, the ability to operate as independent and self-reliant human beings in any context, and they believe that 'bigness' in the organisations of society is antagonistic to such independence.

Cruisers' internationalist orientation is evident in the fourth code (487) of the Excesses theme suggested by the fact that over 40% of cruiser respondents explicitly related their society responses to the 'world' rather than to one country. This is in contrast to both racing groups who took a specific-nation orientation. It is consistent, then, that cruisers should consider an excess of nationalism to be dysfunctional in the world situation. While this view does reflect their international lifestyle, there is also a belief held by cruisers that nationalism divides people and leads to a less harmonious and cooperative world. Certainly, however, they tend to accept a certain amount of nationalism as socially desirable.

(iii) Freedom: Cruisers recognise that their own independence and freedom is partially dependent on the freedoms that a society or the world provides. At the same time, though, cruisers are making a statement about the desirability of society fostering self-reliance in people. They consider a good society to be one that fosters and encourages people to live independent and self-reliant lives. Consistent with this, education is emphasised as one means of helping people be self-reliant, of giving them the mental tools that are part of making better, more self-reliant choices in life.

As suggested earlier, underlying the three themes just discussed are two particular Code sections, namely 'Better World' and 'An
Humanistic Society'. The 'Better World' code contains expressions that see a good society as having more international understanding and unity, including better race relations, and less suffering. Such concerns are consistent with the high response of cruisers to the code, 'An Humanistic Society'. Almost 50% of all cruiser respondents provided items that coded into this section of the code, something that is not surprising given the responses in the Personal section of the Cantril instrument and the other parts of the Society section. The cruising way of life and the orientation of cruisers to their own and others' lives is in apparent agreement with humanistic values and attitudes and the responses in the code section illustrate this orientation.

Cruisers' conception of a good society, one that is humanistic in orientation, revolves around three major themes: caring, personal growth, and non-aggressiveness. The caring theme stressed that a society and its people should be tolerant of others, should have a greater appreciation of others, and should be more cooperative with nature. The non-aggressive theme refers to a desire for a lack of interpersonal violence and for a society that is less aggressive in its processes and living style. Personal growth, the third theme in the humanistic society code section, is more oriented toward the individual than the other two. Its chief concern is that society develop in such a way that individuals are encouraged to fulfill their desire for personal autonomy. Cruisers are concerned that full human potential be possible within mainstream society and that the reaching of personal goals be possible. The orientation inherent in these remarks is consistent with a view of human nature that stresses the potential for the development of autonomous human beings, that sees humans developing as persons through their attempts to reach beyond the everyday security of the taken-for-granted society. Cruisers would like to see a society that fosters the reaching of such autonomy.

Thus far the discussion has covered only cruiser responses. In considering the responses of the two racing groups it is useful to consider the point made in Appendix VIII that the orientations to life

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18 These themes are consistent with the adjective list description of a good cruiser; see Chapter 6.
of ocean racers are more similar to the cruisers' than is that of Soling Racers. A purusal of Tables 4.7, 4.8 and 4.9 suggests a kind of continuum with cruisers concerns at one end and Solings at the other. The cruisers' concerns have been discussed above and expressed in terms of an underlying humanistic theme, a concern for a society that features qualitative concerns for human life. Table 4.8 shows that ocean racers share some of these concerns, viz. 'Eliminate inequality', 'An humanistic society', and 'Social justice'. At that same time, ocean racers do suggest society be improved in a number of 'quantitative' ways, for example, through improved standard of living.

Soling racers, at the other end of the spectrum from cruisers, share only a concern for 'Peace' with cruisers and a concern for the 'Standard of Living' with ocean racers. The Soling responses are predominantly oriented toward more material and quantitative concerns and do not reflect an underlying concern for the individual. It seems, then, that the differences regarding lifestyle, the involvement with the ocean, and the nature of the processes of sailing are independently reflected in each of the three groups' suggestions for a desirable society. The nature of ocean racing seems to attract (or create) people with social values somewhat at odds with the other racing subgroup, Solings. In many ways, ocean racers have values very much in accord with cruisers.19

19 Alternatively, it could be hypothesized that the differences between cruisers and Soling racers is explainable by age and sex factors (there were no women in the Soling sample). The average age of the Soling respondents was 33 years as opposed to 43 years for cruisers. To check these alternative hypotheses, I searched the Cantril data for the responses from male cruisers under 34 years of age. Code section numbers 121, 123, 421, 423, 425, 436, 508, 523, and 525 all received responses from at least 12% of Soling respondents but less than 12% for the total sample of cruisers. Each of these Code sections was scrutinized to see if under 34 years of age male cruisers were heavily represented. There were six male cruisers under the age of 34 years and responses from them were found in only four of the above codes. In 421, 423 and 525 a single response was recorded, two of the three being from the same person. The fourth code, 121, received items from three respondents, two of whom were represented in the three other codes mentioned above. None of the other five codes received any items from male cruisers under 34 years of age. It would appear, then, that the age and sex factors do not provide an alternative interpretation of the data.
What has been shown, then, is that cruisers' conception of a good society is couched in terms that relate to the preservation of nature, to a non-mass oriented society, to a sustainable society (one that is in balance with nature) and to a society that fosters humanistic ideals such as autonomy. These themes appear in the Concerns section following and the discussion will further elaborate on the features that distinguish cruisers from the two racing groups.

B. Concerns

Cruisers' aspirations for freedom and a society of balance are mirrored in their concerns for the future of society (see Tables 4.10, 4.11 and 4.12). The fear of war, of pollution, and for democracy are examples of Concerns that have their counterparts in the Aspirations section. The discussion thus far with regard to Society has focussed on what constitutes a desirable society. It was shown that there is little common ground among all three groups in the characteristics they ascribe to a 'good' society. However, in relation to what concerns respondents about society there is some significant sharing of characteristics. At the same time, though, cruisers emphasise some characteristics of society which are not emphasised to such an extent by the two racing groups. It should also be noted at this point that while there are no inconsistencies in responses between Aspirations and Concerns for society there are differences of focus and emphasis. What is also interesting is that some issues are either neutral or negative while others are either neutral or positive. The former items show up in the response about an undesirable future while the latter come to the fore in describing a desirable future.

There is commonality among the three groups in their concerns about 'War, Nuclear War' (561) and 'Political instability' (Code 511). This agreement is not surprising given the international climate during this period and the widely perceived threat of nuclear war. These two codes taken together show clearly that the fear of war in a world of political instability is an important worry to the respondents. The 'political instability' issue shows a concern that our system may breakdown into relative lawlessness and violence. The idea is suggested that the crowding resulting from over-population and the frustration of
### Table 4.10
**Society Concerns - Rank Order Comparisons - Cruiser Ranks**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cruiser</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Short Description</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Ocean Racer Ranks</th>
<th>Soling Ranks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>War, Nuclear War</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>Too much materialism, standardization</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>Loss of Freedom</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>593</td>
<td>Pollution, Environment</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>Communism</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>No Democracy</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>Economic Instability</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>Political Instability</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>No Social &amp; Political responsibility</td>
<td>16.4</td>
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### Table 4.11
**Society Concerns - Rank Order Comparisons, Ocean Racer Rankings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ocean Racer Rank</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Short Description</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Soling Ranks</th>
<th>Cruiser Ranks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>Economic Instability</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>War, Nuclear War</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>Domination by Foreign Power</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>Fear Socialistic Government</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>Inefficient Government</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>Political Instability</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>Unlimited Population Growth</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.12  
Society Concerns—Rank Order Comparisons, Soling Rankings  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soling Rank</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Short Description</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Cruiser Ranks</th>
<th>Ocean Racer Ranks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>525</td>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>War, Nuclear War</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>National Disunity</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>511</td>
<td>Political Instability</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>523</td>
<td>Lower Standard of Living</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

unemployment can lead to political instability. Aside from this fundamental agreement, the three groups show few conceptual similarities in their fears for the future of Society. Cruisers' concerns seem wider than those of either racing group although, consistently, the ocean racers do share some similarities of concern with cruisers.²⁰

Taking the cruisers' concerns first, once the common codes are removed it can be seen that cruisers' 'worries' about society do mirror the themes in their aspirations. Again, we see concerns about excesses, conformity, freedom, the environment and social and political responsibility.

Code 546, 'Too much mechanisation and standardisation, materialism, conformity' is an interesting focal point for cruisers' concerns. This one code brings together a number of issues that emerge

²⁰ This may be explained to some degree, at least for the Soling respondents, by the method of data gathering. The Soling respondents answered a questionnaire and so were not verbally prompted to continue. Silence was used as a 'prompt' in interviewing the cruisers and ocean racers. The cruisers' interview was longer and, in a sense, gave a more thorough and relevant warm-up to the Cantril question than did the interviews with ocean racers.
throughout the research and specifically in earlier sections of this chapter. On reflection, a possible narrative account of the perspectives expressed by cruisers might encompass what follows. Materialism is seen by cruisers as in itself a negative characteristic of our society. However, more important are standardisation and conformity which they see as being inevitable concomitants of materialism. They see materialism as linked directly with mass society (for example, mass production) and therefore entwined with the standardisation of products and processes within society. True and effective standardisation requires conformity, and conformity is anathema to anyone whose central life goals revolve around freedom, individuality and autonomy. So, this code reflects cruisers' concerns about their own personal freedom. As is discussed elsewhere, these people believe that a mass society, especially when it is materialistic and acquisitive, is of such subtle and comprehensive effect as to be virtually impossible to live within without losing one's autonomy. The everyday imperatives of urban, materialistic society are such that the individual is bound to be influenced, even if only by the iterated structures of time, employment, and urban routines. Of course, the concerns mentioned in the Society Aspirations section about big government, big business and the increasing bureaucratisation of society are consistent with this concern for the debilitating influence of conformity on personal autonomy. They see it as inevitable that large organisations develop not only a will of their own but also demand conformity and subservience from the people who work for and live within such organisations. Cruisers seek an autonomy and scale of living that attempts to minimise and avoid such organisations.

The issue of personal autonomy referred to above emerged in the context of the more subtle issue of conformity. However, concern for personal autonomy also shows up in the emphasis on three codes, namely:

506 Loss of freedom
503 Communism
504 No Democracy

Here, the main concerns are with the more obvious and external freedoms associated with the dominant political system. Consistently, cruisers
expressed their dislike for socialist and communist types of
government, although comments about the former tend to be superficial or
naive in being more to do with believing people should look after
themselves and that only the lazy need help to avoid starving in the
West. The emphasis in the three codes above is on issues of
freedom.\textsuperscript{21} While cruisers appear anti-communist, judging by the
explicit mention of communism, their underlying concerns are with more
freedom. With regard to communism today, the data suggest that they are
more concerned about the supposedly totalitarian nature of present day
communism than they are about socialist politics. Cruisers see
political extremes as equally dangerous because they are seen as
inevitably dictatorial and repressive. Again, freedoms of all types are
of concern here.

As is discussed elsewhere, cruisers place high store on
cooperation within the cruising community. Consistent with this,
cruisers' emphasis on the Code section 'No sense of social and political
responsibility' (543) suggests that they would not like society to place
less stress on cooperative values in the future. It appears that
cruisers fear a society where people do not cooperate and where people
seem to take the attitude that the world owes them a living. The code
includes the phrase 'common good', a concept that at first glance is
hard to see as appropriate to the cruising lifestyle. Cruisers are
people who have opted out of an active role in Western, urban society
and it could, therefore, be argued that they do nothing for the 'common
good' except possibly consume fewer scarce resources.

Notwithstanding such views, I argue at length later in the thesis
that the so-called common good is served equally well by those who
choose to deviate from the norm constructively as by those who
unquestioningly stay within the normal range of activities and

\textsuperscript{21} The Cantril Code was devised during the height of the Cold War in
the late 1950s and it was deemed necessary to put any items that
specifically mentioned 'Communism' into a separate code. This reflects
the strong anti-communist values dominant in American society of the
day. Such values reject restrictions on private ownership and property,
and on the general reduction of personal autonomy and movement. There
are, too, codes which differentiate between 'communism' and 'socialist'
government.
lifestyles. In fact, it is also argued that such a low-energy, low-consumption, non-materialistic, non-nationalistic lifestyle as that of cruising is in itself a positive contribution to the 'common good'. That argument aside, the cooperative nature of the cruising lifestyle is one in which individuals commonly accept their social responsibility to some significant degree.

Turning now to the two racing groups, it can be seen that their unique code emphases are somewhat different from those of cruisers, though less so for ocean than for Soling racers. Taking ocean racers first, there is further evidence of similarity with cruisers. Not only do they overlap on the code 'Economic instability' but the ocean racer emphases on population growth and socialism are conceptually consistent with cruisers who emphasised communism and the environmental impact of excesses in population. However, I do not see this overlap as very significant in that it does not go to the core of what is unique about cruisers. The ocean racers' concern with a socialistic government is more related to the economic system of free enterprise than to political issues of personal freedom that concerns cruisers.

Similarly, the agreement between cruisers and ocean racers on code 524 'Economic instability' does not of itself make the lifestyle of cruisers and ocean racers any more similar, nor does it suggest that they want to see similar societal types develop. What it does show is that they both recognise the underlying influence of economic factors on the functioning of society. Their concerns in this code dealt with inflation, collapse of the monetary system and depression. This type of concern is consistent with the notion that a model such as Maslow's hierarchy of needs can be used to understand agreement and lack of agreement between groups. In this case, the agreement observable with regard to the economic situation is consistent with the notion that the lower levels of the hierarchy of needs are more basic to all people. That is to say, there is little argument likely to the assertion that a basic economic level and stability are uniformly desirable. It is with the higher need levels that the situation becomes more complex, partly because the needs become more culture-bound and value laden. At the higher levels, therefore, the lifestyle goals begin to diverge and we see the unique aspects of the cruisers and ocean racers emerging. Put
more simply, there are a number of fundamental aspects of society about which most people agree. Such things as economic well-being, nuclear war, and general political stability are themes about which most people will readily agree. The disagreements emerge when issues of materialism, conformity, socialism and so forth are discussed; it is at this higher level of needs that different priorities begin to emerge for different lifestyle orientations, values and attitudes.

Ocean racers also mention over-population as undesirable in a society and while cruisers did not mention this issue here they did in the context of a desirable future. However, the concerns emphasised by ocean racers are with issues that were not of concern to cruisers. Ocean racers saw over-population as lowering the standard of living and creating racial and cultural tensions in society. It will be remembered that cruisers' concerns about over-population related to urban problems and their antipathy toward the resultant mass society. It is clear, then, that while cruisers and ocean racers agree that over-population is undesirable they see quite different undesirable consequences.

Another code unique to ocean racers is 'Domination by a foreign power' (588). It is quite logical that this was not an issue for cruisers. However, ocean racer interests in this regard are interesting because of the two themes that emerge. On the one hand there is concern about being economically and culturally dominated by the USA and, on the other, a fear of having enemy forces on Australian territory. The former fear was expressed by both Canadian and Australian respondents while the latter was an Australian issue only.

Turning now to the Soling items, we see that their concerns here are consistent with the point of view expressed in previous sections of this Chapter. Aside from the agreement with the other two groups (discussed above) the Solings have again focussed on the standard of living and on unemployment. They were also consistent in showing their nationalistic concerns by mentioning national disunity as a potential social problem. Of note, too, is that Soling respondents mentioned only a total of five items that fit any of the codes in Section 3: Social

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22 The absolute level is arguable of course but stability would find agreement.
(see Appendix VI). This is further reinforcement for the view that the Soling racers express a narrower range of concerns than either of the other two respondent groups.

C. Summary

The use of the Society portion of the Cantril Self-Anchoring Striving Scale is useful not only for the data itself but for its use in conjunction which other parts of the interview and the cruising literature. There is a social critique extant in the literature and in the material presented throughout the thesis that is not unlike the views that developed with the use of this instrument.

The essential elements of the Aspirations and Concerns expressed by cruisers are consistent with those found in the Personal Section of the Striving Scale. They are conceptually consistent, if expressed in different terms, because they share a concern that life should foster self-reliance and autonomy, should provide for wide ranging social justice, should not be dominated by large organisations, and should be environmentally sustainable and natural. The most consistently emphasised issues are to do with environmental issues such as pollution, social issues such as materialism, and governmental issues such as freedom and efficiency. Cruisers' responses are heavily oriented towards a social and economic system which does not control and overpower individuals and is not harmful to the natural environment. Although cruisers do not specify, their orientation is clearly toward a sustainable society using appropriate technology.

It remains now, in relation to the Cantril Self-Anchoring Striving Scale, to discuss the ratings respondents gave to their own lives and Society in relation to their desires. This is the task of Section III.
III. THE 'LADDER' RATINGS

This section will argue that cruisers have confidence in themselves notwithstanding their belief that society is on the decline. Such an inference can be made because cruisers rate their personal life situation as improving at the same time as they rate society as being in a state of decline.

The preceding discussion has shown that there are significant differences in the way that the three subject groups conceive of a desirable future, personally and for society. That discussion gave no indication of how close to the ideal each group considered themselves to be or their society to be, however, and that is the objective of this section. Respondents were asked to rate themselves and Society on a so-called ladder (see Appendix III), the desirable scenario being the top, or number 10, of the ladder.

The Cantril Self-Anchoraging Striving Scale is a non-quantitative instrument from the respondents' point of view until the 'ladder' ratings are requested. That is, prior to the 'ladder', no numerical differentiation is elicited. Each respondent is asked to rate her/his position on an eleven point scale (0 to 10 inclusive) in relation to the responses given in answer to, first, the Personal questions, and, second, the Society questions. The ladder ratings for the Personal are done immediately after the questions about the Personal and before the Society questions are posed. The ratings which will be discussed in a moment were requested for the present, past and future. Essentially, respondents were now being asked to put a quantitative rating to the qualitative pictures (criteria) they had provided.23

23 The ratings shown are an aggregate of individual ratings and are done according to their own criteria. Some of these criteria were articulated before each rating was done; they are the descriptions provided in answer to the open-ended questions. However, it must be assumed that unarticulated criteria would also have had an impact on the rating. In addition, criteria that have been articulated will vary considerably in their power to be foregrounded when the rating is undertaken. For example, some respondents did mention that the Society ratings could vary considerably if the perceived threat of nuclear war altered to any extent.
A. Personal Ratings

Table 4-13 and Graph 4-1 display the Personal rating scores and show the direction of change of the ratings from the past through to the future, for all three respondent groups. The aggregate of the ladder ratings shows that, on average, all three groups show similar increases and taken together, suggest three optimistic and self-confident groups of people. In fact, only one ocean racer expected his life to decline and no Solings sailors feared such a decline. On the other hand, eight cruisers expected their life to decline in relation to their criteria. However, when the ladder ratings are calculated for female respondents only (all cruisers) there is an even greater change throughout the range. Female respondents rated the Past at 5.6, the Present at 8.2, and the Future at 8.5, a total increase of 2.9.

The graph shows that cruisers, on average, gave their past a lower rating than did the other groups and that they also expect a lower rating for the future (lower than the other 2 groups, that is). However, cruisers rate their present higher than the others. These differences are to be expected given the relationship cruisers feel toward society and living in urban, western society; the ratings for the present are for a period when they were out of the urban situation and the ratings for the past are for a period when they were still living in their pre-cruising (almost inevitably urban) situation, and these past ratings reflect their experience of living 'on shore' as it were.\textsuperscript{24} It is equally logical that the present rating should be higher than for the past because cruising is seen as a more desirable lifestyle. As has been shown, cruisers have very definite reasons for wanting to be cruising and those reasons overpower the hardships and insecurities and result in a higher rating.

The change in ratings for cruisers, especially in relation to the others, is somewhat more complex. First, typical of most Cantril respondents there appears to be an optimism which permits all three groups to see the future as being better notwithstanding the Society ratings as discussed below; all three groups do rate their personal

\textsuperscript{24} Cruisers were asked to rate the past in relation to a period in their lives about two years prior to the time they began cruising.
Table 4.13

Ratings for the Cantril Self-Anchorong
Striving Scale – PERSONAL

A. Ratings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CRUISERS</th>
<th>OCEAN RACERS</th>
<th>SOLING RACERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>6.13</td>
<td>6.55</td>
<td>6.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>7.90</td>
<td>7.37</td>
<td>7.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>8.32</td>
<td>8.61</td>
<td>8.7</td>
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</table>

B. Direction of Change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CRUISERS</th>
<th>OCEAN RACERS</th>
<th>SOLING RACERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FAST TO</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>39</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRESENT</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>66.1</td>
<td>15.25</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>63.2</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRESENT</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>21</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>17</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TO FUTURE</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>45.65</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>57.9</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* + = Positive  
- = Negative  
Nil = No Change
future higher than the present. The two racing groups show a very similar curve of increase and both are quite different from that of the cruisers. Cruisers do see a higher rating in the future but the increase is less, as is the absolute rating. The increase in cruiser aggregate rating was dampened by the 17 respondents who saw no change from the present to the future and by the 8 who see the future as being lower than the present. In addition, of course, there was an expressed reluctance of people to rank themselves higher than 9 on the ladder and cruisers who ranked themselves at 9 in the present therefore did not go above 9 in the future. There was a recognition that life is unlikely to be 'perfect' and 10 on the ladder scale was seen as 'perfect'.

In summary, all three respondent groups expect to have a better personal life in the future than they have now. Of course, as we saw in the previous section, the conception of what constitutes a good future is different for each group and, therefore, what we are observing here are three groups of people who believe they can direct their personal lives in a way that suits them. As will be shown, what is interesting about this is that they see this personal improvement in spite of expecting Society to get worse in the future when compared to the past and present.

B. Society Ladder Ratings

As Table 4.14 and Graph 4.1 display, the Society Ratings do not indicate the same unanimity as the Personal ratings. Cruisers and ocean racers both rate society (or the world) as getting worse whereas Solings, while showing a slight decline from past to future, do expect a

25 Some cruisers saw a decline because they expected to have to give up cruising.

26 This contradictory personal optimism relates mainly to cruisers. Ocean racers see only a marginal decline in future society and Solings see a marginal improvement. On an absolute level, though, all three groups see their personal situation as considerably better than society. Of course, given their biographical background all three groups have some reason to believe they can avoid the worst of society's problems.
### Table 4.14

**Ratings for the Cantril Self-Anchorong Striving Scale – SOCIETY**

#### A. Ratings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CRUISERS</th>
<th>OCEAN RACERS</th>
<th>SOLING RACERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>5.22</td>
<td>7.21</td>
<td>7.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>4.75</td>
<td>6.16</td>
<td>6.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>4.39</td>
<td>6.03</td>
<td>6.92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### B. Direction of Change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CRUISERS</th>
<th>OCEAN RACERS</th>
<th>SOLING RACERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past to</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>50.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to Future</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>45.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* + = Positive
* - = Negative
* Nil = No Change
marginal improvement in the future when compared to the present. Their relative optimism is not shared by the others who both see a marked decline in the future. While ocean racers do not see much more decline in the future in relation to the present, the total decline from past to future is the most marked. Cruisers ranked the past lower than all the others and see a consistent decline into the future.

C. Personal and Society

As shown in Graph 4.1, all three respondent groups see Society as rating lower on the ladder than does their own Personal situation. This is so for the present and the future ratings as well as for cruiser's rating of the past.

Cruisers' rating of society at all three periods is much lower than the other two groups' Society rating and also lower than cruisers' own Personal rating. This is consistent with cruisers' social critique and with their reason for going cruising. As is discussed in Chapter 5, cruisers go cruising because they wish to escape what they see as a dysfunctional society as embodied in the western, industrial urbanised society from which they originate. Their Society rankings reflect this critique. However, they stay cruising because they have discovered or created a lifestyle that is outside mainstream western society and which is, to them, extremely satisfying. Hence the high Personal ratings. Cruisers are confident of their ability, given good health, to stay outside the worst of society's disorder.

Ocean and Soling racers also rate Society at a lower level than they do the Personal. In both cases this difference appears to arise from different reasons than those which apply to cruisers. The data suggest that in the case of cruisers a fundamental critique of society is involved whereas for the others there is a fundamental acceptance of the society. This is qualified by a belief that society is not functioning very well at the present time. The two racing groups live in, and are part of, the society that cruisers have put themselves outside of by cruising. There is also a likelihood that the high socio-economic status of the racing groups is part of the explanation. The ocean racer respondents were predominantly owners (63%) of ocean racing
Graph 4.1

Cantril Ladder Ratings - Personal and Society (All subjects)
yachts, putting them in, or close to, the upper decile of income earners. At least 25% would appear to be millionaires. These people, then, would tend to see themselves as somewhat insulated from any deterioration they perceive in their society.

Sailing racers, on the other hand, are younger than the ocean racer sample and tend to be in the upwardly mobile professional class. Their sport is expensive, glamorous and exciting. To some degree their economic/professional expectations and the nature of their sport also insulate them from the worst of society's problems. Of course, it should be noted that the Soling ratings for Personal and Society are closer together than the others and at 7, the Society rating is relatively much higher. That is to say, the ratings are much more congruent for the Soling respondents.

IV CONCLUSIONS

The objective of the Cantril Self-Anchoraging Striving Scale is to find out what human beings are concerned about in their lives. It recognises that each individual has a part in creating his/her own reality and in that world view. The application of this instrument to the three respondent groups in this study allows conclusions to be drawn about each group's concerns and about the similarities and differences between the three groups.

Cruisers are interested in and concerned about different issues than are the two racing groups. While cruisers do share with the others concerns about peace, good health, family and self-worth, their over-riding concerns are quite different. While Solings and ocean racers put much more stress on economic and job-related issues, cruisers emphasised autonomy, freedom, the environment, and the excesses of modern

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27 Ninety-one per cent of Soling respondents have some tertiary education with 54.6% completed; 63% of ocean racers have some tertiary education with 52.5% having completed. Cantril (1965) also found such a high correlation of education and aspirations/expectations. See his Chapter XI and pp. 234-6.
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 among the three groups 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 imply that the democratic governments of the West are preferable to the currently autocratic communist governments but at the same time they suggest that our system of urban living, material consumption, business organisation, and social control are fundamentally restrictive to the individual as an autonomous being.

Taken by itself, the Cantril instrument has produced a picture of cruisers that sets them apart from the other two subject respondent groups. However, the Cantril instrument is only a portion of the total research design that allows these kinds of comparisons. The '8 Reasons' instrument of Chapter 5 also provides comparisons but on slightly different dimensions. The '8 Reasons' data and the data gathered about cruisers in other parts of the research design are all consistent with the picture of cruisers painted in this chapter. Therefore, while comparisons are not explicitly possible in all sections of the research design, the nature of cruisers as people and as a group is consistent throughout the research. This confluence lends considerable support for the reliability of the analysis in this chapter.

The Cantril Self-anchoring Striving Scale has portrayed cruisers as confident of their ability to create a desirable personal life even as they see society deteriorating. They are people who aspire to an independent lifestyle, one in close proximity to nature's forces and rhythms. At the same time, and consistently, cruisers' conception of an ideal society is one that fosters autonomy, self-reliance, and a non-aggressive relationship to other humans and the natural environment.

With this overview of cruisers' aspirations and concerns, we can now turn to the more specific issue of the cruising lifestyle. In the next chapter I explore why people go cruising and why they stay cruising, that is, how their aspirations and concerns are specifically manifested in cruising.
CHAPTER 5

WHY THEY CRUISE

Why join a commune? Why set off on a world hitch-hiking tour? Why cruise? The answer to any such questions will comprise a complex set of reasons and motivations because the essence of these questions is really one of alternatives and why people seek out alternative ways of living. This chapter aims to report and analyse why cruisers seek and persist with an alternative to the way they lived prior to cruising, leaving to later the discussion of the comparisons with other contemporary alternative lifestyles. The analysis in this chapter identifies two main aspects to the motivation to cruise – a search aspect and an escape aspect. However, as will become clear, both the search and escape are complex sets of reasons themselves. The 'search' aspect encompasses the whole lifestyle with the experiences, both frustrating and satisfying, that go with it. In fact, on one level the word 'search' is inadequate because its connotation fails to illustrate the creative nature of the process that is involved in being a cruiser. Equally, too, the 'escape' aspect of going cruising is more complex than the pejorative connotation of 'running away' that is implicit within it. This is so because cruisers have developed a complex social critique which clearly articulates their reasons for leaving modern society. In a sense, the escape and search are two faces of the same coin.

Why people continue to cruise as a long-term lifestyle is the primary concern of this research. Notwithstanding that many more people begin to cruise than continue to cruise, why people set off cruising is obviously related to why they continue to cruise. This chapter shows
that fairly simple objectives such as travel predominate in the reasons people begin to cruise but that more complex lifestyle issues prevail in why people continue to cruise.

An aspect of the presentation should be clarified here. This chapter does not develop an on-going comparison between cruisers and racers as did the last chapter. Rather, here a small section is provided to summarise why people race yachts.¹ The racers are not included in this chapter partly because the Why cruise? and Why race? questions elicited such different responses that direct comparison is less illuminating than was the case in Chapter 4. The other reason the racers are not central to the analysis is that this is a study of cruising and to use racers too much is to overemphasise the comparative aspect of the study.

The issue of why people cruise is explored here using data from the interviews and participant observations. Other cruising literature is also occasionally drawn upon and the special case of passage making is developed. Each of these data sources is used in order to understand why people cruise, why they would, in most cases, reject the apparently secure and dynamic lifestyle of western urban society to live in a less materially comfortable and less secure nomadic lifestyle.

I. WHY THEY CRUISE: What the interview data say

The interview data suggest that the motivation for cruising comes in two stages. First, there is the initial stage, the motivation for setting off on a cruise, whether it be of short or long duration. Second, there is clearly a stage whereby the personal experience of the lifestyle confirms the initial motivation and decision. These two stage are labelled as a departure stage and a commitment stage. What is interesting about the second stage is its greater complexity and sophistication, something that is reflected in the two models used to

¹ An extensive analysis of why the respondents in my survey race yachts is presented as Appendix VIII.
explore the reasons for cruising (Figures 5.1 and 5.2). However, they complement each other in their attempt to depict not only the reasons for but the stages through which an individual is likely to pass in becoming a long-term cruiser. That is, these two figures show both the stages of development but also a series of continua along which the motivation to cruise appears to develop.

It will be recalled that the criteria used in selecting subjects was at least 15 months of cruising and a commitment to cruise longer or indefinitely. The 15 month time period was chosen to ensure that people had sufficient experience to be able to 'know' enough about cruising for the interview. Subsequent reading and the interview process have confirmed that it takes about a year for a new cruiser to experience close to the full range of cruising experiences. Even then, though, many aspects of cruising are not fully encountered in the first year because people tend to depart with enough provisions (except perishables) and money for at least a year and most equipment does not need much maintenance for the first year; so cruisers will be able to cruise for a year without encountering the need to work, do major provisioning, or do very much more than minor routine maintenance or replacement of gear.

I have categorised the articulated reasons for cruising in the model illustrated as Figure 5.1. It could be argued that the Departure Stage should also include a desire for the cruising lifestyle. However, this desire is omitted from the model for two reasons, not the least of which is that it was not explicitly articulated by interviewees. Few people are capable of identifying the specific characteristics of the cruising lifestyle until it has been experienced. Apparently, therefore, the desire to undertake a cruise or become part of the cruising lifestyle is subsumed under the more general heading of wanting to travel by yacht to various parts of the world, or to circumnavigate.

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2 Both models were developed in response to the data derived from open-ended questions and, to a minor degree, in light of participant observation.

3 The discussion in Chapter 7 concerns itself not with the motivation to cruise but rather with the process of becoming a long-term cruiser and of developing the shared world view of the cruising subculture.
Figure 5.1
The Two Stages of Why Cruise

Stage 1  
Initial Motivation One or both of
(Departure) ESCAPE TRAVEL

Stage 2  
Continuing Motivation One or more of
(Commitment) ESCAPE TRAVEL PLUS CRUISING LIFESTYLE

The 'travel' aspect of stage 1 also recognises that some people set off with no thought of escape because all they want is to fulfill a long held dream. For some, however, once the object of the dream is accomplished and they return to their home port it is found that the life there is no longer palatable. Escape then becomes the motivation.

The circumnavigation was a dream I had had since age 14. But when I returned to the USA and especially to California I did not like what I found there in lifestyle or in my old business of real estate. So I set off again. I see cruising as a way of finding places that are worth living in and are small enough to be hospitable. (042)

This wealthy 48 year old American was 40 when he left on his dream sail around the world. It seems that some people cannot go back after the experience of two or three years circling the globe on a sailing vessel. A quote later in this chapter shows how some who set out with such a limited goal realise long before the goal is reached that a lifestyle is opening up, that cruising is something more than a simple goal, that it is a process, an entire way of life.
A. Stage 1: Initial Motivation

ESCAPE. To be motivated by a desire to 'escape' is to be motivated by a complex set of ideas and values. In the case of cruisers, the nature of the lifestyle within modern society is the object of escape and the articulation of this escape carries with it a creative response - the cruising lifestyle. However, at this stage in a person's involvement with cruising the lifestyle goal is not clearly articulated whereas to escape the present lifestyle apparently is. This view of the lifestyle is a social critique which was indicated by a number of responses in the interview, a sample of which follows. It is explored in more detail later in the chapter.

I didn't want to stay in the lifestyle rut of mortgaged houses and material possessions and trips to Europe. (058)

I was really disillusioned with the work scene and not getting on so I started building the boat as an escape. (013)

I wanted to get out of the 9 to 5 rat race, commuting and all that. All the time I was working as an engineer I was pissed off by the same schedule everyday in a fucking windowless building. (021)

I wanted to get away from the rat race of business; to get away from people who burn a hole in your heart. (040)

I needed to get away from all the conflicts and hassles. I changed all the hassles to things I can grasp in my hand whereas I can't do anything about a government that is not functioning well; political struggles are replaced by struggles with an anchor chain and I don't miss all that stuff; I feel I wasted a lot of my life doing that. (049)

The last quotation is from a Danish medical doctor who had been politically active in fighting for social change. The sentiments he expresses about the immediacy and physical nature of cruising and the rewards of such struggles are expressed consistently throughout the data and will emerge more clearly as the analysis develops. Others who mentioned the need to escape also suggested the need for adventure, not simply travel but adventure, or a challenge.
I was able to throw off responsibility, cast off a hum-drum life, be a bit adventurous. I realised I had to do something with life besides vegetate. (062)

It was a chance to do one really big thing in my life; big and memorable. It was also the chance to get away from the kind of rat race I was in as a commercial photographer, the stress, the deadlines. (052)

What emerges, then, is a desire to find another way of living, to escape a lifestyle that was or is considered undesirable. The challenges of urban living were considered unsatisfactory, they had become 'problems' not challenges.

**TRAVEL.** Travel encompasses the desire to see other places, cultures, and people, all of which were mentioned specifically. It also envelopes the kind of dream expressed in the desire to circumnavigate and many respondents clearly had long held a 'dream' to cruise.

I decided that after university I better have a BIG trip; even the six month trip I did before University did not seem really enough and the thought of only 3 weeks off a year sounded terrible. (020)

I have a tremendous wanderlust to take care of. (025)

I like travelling and its easy to go to places others don't go if you're on a boat. It is comfortable as you take your house with you. (055)

Although the person in the last quote does like to sail, the boat is "really a vehicle to go places" (055) and the primary motivation is to travel. He and his spouse had travelled very extensively throughout the world before deciding to get a boat and travel that way. We saw above how one man fulfilled his dream to circumnavigate and then did not like what he found back home. Another respondent began fulfilling a somewhat similar dream, to sail around the world and to get to go to all the places everyone talks about and get there on my own; of course, along the way you realise you're getting into a whole different
lifestyle, like the freedom one has. You're freed from that city; you're not governed by everything in that city. Here you've got freedom where in the city you're restricted by its rules. (056)

And in this last quotation the transition to Stage 2 of the schema begins to become apparent. The initial motivations were escape and travel with some second-hand notion of the cruising life but gradually as a cruiser gets more involved in the cruising life, especially as the first year goes by, a more complete idea of what cruising entails develops and the motivation to keep cruising itself becomes more complex.

B. Stage 2: Continuing motivation

An interest in travelling can still be active in this second stage but by the time a person has made a long-term commitment to cruising they will have developed a clear idea of what it is about the lifestyle that is so attractive to them. The travelling - the other cultures, the people are external to the person, they are almost physical objectives. But, as people experience cruising, there is something much less tangible that begins to develop, more a process than an objective. Cruising is now a lot more than just travel, although that's part of it. It's the challenge of being independent, of taking complete control of life; the satisfaction of being autonomous. It's more and more the joy of seeing the beauty of the world. (057)

The motivation to cruise therefore takes a subtle shift not so much away from the more physical geographical goals such as travel but toward encompassing a more complex and comprehensive set of motivations. These more complex motivations are represented by the term lifestyle, the cruising lifestyle.

The reasons I like to live this way? It's healthy, it's physical, it's outdoors and if it's healthy it's happy. There is only one place or time on this planet where you are totally free – and that is at
sea. The challenges of the cruising life are endless and you meet the very most interesting people in the world; and if you don't like a place, you leave. It's a safe, sane, healthy and exciting life. (032)

I often compare it to being a pioneer; you have problems to solve and the solutions give you a 'high'. The pioneer makes the best of what he has and gets rewards from the effort he puts out. Working with the tides and weather is fun when accomplished, it's a minor dragon you've slain. We don't do a lot of the expected things; one of the minor things is that we can live outside the conventions a lot and that is particularly attractive. Cruising's an enjoyable life to lead, the long-term responsibility is not there. You're not mortgaged up to your ass. There's disadvantages, you're carrying the can; but the rewards are also yours. There is feedback. What we do is definitely or obviously a success; we can see when we've accomplished something. (067)

Put simply, then, the cruising lifestyle is itself satisfying because of the freedom it provides, the challenges it presents, the self-reliance required, and the physically active nature of the life.

II. WHY THEY CRUISE: The Two Stages Developed Further

The discussion thus far has used the interview data directly to show that there appear to be two distinct stages in the motivation for cruising. I will now use this two stage process to further illustrate the change in motivation that occurs as cruisers move from the Departure Stage of motivation to the Commitment (or Continuing) Stage. This conceptualisation (illustrated in Figure 5.2) suggests that eleven continua are useful in understanding the difference, the change.\(^4\) Clearly, these continua are not mutually exclusive but they serve to illustrate the nature of the respondents' reasons for cruising. This

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4 These continua emerged from the data in the process of conceptualising the shift in orientation between the Departure Stage and the Commitment Stage.
model is consistent with Figure 5.1 in a number of respects. It recognises and provides for the notion that it takes time to really know cruising and to move from a more simple to a more complex motivation for cruising.\(^5\) It therefore continues to reflect two stages in cruisers' motivation, the first or Departure Stage, encompassing the pre-cruise period plus the first year or so. The time scale shown below the continua reflect the years involved in each stage and also that the Departure Stage is the period before and just after actual departure. The eleven continua are postulated as being dimensions along which a cruiser's motivation will change or develop. In a sense, the left hand column represents why people begin cruising and the right hand column represents why they continue cruising. The model suggests, therefore, that the respondents' reasons alter fundamentally as they move from a point sometime prior to departure through to the time when they become committed to cruising as a way of life.

A. The Departure Stage

It was tempting to call this the 'romantic' stage because the view from 'on shore', as it were, is dominated by the romance of tradewind sailing, white sandy beaches, and endless relaxing days in the sun. Even when facing the enormous task of preparing for departure day, the overwhelmingly romantic vision will be used to keep up the motivation to complete the 'million and one' tasks that face a departing crew. But as the eleven continua suggest, there is more to the reason for departing than romance. Which reasons or states predominate for which people can only be known through further research and, for the moment, these can only be postulated as helping to conceptualise the situation. It is important to remember that these eleven points are a series of continua and that individuals will not simply aggregate at either end. Rather, different people will fall on the continua at

\(^5\) The time scale below the continua is there to emphasise the notion that the Departure Stage continues beyond the actual date of departure and that a cruiser will be a year or more into a cruise before a full and knowledgable commitment can be made.
### Figure 5.2

**WHY CRUISE?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. DEPARTURE STAGE</th>
<th>B. COMMITMENT STAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Escapist, fleeing, going from</td>
<td>Going to, searching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Dissaffected</td>
<td>Satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 'Because' motives dominant</td>
<td>'In-order-to motives' dominant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Security based on external world</td>
<td>Security based on internal world, on self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Work ethic dominant</td>
<td>Work ethic not dominant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Stereotyped, mythical</td>
<td>Realistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Immitative</td>
<td>Designing, building, creating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Simplistic view</td>
<td>Complex view</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Activity focus</td>
<td>Lifestyle or holistic focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Unknown/unknowing/ignorant vague</td>
<td>Known/definable/concrete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Implicit</td>
<td>Explicit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Depart home port</th>
<th>Time in years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-? -3 -1 D +1</td>
<td>+3 +5 +?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Subculture Model equivalence (Fig. 7.4, p211):**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stages 1</th>
<th>Stage 3B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2, and 3A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
different locations depending on their unique set of knowledge, experience, and ability.\(^6\)

These eleven points are obviously not mutually exclusive and will not apply to everyone equally. However, they do allow us to begin to characterise the Departure Stage of people, especially when contrasted with the Commitment Stage. It is suggested that the Departure Stage is characterised by an escapist motivation with a fairly simplistic and romantic view of what is to be encountered in cruising.

### 3. The Commitment Stage

At some point after departing their home port cruisers make a decision to continue or to go home.\(^7\) Figure 5.2 depicts the commitment stage as beginning one year after departure, a period that, it must be emphasised, is estimated and indicative rather than absolute. However, as discussed earlier, there is a logic involved in saying that after a year the new cruiser is able to make a reasoned and realistic commitment to cruise for longer or indefinitely. This stage is seen to be characterised by a more complex motivation, one that is more realistic and creative rather than romantic and escapist.

The aim of this model (Figures 5.1 and 5.2) has been to give some sense of how the reasons for cruising will change and develop as the pre-cruise individual moves through the Departure Stage and into the Commitment Stage. This model suggests that the Departure Stage cruiser cannot know the reality of the hardship and the subtle satisfactions of the totality of the lifestyle. Hence a 'romantic vision' is needed to combine with the social disaffection— together they provide the impetus needed to get someone moving, even if only on a temporary, short-term cruise. Those who keep cruising must convert that short-term cruise to

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6 Note that the Departure Stage is roughly equivalent to Stages 1, 2, and 3a of Figure 7.4, a model which depicts the process through which people move in becoming part of the subculture.

7 Some very interesting research could be done with people who decide to go home because they do not want to continue cruising. This project only concerned itself with those who decided to continue.
the committed lifestyle - and that is a process of moving from the romantic Departure Stage to the realistic Commitment Stage.

With this conceptualisation of the motivation in mind I can now explore more fully aspects of the experiences of cruising that draw people into the lifestyle and briefly recount their social critique. This critique is part of the departing stage in the sense that there is an element of escape in that stage. For this reason I will explore the social critique first before analysing aspects of the cruising lifestyle that make it attractive.

III. WHY THEY CRUISE: The Social Critique

Cruisers' social critique is evident not only in what they say but in how they live. This critique develops its vitality from the fact that these people have chosen to try and create a way of living that is consistent with their critique; in a sense they have made a protostructural statement with their adopted lifestyle. At the same time, their responses to interview questions provide further articulation of their desired lifestyle and also an antistructural critique; they tell us what they see as wrong with modern society. Assigning these roles to the critique is not without precedent. Csikszentmihalyi (1975:93-8) in his discussion of rock climbers noted that his subjects perceived their activity as providing a statement about society but also some answers as to how society should operate, that is, they made both antistructural and protostructural comments. Csikszentmihalyi notes that some climbers went so far as to give up their urban, occupation-dominated lifestyles to live closer to the mountains. Their activity led to a change in lifestyle. As we have seen, of course, cruisers' whole lifestyle also changes because of their social critique; they go further than climbers in the integration of

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8 The concept of 'protostructural' refers to the notion that they have suggested how life should be structured.
their critique into their total lifestyle. In a sense, then, their protostructural statement is more complete. The critique becomes more thorough for cruisers because of the process of translating it into a whole way of life and because it is lived more fully, that is, it is lived by the 'whole' person, not just the leisure-time part of that person.

Cruisers are largely people who have made choices that set them on a deviating path. The choices they make are ones that are part of taking themselves outside the iterated structures of urban and occupational life, that is, out of modern society. They choose to forego the security of the modern western state with the concomitant regular income, welfare schemes, supermarkets, and health care. Cruisers choose to move out of a situation of relative organisational dependence and control. While these choices are not irrevocable in the long-term they are in the short-term; for example, at sea, in isolated anchorages, and even in many ports, the taken-for-granted, modern-day health and welfare facilities are non-existent.

Cruisers' social critique, then, is embodied in the way they live, in these choices. The lifestyle can be interpreted as 'saying' that modern society is restrictive and saps personal choice and self-determination. When seen in light of cruisers' aspirations it is clear that they believe that the iterated structure of modern society itself insidiously controls the individual and removes the will or ability to follow natural rhythms and processes. They see modern society as alienating the person from the rhythms of nature, substituting instead the pace and process of artificial creations - work schedules, business hours, payment schedules, lunch hours, rush hours, and so on. These artificial benchmarks develop imperatives of their own, imperatives that transcend the individual nature of any single process. That is to say, in combination, the systems humans supposedly design and control take on a 'life' of their own, develop their own imperatives.

There are further parallels here with Csikszentmihalyi's work with rock climbers. I return to them and their views because of the structural similarities between rock climbing and ocean sailing - the isolation, the closeness to nature, and the lack of exotelic rewards. Figure 5.4 relates climbers' social critique to Csikszentmihalyi's view
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normative Life</th>
<th>Rock-Climbing Experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Informational noise; distraction and confusion of attention</td>
<td>One-pointedness of mind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebulosity of limits, demands, motivations, decisions, feedbacks</td>
<td>Clarity and manageability of limits, demands, decisions,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seveming of action and awareness</td>
<td>Merging of action and awareness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hidden, unpredictable dangers; unmanageable fears</td>
<td>Obvious danger subject to evaluation and control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anxiety, worry, confusion</td>
<td>Happiness, health, vision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slavery to the clock; life lived in spurts</td>
<td>Time out of time; timelessness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrot-and-stick preoccupation with exotelic, extrinsic material and social</td>
<td>Process orientation, concern for autotelic, intrinsic rewards;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reward; orientation towards ends</td>
<td>conquest of the useless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dualism of mind and body</td>
<td>Integration of mind and body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of self - understanding; false self-consciousness; war between the</td>
<td>Understanding of the true self, self-integration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>selves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscommunication with others; masks, statuses, and roles in an inegalitarian</td>
<td>Direct and immediate communication with others in an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>order; false independence or misplaced dependency</td>
<td>egalitarian order; true and welcomed dependency in others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confusion about man's place in nature or the universe; isolation from the</td>
<td>Sense of man's place in the universe; oneness with nature;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natural order; destruction of the earth</td>
<td>congruence of psychological and environmental ecology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superficiality of concerns; thinness of meaning in the flatland</td>
<td>Dimension of depth &quot;up there&quot;; encounter with ultimate concerns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of the central elements of modern society. While his categories do not parallel exactly the ones I use later, the similarities in theme and orientation are striking. I reproduce the figure in its entirety because, in fact, I believe the 'Rock climbing experience' column could be renamed the 'Cruising Experience'. The two columns can be seen as the ends of a set of continua representing a number of dimensions along which cruisers and modern life can be compared. Cruising can be seen as generally closer to the right hand extreme and modern city life closer to the left.

Most of what has been said above is both implicit in the lifestyle as encountered in the research and explicit in the interview responses. However, there is still more to cruising because of its fundamentally conserving and innovating nature. Cruisers are not consumption oriented in terms of material goods or fossil fuels. At the same time, they innovate and adapt in their use of both new and reusable goods. Cruising is a lifestyle populated by people of limited cash flow. This means that the longer term cruising people must learn to innovate in the repair and maintenance of the boat and personal gear. The net result of this is a process of innovation and conservation. Similarly, the cruising lifestyle contains an implicit social critique in its basic functionality. That is, processes and technologies are chosen for function and utility first with aesthetic and status considerations taking second place. Clothing and personal presentation are examples here. While many cruisers dress so badly that they appear to be on the poverty line even those cruisers who dress well

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9 Figure 5.4 is taken unmodified from Csikszentmihalyi(1975:96-7). This researcher and his work are drawn upon frequently in this thesis because his study of the intrinsic nature of play and non-instrumental activities lends itself to the study of ocean sailing and cruising. Aspects of his research instrument were used in this project and will be discussed as appropriate. I wish to acknowledge my appreciation for being able to use the research instrument and this figure.

10 Notwithstanding the relatively large capital holding (ie. the boat), most cruisers have a very limited cash flow or reserve emergency fund.)
do so in functional and casual clothes. It is difficult to keep and use so-called 'good' clothes on a boat and it is inevitable that such non-functional attire as suits and ball-gowns do not not find favour in the cruising community. Now, it can be argued that such a response is purely a result of the environment or living location and that no social comment is implied. But the environment is part of the choice, the choice itself being a social comment. Cruisers' way of living is therefore a statement about how life should be lived - at least for cruisers - and one aspect of this statement is the use of clothing. Its use relates to function in practical terms - comfort, warmth, wet-repelling qualities, and so on - and not in status or social terms.

The lifestyle of cruising, then, contains an implicit social critique in relation to such things as material consumption, practicality, self-reliance, and independence. Cruisers reject a materialistic and status oriented lifestyle that relies on conspicuous consumption. They eschew organisational dependence and the artificial iterated structures inherent in the urban environment and in occupational, especially career oriented, situations. These are issues that are implicit in the lifestyle. But, these and other concerns are explicit as well and it is these explicit concerns to which I will now turn.

The explicit social comment comes from the literature written by cruisers and the interviews with cruisers. The aim here is to bring this diversity of material together, recognising that an ethnography such as this needs to explore the subjects' social philosophy, whether sophisticated or simplistic.

The social critique of cruisers appears to fall into three broad categories, namely Personal/Social, Political, and Environmental. However, there is a fourth category that underlies the other three - Excesses. This latter is an underlying concern in that the notion of 'too much' or 'too many' or 'too big' or 'too little' appears in an adjectival sense throughout the data. There is too much materialism,

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11 In income terms many cruisers probably are below the 'poverty line'. 
too many people, government is too big, and there is too little diversity in urban life. The data indicate that government and business are both acceptable as small units but not as big, overpowering institutions that are beyond the involvement and control of individuals. Cruisers believe in ownership and material acquisition (witness the boat and the number of items a seaworthy boat needs) but do not subscribe to the materialistic consumption orientation that fosters a never-ending list of superfluous things that need to be owned. They enjoy other cultures and even occasional visits to large population centers but they believe the world is overpopulated. The diversity of cultures and peoples is good; the sheer numbers are not. Likewise, only a few would argue for the removal of all laws, rules, and regulations but most, if not all cruisers, are unhappy at the increasing standardisation and conformity wrought by highly regulated, bureaucratic societies. In particular, though, they decry the excessive lack of self-reliance and personal autonomy in the people of Western societies. These are all excesses and clearly underlie the three categories of their social critique.

On a Personal or Social level, cruisers' main concern is with issues of conformity and self-reliance, two sides of a coin. They suggest that the structures and rules of modern society require a conformity to the mass that is unacceptable. While authors such as Toffler (1970) would argue that there is increasing diversity available in lifestyle and products, cruisers see such diversity as being only superficial and that effectively the mass consumption orientation of modern society leads to conformity. They see a concomitant loss of self-reliance in this mass society as people progressively lose the ability to act independent of organisations and of the goods acquired to operate in modern society. Increasingly, the repair and maintenance of household and automotive products, for example, is left to the so-called professional so that individuals rely less and less on their own skills. Cruisers perceive an institutional pressure to conform, they see the iterated structures of urban life as reducing autonomy and independence, of forcing conformity to the ever increasing demands of technological and bureaucratic efficiency.
The Political critique of modern society is interesting because of its traditional liberalism and its anti-military flavour. The 'excesses' theme mentioned earlier is particularly important here because the central concern about Western government is with its all-pervasive size. Cruisers favour small scale, non-intrusive democratic government. They dislike the idea of Communism and are anti-socialist even in the context of the Western liberal welfare state. Likewise, they would not favour dictatorship of the right anymore than of the left. Their concern is that governments of all persuasions are too big, and too powerful, and that they intrude on all aspects of individual life. Again, government is seen as negative when it is so all-pervasive that autonomy, independence and self-reliance are threatened. Cruisers see this occurring in Western democracies as well as in other forms of government.

As to the military issue, the overt concern was with war, including nuclear war. However, on a more subtle level concern was expressed that the military (industrial) complex is a too powerful force in Western society. In any case, given cruisers' concerns for personal autonomy and conformity, we could expect the military to be anathema to most cruisers because of the rigid conformity required by the military of its own people and those associated with it.12

The Political concerns were more general than the issues of democracy and war would imply at first glance. There was also a concern for political ineptitude and short-sightedness. The general concerns also involved the sense that government is becoming ever more intrusive and restrictive, something linked to the sense of 'too much' and 'too big' in government. None of these political concerns is surprising given the nature of the chosen lifestyle.

The Environmental critique from cruisers relates to three issues: overpopulation, pollution, and the waste of natural resources. While it is true that cruisers live in close contact with the rhythms of nature they do not live as intimately with the ecological system as would, for

12 A number of respondents were ex-military, including conscripts and a career officer. Some were also conscientious objectors.
example, a subsistence, back-to-the-land farming family. The rhythms, patterns, and physical demands of the weather and the sea are dominant forces certainly, but cruisers do not till the soil or grow things. While both farmers and cruisers are limited in their contact with nature, cruisers are cut-off from this fundamental aspect of nature—planting, nurturing, and harvesting. Consequently, they do not appear to be 'radical' ecologists. Instead, they tend to have an immense respect for nature and appreciation of the beauty and power inherent in nature. This kind of orientation translates naturally into their environmental concerns as expressed: pollution, overexploitation of resources, nuclear power (as environmentally destructive), and nature's rhythms. The physical environment is predominant in a cruisers' life—most learn to respect it.

Their social critique illustrates why cruisers want to escape modern society. Now I will turn to exploring aspects of why the cruising lifestyle is in itself desirable.

IV. WHY THEY CRUISE: The 8 Reasons

One approach to understanding the motivation to stay cruising is found in the data gathered through a forced choice question in the interviews. This is Csikszentmihalyi's 8 Reasons ranking question.\textsuperscript{13} It was applied to all the subjects in this research, including the

\textsuperscript{13} This question used a model developed by Csikszentmihalyi (1975) in his study of the motivation for engaging in certain apparently 'unrewarded' activities. This is part of his attempt to discover the pattern of actions which make an activity rewarding in itself. The activities he studied, for example rock climbing, were seen to have or provide no material rewards yet many people undertook and enjoyed the activities. The analysis identified 8 reasons that were seen to explain why people engaged in such activities. Respondents in later studies were then asked to rank the 8 reasons in relation to their importance as reasons for engaging in their own pursuit. See Csikszentmihalyi 1974, 1975 for full details of the research and data.
racing, but it is the cruisers that are of interest in this chapter.\footnote{While data for racers is also displayed here, the analysis in relation to racers is in Appendix VIII.} The first study to use the 8 Reasons concept was concerned with activities, that is, discreet parts of life. The study of cruising, however, is concerned with that complex of activities, experiences, and beliefs known as a lifestyle. The 8 Reasons question was therefore applied at a lifestyle level rather than at an activity level, something that appeared to be empirically acceptable to the respondents. That is, they indicated no difficulty in applying the questions and the ranking task to their lifestyle, except that some of the reasons were deemed to be irrelevant (for example, prestige and competition). The issue of the conceptual appropriateness of this method is addressed in detail in Chapter 9; for the moment the fact that the respondents could answer the question, that is do the ranking, will be taken as reason enough to accept and utilise the data.

Responses to the ranking of the 8 Reasons were aggregated for each subject group and the results are presented as Table 5.1. In addition, for comparative purposes, the table shows some of the results obtained by Csikszentmihalyi in his first full set of studies. Clearly, cruisers' responses are similar to those of rock climbers and, to a lesser extent, composers. As shown in Chapter 4, there are also some similarities between cruisers and ocean racers, notwithstanding that ocean racers are engaged in a competitive activity and cruisers in a non-competitive lifestyle. In relation to cruisers, however, it is important to note the first two reasons, to note how they point to the intrinsic value of the totality of the experience of cruising in the broadest sense.

The importance of the 8 Reasons data for cruisers is its congruence with the responses to the open-ended questions that were discussed earlier and conceptualised as Figures 5.1 and 5.2. This is especially so in relation to the motivation for continuing to cruise. What is shown in both the 8 Reasons and the open-ended responses is a motivation to cruise based on the complex subjective experience of the
Table 5.1
Rankings Given to the Right Reasons for Enjoying an Activity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Climbers</th>
<th>Composers</th>
<th>Basketball Players</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gymnastics</strong></td>
<td>5.9 (1)</td>
<td>6.9 (1)</td>
<td>5.2 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ocean Racing</strong></td>
<td>6.0 (1)*</td>
<td>8.1 (2)</td>
<td>6.3 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sailing</strong></td>
<td>5.2 (4)</td>
<td>3.6 (1)</td>
<td>5.3 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cycling</strong></td>
<td>5.4 (3)</td>
<td>3.5 (1)</td>
<td>3.6 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Swimming</strong></td>
<td>5.4 (5)</td>
<td>5.4 (1)</td>
<td>5.4 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Basketball</strong></td>
<td>5.4 (2)</td>
<td>4.0 (6)</td>
<td>3.3 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Skiing</strong></td>
<td>5.2 (3)</td>
<td>2.6 (1)</td>
<td>5.3 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tennis</strong></td>
<td>5.2 (1)</td>
<td>2.4 (1)</td>
<td>5.2 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Soccer</strong></td>
<td>5.2 (5)</td>
<td>2.4 (1)</td>
<td>5.2 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Climbing</strong></td>
<td>5.2 (4)</td>
<td>2.6 (1)</td>
<td>5.2 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Baseball</strong></td>
<td>5.2 (3)</td>
<td>2.4 (1)</td>
<td>5.2 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hockey</strong></td>
<td>5.2 (2)</td>
<td>2.4 (1)</td>
<td>5.2 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fencing</strong></td>
<td>5.2 (1)</td>
<td>2.4 (1)</td>
<td>5.2 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Autoletic Score</strong></td>
<td>3.7 (1)</td>
<td>1.1 (4)</td>
<td>0.7 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td>59 (4)</td>
<td>19 (3)</td>
<td>25 (5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The numbers in brackets are the rank order for that column
** (1974:323)
lifestyle. Clearly, the main motivation for continuing to cruise is a belief that the totality of experience in cruising is intrinsically rewarding. This conclusion is further strengthened when the so-called 'autotelic score' is noted. The autotelic score results from subtracting the sum of the two least intrinsic reasons from the sum of the two most intrinsic reasons. Csikszentmihalyi sees this score as a representation of "the relative importance of intrinsic rewards ..." (1975:19) to the subject group in relation to their situation. Cruisers' autotelic score is higher than any others, including any of those activities studied by Csikszentmihalyi. So, it is not extrinsic rewards that motivate cruisers. It must, then, be rewards which derive from the inherent nature of the lifestyle, the subjective experience of the unique combination of activities and environment. I will now use the activity of "passage making", an experience that is central to cruising, to illustrate the intrinsic nature of the lifestyle.

V. PASSAGES: A special case example

Passages are when people sail overnight from one anchorage to another usually from one island to another or one country to another. Passages are one of the main features of off-shore sailing that distinguish cruising from day-sailing. Passages are being treated here as a special case or example because they are an important part of cruising and because of the prominence of 'passages' in the literature, conversation, and lore of cruising.

Anything less than an overnight sail would not be called a passage by cruisers and generally the term is reserved for something much more significant than that. Obviously, passages are of differing lengths depending on the proximity of the various destinations. While the interviewing for this study was carried out primarily in the Pacific, the interviewees had among them sailed in most oceans and seas of the world.

The average length of the longest passage sailed by the interviewees was 35 days with 78 days being the longest passage
mentioned. The interviewees had sailed a total of some 1.7 million miles for an average of about 25,000 miles each. All my interviewees would have each sailed dozens of passages of at least a week and most would have sailed upwards of a dozen passages of about 2 weeks duration. These figures are estimates based on my own experience and a knowledge of the distances involved for the routes taken by cruisers. In my own case, during the initial six months of field work, I sailed on five passages, 3 of which were each a week long while the other two were 14 and 16 days each. I mention this in order to emphasise that the interviewees have a wealth of experience upon which to comment and that I have enough first-hand experience to be able to comprehend the experience being described.

The discussion that follows is based on the interview data. My own experience of passage making and my reading have provided background knowledge for this analysis but only the interviews are used as examples. To adequately describe the experience of passages is probably impossible - the good, the bad, and the neutral aspects of passages are experiences that are not available in other contexts. Some aspects of wilderness camping and trekking would probably provide similar experiences but there would be few places in the world today where a land traveller could travel for up to a month and not see another sign of human habitation. Even in *The Snow Leopard*, Matthiessen (1980) was never more than a day away from human habitation although he had trekked for a month beyond the reach of modern machinery, roads and communications. While there are obvious signs of pollution on the oceans it is often concentrated by wind and current and therefore not necessarily widely scattered. Likewise, commercial shipping follows well established sea lanes which seldom coincide with routes followed by sailing vessels, routes suggested by wind patterns and seasonal changes.

In many ways, long passages are the ultimate expression of the independence, isolation, and natural rhythms that cruising represents to cruisers. While passages do not represent a major proportion of the time in any one year, they are nonetheless a very significant part of the total experience of cruising. They take on this significance because of the constant planning and preparation needed to ensure a safe and satisfying passage. Besides organising provisions, ensuring the
sea-worthiness of the boat, and getting crew if necessary, each passage must be timed to account for seasonal variations, wind direction, likely hazards such as shipping, possible navigational anomalies or aids, and so on. Most long-term cruisers, once they have made the few long passages that get them away from their home port, would not spend more than a month or two each year sailing. Most of the time is spent in port or in isolated anchorages. But, interestingly, a focus of much of that harbour time is preparation for and thinking about the passages to be made in the near and distant future. In other words, while passages do not necessarily involve more than 60 or 70 days out of an average year the nature of passages, including the obvious danger, mean they are at the forefront of most cruisers' consciousness. Passages are therefore a main focus of discussion and planning for all cruisers. Of course, some cruisers do not care to make passages at all but Customs and Immigration regulations in most countries demand that the boat and crew leave that country, as one year is usually the maximum permissible stay. The advent of cold winters and hurricane seasons also 'encourage' cruisers to move on a seasonal basis. It is true to say that even those who dislike passages have to do them. Passages are there and, whether liked or not, are a significant part of the total experience of cruising.

Before discussing the interviewee responses to questioning about passages, it seems appropriate to discuss what is entailed in the activity of passage-making. There is, of course, a tremendous amount of preparation which goes into any passage, especially the very long ones and those that can be expected to entail very bad weather conditions. There are also very great differences in the conditions experienced by different boats even on the same passage, weather being an obvious major factor.

However, there is a good deal of commonality between passages for the simple reason that the situation is one of a small number of people on a small vessel on the open ocean. The forces of nature are all-pervasive, whether 'good' or 'bad', and not only are specific activities virtually dictated by changes in nature but nature's cycles also dictate when and how activities such as celestial navigation can and should be undertaken. At another level, too, nature is so dominant that the
consciousness of time, of external events, of movement will all be
effected. Perspectives change as 100 miles a day seems like a good
distance to have travelled and where the days may be dominated by the
dawn, the dusk, eating and sleeping. The nights may be an experience
beyond the belief of someone who has never been at sea a thousand miles
from the intrusion of buildings, artificial lighting, and the constant
'hum' of a city.

Equally, when conditions are uncomfortable because of calms and
heat or high winds, nature still dominates and the experience is still
qualitatively different from most experiences on land. Antarctic
expeditions, desert treks, and some wilderness expeditions would
encounter a similar dominance but even these are unusual exceptions.
Coping with bad conditions is hard on the physical and emotional stamina
of the crew, forcing them to deal with the present and to focus only on
the little world around them. It is the "unrelenting nature of the
situation - on land you can walk out of your situation" (005) - that can
be so debilitating physically and emotionally in bad conditions. The
open ocean and the weather are overwhelming influences and all the crew
on a yacht can do is learn to cope with, and hopefully enjoy, what the
ocean has to offer.

Storms are the paradox of off-shore sailing. They can be very
dangerous, they can be very uncomfortable, they can be very beautiful
and they can be very exhilarating - and they can be all those at once.
This apparent contradiction occurs because storms come in conjunction
with a variety of conditions and it is the combination that determines
the totality of the experience. For example, gale force winds under a
cloudless sky, well away from the dangers and influence of the
coastline, and when the sailing direction is not fighting the wind, can
produce a sailing and ocean experience of power, beauty, and excitement,
while still making it difficult to prepare food and to carry out the
daily chores. Alternatively, similar winds in heavy rain, close to a
coastline and when sailing into the wind can be very wet, uncomfortable,
and dangerous, if not a terrifying experience.

The dreams of cruisers comprise a number of myths. One such myth
concerns sailing in tradewinds. These winds normally blow in a
consistent direction and with consistent force, subject to seasons and
unusual atmospheric conditions. The dream of all land-based potential cruisers is one of sailing down-wind in 10-20 knots of wind, day and night in tropical conditions. A few people I interviewed have experienced long passages (up to a month) with absolutely perfect tradewind conditions for the entire passage. Others have experienced the ideal a few times and others have never 'found' the trades. In any case, the myth survives and occasionally becomes reality, often enough to give all cruisers some very good passages. Of course, 'good' passages are possible in any ocean and any area but it is the trade winds passages that evoke the romantic stereotype. The tradewinds passages from the Canary Islands to the Caribbean and through the South Pacific to the Marquesas and Tahiti are probably the best known 'myth-makers'.

In most situations and passages, conditions will be such that extremes seldom occur and, therefore, a daily routine will develop and be maintained. Most cruising yachts have some form of self-steering so that the yacht does not have to be steered by hand all the time; in some cases, it will hardly be hand-steered at all. This facility of self-steering is vital to most cruising boats because they tend to have so few crew that steering would be not only boring but also exhausting. In fact, damage to the self-steering system is what often turns an average passage into a nightmare, especially if there are only one, two or three crew aboard.

15 El Nino is a severe and unusual alteration to the weather pattern in the Pacific Ocean. It can result in extremes of drought and flood, the modification of wind patterns, and the positioning of tropical revolving storms at times and places not normally encountered. The 1982-3 El Nino is credited with in excess of $10 billion damage and the loss of some 1300 lives. Weather authorities are not sure what triggers El Ninos but the first sign is generally unusually weak Trade Winds in the Eastern Pacific. This occurred in the most recent El Nino resulting in extremes of calm and storms where winds should be steady and in tropical cyclones far east of their normal locations. El Nino drastically altered wind patterns in the main cruising areas of the Pacific and in fact resulted in the loss of a number of yachts (Gilbert 1983; Nouse 1984). Interestingly, during the last stage of the field work in mid-1981, it was reported to me in Fiji that the Trade winds were rather erratic that year.
Having self-steering does not alter the fact that most skippers do require that a watch be kept at all times in order to attend to the performance of the sails and to watch out for external dangers such as other shipping. It is the watch system that often forms the basis for the ship-board routine that develops on a yacht on a passage. With or without a formal watch system, a routine does develop after a few days. Celestial navigation requires that sun, moon, and/or star sights be taken and this usually determines the activity of much of the crew at specific times such as noon, sunset, and sunrise because that is when sights are required. Meals are often scheduled so as to dovetail with these activities. For example, on the sixteen day passage I made from Hawaii to Christmas Island, the evening meal was always served about an hour before sunset so that all five crew were in the cockpit ready to help identify stars as they appeared in the twilight. Dawn sights were never accompanied by such full participation but the skipper and on-watch crew would generally engage in the same cooperative routine of star-sighting.

Wind conditions often alter with the passing of the day and the night so that fairly routine sail-handling takes place and further adds to the pattern of the day's activities. Of course meals are a big event in a situation where external artificial stimuli are minimal and they also contribute to the development of a daily pattern of activities.

Amongst these activities, day and night, crew find time to sleep, to be alone, to exercise, to talk, to read, to sew sails, to make repairs, and in some cases to talk on the radio. The latter governs the routine of some boats as they attempt to take part in radio schedules everyday. This was not a factor on any of the boats on which I sailed, for which I am personally thankful.16

16 I say this because one of the real joys of passage-making is being cut off from all other people except those on board and from land and the fact that such a break produces a focus of attention on the immediate surroundings, the boat itself, the people on the boat, and the small part of the ocean that is visible. The short-wave radio time signal is enough intrusion without talking to other yachts and to land-based amateur radio operators. Others obviously need that contact, I don't.
Passages are almost a microcosm of cruising in the sense that they are at once an activity, a series of discreet activities, and an holistic process. The discreet parts of the activity known as 'a passage' are identifiable and are perceived as positive, negative, or neutral; yet, clearly, the total experience, the sense of passage-making, is far more than the simple summation of its discreet parts. In some way, too, the experience of a passage cannot be adequately communicated by words - a number of passages must be experienced to fully 'know' the process. Even the five passages I have done are only a beginning in understanding passages. Notwithstanding some very negative experiences on my passages, I like passages and especially the separation from land and the rhythm of the longer ones. In the final analysis the experience of a passage will be determined by a combination of the weather, the preparation and the condition of the yacht, and the personalities of the people aboard.

It is with all of this in mind that I will turn to the interview data and discuss the responses of the interviewees who made substantial comment about passages. Thirty-five of them discussed passages explicitly and only one of these people really dislikes passages. Others do not like passages longer than a week and some do not like passages of less than two weeks. Most like some aspects of passages and a number find passages to be the best part of the cruising lifestyle. Many of those who like aspects of passages would not choose to do many passages if regulations and the seasons did not dictate the longer trips necessary to go from one country to another. Their comments have been analysed to form the basis of the following discussion. The comments were solicited by open-ended questions seeking information about the positive and negative aspects of passages. Not all respondents felt strongly enough to say much about passages but the data from the 35 (approximately 50%) that did is useful. These data will be discussed in two stages, the positive aspects of passages first and the negative aspects following. The conceptualisations that are used below were developed from the data. They were not used as a basis for the interview questions - the data preceded the codes.
A. Positive Aspects of Passage

The positive aspects of passages clustered around six statements, or codes, as shown in Table 5.2. Clearly, one of the most positive aspects of passage-making is simply the experience of being at sea. The first code is about the 'at-sea rhythm', a concept that encompasses the routine that develops, the alteration to one's sense of time that occurs when nature's rhythms dominate one's daily patterns almost exclusively. Life is simplified because the 'world' is concentrated, is circumscribed by the boundaries and contents of the boat. There are few, if any, external distractions and the supplies and equipment on board can not be supplemented. There are no shops, no movie theatres, no restaurants, no visitors. "There is an underlying rhythm to life each day and there is a lower stimulus input than on land" (009). "Passages are one of the nice things about cruising; I simply like being at sea" (012). Another remarks on the "night time - the stars and the sense of human smallness" (013) as a positive aspect of passages while yet another likes "only passages longer than a week as I don't get into the pattern properly in 3 to 4 day passages" (034). The pattern, the rhythm, the simplicity - these are the things most often valued about the passage experience. It is not something specific, it is a way of being.

The two quotations following relate to the first two codes and provide a bridge between two aspects of being off-shore.

What is having a good time at sea? The feeling of isolation, being away from other people, boats, traffic. I like night sailing and I like being unable to go ashore to shop. There is a sense of self-containment. (035)

Passages are marvellous. You are detached from land, and totally under your own jurisdiction, you make your own laws. (030)

The second code, 'Free from the shore' represents the pressures and stresses that are found in ports and anchorages, stresses and pressures that are somehow different from the worry and stress of sailing a small boat across an ocean. The independence from laws and social custom when
### Table 5.2: Passages - Positive aspects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Number Reporting</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The at-sea rhythm</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>51.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Free from the shore</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>48.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Navigation and accomplishment</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>48.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The sea and its life</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>34.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sailing the ocean</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Relationships</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

on a passage is highly valued. "When I leave a port, I've the feeling I've escaped, but I don't know what from. I have never felt good at coping with the false values of land based society. The sea doesn't ask you to be phony, doesn't let you be phony, actually" (029). So, being free from the shore is important, the passage is a contrast, an escape, and allows for independence.

The third ranking code item is called 'navigation and accomplishment' but, more precisely, it reflects the sense of satisfaction that navigation, making landfalls, and having prepared the boat properly give to the cruiser. People frequently talk of the sense
of joy, excitement and satisfaction that another passage has been successfully completed. Other parts of this thesis discuss the issue of feedback and the sense of accomplishment obtainable in the cruising lifestyle. Completing a passage is one of the clearest examples of positive feedback on accomplishment possible – and it is recognised as such.

I love arriving at places by boat. You feel you own the place, like you have discovered the place yourself. (022)

It's like climbing a mountain, the tremendous feeling of personal accomplishment at completing a long passage. (053)

The fourth ranking code adds another dimension to those already mentioned. 'The sea and its life' is something that fascinates many cruising people. The waves, the stars, fishing, and simply observing the amazing abundance of life found even in the open ocean enhances the passages of most people. For example, the publication of We, The Navigators by David Lewis (1972) has added further depth to the observation of natural navigational aids by explaining how Polynesian navigators used the stars, the swells, and birds to navigate the vast expanses of the Pacific Ocean. This code rings true as I remember, in my own passage making experience, our fear and excitement as a whale approached, of watching mahi mahi swimming in the shade of the almost becalmed yacht, and of seeing flying fish fleeing some unseen predator.

'Sailing the ocean' is the fifth ranking code and represents aspects of passages related to the "challenge of being at sea" (029), to the "enjoyment of high winds, the ride in those conditions, the exhilaration" (002), and that the "certain risk is an attraction" (013) to some. Many cruisers believe driving on a freeway to be more dangerous than sailing a well-prepared yacht across an ocean because the latter risk is more under control, can be prepared for, and relies less on chance. It is seen as a risk that can be met as a challenge with every expectation of successfully neutralising it.

17 See especially Chapter 9, People of Flow.
The last code I have called 'Relationships' but that word is not fully explanatory. This code includes the comments of single-handing sailors who like passages because they are alone and there is no "need to explain things to other crew; when single-hand you can just do things when it feels right" (009). Another "had long wanted to sail Cape Horn and felt it was the kind of place [he] wanted to be alone at and sail alone around" (039). But, for most respondents, there are other people on board. Some enjoy the chance to get to know a few others very well whereas for families a new dimension of unity and togetherness is encountered on long passages.

Our relationships become even more strongly bonded in the close space of a long passage. We are sharing everything, all the little dangers, the school, the fishing, the little daily tasks. The kids are really important and the passages allow a real focus on the family surrounded by nature. (057)

We still enjoy each other a lot and being at sea is the best way of really having a lot of time together - even after 34 years together. (034)

It is said that cruising is no way to escape your problems, they all go with you. This would obviously hold true for relationship problems that could be exasperated at sea. On the other hand, being at sea for well-functioning relationships would provide for this focussing, this togetherness.

**B. Negative Aspect of Passages**

But, what of the negative things in passages? Only one respondent stated he really hated passages and that was because "the possibility of trouble keeps [him] worried all the time" (031) even after 10 years of cruising. However, most respondents, while tolerating or enjoying passages, did express some negative things about them. Table 5.3 lists the code statements that were developed to represent their responses. Predictably, bad weather ranked as the most negative thing. In this case, calms are also included because they are very debilitating and can be very dangerous. In one case, a yacht was
Table 5.3: Passages - Negative aspects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Number Reporting</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bad weather</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>34.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Worry about trouble</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lacks and difficulties</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Personality conflicts</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Seasickness</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

seriously becalmed and ran out of water and food before reaching land. A lucky and unusual encounter with a ship saved the lives of the crew. In less extreme conditions, calms are just annoying, especially if for some reason a motor cannot be used and the crew must sit, usually in equatorial heat, and listen to the noises made by slatting sails or be subjected to the unrestrained rolling of the yacht. Nonetheless, most references to bad weather are to serious storms and rough sea conditions especially when close to a dangerous shore or when trying to go to windward against the force of the wind. At the very least, life aboard is likely to be uncomfortable, wet, and noisy, accompanied often by seasickness and irregular meals.
The 'worry about trouble' code represents both the worry about things going wrong and the actual problems which do develop. Few passages are unaccompanied by problems, whether they are breakages, adverse winds, or navigational trouble. Some skippers dislike the stress of being in command and others are always worried about encountering big ships or whales. There is a lot to be concerned about and cruisers need a lot of confidence and optimism to not allow the worries at sea to get the better of them.¹⁸

'Lacks and difficulties' is a code that represents the little things that some people miss while on passages - showers, a less limited menu, regular exercise, and sleep. This code item also encompasses the difficulty of cooking on passages and the everyday chores that are made more difficult by the continuous motion of a yacht at sea. For most they are niggling but are still there.

'Personality conflicts' are especially a problem for yachts which take on crew to help sail the boat. There may be difficulty finding enough or suitable crew and then the crew may be incompatible with each other. On one passage, we had a crew member who was a congenial person but was seasick for the entire 16-day passage and so was more of a burden than a help. His situation added to the tension on board.

Last is 'Seasickness'. Most people are somewhat seasick some of the time but only two people mentioned it as a negative aspect of passages. It appears to be an accepted and tolerated part of making passages and is something people have simply integrated and dismissed. In terms of a conscious negative concern, seasickness is not important; it was the least noted problem.

¹⁸ The perspective of casual (i.e. non-family and/or short term) crew is missing here because only one such person was interviewed, since most casual crew did not meet the interview criteria. However, as a casual crew member myself and through interaction with many such people it became clear that casual crew worry about the skipper and boat on to which they have signed. Their life is to a large degree in someone else's hands.
In summary, then, passages are disliked by a few, tolerated by some, enjoyed by many, and positively 'loved' by a few. They are a fact of all cruising and I would suggest that those who detest and fear passages would have left cruising before fifteen months. In the Pacific, many cruisers pick up jobs delivering yachts from Tahiti to Hawaii or California for people who cannot, for one reason or another, be bothered to take them back home themselves. In many cases, it is the cruising life itself which has proven too much for these people but in others it is the thought of the long passages involved in getting a yacht from a far away place back to its home port.

* * * * *

To cruise is to act on a complex set of motivations, to 'escape' one set of hardships but to adopt another. It is the discovery of a lifestyle to replace the rejected back-home existence.

In many ways cruising is no easier than the life ashore many are trying to escape. The continuing expenses and need for hard work and domestic compromise do not end at the water's edge.

But the compensations are profound. Those who continue to cruise beyond the first-year-out barrier discover a way of life impossible for most city people to conceive. I am speaking of an almost spiritual difference here; a matter of quality - an opening of awareness to underlying rhythms and a sense of place on this terrestrial sphere.

Life takes on a healthier perspective from the deck of a small boat. When we focus our lives on simple realities, many distractions are eliminated and we encounter things of real value: the outlook of other cultures, the solitude of vast distances, the elemental moods of wind and sea. Gradually there develops a clarity of vision and an inner strength common to all wanderers. (Thomas 1979: 13)

This quotation encompasses many of the points enumerated above. It recognises the difficulties, the subtleties, the role of passages, and the cleansing effect of intrinsic rewards and natural environments.

By way of contrast, I turn to the data on sailboat racing, another factor in understanding cruising because the differences
illuminate the essence of cruising. It will be shown, though, that there is no simple dichotomy operating but rather a complex set of continua.

VI. WHY RACE

Cruisers, by and large, don't race. They are not competitive and they are not organised for such a purpose. However, the motivation to race as expressed by two groups of racers provides an interesting contrast to cruisers. In addition, we have already seen from the 8 Reasons data that while there are differences between the two racing groups themselves, their fundamental agreement on the importance of competition to their motivation and on the role of extrinsic rewards (i.e. a low autotelic score) distinguishes them clearly from cruisers. Another major difference, too, is that all the racing respondents in this survey race only as an activity within a lifestyle characterised by an occupation and a shore-based, permanent home. That is, there were no professional, full-time racing people in this survey. Table VIII.1 and VIII.2 (in Appendix VIII) combine with the 8 Reasons data to show quite clearly that competition dominates the Soling situation entirely. Soling racers are only marginally motivated by non-competitive factors inherent in the environment and activity. This dominance of competition is not so pronounced, however, with ocean racers. While their autotelic score is low by comparison with cruisers they do share with cruisers a wider interest in the intrinsic aspects of the situation - comraderie, adventure, life at sea, and so on. In both the 8 Reasons data and the coded interview data competition ranked third, in both cases being clearly less important than the wider, intrinsic experience.

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19 See Appendix VIII for a detailed discussion of the racing survey. Ocean racing involves long-distance overnight racing on larger boats while Solings are an Olympic class boat raced on short, inshore courses.
Perhaps the greatest distinction between cruising and racing yachtsmen lies in a sense of pace. Your true cruiser sails by the calendar, not the clock. The moment is what counts: the fact he is afloat, a good little ship carrying him to another place; there is no need to be impatient, nor to fret — only to enjoy. But your racing sailor never escapes the ticking second hand. It is probably his most necessary competitive attribute. In any given set of conditions, he feels how his boat should be going. When she is not doing her best, he suffers. He is goaded into action by an overwhelming compulsion: he fiddles with the trim or changes headsails. If nothing helps he glares at sea and sky, feeling some malign force is at work. He must be efficient to be happy. (Mitchell 1971:21)

What has emerged from the use of these two racing groups is a continuum of motivation, or a number of continua. As depicted in Figure 5.4 these continua are my construction but rely heavily on the 8 Reasons data for direction and support. They are simply another way of seeing the three groups together and depicting the continuum connecting cruisers, ocean racers and Soling racers, a continuum that represents a motivation based on intrinsic lifestyle goals as opposed to extrinsic, activity based goals — and that is the basic difference between racing and cruising, the difference between an activity and a lifestyle, between competitive and non-competitive, and between extrinsic and intrinsic.

The differences between cruisers and racers have been explored here in relation to the experience of racing and cruising. However, related to these differences as motivations for engaging in racing or living as a cruiser is a fundamentally different view of modern society.\(^{20}\) Racers' criticisms of their society are apparently not fundamental enough to become part of the motivation to change a lifestyle. On the other hand, cruisers' social critique becomes part of the motivation to cruise, is what they seek to escape.

\(^{20}\) These differences were discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.
Figure 5.4: The Cruising-Racing Continua

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Importance</th>
<th>Importance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lifestyle level experience</th>
<th>Solings</th>
<th>Ocean Racers</th>
<th>Cruisers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The life itself</td>
<td>Solings</td>
<td>Ocean Racers</td>
<td>Cruisers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intrinsic reasons</td>
<td>Solings</td>
<td>Ocean Racers</td>
<td>Cruisers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendship, companionship</td>
<td>Solings</td>
<td>Cruisers</td>
<td>Ocean Racers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measuring self against own ideal</td>
<td>Solings</td>
<td>Ocean Racers</td>
<td>Cruisers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measuring self against others</td>
<td>Cruisers</td>
<td>Ocean Racers</td>
<td>Solings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extrinsic rewards (Prestige, glamour, money)</td>
<td>Cruisers</td>
<td>Ocean Racers</td>
<td>Solings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VII. CONCLUSION

The answer to the question of WHY THEY CRUISE has been shown as intimately tied up with the nature of the lifestyle that is cruising. It has also been shown that there is a fundamental shift in the motivational pattern once a person becomes a committed long-term cruiser. That is to say, the motivation to Continue cruising is or can be quite different from the motivation to Begin cruising initially. People go cruising with a motivation based on a need to escape their current existence coupled with a romantic vision of what lies tantalisingly across the seas. They have little in-depth idea of what the lifestyle is like. This is the Departure stage. As a commitment is made based on the knowledge and experience of the complexity of the cruising lifestyle, the new cruiser gradually leaves this romanticised Departure stage. The challenges, the independence, the natural rhythms, and the relaxed social conventions become the basis for a motivation to cruise indefinitely. This decision is founded on the perceived intrinsic value in the lifestyle. In a sense it is the autotelic nature of the lifestyle that is central to this motivation to cruise; and that same autotelic nature cannot be fully comprehended because it is in the subjective experience of each person who is motivated by it. I have tried to paint a word-picture of this motivation but it can only be known fully through experience.

Satisfaction is close at hand on a boat, but you must be able to recognize it, to accept it in a simple form. As you continue to cruise your competence and confidence will increase. You learn more about sailing every day; you will never know it all. Freedom is on every side, and along with it the need for decision, action, and results. Gradually the threshold of pleasure lowers, and you realize that you enjoy nearly everything you see. No mystery. No hidden enjoyments. The sea, the wind, the boat, the crew, you, your life.

(Griffith 1979:260)

Here Griffith summarizes of many of the points made earlier. The sense of freedom and responsibility, the need for action and the inevitable feedback, the simple pleasures, and the intrinsic rewards are all part of why people leave an urban lifestyle where these are seen to be
lacking and search for a lifestyle where they are plentiful. But, who are these people who choose this lifestyle, who aspire to a particular sort of freedom and independence, who desire a contact with nature and a mind/body unity absent in modern society? Who are these people, what are their characteristics, their strengths, their skills? Answering those questions is the task of the next chapter where I draw the portrait of a long-term cruiser.
CHAPTER 6

PORTRAIT OF A CRUISER

What are the characteristics that cruisers perceive as necessary for and descriptive of the people who are long-term cruisers?

One of the obvious results of sailing over a period of time, however, is the formation, or reinforcement, of certain traits in the psyche. Among these, I would put (in my order of importance) patience, compromise, the ability to get down to brass tacks (clarity of thought on immediate problems and swift calculation of priorities), humour, - even at your own expense - fairness, precision when it is necessary, generosity when it is not, determination, and understanding, not only of your own weaknesses but also of other people's.

(Jones 1982:20)

Tristan Jones in giving his personal opinion is writing for cruisers and prospective cruisers alike. These are his views of what characteristics are needed. This chapter, however, develops a composite portrait through the analysis of interviewee responses.¹

¹ The quantitative information on age, education and so forth is reported in Appendix I. Such a compilation of statistics tells us nothing about the personality characteristics or qualities that cruisers themselves see as necessary for cruising but it does provide a sketch of their background and experience. Of those interviewed, 59 were included in the final analysis and this group had been cruising for an average of five years. They had between them 295 years of cruising experience and had sailed almost two million miles. Their average age was 43 years and almost 85% had received some tertiary education. A little over half were American with eleven other nationalities also represented in the sample of 37 men and 22 women. The predominance of Americans arises because the study was done in the Pacific Ocean. I have little reason to expect the results are seriously altered in relation to other western countries by the nationality bias but it still is important to remember that this is a Pacific study and a Western study (See also Chapter 2). These biographical data are interesting and important but there is much more to cruisers than education and age.
Another, not dissimilar, view was elicited in the interview with a 32 year old British woman. It sums up a number of the characteristics that seem to be important to successful cruising - and could be essential for sheer survival.

The perfect cruiser is alert, never flaps, has a sense of humour, is tolerant of others, practical, intelligent, and competent (022)

Of course, they are characteristics that are desirable in most people, in most situations. The difference in cruising is that it is at once a life lived at close quarters and yet in some considerable isolation, while still being a life devoid of most of the support systems, social and mechanical, that we take for granted in urban, western society.

That portion of the interview schedule which focussed on eliciting a definition of the ideal type of person for cruising had two stages of inquiry. Initially, an open-ended question was posed to the interviewee as to what characteristics 'successful' cruisers might share. The issue of defining when a person could be called a cruiser had previously been discussed and the notion that 'successful' include emotional, physical, and financial factors was discussed with the interviewee. The second stage in this inquiry, the adjective list, came when the interviewee had no more to offer in response to the open-ended question. A prompt card was then offered to elicit further specific points. This card contained 58 words which it was suggested might help describe cruisers. Some interviewees went into great detail, to the point of expounding on every word on the list, while others simply listed a few of the words as being the defining characteristics. In between these two extremes was a wide variety of answering procedures. The results of these inquiries will be discussed in two stages, consistent with the two methods but beginning with the Adjective List exercise.
I. THE PORTRAIT FROM AN ADJECTIVE LIST

This portrait shows that cruisers see themselves as self-reliant and responsible people who are adventurous, but who are also careful. They see themselves at neither risk-takers nor escapists. It is a very flattering self-portrait.

Table 6.1 lists the 58 words that were on the prompt card and indicates the number of respondents who rated each word as describing a typical, successful cruiser. Respondents could nominate as many or as few words as they wished. Naturally, this list can not and does not take account of the variety of definitions people place on words in everyday usage. Later in the discussion I will use interview quotations to illustrate the way words were used and the variety of connotations placed on them because cruisers' definitions can only be assumed or seen from the context in which they were used. I have combined the quotations and discussion of some words because of their similarity in meaning and because the respondents often used the words interchangeably. This discussion, then, does not follow Table 6.1 exactly because such combinations have been made. However, Table 6.1 has been produced as it is to enable the reader to see the raw data that resulted from the prompt card. It should also be pointed out that the quotations are those elicited by the specific word on the prompt card, occasionally supplemented by statements made about the word in the open-ended discussion. It must be remembered that this is a self-portrait — these are words cruisers use to describe themselves. For this reason, the quotations are placed so as to stand alone first, to be followed by brief discussion.

Sixty per cent or more of the interviewees who responded to the prompt card list of words were of the opinion that the words adaptable,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>60% &amp; over</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>20–29%</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Adaptable</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>29. Escapist</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Self-reliant</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>30. Observant</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Self-sufficient</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>32. Fatalistic</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33. Proud</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Flexible</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>34. Singleminded</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Careful</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>35. Clannish</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Optimist</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>36. Rational</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Curious</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>37. Selfish</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Independent</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>38. Social drop-out</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Adventurous</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>39. Vagabond</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Nature Lover</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Organised</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>40. Opportunist</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Self-Confident</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>41. Sensitive</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40–49%</td>
<td></td>
<td>42. Courageous</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Hazard Conscious</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>43. Crazy</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Practical</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>44. Loner</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Cooperative</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>45. Eccentric</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Patient</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>46. Emotional</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30–39%</td>
<td></td>
<td>47. Speculative</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Disciplined</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>48. Conqueror</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Helpful</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>49. Cunning</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Individualistic</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>50. Pessimistic</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Inventive</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>51. Competitive</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Realistic</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>52. Nationalistic</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Wanderer</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>53. Spiritual</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Tenacious</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>54. Contemporary</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Down-to-earth</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>55. Domineering</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Methodical</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>56. Foolhardy</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Dreamer</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>57. Irresponsible</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Easy going</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>58. Patriotic</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**self-reliant, resourceful and self-sufficient** describe cruisers. A further thirteen of the 58 words were nominated by between 50% and 60% of the respondents as describing the nature of the ideal and successful cruising person. I will explore the meanings of these words initially before discussing some of the other words in the list, with particular attention to those that received less than 10% response rate. These "anti-definition" words shed as much light on cruisers' perceptions of themselves as do the others.

1. **Adaptable, Flexible:**

The average cruiser is like the remote farmer, he has what he needs and when something breaks he goes to work to make something to fix it. (037)

You need to be adaptable in jobs and be able to mix with various people. (014/015)

A cruiser must have a temperament of flexibility, be willing to steal ideas, absorb and adapt, that is, be willing to look for and take ideas from anyone and anywhere. (005)

You have to be flexible, adapt to local customs, to different kinds of people; you need to be sensitive to cultural imperatives and adapt to them. (038)

You need to be able to change your plans. Those who are not flexible end up in the wrong place at the wrong time, for example, when the cyclone season arrives. (053)

But, you need to be able to alter plans to suit changing situations. You cannot fight the sea and so you must be flexible enough to give into the sea. (019)

These two words, adaptable and flexible, were often linked together in respondent statements and one of the quotations above uses the words together, as synonyms. Clearly, one of the most important characteristics for successful cruising is the ability to adapt to ever changing situations and be flexible with plans and activities. One of the reasons many short-term cruisers face problems or do not fully enjoy
cruising is that they do not have the time to be flexible with their plans. This not only means they often have to fight the sea and adverse weather but also do not take the time to learn how to adapt their needs to suit the national and/or local cultures and conditions. Each culture has major or minor differences from others in codes of behaviour, government policies, the retail situation and so on. Cruisers must learn to adapt to each of these differences in order to engage in the most simple daily tasks of living, such as food shopping, let alone the more complex tasks, such as trying to get permission to sail to certain restricted areas. The very long-term cruisers (eg. over 10 years) inevitably return to places in which they enjoy themselves and their ability to function in a foreign culture will obviously improve with experience. But, cruisers perceive the ability to adapt to changing situations as a key ability in successful cruising.

2. Self-reliant, Self-sufficient:

In terms of material life, you need to keep things together (006/7)

In the long-term you need to be able to keep yourself out of trouble and get out of the troubles that get you (062)

Self-reliance, that's a must, that's a must! (040)

It is normal. Once you are out you must be able to do your own things, do your own repairs, be able to fix everything yourself, improvise. (038)

They need to be self-reliant and self-sufficient with self and in terms of doing things. (055)

These quotations show the two central aspects of this issue. First there is a need to be physically and mechanically able to maintain the boat, which, for example, often requires the adaptation of parts for non-standard applications. Secondly, the ability to be self-reliant as a functioning person is important. The latter point is noteworthy because the process of cruising severs most of the social and psychological support mechanisms that those living in a non-nomadic, stable community take for granted. While it is true that the cruising
community does provide support to its members, it must be remembered that the nomadic nature of the community means that there is no guarantee that any two yachts are going to be in the same anchorage for more than a few weeks, let alone months or years. Personal self-reliance, especially for single people, is of vital importance.

3. Resourceful:

Look at those who have lost their rudders and how they've managed to get home. (008)

You have to be able to act and devise things in situations especially emergencies, be inventive. (028)

Even if they have a lot of money they have to be resourceful to get things done. (025)

Everything breaks down and needs to be fixed. (050)

Frequently something happens on a boat that tests your imagination to solve problems. (052)

This is one of those words about which there is so much agreement as to its validity and meaning that few people bothered to explain it or discuss its meaning. All people who live with a low income, as most cruisers do, and especially those who own a complex technical or mechanical possession that is central to their life style, will have to be resourceful in supplementing their income and in reducing their expenditure. The most obvious aspect of this resourcefulness is in the maintenance and repair of the boat and its equipment, especially when something vital needs repair while hundreds if not thousands of miles away from land. The utilisation of materials on board and the adaptation of items for a non-design task is all part of what allows the resourceful cruiser to be relatively independent and self-sufficient. Part of this process is the ability to make good use of other people's cast-offs. Seasoned cruisers who happen to be moored in or near commercial harbours or wealthy yacht clubs will regularly take note of things discarded in the rubbish bins in the expectations of finding useful items. One of my interviewees found about 15 metres of stainless steel wire in the bin at my yacht club and another in Hawaii rescued a functional two-way radio.
4. **Careful:**

Seventy five percent careful but still are adventurous; need to be careful to keep your head together. (006/007)

You do not take risks on a boat. (012)

A lot of people are mystics - 'if you think of it, do it' is our rule; you should follow up on ideas that come to you, for example check the rig or put out another anchor when the thought comes. (068)

This is one aspect of taking care to ensure that one is safe, that the boat is safe. The other aspect is the process of regularly checking vital parts of the boat and the boat's stores to ensure they are in order. One interviewee checks all the rigging from the top of the mast to the deck with a magnifying glass before each passage. This way he hopes to avoid being surprised by a cracked or faulty fitting giving way while at sea. The people who are not careful enough either learn to be a lot more resourceful or may not survive at all. Taking care in navigation and seamanship is one of the obvious aspects of being careful as a cruiser and lack of care here can easily mean loss of the boat, and possibly a life, on a reef or lee shore.

5. **Optimist:**

There are lots of things an optimist will work to overcome but a pessimist will not and these things must be overcome in cruising. (031)

You've gotta be! (040)

Yes, I think most full-time yachties are optimists or they'd never see it off. For example, we have enough money for six months and have a four to five year voyage ahead. (041)

I'm an incredible optimist. (055)

You need to be able to let the future take care of itself and expect things to work out ok. (60)

It is a very important thing not to think of all the potential problems. (066)
It almost goes without saying that a person who embarks on ocean voyaging for an indefinite period of time and with limited financial security is going to be an optimist about his or her ability not only to survive physically and financially but also to cope with the myriad of problems that crop up on a yacht and which one will inevitably face when in foreign countries. Of course, self-confident, self-reliant and adaptable people will have greater reason to be optimistic about their ability to cope. While some would argue that these people must be dreamers to embark on such an undertaking and to be optimistic about its fulfilment, cruisers agree that they are not 'dreamers' in the out-of-touch-with-reality sense; they certainly have a dream but most realistically assess their ability to see it through. Granted, most of the people who set off cruising have no intention of going forever but many do set off with no definite end-point in mind. They have to be optimistic about their ability to carry on. But, it "can be dangerous to be too optimistic as you need to take precautions around reefs and things" (024) and this is where the balance comes with characteristics such as being careful.

6. Curious:

Yes, but curiosity also relates to nature lovers, wanderers, and adventurers; they generally take an interest in what’s around them. (041)

As is the case with most of the words being discussed in relation to the prompt card especially the ones with at least 50% agreement, the issue of curiosity arose in the open-ended part of the interview and discussion. Previous quotations and discussion have focussed on the opinion that cruisers are essentially curious people who want to see more of the world, sometimes just to see what is over the horizon or, as one cruiser said, chuckling, "you want to see what is on the other side of the mountain, or that horrendous wave" (008). Others, though, are specifically interested in becoming more thoroughly involved in and knowledgeable about, for example, other cultures. While there are some cruisers who are really just wandering around the oceans to avoid going back to a home culture that is now unpalatable and because they don't
know how to settle down after their first big trip, such as a circumnavigation, most cruisers take at least some interest in the cultures into which they sail. And, of course, the sea and bird life are of primary interest to others.

7. Independent:

Not in the extreme but a certain amount; you need to think for yourself. (063)

This quotation indicates well the issue of independence in cruising. While cruisers are obviously self-reliant, and therefore independent, there are frequently connotations to the word 'independent' which do not apply to most cruisers. They are people who have been independent enough to leave established society and move into a nomadic fringe group or community and are clearly in a life situation that requires them to think for themselves. The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines Independence as "not depending on authority; not depending on something else for its validity, efficiency; unwilling to be under obligation to others". This definition is consistent with the kind of independence displayed by cruisers. While, as will be shown, they are cooperative and most are socially active, they exist independently. As was discussed earlier, and is clearly part of this independence, cruisers must have an inner strength of personality that sustains them in this life-style.

8. Adventurous:

Not in any high sounding way; you just need to want something beyond a routine life. (026)

All cruisers are adventurous; this means they are really prepared to do something that contains serious risk of death. (027)

At least 'nominally' adventurous; or why would you start out otherwise? Just a love of doing things that are not the ordinary run-of-the-mill things. (038)
Yes! Just a fact of seeing something new and finding new things. (038)

I suppose so, yes, although it is less so than it was because so many people do it now. There is a bit of an adventurist streak in most full-time yachtsies. (041)

This is a real key word; going on small adventures all the time is what I'm after. (055)

There is little doubt that the non-cruising population sees cruising as an adventurous life, one of romance and beauty in paradise. The arm-chair cruisers who buy books and magazines, thereby helping supplement the incomes of a few cruisers, are reading 'adventure' stories. In some ways the use of the word 'adventure' and its rejection by many cruisers is a matter of semantics. While the word got a strong positive response many cruisers disavowed adventurousness as part of the lifestyle. I submit that many lifestyle cruisers now so take for granted their ocean passages, their dawn landfalls, being anchored in coral lagoons, and facing gale-force seas that they have to be reminded that by almost anybody else's definition theirs is an adventure filled life. As discussion elsewhere in this thesis suggests, the cruising life style is one that not only pits human beings with the forces of nature in "a bold undertaking, in which hazards are to be met and the issue hangs upon unforeseen events" (Webster's New Collegiate) but it also provides the kind of satisfaction to the individual (called 'flow' and discussed in Chapter 9) which derives from "a remarkable experience" (Webster's New Collegiate).

9. Nature Lover:

In the non-fad sense, a oneness with nature from deep within the person. (005)

Most people are, at least you love the sea; most love the flora and fauna, too. (038)

You become one if not already. Also, you get more interested in conservation; I did anyway. (039)
Yes, you must be. You're totally surrounded by nature, and live outdoors, use natural forces to drive ourselves across the oceans. (057)

That is what the whole trip is about. (063)

While many cruisers would certainly disagree with the last statement, the first four would gain the support of most. Many cruisers are more interested in cultures and destinations than they are in nature or ocean passages but they all live very close to nature and nature's rhythms. While cruisers may not be "freaked out on it, they have more than average awareness and appreciation" (019) of nature and most would get "the pleasure of animals and birds, etc. in their natural habitat" (034). One cruiser goes so far as to assert that "cruisers are true ecologists in the real meaning of the word, able to use the total ecology in balance" (037).

10. Organised:

This is a state of mind. (029)

In the sense that you can't leave things lying around; things need to be in their places so you can find them. (063)

Many of the cruising boats which I boarded informally and for interviews were obviously well organised, if not always neat and tidy. Live-aboard boats inevitably have more things on board than there is space to accommodate and in addition, while cruising, there are huge quantities of provisions to be stored. While there is an order and organisation for most things on most boats there will be a few essential items which have definite 'homes' and which should always be kept in those places for quick access. Sextants, other navigational equipment, certain safety gear, most equipment associated with the sailing of the yacht, vital aspects of personal clothing such as foul-weather coats will generally be kept well organised. The reality is that when people go offshore in small yachts they must take a great deal in the way of equipment and supplies and so must have a modicum of organisation to ever be able to find anything.
11. Self-confident:

Yes, and get more doing it. You have to be or you don't leave. (038)

Highly. (018)

You need to be reasonably self-confident, to be able to go to sea and cope. (014/015)

You certainly need a certain amount of it to be able to go offshore. (034)

One respondent said he had an inferiority complex and that it was desirable to be self-confident in cruising; yet he had been cruising since building his own boat from trees he selected in the forest 20 years before. He had not sailed far in his 12 years of cruising because he did not like passages. However, he had one of the best maintained and well-organised yachts I saw and had a reputation as the best scrimshaw artist in the South Pacific. While still being a model cruiser in every other way he felt he lacked self-confidence. Obviously, he had confidence in some of his abilities; or he simply had abilities that carried him through in spite of his self-confidence 'problem'. I have developed this example to highlight the particular problem of dealing with subjective words of this nature. There can be no objective definition of self-confidence nor can we objectively assign the label 'self-confident' to a person. It is a felt thing; one is, or feels, self-confident, or one does not. In some fundamental way, lack of self-confidence may affect a person's ability, motivation, or drive but if it does not then obviously a person can carry on cruising quite successfully without feeling the least bit self-confident. Or, possibly, I just interviewed this man at a low ebb in his life, at a time when he was feeling a lack of self-confidence because of other circumstances.

The foregoing has been a discussion of the thirteen words that 50% or more of interviewees who used the list of words on the prompt card agree describe a successful cruiser. But, there is more to the portrait
of cruising people than being adaptable, self-reliant, and resourceful, three words which I think best sum up the characteristics.

Cruisers, ideally, are independent, self-reliant, self-confident, crazy, and curious to keep searching. (057)

That quotation introduces another word, crazy, to describe cruisers, a word that received comments from a number of people, all of which inferred that a cruiser's form of being 'crazy' is to give up the status, security, and boredom of the conventional life style they had in their urban western home.

A few are crazy but by and large are much more rational than those who stay ashore; they are going after something better in life than what they had before. (027)

Singlehanders need to be a little eccentric and a little crazy; to leave good friends, job and high status with a 29' boat in Japan which has no status out here; must value different things than the rest of society to leave Japan happily. 5 (024)

The word 'crazy' is not being used in its conventional sense but as a way to reaffirm something that shows up throughout this study: cruisers want something more out of life than is possible within the confines of the taken-for-granted urban western society out of which most of them came.

Maybe, then, they are simply 'escapists'? However, as Table 6.1 shows, only 30% would use that label and then most of them qualify its use to suggest that they are doing more than "escaping society and TV by trying to get back to nature, to find out about the basics" (008), that is, they are also going toward something. To paraphrase another respondent (026), the implication is that while cruisers might be opting out or escaping a certain kind of lifestyle, they are actively engaged in forming a new one, and it is not an easy way out.

5 There are very few private yachts in Japan and a 29 foot ocean going yacht is a high status item.
People outside cruising see this life as opting out and so see it as a very easy life. To the 'normal' 9 to 5 schedule and 2.5 kids it is opting out; but, this life is more challenging than the 9 to 5 life of even wartime England. Life has become so standardised now. It runs in such an exact pattern in the Western world, I don't think it's very stimulating, very exciting; the tedium of cocktail parties - it's very easy to get tedious. (026)

It is a way "to get away from the mundane life of working society; not an escape from reality, though; nature is reality." (006/007). While one says "yes, I think we are all escapists; the long-term cruiser is opting out from normal life" (057), another says they are "not really escapists because we are fitting into an environment that would be more demanding" (040).6

While cruisers generally do not consider themselves as 'proud' "there is a certain amount of pride in being able to say you sailed your boat so far - a sort of pride of accomplishment; not a pride in the bragging way" (052). They "take pride in that they sailed from point to point; there is lots of reinforcement to feeling proud as there are so many things you have to have know-how about; there is no one out there to do the job for you" (008). As another says: "they have got it together and can be proud" (006/007).

One of the interesting apparent contradictions is that on the one hand cruisers see themselves as self-reliant and self-sufficient, and "a lot are individualistic and need to have control over their own existence" (050). But, this is not to the point "of doing their own thing regardless of what others think" (035). These sentiments are expressed a little differently by a Belgium single-hander:

Most single-handers are individualistic as they can live by themselves; even when with a family this can still apply, though. Everybody who has a boat is a capitalist so in that way are individualistic as they only think of themselves. But, that is normal in our western society; cruisers are just going a little further by going by themselves. (038)

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6 This issue of 'escape' was addressed in the previous chapter.
The apparent contradiction comes when it is found that cruisers are cooperative, something that is "really necessary and really goes on, between cruisers and with the shore. "Some I've seen don't make it cruising because they don't cooperate" (058). "Most everybody seems to chip in, and certainly will help each other out with problems with only repayment in kind" (036). My observations confirm that people not only share information but will share technical skills, food, and physical labour. While there are a few cooperative ventures through joint ownership of the yacht, there is very little joint ownership in any wider sense. The nomadic existence mitigates against such ownership schemes unless people are sailing on the same boat.

None of the words that received less than a 20% response rate have been mentioned yet but many of them attracted comments from interviewees. The response to the words on the prompt card confirm what has been shown elsewhere in regard to patriotism and competitiveness – cruisers are neither. "No, cruisers want to stop competing and that is one of the reasons for going cruising" (006/007). Likewise, "who ever heard of a patriotic" cruiser? (036). At the same time, cruisers do not see themselves as irresponsible. One respondent suggests that "most cruisers are pretty responsible in relation to others; ecologically and socially responsible" (006/007). Another said "the majority are environmentally conscious" (014/015). In the final analysis, the data cannot answer the philosophical question of what sort of behaviour is responsible and what sort is irresponsible. But cruisers do not see themselves as irresponsible.

The portrait discussed thus far has been constrained by the specific words used in the prompt card. However, given that portrait it is now appropriate to turn to a less constrained discussion. While most of the specific points to be made arise from the open-ended question in the interview, the literature and other parts of the interview have been allowed to influence this aspect of the portrait.
II. THE PORTRAIT FROM AN OPEN-ENDED QUESTION

Developing a portrait of people in a subculture such as cruising involves discovering characteristics on two levels - the skills required to survive is one level while the second level is attitudinal, psychological. The part of the interview being reported here asked respondents to describe the characteristics of a successful cruiser without specifying how an answer should be framed. Characteristics at both levels were forthcoming but there was a strong bias toward the attitudinal. The quotation following is clearly oriented to this level.

Sure, I can answer that. There are four categories:

1. The Escapists - They are down right neurotic. Some had bad experiences back home and are actually running from these specific experiences; but most are running from something within themselves. They are on edge as people and they can't relax and get into the life-style. They do not last too long in general because the same hassles are with them, the hassles are within them and they just take them wherever they go. The ocean forces people to look at themselves and they can not bail out until they get somewhere or home, so they are forced to cope just to get home. The ocean has the power to force people to look at themselves because there's nothing else to look at. Some do make it, though, as the ocean is therapy in itself and maybe that's all it takes.

2. The Searchers - many people have got or know how to get what they want and want to get out on the sea. This is something they have to do for themselves, for the prestige, or to fulfil a dream. Some of it seems simply to use up energy. They are not so much looking for something but looking for someplace else to be what they already are. There are more of these than the first category. Oh, there is also a subset here of retired people who are usually out to live a dream they have had for years. They are usually mature and aware enough to cope with what they find.

3. The Just-There type - They somehow ended up with a boat and so go out to sea in the boat, although some never leave home. None of them last very long at sea.
4. People of the Sea - The sea is pretty much their home. They're not going anywhere or running from anything. They are just there and it's a natural place for them to be. The real long-termers have to be or become this type. They are pretty independent and adaptable, have a lot of stamina for work and harsh conditions and have to be able to give up a lot, physically and socially. They have a certain social framework as you can not carry around the values from back home; you just can not do that in foreign countries. They can live with the loneliness and at the same time live closer to others who are on the same boat. They also live temporarily closer to other boats, especially in places like the uninhabited island of Suvarov where you have to get up a society quickly. Some do not fit in and some don't even try. But cruisers need a sensitivity and many people are desensitised, probably from years of coping with American society. The ocean is really their home, the place they want to go back to. (023)

That is the view of a 33 year old American who had been cruising for four years at the time he expressed the above and is still cruising four years later, although now from a base in Queensland, Australia. His view was the most articulate and well organised and has been confirmed in similar terms by others. A more cynical and prejudiced categorisation was given by a young British woman when she asserted there are three types of cruisers:

1. American style - freezers, pot on watch, understrength stainless rigging, lots of booze and canned oysters, no safety harnesses. These are the short term cruisers. They are nice people although it really describes a pompous and well-off type and long-haired Californians.

2. Eccentrics - long-term sailors, competent but odd; sometimes have children and its the men who are the eccentrics. It includes those who are just sold on the sea and want to be on it and around it all the time; it is their whole life.

3. Nice-Young-Couple - a nice little boat, childless, do it out of Hiscock - I'm describing myself. (022)

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7 Eric Hiscock is quoted elsewhere in this thesis. He has been cruising and writing since before World War II. He writes both travelogues and technical books. The latter are 'bibles' to thousands of cruisers, short and long-term.
More seriously, she gave us an earlier quotation describing the perfect cruiser and in that she was more explicit about the characteristics of a successful cruising person. Another interviewee, a young British male psychologist, also gave a thorough picture of the true cruiser as a person who opts out of conventional society, is independent and practical minded and competent. They are either right into other cultures or blasé about places, so really into their boat. Free thinking, at the outset they must have decided to do without a colour TV, cars, the easy life. Is prepared to go for something pretty different. Few are religious; they feel so competent on leading their own life that they do not need a religion to lean on. As politics become unimportant, they become apolitical and anti-political. As cruising takes them to low key, non-industrial places, they become themselves low key. I don't see them as Anarchists even though they opt out; maybe personal anarchists but as they do not do anything active they are not Anarchists. Cruisers are people who have decided that cruising's to be their life style and then do it. (018)

As more dimensions are added, the picture of the successful cruiser becomes at once more complex yet more consistent and almost uniform. Characteristics such as practicality, independence, and personal strength become supplemented by other views.

The typical successful long-term cruiser develops a self-sufficiency; can deal well with foreign people and other cruisers; is able to adapt enough to be able to sail across oceans; be able to keep a boat up so that it too can sail across oceans. They need to be at peace with the life style, they learn to accept hardships and the lack of basic comforts. They need a character strong enough to deal with trouble - at sea you can not get away from troubles. They need strength of personality. (010)

The real cruisers enjoy foreign ports. They are self-sufficient in all respects. They can make the most of any situation, can make something good out of seemingly adverse conditions. Most like sailing and being at sea and none of them are really in a hurry. There is no real end point to their view of cruising. (035)

They are all adventurous. This means they are really prepared to do something that contains serious risk of death; they will take a chance. They do it because their mind is not closed,
they want something new, they are curious. Cruisers are like pioneers by using their wits to live better. (027)

These statements from practicing cruisers give an introduction to the kinds of characteristics more specifically dealt with by other interviewees and these views are confirmed by the following more detailed analysis.

Analysis of the responses to the open-ended question elicited the above statements as well as a set of characteristics I have divided into four groups:

1. Practical skills.
2. An inner strength, self-confidence, maturity.
3. Ordinary people?
4. Interpersonal skills.

These four groups are not inconsistent with the adjective list but are complementary. These four groups form a portrait of cruisers that focusses on a different level — in some ways more personal and certainly not as structured and directed as the adjective list responses.

1. **Practical Skills** : Basic survival at sea and in anchorages demands certain practical physical skills and manual dexterity that not only are part of coping with the very demanding environment of the sea but which are linked up with cruisers' concept of the lifestyle.

To be a cruiser you need to be technically competent, that is, be able to keep the boat working. So if I see a boat that is falling apart, I do not consider them cruisers. Real cruisers make a life style of the boat and the process of being on and with it. (009)

Cruisers must be capable of turning their hands to whatever situation arises, especially if they built their own boat. Even the wealthy ones eventually are able to do their own stuff; you can't get service at sea and a lot learn and come to appreciate it. (054)

They need to be self-sufficient, practical, ready to turn their hand to any job; have a bit of adventuresome spirit, a devil-may-care attitude. (067)
In this last statement the issue of financial survival is raised, the issue of finding jobs that will support the life style. Cruisers try not to work more than two or three months a year and usually are lucky to get that much work at least in one job. To get any work in foreign countries, a cruiser "needs to be a hustler, a little aggressive to get odd, sometimes illegal jobs" (006/007). More than anything, a cruiser needs to be

a survivor - able to make his own way economically through the world, make money out of nothing, bang on doors for charters, etc. They need to be strong willed and determined people, at least determined to succeed in their way of life or they won't get over the bad times. (057)

That ability to survive in new places, to go beyond the 'bad' times, is just a further aspect of the self-sufficiency required in the long-term cruising person.

2. An inner strength, self-confidence, maturity: Even those who have never sailed a small yacht across an ocean nor supported that yacht and themselves in ever changing social, cultural and economic situations would readily agree that certain practical skills must be necessary. Further thought, however, leads to a recognition of something much more basic to survival: an inner strength, self-confidence and independence. These characteristics were evident in the adjective list section preceding but a more subtle recognition emerged in responses to the open-ended question.

Those who are successful are pretty comfortable with themselves; they don't need 'strokes' from outside to make them happy. The ones who aren't happy are often missing something from back-home career and friends, for example the kudos, the recognition. (055)

The cruiser needs a fair degree of self-confidence, needs to be self-contained in a lot of respects, and be a person who can be happy by himself, being alone. (058)
The real cruiser needs to know himself first and then will know his abilities and limitations. They value a strong person with self-knowledge and drive. The key to this self-confident and self-centred position is a total belief in self. Self-reliance, self-knowledge and self-assurance are the watchwords. (004)

I see cruisers as people who are finding their own direction through their own efforts. (037)

The central issue of concern in these statements is one of personal strength, confidence in self and a willingness to put that self at risk physically and emotionally through isolation and insecurity, through leaving the taken-for-granted society that provides physical, financial, and emotional/psychological security. The mention of confirmation from others - strokes - is interesting because as Chapter 4 shows, getting the approval of others was not an important issue to cruisers. For those who require affirmation from significant others and such factors as occupations, cruising could be a disappointing life style. While cruisers do meet up with each other in different ports of call, the majority of social contacts are of a temporary and, of necessity, fairly superficial nature. In strange places and from strangers a person is not likely to feel much depth in the 'strokes' that are given. That is to say, affirmation from others who are not part of a deep, permanent relationship may not be personally significant. Cruisers need to be strong in themselves and be able to rely on the personal satisfaction that is inherent in successfully crossing oceans and surviving in unfamiliar surroundings. As was said, "if they need other people to direct them, are not secure and happy within themselves, then they can be in trouble" (038) while out cruising. This same thing was put another way:

The ones who can't enjoy foreign ports probably have been unhappy all their lives, probably have not found themselves; they also haven't been able to leave home behind. (035)

The interviewee statements also suggest that certain types of functional behaviour follow from the inner strength, the maturity, discussed above.
All the positive and negative in relationships are heightened when at sea and people must be mature enough to not get angry, to not let it build up so it blows up seriously - you need to vent problems and talk them out. The maturity thing is mainly an emotional thing that you are able to control yourself and to deal with the emotional problems that do come up. You have to know your crew and need to deal with the emotional things so they don't sap energy. (032)

Cruisers do not seem to have a great need to impress their personality on others, that is, they do not dominate or have to be right. They have a kind of humility and humbleness. (005)

You also need to be the kind of person who can cope with the chance that you might lose the whole thing. Insurance is too expensive and anyway if you lose the boat at sea insurance is little use. You need to be strong and tough, need to be able to take a bit of a bruise and not cry all day over a cut. You need to be emotionally tough, too. (006)

Cruisers need to have stamina, have got to be able to take the unexpected and deal with it. You've got to be able to deal with what nature throws at you at any time - be flexible in emergency, accident or whatever. (056)

It is worth reiterating that while commonsense may consider most of these qualities desirable in mature people within the ordinary social structure, the nature of the cruising life style demands people who have these characterisitics, who are able to cope with strange and sometimes dangerous situations.8

Living in a house has a certain security and cruising people have escaped that security. They have to be prepared to lose their boat and everything they own. (030)

The real cruisers have their whole life staked in their boat and in their life style of cruising. (008)

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8 This presupposes that we are talking about people who are satisfied with the cruising life style and are coping physically and emotionally with the situation.
That is a big commitment, one that cruisers believe takes maturity and strength.

3. Ordinary People: Cruisers do not perceive themselves as ordinary people. Their self-perception of being non-ordinary is linked to the notion that ordinary people do not act to step outside the secure, known and taken-for-granted lifestyle of urban society.

Cruisers are trying to get away from the normal routine and get personal power from the freedom they build themselves. (006/007)

Some people see that by continuing that 9 to 5 job they would be stifled; they need something else besides that traditional lifestyle. (050)

The difference is if you are a staid 9 to 5'er or a sea-tramp. We are in a sense, drop-outs. (041)

They have in common that they are not everyday, ordinary people. They all have some problem in living in ordinary society - unrest and looking for adventure. (020)

Cruisers, then, see their uniqueness in terms of being able to step outside the norm, to actualise their needs for power, freedom, and adventure. However, their perceptions go beyond this almost physical need and ability to a description of themselves that involves a set of values and attitudes which they also perceive as out of the ordinary. A cruiser apparently needs to have

a special state of mind, you must not care about too much money, nor have a material orientation. You become more practical for materialistic purposes because everything breaks down and so you keep it simple. I'm building a work bench instead of a fridge, for example. (038)

Cruisers get rid of the cobwebs of material chains and possessions and convention and fads if they are going to be able to cruise for long. (005)

They have simple needs and are quite happy with lower standards of living and are not security minded usually. (014/015)
Besides this orientation to material possessions, cruisers perceive a need for a good intelligence as part of the basic survival skills but they also perceive that a cruiser needs to have an enquiring mind.

Good intelligence – other sports do not need this but sailing needs an ability to think through the situation; you always need to keep thinking. (024)

An enquiring sort of mind compared to the suburbia type. A lot are dissatisfied at the back-home situation which wasn't really our case originally. I'm not sure we'll be so uncritical when we get home to South Africa after what we've seen. (054)

Even so, having a critical and enquiring mind is not enough. Among other things, it comes back to a strength, being 'strong' enough to step out of the ordinary.

It is easier to stay and be stable; it takes too much effort to go off. You must be willing to have a go. Even though the waters have been charted before, have been surveyed before, there's always someone who wants to look on his own. So, what are the characteristics of those who cut loose? They're egotistical bastards; it is inbred in those who go. All cruisers have to do this (go cruising) or they will lead a very unhappy life. But still, they need the strength to make the first break from land, and similarly, to make the first break from society. (039)

But, it would seem that leaving is only the first part of coping with cruising, as we have seen in the preceding discussion of issues such as practical skills and inner personal strength and in Chapter 3. "The life-style cruiser gets beyond a schedule and can keep altering it as they feel like it" (009). They also "need to be disciplined enough to sail the boat safely yet loose enough to wander through life." (013) It is not a life style that lends itself to rigid timetables and schedules and yet there are a few very important disciplines required for survival. This combination of flexibility and self-discipline is important to cruisers and is apparently part of their self-perception of being unique, special people.
4. Interpersonal skills: Cruisers also need to be able to relate somehow to the rest of the cruising fraternity. The majority of cruisers are reasonably social and share a lot with each other. While the issue of cooperativeness will be discussed in more detail below, it is worth mentioning on a general level that

    cruisers have a natural regard for each other, an ability to keep the boat together gives them that regard. They also know that any cruiser will help others in trouble. It's a little floating society. (008)

But, apparently, this regard goes beyond the cruising community.

    Real cruisers develop more respect for other cultures and officials and learn the need to be cool when entering countries, and so on. Cruisers are less intense in their dealings with other people and activities as they really need to be calm and laid back with officials. (009)

In the end, what goes with the optimism discussed below is the

    need to be able to put up with the bad to enjoy the good. You need a sense of humour; you gotta laugh as there are so many painful and ridiculous things. (067)

This quotation can be applied to anyone living anywhere but it takes on more importance for cruisers because of the unspoken but recognised lack of the usual outside support systems and social groups of modern society. While cruisers are cooperative they are in a mobile situation where often there are no others upon whom the individual can rely for much more than cursory physical aid. The emotional support systems are less in evidence in the cruising lifestyle because of its mobility. For these reasons, self-reliance takes on a new importance in their eyes.9

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9 Whether such emotional self-reliance is any less needed in urban society is debatable. However, this discussion is reporting cruisers' self-perceptions and it is inappropriate to debate the validity of that perception at this point.
Some cruisers see this need for emotional and physical support systems as being met through the western institution of the couple or nuclear family. The stable, mutually supportive nature of a long-term relationship is seen by some as important to long-term cruising success. In fact, a number of interviewees are of the opinion that the best cruising situation is a couple. While one person did mention that such couples could be heterosexual or homosexual, implicitly the former was being implied.

The best cruising combination is a couple who have had a stable relationship for several years before they start. Steady, stable, almost humdrum people are the best combination. (062)

Real long-term cruising people are usually in a couple and these couples hold hands more, have a combination of skills, share those skills and tasks, have more stability in their relationship. (068)

The latter statement comes from the female half of one of the three or four most famous couples currently on the cruising scene. But, in the cruising community with which I was in contact and which formed the basis of my sample there were empirical contradictions to this belief. No fewer than eight of my interviewees were single men cruising and four of them had been cruising for in excess of 10 years. Some of them had had permanent relationships when they began cruising, some had had significant short-term relationships during the course of their cruising years, and one has since married and began sailing again as a couple. All of these men were keeping their boats sufficiently seaworthy to cross oceans, appeared more or less adjusted to their single status, and appeared, in balance, as happy as anyone else I interviewed.10 While many of these men stated their desire for a long-term relationship with a women, this must be counterbalanced by the well-established fact that many cruising experiments fail because the couple can not maintain a

10 One woman was interviewed who had cruised for a number of years as a single owner/skipper of two different boats. However, at the time of interview she was living in a long-term relationship with another cruiser on his boat.
viable relationship while cruising, usually because one member does not enjoy the lifestyle. Such couples are certainly no better off in terms of being 'successful' cruisers than are individuals who cruise on their own for long periods of time. Therefore, while it is obvious from my observations, experience and interviews, that cruising as a couple with an appropriate balance of temperaments and skills is a desirable way to cruise, it is by no means the only way to describe a successful cruising person, that is, as a member of a couple.

* * * * *

It has been shown, then, that a portrait of a cruiser can be drawn around four categories of characteristics: practical skills, inner strength, ordinariness, and interpersonal skills. While these characteristics are consistent with the portrait drawn from the adjective list, it is possible to move another step beyond the specific words of cruisers.

Rollo May's (1972) concern for power and innocence led to the development of his concept of the 'rebel' and the notion that individuals must be able to assert their own personal power in order to develop their own personal significance. His analysis focusses on the individual actor. To May, people who insist on constructively asserting their own power can be labelled 'rebels'. In some ways, the rebel is also a very individuated concept and the orientations and characteristics of the rebel provide an interesting comparison with cruisers.

With this in mind, Figure 6.1 was constructed to explore the similarities between the concept and my subjects. The left side of the figure contains statements that represent characteristics of the rebel as enunciated by May; the right side of the figure reflects my application of those characteristics or concepts to cruisers and the cruising situation. The application is my interpretation of the cruising data in relation to May's model. It is an archetypical presentation, of course, and considerable variation would be expected. Figure 6.1 is indicative of cruisers, not definitive. It appears that while cruisers are not as 'radical' as May's rebel in rejecting the
## Figure 6.1: The 'Rebel' and Cruising

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>May's Characteristics of the Rebel</th>
<th>Parallels in Cruising</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sense injustice to self and fight it</td>
<td>Reject social control/imperatives and seek an alternative elsewhere</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. One who breaks with tradition, customs, restraints</td>
<td>Cruisers reject career, materialism, job security, a house</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Perpetual restlessness</td>
<td>Mobility; go places, see things, be on the move</td>
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<td>4. Cannot accept stultifying control</td>
<td>Reject the iterated structures of urban and occupational environments</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Seeking internal change, not institutional change</td>
<td>Individuated, they seek to change their own life; opt out of institutions rather than try to change them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Success not merely accepted but used as stage for moving on to new frontiers</td>
<td>Each 'landfall' (figuratively and literally) suggests the next one</td>
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<td>7. Does not accept complacency</td>
<td>Not satisfied to stand still physically, psychologically</td>
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<td>8. Renounces authority (external)</td>
<td>Rejects authority of institutions by changing lifestyle; locates authority within rather than without</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Rebels for a vision of life and society</td>
<td>Sets out to create a desired lifestyle and community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Does not seek power over others</td>
<td>Not involved in the social hegemony; seeks intrapersonal power only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Each act presupposes values</td>
<td>Act according to values of personal autonomy, simplicity, self-reliance</td>
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<tr>
<th>May's Characteristics of the Rebel</th>
<th>Parallels in Cruising</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12. Civilisation rises from the acts of rebels</td>
<td>Critical and creative orientation; protostructural</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Rebel insists on respect for identity</td>
<td>Stay out of organisations and institutions that demand a</td>
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<td></td>
<td>corporate personality</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. Needs own society and culture; reform it rather than reject it</td>
<td>Critique does not reject own society totally</td>
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<tr>
<td>15. Against bureaucracy, mechanisation as dehumanising</td>
<td>Opt out of artificial institutions of control as</td>
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<td></td>
<td>find nature's imperatives humanising not dehumanising</td>
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<tr>
<td>16. Need for ecstasy, passion, self-actualisation</td>
<td>Intrinsic rewards; concept of flow</td>
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<tr>
<td>17. Way of seeing nature and life</td>
<td>See nature and life entwinned; place and style of living</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>in tune with nature's rhythms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Live and let-live code</td>
<td>Not out to change how other people live but to get on with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>own way</td>
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<tr>
<td>19. Have stubborn personal preferences</td>
<td>Tend to strong views on how things should be done; personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>idiosyncracies</td>
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<tr>
<td>20. Personal, in-built restraints</td>
<td>Self-disciplined; organised</td>
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<tr>
<td>21. No ego-trip in their vision, way of life</td>
<td>Lack of status differentials; no hierarchy; no power over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>others; not competitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>22. Scorns personal revenge</td>
<td>No data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Compassion</td>
<td>Not clearly indicated in data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Arranges own Gestalt of world view</td>
<td>Individuated, opinionated; share world-view of sub-culture</td>
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a fundamental structure of modern society, the essence of the characteristics is similar to the portrait of cruisers just developed. Issues of independence from external authority, an individual rather than a group orientation and a dislike of organisational controls are common features. Looking beyond the specific discussion in this chapter, cruisers' aspirations for their own lifestyle and for society at large are also consistent with May's characterisation of the rebel.

III. CONCLUSION

Developing a portrait of cruisers from self-reporting data has provided us with a view of them as self-reliant, self-assured and cooperative people who are prepared to take the risks associated with the act of stepping outside the taken-for-granted career and residential nature of western society. This does not suggest a pathological process nor a deviance that is anti-social or destructive. They are also somewhat uncritical of themselves. All that can be added here is that the usual petty squabbles, personality clashes, and conflicts are often present in the cruising life. Some cruisers act in ways very offensive to local custom and some act in illegal ways; others are alcoholics and some are misfits. Some sail away without settling their accounts and some act in cruel and inhumane ways.\textsuperscript{11} However, it seems that cruisers as a group of people are pretty 'average' in a moral and ethical sense but that they see themselves as more self-reliant and independent than the average city based office worker (to use a stereotype) in Western

\textsuperscript{11} A recent documented example came in an article (Waterman: 1983) describing an event where the author participated in a pig roast on an uninhabited island in the South Pacific. The live pig had been transported in a yacht the 600 or so miles from near Bora Bora to Suvarov before being butchered and roasted. It was clear from the article that the pig had a difficult trip because of the size of the yacht and the lack of proper accommodation and food for the pig. The article did not pose the questions above nor indicate how the crew of the transporting yacht felt about killing and eating an animal with which they had just shared a 6 day ocean passage.
societies. Cruisers have a pretty positive view of themselves, possibly inflated somewhat but who is to say it is unreasonably so?

The self-portrait provided above was developed from data collected in interviews and from both unstructured and structured questions. As a portrait it is uniform and coherent and lacks extensive contradictions. The portrait stresses themes that are common throughout the research and gains credibility because of this commonality and because it stresses characteristics that can be seen as necessary for survival in such a sea-going lifestyle.

The commonality is important because of the links to other parts of the research. Not only does the agreement in the portrait help to confirm the existence of a group with common values, attitudes, and characteristics, that is, a subculture, but it also relates to the social attitudes expressed. For example, cruisers believe society should foster self-reliance and independence, that society should allow freedom of movement and beliefs and foster a cooperative and responsible lifestyle. Consistent with this, the portrait sees cruisers as self-reliant, independent individuals who are adventurous and cooperative and who eschew the parochial attitudes of patriotism and nationalism. Not surprisingly, then, the cruisers' self-portrait matches their social vision.

The issue of survival also lends credence to the portrait because characteristics are placed in the forefront which are logically necessary for survival. The cruising lifestyle is demonstrably demanding in terms of the need for practical skills, for care, adaptability and self-reliance. Taking a small boat to sea obviously requires all of these characteristics for survival.

Cruisers, then, see themselves as adaptable, self-reliant and resourceful people who share an adventurous and optimistic nature. This portrait is consistent with their social critique, the needs of survival, and their reasons for cruising.

* * * * *
This chapter completes Part II of the thesis, completes the Ethnography. In the four chapters various aspects of cruisers' lives have been described and analysed. The reader has been acquainted with the lifestyle events and activities of cruising through the writings of cruisers before being introduced to the more detailed analysis of aspirations, motivation and personal characteristics.

Part II has shown that there is a fundamental consistency between cruisers' general life goals, their specific reasons for cruising and their personal characteristics. The concepts of autonomy and self-reliance act as conceptual links throughout this ethnography. Not only do cruisers need these characteristics but their reasons for cruising and their general aspirations reflect them.

This ethnography, besides simply illuminating cruisers and cruising, provides a basis upon which more speculative and theoretical considerations can be aired. Prior to this research, there had been no detailed ethnography of cruising as a subculture. Effectively, then, there was no basis upon which to engage in a theoretical discussion of cruising. This thesis has accepted the ambitious task of providing a first ethnography and the beginning of a theoretical understanding of ocean cruising. Part III will take up this latter task.
PART III

CRUISING IN FOUR THEORETICAL CONTEXTS

Theory forms the underlying perspective for this part of the thesis and as such represents a shift in emphasis from the ethnography of Part II. The ethnography has provided the empirical information that now allows the cruising lifestyle to be seen in relation to four theoretical 'lenses'. Each lens provides a different perspective, thereby allowing the richness of the cruising ethnography to be understood from more than one frame of reference.

The aim in using these four theoretical lenses is twofold. First, they help in a better understanding of the ideology of cruising by, for example, comparing the cruising world view with that espoused by other subcultures. Secondly, these theoretical discussions provide a means of conceptualising cruising in relation to a wider body of theoretical (and, to some degree, empirical) thought, both sociological and psychological.
Sociological theory forms the perspective of the first and final of these four chapters in recognition that in this research the ethnography focussed primarily on 'sociological' processes. However, to rely on only a sociological perspective would be to ignore a level of analysis that is crucial to a full understanding of the experience of cruising. Therefore, Chapters 8 and 9 use a psychological orientation to further understand what binds people to the subculture of cruising.

Chapter 7 relies on subculture theory for the analysis of cruising. The analysis not only places cruising in the context of subculture theory but also accomplishes two specific tasks. First, the chapter places cruising in the context of other subcultures including a comparison of aspects of the world view with those of surfers and communards. Second, a model is developed suggesting a process through which people become full 'members' of the cruising subculture, that is, a process of acquiring the ideology — values, attitudes, and skills — of cruising. Chapter 7, then, views cruising in the context of subcultural theory.

Chapter 8, however, approaches the understanding of the subcultural ideology from a totally different perspective — a psychological one. The chapter uses an humanistic perspective in psychology and explores the shared ideology of cruisers specifically in relation to a mode of psycho-social development.

The psychological perspective is taken further in Chapter 9 when the experience of enjoyment is used for the analysis. This assumes that one aspect of a subcultural ideology is the nature of the experience and what is considered valuable in that experience.

These three chapters show the intricacy of the subcultural ideology and help establish that the ideology is at odds with mainstream society. That is to say, the context of deviance has been demonstrated. It remains for the last chapter in Part II to introduce and modify deviance theory so that it is able to adequately account for the nature of the deviance inherent in cruising. This final theoretical context, therefore paves the way for the concluding chapter of the thesis.
A SUBCULTURE

The aim of this chapter is first to place cruising in the context of subculture theory, then to relate it to other subcultures, and finally to explore the process through which an individual might move in coming to share the cruising subcultural ideology or world view. Subculture theory is useful primarily as a categorisation system and does not provide a normative analysis, a shortfall that is rectified in later chapters. The working definition of a cruiser chosen for purposes of doing this research does not in itself establish that a subculture exists.\footnote{1} Rather, the analytic description of cruisers provided in the previous section of the thesis must be drawn on as empirical evidence that a shared set of aspirations, values, skills, and characteristics does exist. It is the task of this chapter to place these data in the context of subculture theory.

I. THE TERM SUBCULTURE

To talk of a subculture is to talk of values, attitudes, beliefs, and symbols, that is, social meanings whereby individuals and groups define themselves and others. A subculture, then, is a group of individuals who share many of the values, beliefs and attitudes of the

\footnote{1 It will be recalled from Chapter 1 that the criteria was fifteen months cruising experience and an indefinite commitment to cruise.}
mainstream culture while holding significant other, divergent values that allow that subculture to see itself as separate and at the same time to be seen as separate or somehow different. In addition, subcultures are coherent and cohesive systems in their own right, participating in a common ideology.

The aim of this section is to use the literature on subculture theory in order to see if the concept 'subculture' can be applied to the analysis of cruising. Three particular issues are developed to meet this aim. First, the question of identifying a subculture is addressed. That is, what are subcultures and what criteria can be used to help determine when a subculture exists. Second, the variety of terms (for example, counter-culture and contra-culture) used to denote what apparently are much the same phenomena are discussed. Third, consideration is given to the distinction between an activity level and a lifestyle level subculture.

'Subculture' as a distinct area of study seems to have gained acceptance and the term general usage in the late 1940s and 1950s. However, the attempts to agree on a useful working definition and criteria still continue. Cohen (1955), while not the first to discuss subculture theory, is recognised in the literature as having produced one of the first definitive statements. He begins by accepting that life is problematic and that individuals are continually seeking to meet the challenges, ease the tensions, or otherwise remove the disequilibrium inherent in this view of life. It is out of these attempts to solve life's 'problems' that people with similar 'problems' come to the common 'solutions' that eventuate in the formation of a subculture. Cohen asserts that "the crucial condition for the emergence of new cultural forms is the existence, in effective interaction with one another, of a number of actors with similar problems of adjustment" (Cohen 1955:59; his emphasis). While the concepts of 'problems' and 'adjustment' in this definition are unduly limiting, the general thrust of the definition is useful; namely that people with like interests may gravitate toward each other and over time

2 There is a obvious overlap area here between subculture and deviance theories.
develop into a subculture. As Wolfgang and Ferracuti assert, "the values of the subculture set [it] apart and prevent total integration [with the dominant culture], occasionally causing open or covert conflicts" (1967:136). Others, however take a more simplistic view. Clarke, for example, asserts that "insofar as the society is at all differentiated, and participation in one area precludes it (at least at the same time) in another, one can argue for the existence of subcultures" (1974:430). Or, as Yinger said years earlier, "heterogeneous societies have subcultures" (1960:627). It is also worth noting that a subculture "refers to norms that set a group apart from, not those that integrate a group with, the total society" (Yinger 1960:628).

Following on from Black (1976), Pearson states that "a subculture is based on behaviour which is not institutionalized or is at least less completely standardized or habitualized in the broader cultural environment in which the subculture is located" (1979:27). Pearson goes on to see this point as important because it allows subculture formation to be regarded as other than illegal, as other than deviant. But, more on this deviance elsewhere - the concern here is with the use and application of the term 'subculture'. Clearly, the most appropriate orientation to subculture for this study is one that recognizes an identifiable group as a sub-set of the dominant mainstream culture, a group which has values and ways of living that are at odds with the mainstream culture but which overlap it and may or may not be in fundamental conflict, especially in legal terms, with it.

On this basis, cruising is a subculture. As has been shown, cruisers share a way of living; that differs from that of mainstream society, hold a distinctive if not totally differentiated set of values and aspirations. Conflict is not obvious and there is no illegality central to the lifestyle. These factors, then, help to identify

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3 The concept of 'adjustment' is inconsistent with the existential humanistic perspective taken in this thesis. In addition, the data suggest that cruisers are not 'adjusting' themselves to existing conditions but are in fact creating their own solutions. The solutions are not unique to the individual but are individually created.
cruising as a subculture. But there are other factors, too, as the following suggests.

The identification of subculture can be made easier and more logical when the subculture is organizationally, physically, or geographically different in some way and when that subculture is clearly rejecting some major value of the mainstream culture. Clarke provides some useful ideas in relation to this boundary problem when he suggests four aspects for consideration: size, specificity of boundaries, inclusiveness and identity, and the dynamics of boundary specificity (Clarke 1974:431-435). He considers that size does not present too many problems analytically and that while a subculture may be large it would not dominate the main culture and still be considered a subculture. He asserts that specifying a setting will help to determine the actual size and boundaries of a subculture.

'Specificity' is Clarke's second point, one which in some ways is more useful. This refers to the sharpness of boundaries in terms of the focus of concern of the subculture and may be evidenced by ritual, important occasions, formal associations, and so forth. In addition, the ability to say who is part of and who is not part of the subculture will reflect specificity. Various aspects of the setting and location of subcultural activities should also be of use here to the extent such factors effectively eliminate non-participating individuals.

The third point, inclusiveness/identity, relates generally to the issue of a lifestyle as distinct from an activity based subculture. One of the questions to ask about a subculture is whether, or to what degree, it encompasses all, or major portions, of a person's life and sense of identity.

Fourthly, Clarke suggests we look at the dynamics of the boundary specificity over time in order to better understand the subculture. In the extreme, a subculture may be approaching extinction or solidifying into an isolated enclave. He sees this as an issue of the softening or hardening of the boundaries and hence an alteration to the precision with which the subculture can be identified.

Clarke's points are generally useful in relation to identifying cruising as a subculture. While size appears of little consequence, obviously cruising is not so large in numbers that it dominates the main
culture. While cruising lacks formal associations and rituals, specificity can be obtained because it is possible to identify which individuals are part of the subculture. The lifestyle orientation of cruising is equally important in seeing cruising as a subculture in Clarke's terms - cruising encompasses virtually all of a person's way of living.

The twentieth century has seen the emergence of many subcultural types. Some of those studied have included religious groups, rural alternative lifestyles, surf life savers and surf board riders. Kephart (1976) calls the fringe and quasi-religious groups 'extraordinary groups' and sub-titles his book "The Sociology of Unconventional Lifestyles" (for which we can read subcultures). The Amish, the Mormons and the Hutterites are three religious groups dealt with by Kephart and in his presentation we can see these groups as being involved enough in mainstream society that they clearly hold some of the values of that society. They are subcultures in that they also hold values and live lives that are unconventional if not in direct opposition to society. Although their history has seen them in conflict, often legal conflict, with society, by and large they live in but apart from the dominant culture. Of course, there is considerable variation between the three groups mentioned with the Mormons being the most integrated into mainstream American society.

The rural alternative lifestyles, or the 'back-to-the-land' movement as it is known sometimes, is now identifiably a subculture (Cock 1979). Much of this subculture is represented by the formation of rural communes, or intentional communities, but not exclusively so. Many dissatisfied urban dwellers have moved as individuals to the country in an attempt to live off the land and closer to the rhythms of nature. While rejecting certain mainstream cultural values they probably have been a major force in the development of some alternative technologies. They are not necessarily in open conflict or legal trouble but do face many social constraints, usually manifest in problems with rural zoning laws and building codes. Whether as individuals or in communal groups, they form an important if low key alternative in our society.
Pearson's (1979) study of surfing activities in Australia shows the formation of two beach-oriented subcultures: the Surf Life Saving Clubs (or clubbies) and the Surf Board Riders (or surfies). While these two groups are both involved with the sea and surf this is their main similarity. Both subcultures revolve around an activity but the surfie subculture goes well beyond the activity to encompass values, attitudes, and behaviour which involve their whole lifestyle. I will return to this activity/lifestyle issue below, after a short digression.

Appearances can be deceiving and while it is possible to use physical location, dress, and deportment to accurately identify some subcultures and which individuals can be rightly seen as sharing the full ideology of the subculture, this is not always the case. In the case of surfies and cruisers, for example, it is important to note that there are individuals who appear to be part of the subculture but who are at best fringe members. People who surf on weekends and hold down steady, 9 to 5 jobs with a career orientation are not really surfies, at least not in a lifestyle sense (Pearson 1979). Similarly, people who cruise-sail their boats on weekends or during annual vacations are not cruisers. In neither case have these people adopted the lifestyle of the subculture, in neither case have they diverged from the mainstream culture enough to be classified as truly a part of the subculture. Granted, these fringe people are probably part of an activity based subculture but they are not part of the lifestyle subcultures of surfing or cruising. Some of the fringe people move to areas with good surf or so they can sail more easily. Like rock climbers who move to the mountains so they can climb every day (Csikszentmihalyi 1975a:98), fringe cruisers adapt their total lifestyle somewhat to the activity of interest. At the same time, though, part-time surfers and cruisers have not fully integrated the lifestyle of surfing or cruising. Their orientation to work and to time, for example, are usually governed by organisational, and especially work, imperatives. They will not have the flexibility and mobility of the lifestyle people.

This problem of distinguishing the fringe or activity subculture from the main subculture in cruising is highlighted by the high visibility of cruising boats and people in the popular press, books, and anchorages. Simple observation does not identify which are the
lifestyle subculture people and which are not. However, more detailed observation and study easily identifies which boats and people are actually a part of the cruising subculture. This is mentioned here simply to draw attention to the need to either identify sub-parts of a subculture or to be more specific and identify separate subcultures. I think the latter course is academically and practically more defensible and it is the course taken in identification of the cruising subculture. My reasons are as follows.

This is a study which differentiates between lifestyle and activity in relation to satisfaction and motivation for making certain life choices. Logically, a subculture that is lifestyle based will be more divergent in an integrated sense from the mainstream culture than will an activity based subculture. That is to say, when the group identified as a subculture is so identified on the basis of an activity or cluster of activities that are only a minor portion of the person's life it is likely to be a situation where mainstream cultural values take precedence in the rest of that person's life. On the other hand, a lifestyle subculture is likely to have less overlap with the mainstream culture for the simple reason that to be a lifestyle it must encompass more differences or encompass differences that are more central, more definitive. This suggestion implies that one method of distinguishing between activities and lifestyles is when more elements of that person's life are not consistent with the mainstream society's. For 'elements' here we can also read 'activities' or 'values'. But, this is not simply a quantitative distinction as the centrality of the elements to the lifestyle comes into play. A person (or group) who rejects elements of a culture which are central to the way of living in that culture is going to differ from it in more ways than are those who reject only peripheral elements. Those who reject central elements of the main culture will come closer to altering their way of living substantially. The focus of their lives and the way they conduct their existence changes as more and central elements are altered; hence a subculture on a lifestyle level.

Pearson's study of surfing is again appropriate by way of example. The appropriateness is enhanced by the similarities of his study location, namely a sport related set of activities that take place
in a marine environment. While at first glance it might be assumed that here are two activity-based subcultures, in fact we find that the latter, surf board riding, is a whole way of life. According to Pearson, surfies are involved in a lifestyle which challenges many of the fundamental values of our society and which is perceived by both surfing subcultures as a "whole way of life" (1979:82). This is in contradistinction to clubbies who do not see the surf activity as an entire lifestyle. Clubbies tend to be involved in surf lifesaving as a central life interest, especially in summer, but steady 9-5 employment still dominates their way of living. As Pearson reports, clubbies see themselves in terms of "work and leisure [as in] steady employment, regular type jobs, professional jobs, 9 to 5 five days-a-week workers. Weekend sportsmen" (1979:113). On the other hand, surfies see themselves as "flexible, easy going concerning jobs, money, personal possessions, etc. Dedicated to surfing as a way of life rather than as sport" (1979:116). The comparison with the two surfing subcultures will be taken up in detail below so it is sufficient to point out at this point that cruising can be labelled as a subculture with even more confidence when these points are taken into account. Cruisers challenge society at a fundamental level by altering their whole way of living including their relationship to careers, income earning, and mobility.\footnote{While many in our society are mobile they are mostly serially mobile in the way multiple marriages are serially monogamous. Cruisers, on the others hand, are continously mobile, are not simply moving from one base (marriage) to another.} Cruising is a way of life, not simply an activity.

Implicit earlier is the suggestion that subculture is not the only term used to refer to these phenomena. The terms 'intentional community', 'counter-culture', 'contra-culture' and 'alternative lifestyle' are also to be found. Yinger (1960) proposed that the term 'contraculture' be adopted to relieve the term subculture from having to encompass such a wide range of subcultures as from the subculture of lawyers (as evidenced by their professional associations) to the subculture of anarchists. The latter subculture has elements central to its normative structure that are in conflict with the wider society
while the former apparently do not. Yinger suggests the latter type be labelled 'contraculture'. This term, he asserts, should be used "whenever the normative system of a group contains, as a primary element, a theme of conflict with the values of total society" (1960:629).

To confuse matters, the term 'counterculture' has also become current in society, if not often in the purely academic literature. 'Counterculture' as a term appears to be contiguous with 'subculture' or possibly is a sub-set, much in the way 'contraculture' has been viewed.

Roszak (1971) and Reich (1972) are two well known authors who set out to explore what to them is essentially a youth culture that goes against the growing trend of modernity with its technological and bureaucratic ideology and imperatives. The counterculture to Roszak is, among other things, "that healthy instinct which refuses both at the personal and political level to practice ... a cold-blooded rape of our human sensibilities ... " (1971:47), namely accepting as 'normal' or 'necessary' the horror of thermonuclear confrontation and the potential annihilation of our species. This example represents what Roszak sees as "three interlocking premises [of technology]: that the vital needs of man are ... purely technical in character, ... the prerequisites of human fulfillment have all but been satisfied ... [and] that the experts [are] on the official payroll of the State and/or corporate structure. The experts who count are the certified experts" (1971:10-11). Roszak does not suggest that his counterculture is 'irrational'; on the contrary, the push for a purely technocratic rationality would be (or is) 'irrational'.

Westhues (1972) on the other hand seems to make 'irrationality' the fundamental premise in his definition of the counterculture. 'Hippydom' is the subject of Westhues' book but he sub-titles it "Studies in the Sociology of Countercultures" and clearly intends the term to also cover other groups. There appear to be fundamental inconsistencies and contradictions in Westhues' notion of counterculture with regard to this issue of rationality. On the one hand, his definition is straightforward and useful in a wider context:

On the ideological level, a counterculture is a set of beliefs and values which radically reject the dominant culture of a society and prescribe a
sectarian alternative. On the behavioural level, a counterculture is a group of people who, because they accept such beliefs and values, behave in such radically nonconformist ways that they tend to drop out of society. (1972:9-10)

This seems clear enough until a few paragraphs later Westhues says "a counterculture rejects ... rationality itself..." (1972:10). Again, later, he says that "if a counterculture is by definition in fundamental opposition to rationality, it is not surprising that the keynote of its phenomenology is non-rationality" (1972:12). But, he confuses the matter further by saying that countercultural behaviour is that which "can be understood to defy the rationality of the dominant culture" (1972:15). This last statement seems to broaden the definition away from a general rejection of all rationality but, to my mind, Westhues' intention is to limit the term counterculture to embodying a rejection of all rationality. To that extent I find his conception less than applicable to my study and to most other contemporary social movements. Many clearly run counter to the central rationality of technocratic bureaucratic society but do not reject rationality as such.

Westhues less restrictive definition of counterculture (quoted above) is consistent with Roszak's and with the intent of Yinger's concept of a contraculture. The terminology of each is basically intended to distinguish subcultures that are fundamentally at odds with the mainstream culture and it is for this reason that such terms are included in this discussion. These terms are also important because they explicitly remind us of a feature of the subculture central to my study, namely the social critique. Arguably, all subcultures develop because of a perceived lack in the mainstream culture, a perception more or less unique to that subculture. However, as subcultures become more at odds with the main culture their social critique becomes more fundamental and more cogent. The subculture of cruising embodies a critique of our modern society and sets up an alternative in its manner of living. To the extent that this is a fundamental critique of modern society, cruising is a counterculture.

A subculture can be seen as an 'alternative' culture and when we begin to talk of a subculture on a lifestyle level we logically are talking of an alternative lifestyle. The word 'alternative' finds its
way into this discussion through consideration of the intentional community movements in particular (e.g. Bouvard 1975, Cock 1979, Rigby 1974). The concepts of socialisation and social definition of reality (Berger 1963, Berger and Luckman 1971, Pearson 1979, Rigby 1974) are also relevant here because of the process of altering one's social definitions and more or less overcoming one's socialisation. Rigby (1974:4) sees the process of developing an alternative lifestyle as one of forming 'counter-definitions of reality' and then gradually becoming involved in some community of action.

Metcalf presents a problem in definition at this point. He talks of an 'alternative lifestyle' only in terms of what appears to be a constituted group. His working definition of [an] alternative lifestyle, is, 'five or more persons, drawn from more than one family or kinship group, who have voluntarily come together for some purpose, in the pursuit of which they seek to share certain significant aspects of their lives together, and who are characterised by a certain consciousness of themselves as a continuing group'. (1984:67)

Unfortunately, this definition is unworkable. Aside from the fact that 'come together', 'share', 'significant', 'aspects', and 'consciousness' are undefined and ambiguous, Metcalf seems to suggest that only a 'group' in the narrowest sense can be considered an alternative lifestyle. Such a restriction is patently ludicrous - a lifestyle that incorporates a fundamental social critique and in which even a single person sets out to live in a way at variance with the norm is most certainly an alternative. A lifestyle like cruising is an alternative sought and created by people seeking another way of living - it is a lifestyle that provides an alternative. Yet, Metcalf clearly does not intend such an alternative to be categorised within his classification system of alternative lifestyles because cruisers are not a group as he defines it. Nonetheless, the evidence is clear - cruising is an alternative lifestyle. The term 'alternative lifestyle' must be allowed to cover non-groups such as cruisers and surfies while a term such as 'intentional community' is more appropriate for the restrictive category with which Metcalf is concerned.
All lifestyle subcultures deviate from mainstream society to some degree and to that degree the members of such subcultures will have altered their view of reality. Rigby says that "for some people, however, the commonly accepted knowledge of the world ... is deemed inadequate as an explanation and justification of the perceived social world. Such people, the radicals, are those who question the commonly accepted view of the world" (1974:13). This kind of statement takes us into the realm of more active social dissent than was evident in Pearson's description of surfies and is evident in other works about the intentional communities movement. Cock (1979) in particular puts the genesis of this movement in Australia squarely in the protest movements. These people were the anti-Vietnam protestors and also had a fundamental critique of the 'Corporate State', as Cock terms western society. He says they became disillusioned with these public movements and the lack of social change and so turned to more private alternatives. They were aware of the power of socialisation in urban areas, the power of the corporate state with its "unitary, centralised, political and economic power" (Cock 1979:53) and sought rural alternatives, the attraction of which was "the chance for members to develop their own autonomy with space and time to provide for their own needs" (Cock 1979:93). Not all these people went into communal ventures but they were all seeking to overcome the power of socialisation and to seek their own autonomy in an alternative lifestyle.

I have previously suggested that most alternative lifestyles but only some subcultures will tend to espouse a social critique. For example, one subculture considered that does not appear to have a strong explicit sense of social critique is the activity based subculture of surf life-saving (Pearson 1979). Surf life-savers (as discussed previously) are not involved on a lifestyle level in their subculture whereas surfboard riders make a more fundamental commitment to the surf, more fundamental because it is expressed in their own lifestyle. Surfboard riders are a lifestyle subculture. Their choice of a non-mainstream lifestyle contains an implicit social critique - or perhaps it is that they're just addicted to surfing!

While every divergent or deviant person or group has some more or less explicit social critique, the alternative lifestyles are such that
a social critique is a fundamental part of the relationship to the mainstream culture and its dominant lifestyle. The social critique of cruisers will be discussed at length later and compared to that of surfers and communes. None of these groups is actively involved in a wider effort at social change but all three can be seen as agents of social change - they all question the status quo and by example suggest alternatives to the taken-for-granted.

It would appear that the plethora of terminology - subculture, counterculture, contraculture, and so on - does little to illuminate further the basic distinctions. That is, the term subculture is adequate to account for the empirical reality extant in a variety of alternative ways of living. However, while this is acceptable, it is still necessary to distinguish between an activity and a lifestyle orientation in subcultures. As such, it is probably useful to think of the latter type of subculture as an 'alternative lifestyle'. Cruising, as a case in point, is adequately defined by the concept 'subculture' and the recognition that as a 'subculture' it represents an 'alternative lifestyle'. I have shown that cruising and cruisers present a social critique, share a common set of ideals and aspirations, possess a common set of skills and characteristics, and have developed a distinctive way of living. These conclusions leave a number of unresolved issues, in particular, how does cruising compare with other subcultures and how do the 'uninitiated', as it were, come to share the subcultural ideology and skills.

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II CRUISING, SURFING, AND OTHER ALTERNATIVE LIFESTYLES / 

Modern society has spawned a number of alternative lifestyles, some quite specifically arising in response to the forces of modernity and the sense of homelessness engendered by that modernity. While, as with each subculture, cruising is unique in the physical manner in which it is manifest, that uniqueness should not lead to the assumption that no other subculture holds a similar world view nor a similar social critique. Comparisons between the alternative or intentional
communities movement and surfing will now be enlarged upon. The works of Bouvard (1975), Cock (1979), Gardner (1978) and Rigby (1974) provide an exploration of the former while Pearson (1979) is drawn upon for the latter.

Cock sees "two pillars of the alternative philosophy" (1979:224) in the dual search for personal power and community power. The former is "power over oneself rather than power over others, power to work with others...[while the latter is] shared power and informal power and informal social organisation rather than the external formalised institutional power of political authorities" (1979:218). Superficially, cruisers' search seems similar to both these. As we have seen, they seek personal power and control and independence from institutions. However, while the alternative communities seek this community power in a cooperative and sharing situation with the caring of a group of friends, cruisers seek this power in a personalised and privatised situation divorced from institutions and communality.

The clearest difference, then, between cruisers and the people in alternative land-based communities is that the latter tend to use a more communal model around which to base their social structure while cruisers have a fragmented, informal, ever-changing social pattern. Both groups appear to live modestly and have a low material consumption while at the same time having a relatively high capital investment (Bouvard 1975:192; Cock 1982). I have constructed Figure 7.1 to illustrate some of the similarities and differences between alternative communities and cruisers while at the same time suggesting some comparisons with modern urban society (see Appendix VII). This figure highlights the high capitalisation and low consumption characteristic of both groups.

Alternative communities and cruisers have in common a social critique although their answer to that critique is radically different. Of course, the similarity of the critique may be deceptive — while both groups are critical of the corporate state and the human alienation found within that state, the alternative community adherents appear to have seen the situation in terms of a loss of community and from that a loss of individual power and meaning. On the other hand, cruisers appear to focus more directly on the powerlessness of the
Figure 7.1. Some Dimensions of Comparison

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<tr>
<td>Relation to nature</td>
<td>distant</td>
<td>close (rural)</td>
<td>close</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Individual in modern society thereby focussing on the individual rather than on the community. Rigby views the communards' critique as involving a sense of powerlessness in modern society.

Man is seen as having been deprived, or of having deprived himself, of the will to control his own life and destiny. He is viewed as a happy robot leading an over-routinised life made meaningful solely by the selfish pursuit of material goals. (Rigby 1974:85)

Embodied within this critique is the existential belief that humans can take charge of their own lives and that an act of personal power is needed to step outside of the taken-for-granted, to reject the social controls of the so-called corporate state. The evidence is equivocal but it appears that the critique of communards is consistent with that of cruisers. Paradoxically, then, only the solutions differ.
At the same time, Rigby suggests that the alternative communities are trying to "define...the nucleus of a new and alternative social order" (1974:5). Cock (1979) appears to agree with this but also notes that for many of the respondents in his study the establishment of such an alternative was a relatively privatised way of dealing with the same issues for which they had publicly fought in the protest movements of the 1960's and 1970's. Cruisers, on the other hand, do not appear to have any notion of setting up an alternative social order. Their search is privatised in an even more specific way than that referred to by Cock; cruisers' search is also individuated, they set out alone or as a nuclear family and they set out to be mobile, self-reliant, and independent. This does not deny that there is a sense of community among the cruising fleet but simply notes the obvious fact that such a 'community' cannot function in the same manner as one where the members are not mobile, where membership is intended to be stable, and where there is some form of common ownership. In fact, Rigby (1974:11-2) suggests that there are three types of seekers of alternative communities: freedom seekers, security seekers, and activists. The data presented in this thesis, especially that in Chapters 5 and 6, demonstrate quite clearly that cruisers could not logically be seen as security seekers, that few of them are, or ever were, activists, and that most were unashamedly freedom seekers. Rigby's description of the orientation of 'freedom seekers' in communes confirms this parallel.

Thus, 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. (1974:11)

The nature of the solution undertaken by the alternative communities and the cruisers would suggest that the former had a no more fundamental critique; although they set up private common-ownership institutions they interact with outside communities and the economy using a fundamentally capitalist mode. It appears that many of both groups had been fully involved in the corporate state, that many in fact
had successful careers before 'dropping out'. The cruisers' critique tends to be of the way the system works and to not suggest any radical restructuring of the system. Rather, their solution can be seen as involving taking the individuated aspect of capitalism, for example the notion of self-interest, to its logical extension (extreme?) by opting out of active participation in society and taking care only of themselves. The alternative communities, on the other hand, seem to differ mainly in that they seek shared ownership and a stronger sense of mutual commitment or community.

Another aspect of similarity between the cruisers and alternative communities, aside from the small proportion of activists, is their mutual strategy of opting for a solution to their social critique that does not involve trying to change society. Both groups opt for a non-public form of change. That is, they move out of the public sphere and create a private haven. For cruisers, that haven is based mostly on private ownership and often the nuclear family. For alternative communities, the haven is often based on some form of common ownership and community sharing. The 'alternative seekers' who move as a nuclear family to rural areas, though, are more similar to cruisers in this regard.

A similarity of critique between the two groups is also evident in the relationship each holds or has to nature. Both the rural alternative communities and cruisers have sought to move outside what they consider to be the dysfunctional urban environment and seek solutions closer to nature. Those who adopt a lifestyle based on rural agriculture tend to develop more independence of society than do cruisers who produce little of their own food and rely very heavily on modern technology for their boat. Both groups, though, try to alleviate what Berger, et al. (1973) term 'homelessness' through getting closer to nature in their place and pace of living. It appears that being 'in' and 'with' nature in such an intimate fashion can help to overcome the sense of 'homelessness' associated with large urban agglomerations and the lifestyle and occupational imperative associated with city life.

Further scope for comparison is provided by Bouvard's (1975) list of the premises upon which what she calls 'intentional communities' are based:
1. They reject "government as a source of social and economic reform." (1975:191)

2. They assume all people to be equal, something expressed in the avoidance of specialization, sex role stereotyping, and such like;

3. They value "a life in harmony with nature" (1975:191);

4. They seek "a new morality which promotes freedom and spontaneity in sexual relations" (1975:192);

5. They seek to reduce consumption of and differentiation by material possessions;

6. Leisure is seen as equally important to work in terms of fulfillment.

The discussion in this thesis, especially Chapters 4, 5, and 6, would suggest that all of these, except numbers two and four, are clearly shared by cruisers. While the interviews did not seek information on issues relating to sexual relations, participant observation and the biographical sources indicate that cruisers do not set out to alter society's stance on sexual relations. The evidence with regard to egalitarianism, while more mixed, does indicate considerable specialisation within each unit (or boat) and that sex role stereotypes are largely maintained. For example, men are almost inevitably nominated as the skipper and tend to do most of the physically active and/or physically demanding sailing tasks. Some women even indicated that they would be unable to sail and navigate the boat alone if the male partner were to die at sea (this extreme is rare in long-term cruisers).

These differences notwithstanding, the similarities would seem to far outweigh the differences. As Gardner confirms, modern (American) communes are very individualistic, seldom going beyond joint ownership of land and some buildings and certainly not approaching the level of communion, for example, of nineteenth century communes. Gardner calls the modern communards 'children of prosperity' and sees them as having a "preoccupation with freedom, choice and self fulfillment" (1978:234). Potts argues similarly in suggesting Australian "alternative seekers ... do not escape the consumer philosophy [of] ... self-indulgence, pleasure
seeking, [and] the importance of happiness ..." (1980:7). This, of course, is not unlike cruisers.

The discussion of 'alternative lifestyles' thus far has emphasised the communes and intentional communities of the 1960s and 1970s and has mentioned only in passing the notion that surfing might involve an alternative lifestyle, or at least a subculture. In fact, as we have seen, surfing also contains more than one distinct subculture (Pearson 1979).

The research into cruising shows that the category 'sailing' is also not an undifferentiated uniform subculture; rather, it has shown that there are a number of subcultures identifiable that in some way involve sailing. Pearson's study of surfing subcultures helps to clarify such issues within cruising but also provides a relevant and logical comparison. Pearson's conceptualisation of the similarities and differences between surfboard riders and surf life-savers - two distinct subcultures - provides a neat, if imperfect, parallel with two sailing subcultures, long-term cruising and racing. It is obvious, though, that the sailing situation is more complex in subcultural terms than this bipolar view suggests. For example, there are clear differences between the ocean and Soling racers and on some dimensions ocean racers share an ideology more similar to cruisers than to Soling racers (their relationship to the sea, for example).

What is most interesting about the comparison between sailing and surfing subcultures is that apparently cruisers and surfies share more of their ideology than do cruisers and racers or even surfies and clubbies. That is to say, the subcultural world view shows more similarity between activity areas (i.e. sailing and surfing) than within activity areas. Figure 7.2 is a modified version of Pearson's Table 8 (1979:78-9); modified only by the inclusion (in italics) of brief statements indicating the relationship of the sailing situations to Pearson's. Most of the differences stem not from ideology but from technical and terminological differences that arise in the different locations (that is, sailing vs. surfing locations).

Cruisers and surfies share an ideology that is non-instrumental, informal, idiosyncratic, and non-institutional while racing and surf life-saving are each competitive, formal, standardised, and based on
Figure 7.2

Cruising, surfing, yacht racing, and surf life saving compared.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surf Board Riding/Cruising</th>
<th>Surf Life Saving/Sail Boat Racing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1.</strong> Little formal organization. Majority of board riders do not belong to any formal organisation.</td>
<td>Highly formalized organization. Institutionally differentiated at the local, ... state, ... national and international levels. Consistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consistent, although some are club members but inactive</td>
<td>Consistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2.</strong> Patterns of interaction among board riders largely a result of enforced &quot;closeness&quot; of participants at surfing [location] as a result of like (individualized) interests of participants in wave riding rather than common group action to achieve specified competition goals. Consistent; interest in the cruising lifestyle</td>
<td>Formal and elaborate written rules worked out pragmatically and legitimated via rational-bureaucratic channel (in addition to informal norms and friendship links). Consistent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3.</strong> Fluctuating patterns of interactive social behaviour due to many factors of geography, physics of wave shape, size, etc., number and standard of ability, etc. of participants. Consistent. Weather and geographic interest factors.</td>
<td>Patterns of change frequently institutionalized through rational-bureaucratic channels. Consistent. Definite pattern of interaction by race series.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4.</strong> Identifiable regional variation in the nature and type of &quot;norms&quot; according to localised lore (e.g., one area approves leg ropes, another doesn't, etc.) especially obvious in matters of fashion (e.g. board design, clothes, etc.). Not so obvious in cruising except with regard to purchase of boat that is influenced by local production and fashion differences.</td>
<td>Standardization of gear and equipment specification - especially in relation to craft. Standardization of rules and procedures at all levels of association. Functioning up to national and international levels. Consistent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(cont'd over)
5. No precise definition of territory. The area of interaction dependent on physical and geographical factors which fluctuate over time and place. Duration of interaction flexible—left to individuals to decide if and when they will participate, the length of time they will participate and when they will leave the activity. Other natural factors (e.g., wind, tide) influence this. **Consistent**

6. Any surfing session strongly influenced by explicit manifestations of physical prowess of participants and overtly aggressive behaviour in wave-taking and riding (the establishment of a pecking order). **Not consistent with cruising.** **No pecking order obvious nor overt aggression.**

7. Loose distinction between active and spectating roles. A fluctuating gradation from most actively involved surf board riders to those merely spectating. **Not consistent. More obvious differences, although there are identification problems sometimes.**

**Surf Life Saving/Sail Boat Racing**

Precise definition of territory on which competition takes place. Starts, finishes and courses clearly marked. Predetermination of numbers of contestants, themselves normally selected according to standardized "impartial" methods. Any advantage due to conditions randomized through ballot etc. to ensure equality of opportunity.

**Consistent although more self-selection except for national and international teams for world titles and Olympics, for example. Some such events use ballot for boat with all equipment supplied and standardised.**

Minimization, principally through formal rules, of the influence of any social or individual differences on the game pattern, norms of equality and fairness.

**Consistent except wealth an advantage.**

**Strict distinction between playing, officiating and spectating roles.**

**Consistent**

(cont'd over)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surf Board Riding/Cruising</th>
<th>Surf Life Saving/Sail Boat Racing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8. Low role differentiation and low structural differentiation (many elements rolled into one).</td>
<td>High role differentiation (division of labour), (e.g. active competitors on basis of competition class - boat, rescue and resuscitation, board, ski, etc.). Officials on basis of nature of specialist function. Marshall, judge, arena controller, computing steward, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Consistent</strong></td>
<td><strong>Consistent</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Informal control by surfers within the context of ongoing activity. Occasional recourse to physical force.</td>
<td>Formal social control by &quot;impartial&quot; officials appointed and certified by legislative bodies (at club, branch, regional, national and international levels) who have power to investigate and/or intervene when a breach of the rules has apparently occurred. Formal imposition of penalties according to the seriousness of the offence - ranging from admonishment to disqualification from event, suspension of membership, etc. Physical violence not a legitimate form of sanction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Consistent although not likely to be physical force.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Consistent</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No data</strong></td>
<td><strong>Consistent, at least during events, especially for inshore racing.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
institutional membership and control. It must be stressed, of course, that this conceptual comparison is tentative and based on my subjective extrapolation of the data and on my experience gained throughout the study.

The preceding discussion has shown similarities between cruisers and other alternative ways of living. It has also been established here and previously that cruising can be labelled as a subculture that incorporates an alternative way of living. It remains to explore the way subcultures form and to explore the process through which individuals become part of the alternative lifestyle, how they come to share the common ideology. This task is approached in relation to cruising only.

III THE 'FORMATION' OF SUBCULTURES

It is not in dispute that subcultures do develop, that no society is completely homogeneous. However, there is not such ready agreement in regard to how subcultures form and develop. Arnold (1970) discusses the conflict between the structuralist and interactionist approaches to explaining issues in subculture theory. He asserts that neither of these two are sufficient in themselves to explain subcultures and proposes the model in Figure 7.3 to show how the two approaches can be combined to produce a useful analytic tool.

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Figure 7.3 The Formation of Subcultures

structural position → differential interaction → segment related subculture → individual attitudes behaviour etc

(Arnold 1970:115)
The model suggests that people in the same structural position in society tend to have a greater degree of interaction with each other and the result is a subculture arising out of this shared interaction. This arises because "over time an interrelated set of shared understandings, a system of norms, a subculture, develop out of repeated interactions" (1970:115). The last segment of the model represents the individual's behaviour as related to the subculture. Arnold notes that the model is over-simplified and that a certain amount of reverse flow or feedback is likely in most situations.

This model is lacking, however, to the extent that stage one, structural position, and stage two, differential interaction, require face-to-face contact. There is no doubt that 'members' of a subculture do, at some point, interact and that somehow they have been in a sufficiently similar structural position to facilitate this interaction. But, this does not mean such interaction has been face-to-face for much or all of the individual's process of becoming part of the subculture. People in the cruising subculture, for example, are unlikely to have been in direct contact when the subculture norms developed as goals. In fact, people are often not in face-to-face contact until the time they become fully active in the subculture or lifestyle. Their contact is often only through the media, magazines, books, and cruising stories— but that contact is enough for norms to develop.

The crucial distinction devolves from the notion that, for this subculture at least, the norms of the subculture are accepted and embraced long before the individual can be defined as an active participant and possibly before the individual has any significant interaction on a face-to-face basis with those who are acting out the subculture ideology. However, this acceptance notwithstanding, I do not believe people can fully share the lifestyle until they live it; to share the ideology is not enough because such sharing can be done from a distance. In any case, to share the world view is not necessarily to share the skills, abilities, and knowledge that are involved, for example, in survival at sea.

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5 This is undoubtedly equally true in some other areas, for example, monastic life.
The above is consistent with Fine and Kleinman (1979) who discuss the role of the mass media in the formation of the youth subcultures in America. They mention this in conjunction with a number of other "communication interlocks which make subcultures possible" (1979:9). These communication interlocks not only transmit cultural values, norms, and behaviours but aid the formation or joining of subcultures by increasing the awareness people have of that particular alternative to their own life situation and complex of activities.

Berger, et al. make a similar point but with a much more cynical, much less existential connotation. They assert that there are extant many lifestyle 'packages' (1973:71) and that the so-called counter-culture, for example, is just another such 'package'. These self-styled non-conformists are seen to have 'bought into' a package within which to conform. It appears that 'buying into' such a package implies a superficial process and commitment and, initially at least, can not be seen as much more than a 'consumers' response to a marketing hype. It will become clear that the commitment of the long-term cruiser to their subculture goes well beyond this.

It is obviously important to the formation and sustaining of subcultures that potential members be aware of them. Concomitantly, though, these potential members must be prepared to question their own culture, to not "take the 'goodness' or the 'rightness' of [their] own culture or subculture for granted" (Irwin 1970:167). Such a preparedness is made possible by an humanistic and existential conception of society, a conception that allows at least co-definer role to the person and recognises that without our complicity society as a set of norms would not exist. /

Berger explores this in his discussion "of society as a stage populated with living actors" (1963:159). It seems that the formation of subcultures, unless one takes a purely structuralist view, must include a sizable slice of personal choice by social actors. This would seem to be especially the case in the development of affirmative subcultures, that is those formed out of the growth-seeking of people. Berger introduces a number of concepts which are useful in conceptualising the subculture of cruising, a subculture that appears to have developed out of the growthful objectives of its members.
Berger's concept of charisma is of interest here, not so much in a leadership sense but in the sense of a role model, or cultural hero. Historically, such personages as Joshua Slocum (circa 1900), John Voss (circa 1910), and Jack London (circa 1911), would have had, and still do have, a significant impact on potential subculture members. Contemporary people such as the Hiscocks, the Pardeys and Bernard Moitessier are also known to most, if not all, serious cruisers and potential cruisers. Together with the other three and many not mentioned, there exists a kind of charismatic 'leadership' in the cruising subculture. This leadership acts in a way that helps people look beyond their taken-for-granted world and so begin to conceptualize another way of living their lives.

Berger introduces a number of other concepts that are also useful in this context to explain how people begin to step outside their 'normal' lives to seek alternatives. Particularly relevant here are 'detachment' and 'ecstasy'. Cruisers do not appear to want to actively engage in changing the society they criticise but they do have a need to detach themselves from it, possibly only inwardly at first. Berger refers to the formation of subcultures, or as he prefers, subworlds, as arising as people withdraw from society. These are "constructed on the basis of deviant and detached definitions [and] exist in the form of sects, cults, 'inner circles' or other groups that sociologists call subcultures" (1963:153). The social critique of cruisers as reported elsewhere shows their intellectual detachment and how the geography of cruising necessitates the physical detachment from the mainstream society or culture.

The ability to withdraw from or opt out of mainstream society produces what Berger calls 'ecstasy'. With this term he refers to "literally, ... the act of standing or stepping outside the taken-for-granted routines of society" (1963:157). Cruisers do step outside society in this way and attract a great deal of envy in others in the process. At the same time they are cultural folk 'heroes'. The word, 'ecstasy' expresses very well the feelings of many cruisers as they depart the taken-for-granted society.

The foregoing discussion of how sociology can conceptualise society contains some of the fundamental assumptions and concepts upon
which the formation of the cruising subculture depends. This 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.

This still leaves the question of how people come to share the world view of the cruising subculture - the subject of the next section.

IV. THE PROCESS OF BECOMING PART OF THE CRUISING SUBCULTURE

People who have been cruising for over a year and who are committed to an indefinite time in the lifestyle are clearly part of the cruising subculture. They share aspirations, skills, characteristics and a way of life. The aim here is to explore the experiences through which individuals move in the process of coming to share the subcultural ideology.

When does a trip start? It can start with a reading of someone else's experiences. Maybe a trip is beginning now as these words are read. When can a voyage fail? It can fail before your boat is ready to cast off. You can get into hellish difficulties before you even launch a boat, if you build. It is my opinion that many fine voyages are never completed because of too much planning too soon, and too little experience too late. Some people make an abstract thing of cruising, based on a dream, nurtured by selective reading, and expanded by euphoria. In many ports of the world I have met would-be ocean voyagers who made the vast number of choices and decisions involved in selecting a design (ketch? gaff-headed? centerboard? double ender?) and building (strip planked? aluminum spars? diesel engine? dinette?) without ever having set foot on an ocean-going boat. By the time their boat is built they are too embarrassed to admit their inexperience in sailing. They may not learn how to handle a boat until
they are halfway around the world. Others, at a sudden turning point in their lives, buy a boat.

Courageously these romantics cast off, committing themselves to the open sea without benefit of the knowledge, experience, or training that could easily be gained from coastal boating in home waters, and not necessarily in their own boat. Some find the fulfillment of their dreams. But some experience unexpected discomfort, inconvenience and danger; these put their boat up for sale at the first port, or work frantically as they try to get their ship off the rocks.

(Griffith 1979:93-4)

That quotation from a very experienced cruiser highlights some of the points which emerge below, for example, people may learn of and opt for cruising at a distance. That is, they may have little or no contact with cruising, or even sailing, before they 'depart'. So how can this process of becoming part of the subculture be conceptualized to account for the distance and the obvious fact that some people seek the goal of cruising but do not find it? The answer to this question is explained in the two sections below: first, the process of becoming part of the subculture and second, the motivation for acquiring the ideology.

A. The Process of the Acquisition of the Subcultural Ideology and of Participation

The process which leads to short-term or long-term, partial or complete, involvement with cruising is displayed in Figure 7.4. This figure is designed to represent graphically my analysis of how individuals become part of the cruising subculture. At the same time, it shows how some people begin the process of becoming part of the subculture but then do not fully accept the lifestyle and ideology. In addition, the model reflects the reality that others may become cruisers for a time and later 'leave' the subculture, possibly retaining the ideology but without participation. Figure 7.4 shows participation in and acceptance of the subculture occurring in three stages: (1) Introduction to Subculture Norms; (2) Acceptance of Subculture Norms-as-Goals; and (3)
THE PROCESS OF ACQUISITION OF THE SUBCULTURE
IDEOLOGY AND OF PARTICIPATION

(a) Family and Personal History
(b) Fantasy
(c) Reading Viewing
(d) Negative Experience/Oppinion of Society
(e) Interaction with and Observation of Cruising Community
(f) Involvement in Related Activities e.g. Sailing, Travel

STAGE 1
INTRODUCTION TO SUBCULTURE

STAGE 2
ACCEPTANCE OF SUBCULTURE

STAGE 3
PARTICIPATION IN SUBCULTURE

2B. STATIC
Retains Norms-as-Goals but as a bystander. Probably continues to cruise locally.

2A. DYNAMIC
Accepts Norms-as-Goals 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. Selfsteering, 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.
Full Subculture Participation. Stage 2 has a dynamic period and a (possible) static period while Stage 3 contains a trial period when a person is a temporary cruiser. The first stage represents a 'learning about' process whereby people find out about the cruising life and so begin to develop a 'fantasy' about being part of it. In the second stage, the individual has accepted the lifestyle, or set of norms, as a goal and moves into a stage of learning and preparing. Whereas Stage 1 was only a 'learning about' phase, Stage 2 is a 'learning how to' phase. Stage 3 represents the act of cruising, of actually being away from a home port and fully engaged in the lifestyle. Within each stage, then, are a number of sub-parts which are explored in detail below. The subjects of my study fell into Stage 3B as committed long-term cruisers.

Stage 1: Introduction to Subculture Norms

We decided sailing was our way to go. Freedom was bounded only by the horizon. The physical and mental effort of sailing was the stimulus. The new places and the new friends were the reward. If you think you might like to follow us, then it is our hope that this book might reinforce, even precipitate, your decision.

If the book is anything, it is an "If we did it, you can too" guide to dropping in - not dropping out. That doesn't necessarily mean you should give up everything and go sailing. There may be too many people out there now. I am urging you to examine your life honestly and decide if you are satisfied with the way things have worked out. If you are content - great. You are lucky. If you find, as I did, a restlessness, a disenchantment, a feeling of unfulfillment, then it is time to think about yourself for a bit.

(Mann 1978:7)

Somehow people become aware of the cruising lifestyle and gradually get a picture of what it would be like to cruise. The quotation above is the sort of writing that sets some to thinking. Others had 'dreams' or 'plans' to sail the oceans for 30 or 40 years before they actually did sail away. Stage 1 shows a number of possible influences that lead to a person developing the cruising goal.
(a) Family and Personal History:

There is often but not always a history of sailing and the sea in cruisers' background which leads them to be in contact with the maritime environment, leads them to be aware of the cruising subculture. Alternatively, a person may simply have been involved in small boats while young. This personal history may give actual contact or it may just give an orientation, in which case the person is likely to engage in other parts of Stage 1.

(b) Fantasy:

For a variety of reasons and in a variety of ways, people develop a fantasy of what it would be like to do something. To some degree, the whole of Stage 1 is the development of a fantasy which later may or may not become actualised. However, my point here is that individuals engage in the process of fantasy (or fantastic thinking) in a way that may lead them to other parts of Stage 1 and/or on to other stages.

(c) Reading, Viewing:

Reading and viewing of TV or movies may help to feed the fantasy of (b) but may also lead to the development of thorough and useful knowledge about the cruising subculture. Reading is undoubtedly one of the most important early influences on the development of the subculture norms, for example, modes of behaviour in relation to other cruisers or locals. Also the ability to prepare thoroughly for a successful departure, obtaining and equipping a suitable yacht for offshore and extended passages is a very complex and demanding task and reading can provide much of the knowledge necessary.

(d) Negative experience/opinion of society:

The individual has negative experiences and/or develops negative opinions of society and so looks for ways to escape.

(e) Interaction with and observation of participants:

In most cases reading will be supplemented by direct contact with
participants of the subculture. There is no question that this contact provides both stimulation and knowledge that enables the individual to not only develop the norms of the subculture but also to get some personal sense of the knowledge involved; and at the same time to begin to test out some of that knowledge, at least in conversation.

(f) Involvement in related activities:
Of course, a person only really begins to test skills and knowledge while being involved in some activity such as sailing. However, this is not to imply that these items are necessarily sequential from (a) to (e) but rather that they can and do reinforce each other. Cruisers often reported that they had always been involved with the sea or that they had sailed boats since they were kids. Others mentioned that they had done a lot of travelling and found hotels both too expensive and not enough of a 'home'. These kinds of activities often precipitated the idea of cruising. In some cases, the sailing simply became the way of taking their 'home' with them, a very important factor to inveterate travellers.

These six influences or activities in Stage 1 serve to develop the individual's consciousness of cruising as an activity, possibly as a lifestyle, and possibly as a goal. Some of the people who develop an acceptance of the subcultural norms concomitantly develop those norms-as-goals. The person starts to see cruising as desirable. At this stage, my data suggest that most cruisers have an identifiable goal developing. Examples of these goals included sailing around the world, sailing the enchanting South Pacific, or to cross the Atlantic and 'see from there'. What is happening in this process of goal development is a movement to Stage 2. But, when all is said and done, the importance of this stage is that it gets people to look beyond the taken-for-granted, self-imposed restrictions on their lives.
Stage 2: Acceptance of Subcultural Norms-As-Goals

I suggest that once a person becomes sufficiently involved in Stage 1 to accept the norms and move to Stage 2, the individual will inevitably enter a dynamic or active stage of cruising.

This is Stage 2A whereby the individual takes action that is a serious part of becoming a cruiser, or 'going cruising'. For many people this involves building a cruising boat with a view to 'sailing away'. Others already have a boat and begin to prepare it for serious offshore sailing. The standard sailing yacht used for weekends and holidays is under-equipped for serious cruising and likely will require more anchors, self-steering, strengthened rigging, more sails, better storage compartments, and even hull strengthening.

Still others take the opportunity to crew on someone else's boat and go off for weeks, months and even years as crew on various yachts. Most people who enter Stage 2A also enroll in navigation classes, begin reading specialised technical cruising books (e.g. Hiscock 1981; Street 1973; Pardey 1982) with a view to equipment, stores, and so on.

This stage can be exciting or it can be tedious and disheartening. Many people who enter Stage 2A never get to Stage 3. Particularly prone to dropping to Stage 2B are the people who start building their own boat, having little or no prior experience of sailing or boat building. The ones who go to Stage 2B have probably chosen to build in ferro-cement or steel because the hull materials are cheap and probably have chosen too large a boat. Their motivation wanes in the face of the enormity of the task and the cost. Uncompleted ferro-cement and steel hulls are common sights and the 'For Sale' notices testify to broken dreams.

Others go to Stage 2B out of sheer inertia and because of the difficulty of overcoming social pressures, security needs, and family resistance. The literature suggests that often husbands are keen and wives are reluctant followers who eventually are blamed for staying or returning home. Others find it hard to give up their job and financial security to go off into some indefinite and ill-defined 'romantic' future. Still others succumb to social pressure to stay with the taken-for-granted society and to not opt out. As we see elsewhere, long-term cruising is a fundamental social critique and people seem unable to
'let' others go when such a critique is too close to their own personal life space.

Stage 2B people become bystanders and observers of the cruising subculture. Many of them have internalised the norms of the subculture but are unable to activate these norms into behaviour. Some of the Stage 2B people continue with sailing and local cruising but without making a firm commitment to go anywhere in the long-term. Some even live aboard their yachts for years and develop a lifestyle somewhat akin to cruising but with the job and social security of being in one place. Others eventually activate their norms and do go cruising after any number of years as bystanders. Still others leave cruising, abandon sailing and depart from the maritime environment.

**Stage 3: Sub-Culture Participation**

All of my cruising subjects would argue that no individual is a cruiser until they have actually gone cruising. Most also agree that an individual is not fully 'in' and 'of' the subculture until a long passage has been completed, a year or more has passed since departure, and until the individual has a clear commitment to long-term cruising.

On the other hand, the person who has progressed from Stage 2A by actually setting out on a cruise is a part of the subculture by fact of having accepted the norms-as-goals and by having actualised those norms by departing their home port. Therefore, I put all 'new' cruisers into an interim stage 3A or Trial Period. The first part of most cruisers' objective is usually some short-term and more manageable goal, something not quite so indefinite as going cruising forever. The initial period is often planned with a possible return-home-route in mind. In other words, there are destinations that are decision-points. These destinations or routes are often dictated by wind patterns, seasonal changes, or simply as the logical destination for a trial period.

At this point, probably 8-12 months into a cruise, the new cruiser either goes home (with or without the boat) or makes a longer term commitment to cruising as a way of life. It is at this point that cruisers must become fully part of the subculture and really begin to develop a self-sufficient, simplicity oriented boat and lifestyle. More important, though, is that at this point they fully share the ideology
of the cruising subculture - and now put it into long-term action. It is also at this point that many cruisers start referring to 'home' as their boat or the world rather than some port of departure. In fact, as is shown in Chapter 4, many cruisers related their social critique to the world in general rather than their national homeland as they had begun to relate themselves as citizens of the world or the sea rather than of a specific nation. Those home societies for some had become anathema to them and no longer home.⁶

A number of people who set out on a specific goal-oriented trip (e.g. circumnavigate over 3 years) with the idea of reverting to 'normal' life afterwards found they could not do so. They found life back in the city and land-based untenable and so set out again, this time to live rather than to go somewhere. Others, of course, cruised for years and then successfully re-settled. However, as I can not systematically follow up all my subjects (I write to all of them but hear from only a few) I can say little about those who re-settle. I have left the model, therefore, rather open as to what happens in the individual's life after an extended period of active participation in the subculture. Some of my subjects had been cruising for 15 (now 20) years and had no plans to settle on land or in any one place. Immigration laws that make it difficult to settle in a foreign country and the psychological and social difficulty of going back 'home' plus a commitment to cruising mean that some people will continue to cruise while their health and ingenuity permit.

The foregoing model has been developed to show the process by which individuals develop an awareness of cruising, accept the norms of that subculture as goals, and join actively in the subculture. The model also illustrates the process by which introduced individuals do not proceed to become committed long-term cruisers. Chapter 5 has shown why people find cruising attractive, that is, specifically what features motivate them to go cruising and to make a longer term commitment.

⁶ In fact, an organisation known as 'Citizens of the Sea' exists and issues 'passports' to its 'citizens'. One of the Ambassadors of this Canada-based organisation was interviewed for this study. He later issued me with a passport to acknowledge my 'citizenship'.
Figure 7.5 following provides a more abstract analysis in relation to this motivation, one that ties in with Figure 7.4. This chapter, and these models, refine the earlier ethnography into a wider general theory.

B. The Motivation to Acquire and Accept the Ideology of a Subculture

Although stating the obvious, it must be said that when someone chooses to reject the status quo, the taken-for-granted, and seek an alternative there must be 'something going on in their head'. The person must be developing a rejection of the status quo and must then find something with which to replace it - or go on searching forever. The maturation of this rejection may be more or less conscious and articulated but the development of an alternative will undoubtedly be articulated - and in this case as the alternative is cruising it will often be dubbed as 'romantic', 'unrealistic', 'irresponsible' and so on. It will be demeaned by some, enthusiastically supported by others.

People who seek-out an alternative to their current life situation have a variety of motives and are more or less conscious of these motives. Alfred Shutz (1964) provides us with one way of conceptualising and distinguishing between two types of motives. "In-order-to" motives involve ends in themselves, goals to be achieved while 'because' motives can be seen in relation to the person's history, background, and psychological state (Rigby 1974:9). In the former can be seen cruisers' creative orientation and in the latter, their escapist motivation.

Figure 7.5 suggests that to understand the 'why' of a person's progression through the stages of Figure 7.4 it is useful to distinguish between these two types of motives. Much in the same way as the long-term cruisers, social critique is one side of a coin and the cruising lifestyle is the other, so the 'because' motives are one side of a coin and the 'in-order-to' motives the other. The point of Figure 7.5 is that the 'in-order-to' motives dominate stage 3, especially stage 3B. Once the goals of the 'in-order-to' motives become actualised these motives will tend to dominate as the person is physically away from the source of the 'because' motives.
Figure 7.5
The Motivation to Acquire and Accept the Ideology of a Subculture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STAGE 1</th>
<th>STAGE 2</th>
<th>STAGE 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Process (HOW)</td>
<td>Introduction to subculture norms</td>
<td>Acceptance of subculture norms-as-goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Motivation for or meaning of (WHY)</td>
<td>Becoming disadvantaged.</td>
<td>Increasingly disadvantaged.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Because' motives dominate.</td>
<td>'Because' motive strengthened.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Begin seeing an alternative i.e. 'In-order-to' motives dominate.</td>
<td>'Because' motives also conscious and explicit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'In-order-to' motives emerging.</td>
<td>Begin embracing an alternative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Awareness, consciousness of self as actor</td>
<td>Consciousness, understanding and articulation of goals/motives (if only to self) developing.</td>
<td>/Search for a vehicle to satisfy goals/motives.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Figure 7.5, row 'a' cells are simply the process as described in Figure 7.4 and are included to show the link between the process of joining the subculture and the development of the 'why' or motivations for becoming a full participant in the subculture. The 'why' are in 'b' cells (row b). In row 'c' are cells which recognise the importance of an awareness of self, another aspect of the ongoing process of becoming part of the subculture.

Stage 1 in Figures 7.4 and 7.5 is the introduction stage. This is when the person, for a variety of reasons and events, begins to 'notice' the subculture. It may be dangerous to generalise for all individuals as there will obviously be variations, but cell '1b' for most people will represent a situation where the 'because' motives dominate. At this stage, as they have not experienced the lifestyle, the person knows little of cruising, has not fully articulated generalised 'in-order-to' motives and is, therefore, very largely influenced by personal history, social situation, and a personal social critique. As cell '1c' suggests, the social critique and the knowledge of the personal situation that is (vaguely) causing dissatisfaction will be developing in terms of consciousness and articulation. At this stage, the would-be-cruiser is still developing the motives and enough awareness to accept the norms-as-goals of the subculture. This, then, is the boundary of Stage 1 and Stage 2.

The Stage 2 column represents a stage when the person becomes increasingly disaffected, when the 'because' motives begin to suggest strongly that an alternative is needed. It is at this stage that the 'in-order-to' motives begin to dominate and the person accepts the subculture norms-as-goals. This is where the person is developing an idea of a preferred lifestyle and that lifestyle is an implicit criticism of the current lifestyle and, by extension, society. Of course, one can accept one's own culture, at least parts of it but still seek an alternative. By definition, to seek something else or something better is to say the status quo is in some way lacking. As the discussion of cruisers' social critique shows, they see society as severely lacking. But, as they progress through the stages of these models they begin to develop an alternative that is more satisfying to them.
The development of this alternative is represented in cell 2c as (or if) the individual begins to practice the alternative embraced by the 'in-order-to' motives. The individual begins (or continues) to take charge of actualising the alternative and in the process defines the vehicle (i.e. cruising) that will hopefully allow actualisation of the goals and way of living. The alternative lifestyle begins to be articulated and accepted as a worthwhile goal.

Stage 3 of Figure 7.4 represents the act of going cruising and thereby fully participating in and experiencing the subculture. In the context of Figure 7.5 this is what follows when both 'because' and 'in-order-to' motives develop into equal forces. Once a person is committed to long-term cruising that person experiences the lifestyle that the 'in-order-to' motives suggested and at the same time sees even more clearly the dysfunctional aspects of the lifestyle left behind. My subjects were very explicit about both sides of the coin - they could express what they disliked about their back-home lifestyle and they could express what is good about their current lifestyle. Where Chapter 5, as a data chapter, described the empirical reasons people had for becoming part of the cruising subculture, this chapter, and specifically Figures 7.4 and 7.5, has applied theoretical models to represent the process of becoming part of a subculture. The parallels are clear. The decision to stay cruising represents a creative and a critical orientation, a search process and an escape. Accepting and living the world view of cruising encompasses both the creative and the critical.

V CONCLUSION

This chapter has used subculture theory as a lens through which to view the cruising situation. It has been shown that the concept 'subculture' can be applied to cruising. The process of subcultural formation has been explored in some detail with particular attention to conceptualising the complexities of the cruising subculture. The concern is not with the formation of the subculture per se but with the process through which individuals move as they become participants. It
is important here to distinguish between sharing the ideology on the one hand and fully participating. No person is really a cruiser until they both share the world view and participate in the lifestyle. One without the other is incomplete.

The chapter has argued that the motivation to be a cruiser changes over time so that when an individual is fully participating and sharing the world view, 'in-order-to-motives' come to dominate. This simply suggests that cruising is ultimately more creative than escapist, that the creative is at least as important as the critical.

This chapter has put the shared world view of cruisers into the theoretical context of subculture theory and explored some of the factors in the process of becoming part of the subculture. In the sense that a subculture is different from the main culture it is 'deviant', a word which conjures up negative connotations. 'Deviance' also suggests a normative framework that facilitates judging the category 'cruising subculture'. However, before exploring the role deviance theory can play in facilitating this judgement, I want to further explore the shared ideology of the subculture. This exploration will provide further support for the later use of deviance theory to judge cruising as an affirmative process. The two intervening chapters will use two psycholgocial contexts - the processes of psycho-social development and of enjoyment - to provide this support. The first of these two chapters will view cruisers and their way of living through the lens of a model of human development.
CHAPTER 8

'RADICAL' PEOPLE

The previous chapter has helped show that cruising is a "subculture" of people who share a way of life and a world view. The aim in this chapter and the next is to analyse aspects of that shared world view from two psychological perspectives each of which focusses an analytical lens in a different way. This first chapter is a speculative and heuristic one. It uses a model of psycho-social development as a tool for further understanding cruisers. Before this model of psycho-social development is used to put the choice of the cruising lifestyle into the context of psychological development, a brief and general discussion of the humanistic perspective in psychology is provided.

Since this study is not concerned with deficiency in economic, political, or psychological terms, it focusses upon the search for a lifestyle that facilitates a fully functioning person, that accounts for 'higher' human needs. Following Maslow's (1968) lead, this study is concerned with 'being needs' rather than only 'deficiency needs'; a concern to understand the search for fulfillment, satisfaction, and personal growth instead of being preoccupied with illness, 'maturity', and neurosis. Humanistic psychology embodies a model of human nature that encompasses these empirical and normative concepts, including the central notion of intrinsic rewards. It provides, then, one way of judging the cruising lifestyle as affirmative or not. An humanistic orientation to psychology is distinguished by its concern for personal psychological health and its interest in and concern for the full development of human potential. From this perspective, humans are seen as having the potential to lead healthy, satisfying lives - to be actualised. Such a perspective does not ignore the interaction with
other people and the environment nor does it see the individual as fully actualised in isolation from such interaction. This orientation has recently been summarised by a leader in the field of humanistic psychology. In trying to evaluate the contribution of humanistic psychology, Elizabeth Campbell defines the field thus:

Humanistic psychology is based on a very simple premise, and not a new one; that people matter and that their potential is hardly tapped and that psychology should focus on those issues and dimensions of greatest importance to humans. It asserts that given a nourishing environment, humans have the potential to develop as a self-determining, self-actualizing, self-transcending healthy persons[sic]; if denied such an environment, these potentials do not develop. We have asserted that these human needs/rights should be given priority, and that they have been denied in the rapidly changing technological world. Further, humanistic psychology speaks of personal transitions, even transformations, and encourages personal growth and development. Basic to personal growth is learning to take responsibility for oneself rather than being a victim. (Campbell 1984:16; her emphasis)

The objective at this point is to illustrate a number of the models of human potential and from these models to highlight certain characteristics. These concepts and their authors are displayed in Figure 8.1. The common theme of interest here is that of autonomy and choice - the ability or potential of humans to be autonomous and to make (life enhancing) choices. It is these common themes, in conjunction with the underlying assumption of a human tendency towards a healthful life, that form the backdrop for the discussion of a notion of personal growth as occurring by choices taken by individuals, choices which may or may not be labelled as 'deviant' behaviour by some part of society.

This ability to make choices, then, may lead individuals to attempt to actualize their own potential in ways which may force them to step outside the taken-for-granted rules of society. This in no way implies the need to act illegally, or in ways which directly harm other people physically or emotionally, but may nonetheless lead to a variety of social sanctions, most unofficial, such as social ostracism, stigmatisation, discrimination in employment, and so on. While these
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WRITER</th>
<th>MODEL or CONCEPT</th>
<th>HUMAN CHARACTERISTIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Association for Humanistic Psych.</td>
<td>The Humanistic View</td>
<td>Autonomy, choice, self-realisation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berger</td>
<td>Society as Drama</td>
<td>Freedom; choice; self-definition; question taken-for-granted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantril</td>
<td>Beachheads</td>
<td>Basic needs, progressive stages; higher needs eg. creativity, value commitments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Csikszentimahalyi</td>
<td>Flow</td>
<td>Integrated self; immersed; unified; use of skills.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hampden-Turner</td>
<td>Radical Man</td>
<td>Personal and interpersonal risk; choices; autonomy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lester</td>
<td>Wrestling with the Self.</td>
<td>Autonomy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maslow</td>
<td>The Need Hierarchy</td>
<td>Basic needs followed by self-actualisation; autonomy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>The Rebel</td>
<td>Power; assertion; break with tradition, and the taken-for-granted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rogers</td>
<td>Actualising tendency</td>
<td>Free action; create and define the self.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sutich</td>
<td>The Growth Experience</td>
<td>Interdependence; independence; friendly; integrated.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
consequences are external to the individual and might not restrict the
growthful experience sought by that individual, the examination of such
sanctions takes us into the ambit of deviance theory; this will be
explored in a later chapter.

Returning to Figure 8.1, we see a position, or series of positions,
that are at once a philosophical statement and a model of human
potential. There is a fundamental consistency within these position
statements that represents a number of aspects of humanistic psych-
ology. For the purpose of this chapter, which is to compare cruisers'
way of living to a model of human development and growth, these position
statements provide a general framework of analysis. The objective in
listing these ten theorists and their orientation to psychology is to
provide a basis for understanding the actions of cruisers in relation to
human potential and in relation to the norm within modern society. To
these ends, the characteristics enumerated by the ten theorists have
been summarised (Figure 8.2) in a list of five 'Potentials'. This list
of potentials are drawn upon later to help in the normative appraisal of
cruisers. These five potentials are shown in Figure 8.2 counterposed to
five statements of Social Norms. The formulation of these norms is
derived from a consideration of modern society and to illuminate the
potentials.1 The two columns may be viewed as two ends of a continuum
with modern society tending to push human behaviour and experience to
the left, and humanistic psychology suggesting the potential of a
psychologically healthy person is to the right. This model effectively
begins the linking process between the individual and society, at least
at a theoretical level. However, the main function of the list of norms
and potentials and the accompanying discussion has been to highlight
some underlying concepts about human potential and to facilitate the
argument for the concept of affirmative deviance. In conjunction with
discussion elsewhere, it also helps to characterise the social context
of cruisers, that is, modern western society.

It is suggested in this study that cruisers are reacting against
their social milieu and are in pursuit of personal growth and competence

1 See also Appendix VII for a background discussion of modern society
from which these ideas are derived.
Figure 8.2
Potentials and Norms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOCIAL NORMS</th>
<th>POTENTIALS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Accept norms of class, occupation or religion; follow the institutional lead; rely on experts; strive for security.</td>
<td>1. Assert Autonomy, make independent choices, be self-reliant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Accept the status quo.</td>
<td>2. Question status quo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Remain locked into materialistic and socially secure systems; accept less independence and self-actualisation as trade off for security.</td>
<td>3. Desire to move beyond the basic needs of material and security needs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Isolate the self, physically and psychically in ghettos (suburbs?) segregated by age, class, income, culture, religion, nationality, etc.</td>
<td>4. Ability and desire to communicate with other races, nationalities, cultures, and classes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ignore the self; concentrate on possessions, image, and being a spectator (eg. TV, watching sport).</td>
<td>5. Create sense of self that is integrated and not stultifying.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and a closeness to nature. In a sense, the concept of affirmative deviance is the integrating mechanism here. It integrates the personal (affirmative theories of human nature) with the social (deviance theories of society and its norms). At the same time, however, the concept that deviance can be affirmative makes it possible to account for positive effects of deviance at both an individual and a social level.

As it is beyond the scope of this thesis to develop from the wide ranging literature a new integrated model of humanistic psychology, one model was selected for the task of exploring cruising in relation to humanistic psychology. The model used here is developed in Charles
Hampden-Turner's book *Radical Man* (1970) and is a model of psycho-social development based in the existential humanistic perspective in psychology. Hampden-Turner emphasises that his model derives its meaning from its dependence on a wide range of theorists and researchers - he tries to integrate these works, which in themselves only deal with part of the human puzzle, into an holistic model. This is a cyclical model that is integrated internally and interactive externally. It is useful in the context of this thesis because of this integrative nature. The essence of the model (see Figure 8.1) is that individuals have the capacity to be fully functioning independent persons and that they approach their capacity through a process of interacting with the environment and with significant others. An essential ingredient in this interaction is the willingness to take interpersonal risks, in a sense to 'try out' new ideas and ways of acting in order to develop a deeper, more authentic way of being. It is a process of using the existential capacity to make choices in meaningful ways.

Hampden-Turner's model is rooted in the western philosophical and political traditions of freedom and personal autonomy and reflects the psycho-logical orientation of seeing the individual as the unit of study. While seeing growth in humanistic terms as involving meaningful inter-action with other individuals, the model implicitly sees the individual(s) as developing independently of the social situation - that is, independent of the economy, the political situation, the international scene, and urban realities, for example. Such a perspective is not inconsistent with the way cruisers live and the way they perceive their own ability to exist as cruisers independent of these social factors.

This humanistic model is based on the notions that existential capacities in people are interdependent and that people make 'value-full' choices; that is, the model assumes individuals make choices and that values are an essential or central ingredient in these choices. The interdependence or integrated nature of the model is reinforced by each segment deriving its meaning from its interaction with the others. It is important to keep this in mind when reading the discussion below. While focussing on discreet segments, it is the unity that is significant.
Figure 8.3

A Model of Psycho-Social Development

Man exists freely
a) through the quality of his PERCEPTION
b) the strength of his IDENTITY

c) and the synthesis of these into his anticipated and experienced COMPETENCE.

d) He INVESTS this with intensity and authenticity in his human environment

e) by periodically SUSPENDING his cognitive structures and RISKING himself

f) in trying to BRIDGE THE DISTANCE to the other(s).

---

2 Hampden-Turner 1970:31. Note that the sexist language (which is not very humanistic) is in the original and is eliminated except in quotations.
Another key factor in this model is its cyclical nature. Each segment of the model builds on the other and to move around the cycle can be viewed as spiralling upwards, that is, can be viewed as increasing health or 'growth'. Now, as a key aspect of the model is meaningful interaction with another, it can be seen as two cycles interacting - hence a double helix. Hampden-Turner does in fact make the parallel with DNA explicit by emphasising such processes as attachment-detachment-reattachment, transmission of messages, growth through interaction, and attachment with a variety of others, not just one.

This chapter, then, takes a psychological perspective in understanding cruisers by using one particular integrated model. The discussion shows the extent to which cruisers 'fit' this particular model but, more important, the discussion is used to highlight their orientations, characteristics, beliefs, and actions. The relationship is not perfect but it is informative; it is heuristic because the research did not set out to test each segment of the model nor to prove that cruisers are 'radicals' in terms of this process of psycho-social development. However, as will be shown, it becomes evident that there are very significant and interesting correlates between the stages of this process and the cruisers interviewed in this research. Hampden-Turner's model is used here in a manner not explicitly suggested by him because it is being used to understand a lifestyle. However, there would appear to be nothing in the model to negate this process.

The remainder of the chapter is organised around the underlying premise and nine discreet segments of Hampden-Turner's process of psycho-social development. Each will be explained briefly and in turn, and then the relationship to cruisers explored. To illustrate the relationship, data is drawn from throughout my research. Occasionally, material from Radical Man is used for illustrative purposes but this and the explanations of the model are kept brief. Such brevity is important because the aim is not to focus on Hampden-Turner's model, that is, to prove it. Rather, the aim is to use the model to explore cruisers and cruising. This aim can only be met by taking certain minor liberties with the model. At this point it may be helpful to read through the model as shown in figure 8.2.
UNDERLYING PREMISE: "HUMANS EXIST FREELY"

The notion that humans exist freely represents the underlying philosophical and psychological position taken by this model to the study of human beings; we are seen as free, as not stimulus bound, as capable of choice. In particular the model sees humans as capable of rebelling "against the absurdity of atrophying culture ..." (Hampden-Turner, 1970:34), of being able to assert their own individual definition of self and surroundings.

Likewise, cruisers are shown in this thesis to reject the restrictions of contemporary urban society and materialism and to value situations favouring autonomy and independence. The data suggest little or no interest in the trappings and ceremonies of organised religion and also a clear rejection of those aspects of society that cruisers see as most personally destructive to them. In this case, they reject careers, urban jobs, materialism, and the structure of urban life generally. In short, they reject those parts of western society which they see as most destructive to them as individuals.

The Hampden-Turner model suggests that the techniques of t-groups, for example, rely on and encourage this existential capacity in humans. 3 While cruising is neither contrived in the same manner as these training techniques, nor necessarily temporary, there may be an interesting parallel here with the process of cruising. 4 The new cruiser faces a situation where most of the significations from the land base (e.g. via job, residence, income) are simply no longer relevant - a new set of significations must be developed. In a sense, then, the new cruiser has been cast into a social vacuum where he or she must develop new ways of obtaining recognition from a new and relatively unknown social group. The interviews have shown that there is a lack of status

3 'T-groups' may be seen here as synonymous with 'encounter' groups; many terms refer to a similar process.

4 They are certainly not as brief as the few days which encompass most t-groups. However, the forced encounter of people on a yacht at sea and in harbour can generate interpersonal dynamics not easy to avoid. These dynamics can be equated with those generated in a t-group.
differentiations, that cruisers pay little attention to the status a person had back on land. This means that cruisers have to develop their own sense of self and recognition through sailing their boat the distance they have, through cooperation, and through certain forms of sociability. While the social change-over to the new lifestyle is not clear-cut because of prior contact through reading and proximity, the physical cut-off from a job, a residence, and a home-port would seem to provide a vacuum similar to the one suggested in the case of t-groups. The similarity stops, of course, when time-frames and artificiality are concerned. The cruising situation is 'real' and the time-frame is much longer - months and years as opposed to days.

Another way of looking at this assertion of existential freedom is by reference to the concept of choice. Hampden-Turner shows that 'fear' is characteristic of an anomic person (1970:209), a fear of choices. He suggests that such a process reflects an inability to make decisions that require or result in a change of direction. Cruisers, on the other hand, have been shown as people who have made a very definite choice about changing the direction of their personal lives. They have shown the ability to choose, to reject what may appear as the inevitable course in life (as manifest in their career, for example). They can see and act on the potential choice, and even if it is temporary, such a choice is likely to result in major life changes This is explored further, below.

In discussing student radicals and how they fit his model, Hampden-Turner shows them to be less committed to a professional career than other students, not as 'school spirit oriented' and less religious. All of these characteristics are consistent with cruisers, who have left careers, are not 'club' oriented and show little evidence of religious commitment. It has been shown in this thesis that cruisers are "strongly independent [and] value ... autonomy for self and others" (Hampden-Turner, 1970:371). Cruisers' expressed anti-militarism is also consistent with the subjects referred to in the quotation - namely 'student draft resistors' during the time of the American involvement in Vietnam.

In summary, it appears that cruisers exhibit qualities, goals, and actions that are consistent with Segment I of the model. That is to
say, they value personal autonomy, are independent, and can make important personal decisions.

SEGMENT a: "THROUGH THE QUALITY OF PERCEPTION"

The nature of personal growth in humanistic terms is a relativity, a notion that an individual 'begins' somewhere relatively less developed. Similarly, so it is here with the notion of perception. The 'fully grown' person will accurately perceive the positives and negatives in society and in individuals (and can therefore 'progress' with the rest of the model). At the same time, the Hampden-Turner model suggests that people must perceive before they will or can act – actions follows perception. People must, for example, perceive an anti-freedom in urban structures or the horror of the prospect of nuclear war before they are likely to take action. This research has shown that cruisers fear nuclear war and are very critical of contemporary urban structures. Most have chosen to do little or nothing about the former but take very decisive action to avoid the latter. In terms of this model cruisers have had the personal strength to 'look' at themselves and their society, a prerequisite to moving around the cycle.

An apparent paradox arises in relation to Hampden-Turner's assertion that the radical person looks "in the face of injustice without weakening in his resolve to transform its absurdity" (1970:74). The paradox exists because cruisers appear to simply opt out of society and so take no overt part in the transformation of the 'absurdity' which they so clearly articulate. Of course, to the extent this absurdity is seen as personal, they are doing something about that aspect of it. However, it appears they fit the 'anomic' cycle in seeing absurdity in society but choosing to do nothing about it.5 They may also be anomic in believing that they can do nothing about society while

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5 The 'anomic' cycle is the antithesis to the radical cycle as shown in Figure 8.3. A detailed discussion of this cycle is not warranted in this context. See Hampden-Turner 1970, Chapter IV.
being 'radical' in doing something about their own situation. They perceive both and act on one.

It is possible to suggest, however, that in many cases cruisers do not have this depth of perception before they begin to cruise. As with a t-group, in the cruising situation the social vacuum may stretch people's vision, the emptiness of extended ocean passages and transient social relationships may facilitate a more thorough social awareness, a greater perception of self and society. The distinction made elsewhere between 'because' and 'in-order-to' motives is consistent with this view in suggesting that the depth of cruisers' social critique develops while they are outside society and that it was an unconscious awareness that led to the starting of a cruise. This is also consistent with the nature of the model as a helix where each small step leads to small growth, the sum of which can be large.

Consistent with this segment of the model, the cruising data suggest that cruisers perceive and accept their own inner needs and are prepared to sacrifice not only their own economic security but also are prepared to reject the notion that the external values of society should be the values to guide their whole life. They are prepared to deviate from the norm in order to actualise their own personal values.

Students who were also training to be military officers (R.O.T.C.) were said by Hampden-Turner to be anomic in this stage of the model because they "shelter ... from [the] environment and from change-inducing experiences" (1970:372). In other words, they avoid exposing themselves to situations which might confront them with perceptions incongruent with their life and values. Cruisers, on the other hand, can be seen as putting themselves into an environment and lifestyle situation which is, by definition, very different from the life they held before cruising. The situation would be different along dimensions such as iterated structure, income, community services, expert help, creature comforts, not to mention cultural differences and the unusual presence of the natural environment. It appears, then, that in spite of some paradoxes cruisers have placed themselves in an environment where the interactional vacuum and the change in environment are likely to lead to a perception of self and society.
SEGMENT b: "THE STRENGTH OF IDENTITY"

According to Hampden-Turner, it is the strength of identity that gives the individual the base from which to move through the rest of the growth process. The important point is that identity cannot develop independently and without meaningful interaction. "The self when unexposed and unexpanded loses the very experience of humanity with its accompanying initiative and tension" (Hampden-Turner 1970:75).

Cruisers give their selves this exposure in many aspects of the lifestyle. The nature of ocean passages, for example, forces the individual to look into the self. The inner self is exposed to scrutiny because there is nothing else to 'look at'. This is particularly so on night watches where the rest of the crew are asleep and the watchkeeper's thoughts are undisturbed and undirected except for the intrusion of the boat and nature, both of which may be benign. Similarly, though, the confined nature of a yacht at sea for extended periods means the cruiser is continually confronted by others, be they family, friends or a little known crew person. Each person, then, confronts others.

Another example of this exposure comes in the grass-roots exposure to other cultures - the harbours and villages which cruisers frequent inevitably thrust the cruiser into the local culture in a way that ordinary tourists are not. In these situations then, the identity must be strong enough to sustain exposure to self-scrutiny and to the power of other cultures. At the same time, the cruiser faces this exposure without the normal props of a job, an address, a car, and the myriad other 'things' which are the identity makers in the society from which they come. While it is true they have the identity of a cruiser and the boat itself, they are culturally 'cut-off' from the mainstream supports of their own national culture and social structures.

The data in this research suggest that cruisers' identity comes from their own creation - the life they create for themselves out of the vacuum into which they move when leaving their home port. Each

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6 The notion of a vacuum suggests that in moving out of an established lifestyle and location the individual becomes disconnected from the usual social supports and pressures. It is a vacuum because of a loss of outside direction.
individual must discover and/or create new ways of being and seeing within the context of the new lifestyle. To the extent the new (cruising) lifestyle has an established set of social mores then the individual can fill the vacuum by accepting, rejecting, and/or modifying these mores, this subcultural ideology. The material in Chapter 6, Portrait of a Cruiser, for example, shows that cruisers get recognition not for the status of their previous occupation or the size of their boat, but from their ability to survive financially and emotionally and to maintain their yacht. These abilities are all relatively creative when compared with the process of obtaining recognition through dress and material accoutrements. Hampden-Turner suggests (in relation to business people) that if the "primary role is to create he can become anything he dares so long as he can persuade others to accept and confirm him .... In a creative [work environment] each man's identity is under his control" (1970:197). Likewise, cruisers are in a 'creative' lifestyle where their identity depends on creating solutions to significant problems(for example, survival) and there are significant others in proximity to be accepting and confirming.

SEGMENT c: "AND THE SYNTHESIS OF THESE INTO ANTICIPATED AND EXPERIENCED COMPETENCE."

The cyclical (or helical) model must be seen as a unit but it is also necessary to note that portions of the model form sub-units; that is, a few segments flow together. Such is certainly the case as we reach this point in the model; - it is the synthesis of perception and identity to form a sense of competence that brings an integration into this part of the cycle. 

While cruisers do not characterise themselves as 'single-minded' (see Chapter 6) there is little doubt that the process of putting the lifestyle together in the first place is goal-directed and that a certain level of competence is needed to reach that goal. If the goal is departure then the next goal is really a process in the sense that a lifestyle is a process. Certainly, there are intermediate and instrumental goals in the process and a diverse set of competencies is
needed to meet these goals (e.g. income earning; emergency repairs at sea). To go cruising is to confront fear on a number of levels not the least of which are physical and financial. But there will also be occupational, status, and identity fears to be faced by people leaving a system where these three factors are mutually interdependent. Facing each of these fears, initially in a social vacuum, is a challenge out of which can arise not only a new perception of self but a sense of personal competence. Substituting 'cruising' for 't-group' in Hampden-Turner's words, we see "the development of a [cruiser] is the experience of victory over seemingly insoluble human dilemmas. It especially builds up a sense of competence" (1970:160-1). Intuitively, we would expect people who sail the oceans and live precarious financial lives as well, to reflect a certain level of self-confidence, and that that confidence would be well-grounded in experience. In fact, only one cruiser mentioned any sense of a lack of self-confidence and that only periodically. Self-reporting problems notwithstanding, this fact, when combined with field observation and experience, would tend to confirm that a sense of one's own competence is both a necessary precondition to, and result of, the process of long-term cruising.

SEGMENT d: "THIS IS INVESTED WITH INTENSITY AND AUTHENTICITY IN THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT"

The Hampden-Turner model is not very specific in defining "human environment" but there is nothing in it that would exclude nature and natural ecosystems from the 'human environment'. This point is important because, as we have already seen, cruisers do not appear to be active in those environments constructed by humans, for example, cities; that is to say, they do not invest a lot of energy in trying to alter the urban environment to suit their goals. Rather, they tend to opt out of the urban situation and to put their investment into their own lifestyle within the natural environment of the oceans.

In any case, what is of prime importance here is the concept of investment, the idea that "the translation of inner needs to fill the outer vacuum is ... the act of investment" (Hampden-Turner 1970:159).
Part of this investment is trying to listen, trying to comprehend what
the other says; part of it is people acting on their own values in an
authentic way; part of it is being self-assertive; part of it is being
devoted to autonomy. The central issue is that a person must be free to
create a range of options in order to be able to invest life with
intensity and authenticity. The data show cruisers' commitment to
autonomy and to the creation of a lifestyle which is outside the
usual. For cruisers it means listening to their own needs and
overcoming the inertia of the routine, the secure and the taken-for-
granted. To be able to invest they must be able to perceive - the
process of investing can be seen as the actualising of personal needs,
values, goals.

However, on another level it is not clear that cruisers invest much
in other people, except those on the same boat where the investment is
very high - people put their lives in each other's hands at sea!
However, this investment is less likely with other cruisers and locals
because of the transience of the relationships. Certainly, cruisers
must quickly meet and 'know' other cruisers in an anchorage to be able
to engage in the amount of mutual interaction that takes place. But,
appearance suggest that much of the encounter is superficial,
concentrating as it does on the weather, journeys cruisers have taken,
where they are going, where to buy supplies, and how to deal with the
locals. A number of interviewees 'thanked' me for the interviews
because they do not get much opportunity to engage in intellectual (and
controversial?) discussion. This is not to deny, of course, that a
sense of belonging can still exist and be a strong force.

It may be that cruisers put their major investment into the
subculture generally in the process of developing the shared ideology.
Such an investment then 'pays-off' in specific terms as secondary
investment is made with individuals (albeit at a superficial level).
Just as t-group members invest in a particular group, so too do
cruisers. Each contributes to the development of the wider subculture
and also to the narrower 'anchorage' group, the latter being a temporary
group (at the least, it has a revolving membership). The learning from
both levels of investment goes with the individual into other contacts
and other 'temporary' groups.
Many cruisers have very significant interactions with local cultures while others restrict their contact with a country to transactions with officials and shop keepers. Those who are active in the local culture usually do so at the village level and music is often the means of contact. Repairing outboard motors and generators is a task some cruisers do free for locals and so invest in the community that way.

The contradictions involved in distinguishing 'anomic' from 'radical' people appear in Hampden-Turner's analysis because he interprets the research as showing that anomies tend to see freedom as manifest in tasks and physical things and less often in relationships. They "tend to regard freedom as best represented by self-sufficiency, financial independence, and not relying on others to help" (1970: 243). In this sense cruisers are anomies. Yet, Hampden-Turner says anomies tend to conform to authority, which cruisers do not. The data have shown cruisers to be concerned with freedom and autonomy in a way that shows these to be central and fundamental values in the sub-culture. Yet, their reliance on others is peripheral to their self-sufficiency because for significant parts of the year the cruiser is at sea or in deserted anchorages.

Hampden-Turner's model sees authentic investment as possible only in situations where the parameters are wide enough for the individual to be or to have effective and creative choices. That is, the individual must be able to create the alternatives not simply choose from a set group of social or technically sanctioned alternatives. It appears that cruisers see city life - its routines, its structures, its imperatives - as containing only a fixed set of sanctioned alternatives with little or no room for the creation of new, personally functional ones. They, therefore, choose to invest themselves in a lifestyle which has wider freedoms. The parameters of cruising are limited by nature but the restrictions of iterated structure and the social controls of urban life

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7 This quotation appears in Hampden-Turner's book in the context of his labelling of 'conservatives' as anomic and 'liberals' as radical. Such a conclusion would seem to be an overgeneralisation and I have therefore chosen not to use such 'political' labels in this context.
are absent or in the background. Cruisers manage to stay on the fringe of the restrictions of contemporary urban society by staying outside cities, careers, and suburbia. Cruisers suggest that the city carries with it an in-built structure which restricts the range of freedom and autonomy. To choose city life is to accept a plethora of artificial restrictions, convenants, and caveats to life that ocean cruising does not carry. Cruisers put their investment into a life space where the choices are not simply pre-programmed alternatives.

SEGMENT e: "THERE IS A PERIODIC SUSPENSION OF COGNITIVE STRUCTURES AND A RISKING OF THE SELF"

The key to the investment concept discussed above lies here in the process of suspending and risking. The model says that there can be no real attempt to invest in and learn from a stranger without allowing oneself to be open, to suspend judgement and prejudice; that is, without being prepared to take a risk of being wrong. The radical person at this stage of the cycle is a "bigger risk-taker ... [and] has less self-concern and self-consciousness" (1970:44). The idea is that the person must have an 'open' mind and allow potential change to enter so that a new "totality can be reintegrated" (1970:47). This is not a search for chaos and nihilism but a search for a higher meaning; a process of trying to fully comprehend the other by allowing the values, the meanings of the other to enter, to be fully understood. Cruisers suspend their previous structures not out of nihilistic impulses but in a search for, to them, something more important, something with a higher order of values - autonomy, intensity, and nature's risks.

Outsiders looking at small boat ocean sailing can see a risk, but they see the risk in terms of physical danger and maybe even death. Cruisers recognise these physical dangers but see them as largely within their competence to meet. Of course, it is hard to imagine psychologically healthy individuals continually putting themselves in situations for which they felt incompetent. The reality is that cruisers see the physical risks in ocean sailing as largely manageable and within their competence and control. In fact, many see driving a
car as more risky, largely because of risks outside their control and for which they cannot prepare. On the other hand, the non-physical risks may be more important in cruising, the risk of not being able to cope with the vacuum, not being able to 'get on with' yourself when the outward identities of contemporary urban society are removed. There are risks in cruising to do with personal identity, status (or lack thereof), finances, and sociability in a transient community, but taking these and the physical risks is part of the cruiser's movement through this cyclical model.

Consistent with the model, cruisers do not avoid the risk of personal suspension involved in extreme patriotism or unflinching loyalty to a group. As has been shown, the average cruiser is not patriotic or nationalistic is not a joiner and appears to be neither status conscious nor elitist. Status in cruising comes from the ability to hold the boat and the lifestyle together. It is also difficult to sustain elitist attitudes and behaviour not only because few signs are available but also because all income and status levels share the same anchorage and may depend on each other to survive in emergency situations. Such interdependence and proximity make elitist behaviour inappropriate.

Cruisers, then, move outside their known environment, physically and socially, and must suspend judgement of and risk themselves in new environments. These risks are physical and psycho-social.

**SEGMENT f: "BRIDGING THE DISTANCE TO OTHER(S)"**

At this point in the cycle the person has taken a risk in trying to make significant contact with another, a distant other. The social vacuum that leads the cruiser to come face-to-face with the self also determines that such a vacuum can only be overcome in the process of trying to reach out to some (significant) other. The risk, of course, is that there may be an apathetic or hostile response, a non-confirming response. As in the t-group situation, the cruiser must reach out and try to bridge the distances, be they economic, lifestyle, cultural, religious, or language differences. Having left their home country
cruisers must interact with 'distant' groups and individuals. To begin with everybody is a stranger, especially the locals. While there is undoubtedly a degree of ethnocentrism inherent in all people, the nature of cruising means that an ethnocentric approach to life would be a practical disadvantage. Likewise with Hampden-Turner's concept - ethnocentrism would be a characteristic of an anomic person rather than a radical person. In the sense that cruisers lack a strong sense of nationalism and interact with other cultures they attempt to bridge the distance to foreign cultures. Cruisers have a wide range of contacts with strangers, including harbour authorities, locals generally, local sailors, local shopkeepers, other cruisers, and potential crew. This is in contrast to anomic people who try to reduce the distances they have to bridge to easy ones. They will accept and support groups who agree with them so that their "interaction is safe, structured and predictable" (Hampden-Turner 1970:251). Cruisers, on the other hand, do not have that option.

Again, it is worth mentioning the other crew on a yacht. Especially when casual crew are used the cruiser will tend to reach out to the other simply to manage the yacht throughout the passage. Of course, the immediate exit of casual crew at the first port of call may indicate that such a bridging did not occur. The important point here, however, is that the situation almost forces such a reaching out.

It could be argued that the congregating of yachts in certain harbours suggests that cruisers avoid bridging the wider distances. The fact that harbours exist in major centers means that cruisers are less likely to meet and interact with significantly different people. The counter to this is two fold. Firstly, most cruisers will know few if any of the people in any given anchorage and no locals; hence they will have to interact with strangers, to bridge a distance. Secondly, few cruisers stay more than a small portion of a given year in major congregation spots and if they do the chances are that it is in more than one such harbour, thereby necessitating interacting with strangers and a strange place. Inherent in the lifestyle, then, is the need to reach out to strangers, to bridge the distance to other people, other cultures, and other ways of life.
"A self-confirming, self-transcending impact upon the other(s) is sought."

According to the Hampden-Turner model, seeking to have an impact on others is a process of extending one's self and being able to fulfill one's potentiality in the process. It involves transcending the self, that is, being able to successfully reach out to another and have a mutually enhancing impact. There is a direct, mutual, and present sharing rather than a possessing.

It initially seems difficult to see how cruisers have such a self-transcending impact on others; that is, it is hard to see evidence of such an impact in the data. However, given the importance of cruising and cruisers in the fantasy life of people outside cruising, that is, cruisers' role as social 'heroes', it can be surmised that cruising and the cruising people themselves, will have a significant self-transcending impact on others. The very act of cruising will transcend the actor in its significance because it serves as a role model for other people, it serves to put other people face-to-face with decisions in their lives, to question their own way of life.

The other aspect of this segment of the cycle is the notion that the radical person seeks a way of living that is self-confirming. It would appear that the cruising life is self-confirming and that the process of becoming a long-term cruiser is likely to have a considerable impact on the self. Let me discuss some aspects of how this so.

In an earlier segment of the model it was suggested that the natural environment, that is, nature, can be seen as a central aspect of the cruising situation. Nature is a stranger and a hostile one to most people in contemporary urban society and the process of going cruising then involves reaching out to a 'stranger'. This is especially true for urbanites who tend to have little contact with nature in its unaltered state. There is no reason to assume that engaging nature and risking oneself in nature is any less self-confirming than is any other risk. It can be suggested, then, that one of the important aspects of cruising is this engagement of nature, its forces and rhythms; it is self-transcending to be so fully emersed in nature (as for example on an
ocean passage) and the experience is likely to be self-confirming.⁸

Hampden-Turner also suggests that evidence for this segment of the cycle is to be found in "a high capacity for frustration and deprivation" (1970: 54). Ocean passage-making and boat maintenance are two aspects of the lifestyle that can be highly frustrating because cruisers encounter problems such as calms and lack of spare parts. It is also clear that by most western urban dwellers' definition, most cruisers live a deprived life in terms of material possessions and creature comforts. Certainly, ocean cruising can be such that the crew are deprived of the comforts of life ashore for weeks at a time - wetness, cold, and sometimes boring menus are a form of deprivation. The cruising lifestyle means giving up all the taken-for-granted comforts of urban living - relatively large homes, ready access to a car, hot and cold running water, ample electricity at the flick of a switch, supermarket shopping close at hand, and so on. Cruisers have none of these.

Cruisers appear to pursue their own goals - what they set out to do is not a goal that society suggests people seek; it is something from within the individual. At the same time, then, it is a form of rebellion against society's goals and reaching, or even seeking, it could lead to self-fulfillment. It appears that the model sees such rebellion and goal setting as affirmative in relation to self-actualisation, to this segment of the cycle (Hampden-Turner 1970: 253).

To put this another way, the process of setting one's own goals is a form of rebellion and the process of attempting to reach those goals will be, in and of itself, a fulfilling and self-confirming process. Put yet another way, whereas the anomic person sets out to achieve goals sanctioned by 'responsible authorities', the radical person sets out to achieve self-defined goals.

It is, therefore, not difficult to see that cruisers serve as folk heroes and have a self-transcending impact on other people. To the extent that cruisers form a role model for others they are likely to have an impact on how others live and in a sense, then, their self-

⁸ The experience of passage making is explored in Chapters 5 and 9.
confirmatory behaviour also transcends the self. It transcends the self to the degree someone else uses the role model and they then act in ways consistent with this process. At the same time, the process of stepping outside the taken-for-granted society will be a self-confirming process.

SEGMENT h: "THROUGH A DIALECTIC, ACHIEVE A HIGHER SYNERGY."

Hampden-Turner believes that we can never 'know' fully without a dialectic because without the dialectic one must judge from a distance and can only know in general. "The unique situation is discoverable only after we have leapt the distance to the other, clashed in dialectic, and then engaged [the other]" (1970:55; his emphasis). Clearly, the dialectic is an important part of the total cycle of psycho-social development.

It does not seem inconsistent to conceive of this dialectic occurring on a number of levels. There is little doubt that such a dialectic with another person fits within Hampden-Turner's conception but it is more problematic to suggest that such a dialectic can occur with a lifestyle, with a place and a process of living. But, it is the latter that is worth exploring in relation to cruisers. While the process of making significant contact with strangers of one's own and other cultures takes place in cruising and a dialectic is therefore likely and synergistic, it is the cruising lifestyle itself which may provide the most important and significant dialectic.

People leaving the safety and predictability of their homes and embarking on ocean voyages in small boats with limited finance and untested skills are engaging in an interactive process with a lifestyle. They are attempting to develop a synergistic effect in their own lives by this interaction. Cruisers engage in a dialectic with a variety of circumstances in the lifestyle, the most important of which is arguably nature and its two most dominant aspects, the sea and the weather. People in modern societies do not know nature, they seldom if ever engage nature in its untrammeled form - the human presence is almost everywhere. Cruising is one lifestyle which contains an activity of central importance to that lifestyle, one that puts the individual in
the midst of nature. The middle of the ocean is one of the very few places on this earth where one can be dominated by and/or at one with nature's forces and where one can expect to see no other sign of human activity. It is at these times and in these places that the cruiser is emersed in a dialectic with nature; the cruiser must learn to understand nature, to deal with nature's forces, to be at home in the 'arms' of nature, to interact with changes in the day, changes in the wave patterns, changes in the wind. No one can learn such things simply from a book, nor from on shore. A dialectic with the forces of nature is required to know them, to understand them, and to live with them in a synergistic fashion.

Nature is just one aspect of the lifestyle that must be engaged by the new (and the not so new) cruiser. The ideology of the sub-culture that permeates the cruising lifestyle must also be approached in a dialectical fashion if the individual is to develop synergistically into it. The model in Chapter 7, A Subculture, proposed a process whereby the potential cruiser moves from being an observer of the lifestyle (e.g. through books) to being in and experiencing the lifestyle. That experience cannot be gained from a distance. The dialectic is the process of experiencing the different aspects of the lifestyle and in learning the values, attitudes and skills needed to survive in it. That is, the dialectic becomes a process of sharing the ideology of the lifestyle. You must have 'been there' to know it.

Other aspects of cruising can be seen as consistent with this segment of the model. The mutual assistance and cooperativeness characteristic of cruising, the constant contact with foreign cultures and because cruisers are giving vent to an authentic expression of their dreams, goals, and values by going cruising can all be seen as part of the dialectical process of creating synergy.

The most important aspect here, though, is the 'hands-on' nature of the lifestyle, is the fact that cruising engages the person physically, intellectually and emotionally. At the same time, it provides a dialectical process with nature and artificial physical objects which integrates the intellect and the physical body, avoiding what might otherwise be the emptiness of an almost 'spectator-like' existence. It is the fundamental difference involved in the distinction between
watching a game and playing a game, between watching a sunset on television and being on a west-facing ocean beach at sunset. When cruising, people are interacting with nature, with other cultures, and with their own emergent selves — which is a dialectical process.

**SEGMENT i: “EACH WILL ATTEMPT TO INTEGRATE THE FEEDBACK FROM THIS PROCESS INTO MENTAL MATRICES OF DEVELOPING COMPLEXITY.”**

The Hampden-Turner cycle ends at this point — but starts again. The processes of reaching out, of risking, of engaging in a dialectic all generate feedback which somehow must be integrated by the person if that person is to 'grow'. The essential nature of the model is that people are not static, they are not unchanging, and they are complex. This segment of the cycle accounts for the process of integrating the learning (feedback) into an increasingly complex person. The model suggests that part of this process is an attempt to supply the missing elements in life, to obtain a 'better'life. Of course, concepts such as self-confirming, self-transcending and self-actualisation are consistent with this notion.

There can be little doubt given the data reported earlier that cruisers seek new elements in their lives, elements that are missing within contemporary urban society. By risking their security and reaching out to an alien lifestyle they try to develop a synergy that 'completes' their life or self; they try to gain knowledge that helps them to develop as complex human beings.

On one level, cruisers can avoid the close personal contact and interaction with others — they simply up anchor and sail away. However, they cannot so easily move away from the all-pervading influence of nature; they cannot so easily avoid contact with foreign cultures and strange places; they cannot so easily avoid the self at sea. It may take a new cruiser a year to decide that the lifestyle is not satisfactory but it may take another year, or longer, to be able to sail home as winds and currents and the seasons dictate movement. This cruiser cannot, therefore, so easily move away from the cruising lifestyle and the chances are thereby increased that some aspects of the
lifestyle will be integrated into that person's being.\textsuperscript{9}

On a purely physical and inanimate level, cruisers get feedback from, for example, their yacht. The feedback comes in a physical form — in navigational position, in broken gear, in leaks; and if that information (feedback) is not heeded the chances are the yacht will end up on a reef or sink. The type of feedback is direct and the consequences immediate. The feedback loop is tighter and more obvious than in the characteristically anonymous mass situation of modern society. In addition, the cruiser must integrate the feedback to survive. Consistent with this, Hampden-Turner's point that the person must be able to "tolerate new information" (1970:167) is important. The cruiser must notice and tolerate new, and sometimes unpalatable, information in order to survive.\textsuperscript{10}

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The underlying philosophy of Hampden-Turner's model of psychosocial development is a philosophy shared by cruisers — they see themselves as free and as capable of making life-enhancing choices. Placing cruisers in the context of this model has shown another aspect of the shared world view of cruisers, a sharing of a fundamental approach to life and way of developing a lifestyle suited to that shared philosophy. This 'lens' has shown that, as individuals, cruisers have been prepared to place themselves in situations of physical and mental risk in order to enhance the quality of their lives. Specifically, cruisers act on their own perception of personal freedom. They do not 'hide' from knowledge and opinion but rather they seek to change their

\textsuperscript{9} Some do, of course, fly home and either dispose of the boat or have it delivered back home.

\textsuperscript{10} The truth of this was demonstrated in Cabo St Lucas, Mexico, in 1983 when the cruising fleet failed to take notice of the drastic change in the weather. Some 17 boats were lost when gale force winds drove them onto the beach. All the signs were present in advance but required effort to be noticed. Too many boats failed to move and those inadequately anchored were driven ashore, often wrecking other boats in the process (Pardey, Lin 1983:62).
life space and lifestyle in ways that will enhance their identity and sense of competence. The risks they take in this process of reaching out often involve physical danger and an interaction with the unknown, both human and non-human (i.e., nature). When integrated, these processes are potentially part of a cruiser's identity and sense of fulfillment, part of the enjoyment of life.

Using Hampden-Turner's model, then, has helped in an understanding of the shared ideology and has, on one level, shown why cruising is enjoyable. It is the task of the next chapter, however, to explore this concept, the experience of enjoyment, at a deeper level. It will do so with particular attention to the shared reliance on intrinsic reward and the role of the physical and natural environment in this process.
CHAPTER 9

PEOPLE OF FLOW

Cruising has been portrayed as a subculture and cruisers, therefore, are seen as sharing an ideology, one that includes skills and attitudes as well as a philosophy and set of aspirations. Chapter 8 has just illustrated how in their approach to life cruisers share a certain process of psycho-social development. But, the discussion thus far has not considered the nature of another fundamental part of human experience - satisfaction and enjoyment. This chapter will do that.

The aim here is to put the experience of the cruising lifestyle into the theoretical context created by Csikszentmihalyi's (1975) concept of 'flow', "the holistic sensation that people feel when they act with total involvement" (1975:36). The purpose of Csikszentmihalyi's 'flow' model is to study this process of experience with particular attention to the nature of intrinsic reward as an aspect of the creation of the 'flow' experience. The 'flow' model was developed in conjunction with the study of 'activities' which appeared or are 'autotelic'. However, here it will be extrapolated to the study of a 'lifestyle' allowing the people in the cruising lifestyle to be seen as sharing a fundamental orientation to reward, satisfaction, and enjoyment. The use of the 'flow' model and its related concepts in this context is heuristic - the model is a tool and there is no attempt to 'prove' a theory. Rather, the aim is to use the model to further apprehend the meanings found by people in the lifestyle of cruising.

Three concepts used by Csikszentmihalyi are involved in this chapter: flow, autotelos, and activity. Each of these will be discussed in some detail later but brief definitions are appropriate at this point. Flow is seen by Csikszentmihalyi as a state of experience which
is engrossing, intrinsically rewarding, and "outside the parameters of worry and boredom" (1975:38). It is created within activities such as rock climbing, dancing, composition and surgery that provide a combination of elements that allow the flow experience to develop. In addition, one crucial distinction is that the activity and the experience of it are capable of being felt as autotelic, as their own reward, notwithstanding that other rewards may be present.¹

The first tasks in this chapter are to show that the lifestyle of cruising is 'autotelic' and then to explore the lifestyle—activity issue. The 'flow' model can then be used to shed light on the nature of the cruising lifestyle. Data reported in Chapter 5 from the '8 Reasons' ranking questionnaire are reintroduced here in relation to the concept of autotelos and in relation to the dual issues of skills and control. The major portion of the chapter will be devoted to a step-by-step exploration of the flow model making extensive use of quotations from the interviews and the cruising literature.

I. AUTOTELOS

Since the 'flow' model was developed to explain why people engage in activities which apparently are extrinsically unrewarded, the concept 'autotelos' is important. Autotelic rewards are rewards intrinsic to the activity or pursuit. Csikszentmihalyi suggests, from his and others' research, that intrinsic rewards result when a pursuit is freely engaged in, when there is a sense of control, and when "a person's physical, sensory, or intellectual skills" are involved (1975:25). There is also "the underlying assumption that all such activities [read pursuits] are ways for people to test the limits of their being, to transcend their former conception of self by extending skills and undergoing new experiences" (Csikszentmihalyi 1975:26).²

¹ Csikszentmihalyi uses only the adjectival form, autotelic, but such usage is too restrictive in this context. Hence the use of 'autotelos'.

² Csikszentmihalyi cites Caillouls (1958) for background to this discussion.
Csikszentmihalyi assumed that the meanings attached to such activities could not be fully understood simply by identifying, categorising, and analysing their objective characteristics; rather it was also necessary to apprehend the subject's experience of the situation, to understand the complexity of goals and abilities and the subjective evaluation of the situation in order to understand why the activity was enjoyable. Out of his use of such an holistic approach developed the flow model discussed below.

What is the link between autotelos and the cruising lifestyle? An autotelic activity refers to a situation that carries no or few extrinsic rewards and certainly no or few material rewards, while still attracting participants who devote time, energy, and/or money to that pursuit. The noun 'activity' which modifies 'autotelic' will now be dropped because of the need to move beyond the episodic nature of the concept of an 'activity' so as to embrace the wider concept of a lifestyle. The aim is to show that if an activity can be autotelic so too can the meta-episodic pursuit which here is called a lifestyle. 3

Given this orientation, the lifestyle of cruising is definitely autotelic. Extrinsic rewards such as income and public acclaim are largely absent. Income is not derived from cruising but is peripherally sought to pay for it. A few writers do earn enough to support

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3 For this discussion the concept of 'lifestyle' is meant to represent the totality of activities, events, objects, attitudes, and so forth that make up a person's way of living. It is recognised that the pattern involved in the combination of these components will not be static and neither will it be quantifiable. At the same time, the experience of that lifestyle will transcend the discreet activities. It is also clear that cruising is not simply 'play' or a 'game' in the sense that Cailllos (1958:8-12) defines the concept (he uses the terms synonymously). While aspects of his definition of play are relevant here (i.e. free, separate, uncertain and unproductive) others are not (i.e. suspension of ordinary laws and make-believe) suggesting that cruising does not fit within the category 'game'. Cailllos proposes four classification rubrics for games: competition, chance, simulation, and vertigo. Cruising, while containing elements of vertigo and chance, can not easily be subsumed into any of these four rubrics. So, while there may be elements of play in cruising (as in any lifestyle?) it can not be seen as simply a game; it transcends the separateness that being a 'game' or 'play' would suggest. This does not rule out the possibility of autotelic rewards, of course.
themselves but there are few, if any, who actually cruise in order to make money. None of those interviewed cruised for this reason. Cruising involves sensory, physical, and intellectual skills while, at the same time, autonomy, or the feeling of being in control, is central to the lifestyle. It is, therefore, intrinsically rewarding.

Further support for this contention that the cruising lifestyle is autotelic comes from Csikszentmihalyi's last point: "the most basic requirement is to provide a clear set of challenges" (1975:30). The relevant challenge here is that of "the unknown, which leads to discovery, exploration, problem solution ..." (1975:30). The nature of the cruising lifestyle has been explored extensively in previous chapters and it is clear that cruisers find taking a small boat to sea and to foreign lands for extended periods of time a challenge. The process is intellectually, emotionally, and physically challenging; it requires constant problem solving; it is freely engaged in; there is a sense of personal control; and there are no extrinsic rewards of consequence. It follows, then, that as the lifestyle has the qualities which contribute to intrinsic reward-giving experiences and as there are no obvious extrinsic rewards, people must engage in the lifestyle because of the lifestyle itself, because of the intrinsic rewards it provides; it must be an autotelic lifestyle.

Quantitative support for the conclusion just drawn is found in the results from the '8 Reasons' ranking questionnaire which was reported in Chapter 5. The data in Table 9.1 and Graph 9.1 show that cruisers see the lifestyle as autotelic. Their autotelic score was higher than any of the subjects in Csikszentmihalyi's study and clearly differentiated them from the two 'racing groups. Table 9.1 also shows that cruisers desire satisfaction (ie. rewards) from things intrinsic to the lifestyle: the life pattern, the world it provides, the use of skills, and the development of skills. It should be remembered that respondents ranked these 8 items in relation to the whole of cruising, not one specific activity or group of activities - that is, they ranked the 8 items in relation to a lifestyle.

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4 The data in this table and graph were first used in Chapter 5 and displayed as Table 5.1.
Table 9.1
Rankings Given to the Eight Reasons for Enjoying an Activity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>GIMBtal</th>
<th>SHEAR</th>
<th>LOMB</th>
<th>Candescenthalas**</th>
<th>GIMBtal</th>
<th>COMPASS</th>
<th>BASKETBALL PLAYOFFS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The activity itself, the pattern, the world it pertains to</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Enjoyment of the experience and use of skills</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Development of personal skills</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Friendship and companionship</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Measuring self against own ideals</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Emotional release</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Competition, measuring self against others</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Prestige, regard, glamour</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autotelic Score</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The numbers in brackets are the rank order for that column
** (1976:123)

Note: This Table was presented previously as Table 5.1
Graph 9.1

Rankings Given to the Eight Reasons

For Enjoying an Activity
The use of the '8 Reasons' in cruising has shown that the concept of autotelos can be extended to apply to a lifestyle as well as to an activity. However, the autotelic concept is only part of the 'flow' model and it now remains to defend the use of Csikszentmihalyi's activity-based model in a lifestyle setting before going on to apply the model.

II. ACTIVITY AND LIFESTYLE

It has just been shown that one aspect of the 'flow' model, its autotelic nature, as easily applies to a lifestyle as to episodes within that lifestyle. As the autotelic concept is central to the model it lends significant support to the notion of applying the model to a lifestyle. However, what is also crucial to such an application is the dual process of, first, saying that activity-based experiences can be seen as contributing to the lifestyle experience and, second, that while, on one level, a lifestyle is simply made up of the sum of its parts, on another, it transcends that sum to be something over and above its parts (i.e. its constituent episodes and/or activities).

To take the second point first, it is fair to say that cruisers do have a meta-episodic view of their life. They talk in terms of 'cruising' as a whole way of life and as if it is a way of life that one "grows into". Also, it is obvious that all the discreet activites of cruising\(^5\) can be engaged in by non-cruisers and so there must be something beyond the activites or episodes which makes cruising an 'object' able to be labelled as a lifestyle.

In a sense, too, the 'flow' experience that Csikszentmihalyi has identified is meta-episodic, the experience goes beyond and is more than simply the activity. This is so because it is a unifying holistic experience of the self-in-the-universe that is encompassed by the 'flow' experience.

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\(^5\) For example, passages, provisioning, clearing customs on the way in and out of a foreign port, etc.
Wind, sea, boat, and sails, a compact, diffuse whole, without beginning or end, a part and all of the universe ... my own universe, truly mine. (Moitessier 1971:4)

It is something purely subjective which transcends the physical objectivity of the experience.

The difficulty in specifying and quantifying - or, at least, objectifying - the experience is acknowledged by Csikszentmihalyi (1976) in response to Barnett (1976). He emphasized that we are dealing here with a subjective experience and we can only know about the experience through what people tell us. If we are to get beyond the restrictions placed on psychology by the so-called scientific need to have 'objective' evidence we must be prepared to utilise subjective evidence. Csikszentmihalyi asserts that for some purposes we have to accept that if people report something as existing for them then that reporting, whether it is implicit or explicit, must be taken at face value.

By way of example, we can usually see 'objectively' if extrinsic rewards are present but we can not see intrinsic rewards in the same way. We must accept participant assertions and/or interpret events in order to have some data with which to work. We can then try various forms of conceptualisation as means of organising and, hopefully, coming to some understanding of the meanings attached by participants to their situation. Csikszentmihalyi was concerned with the meanings attached to the experience gained in certain activities and the 'flow' model resulted from that study. The cruising study, however, uses his model at a meta-episodic level relying on the self-reported meanings of the participants on this broader level.

It has been shown that the concept of autotelos applies at either an activity or a lifestyle level. As the activities in a lifestyle contribute to the nature of a lifestyle it is relevant to also observe and utilize activities in a lifestyle analysis. This suggests that the flow model can be illustrated with examples from activities or episodes as well as from the lifestyle level of conceptualisation.

One further point helps confirm that a lifestyle is not conceptually different in this context from an activity. The studies of 'flow' involving activities do not suggest that the person is in 'flow'
throughout the duration of the activity. Rather, over the period of hours (or days) encompassing an activity such as rock climbing or composing a piece of music, the person will fluctuate through a variety of levels of flow and non-flow experience. That this fluctuating occurs in an activity lends support to the assertion that an activity-based model can be conceptually applicable at a lifestyle level of analysis.

The lifestyle of cruising is the focal point of study here and it is amenable to conceptualisation by the flow concept. Activities within the lifestyle contribute to the sense of the lifestyle and, therefore, 'cruising' can be analysed by the flow concept. The lifestyle is autotelic, it provides a challenge, it allows a sense of control, and it uses a wider range of skills; therefore, it is conceptually compatible with the potential for enjoyment and hence, with the concept of flow.

III. THE FLOW MODEL APPLIED

Most people see sailing as a leisure activity - a peripheral part of life, something to be squeezed into the spaces of so-called 'free-time' between work and sleep. For a few people, however, sailing and the activities surrounding it constitute their whole life, a life of hardship and insecurity counterbalanced by powerful intrinsic rewards. This is cruising.

To the dreamers and outsiders, cruising is a romantic life of ease and beauty on tropical islands, with luscious jungle fruits waiting to be picked by the vagabond sailor. To others, often ocean sailors outside cruising, it is a boring life with lack of stimulus, few modern aids to living, lack of security, and too much time spent wet and cold on the open sea. From my research, however, a more complex picture emerges because it is all of the above, and more. At its best, cruising is a life with freedom and constant challenges, a life where results follow efforts and where one is confirmed existentially simply by surviving. Life is dominated by the ultimate logic of nature where each element of existence flows and merges with each other element. There is an holistic and total involvement with the processes of living and
being, especially while at sea on extended passages.

Csikszentmihalyi's flow model contains six elements: (1) the merging of action and awareness; (2) a centering of attention on a limited stimulus field; (3) a loss of ego; (4) control of actions and environment; (5) coherent demands for action and clear feedback; and (6) an autotelic nature. It is these six elements that Csikszentmihalyi sees as distinguishing such experiences or activities from other aspects of life. Therefore, I apply these six elements to the lifestyle of cruising, at both the activity and meta-episodic level. Much of the evidence used is related to specific experiences, it is true, but they are experiences that are not peripheral but central to the total lifestyle of my subjects. The evidence is drawn from three sources (1) books and articles about cruising and blue water sailing; (2) my own experience and observation as a participant observer; and (3) my interviews with 59 cruisers who have a total of some 295 years of cruising experience.

1. The Merging of Action and Awareness

Ocean passages are an 'activity' providing a totality of experiences that fit the elements of flow in many ways. Of course, since ocean sailing is so encompassing an activity and so variable, it does not always involve the merging of action and awareness. However, while there are times when self consciousness is made more acute, there are also times when one is lost within the experience.

So one forgets oneself, one forgets everything, seeing only the play of the boat with the sea, the play of the sea around the boat, leaving aside everything not essential to that game in the immediate present. (Moitessier 1971:52)

The most common and almost inevitable time that action and awareness merge is in bad conditions at night when the person must sit at the helm for hours at a time and maintain the boat safely on course in the midst of high winds and rough seas. In this case there is often a total loss of self consciousness in performing, in keeping the boat safely on course. In fact, you can become so engrossed that hours later you
emerge from a cocoon of consciousness to be relieved by another, wondering where the night went. The self has been absorbed by the sea as ink by a blotter and the night and the action of controlling the boat have merged with awareness to the point where there is nothing but the compass light and your hand on the tiller. The activity is all demanding. The Moitessier quotation above fits the example perfectly even though his experience took place in fine weather.

This merging of action and awareness is a difficult concept to translate from an episodic level to a lifestyle level because it embraces a loss of the duality of action and awareness; it involves a kind of 'thoughtless concentration' possibly similar to a meditative state. It would seem that one way to translate this element of flow is in relation to the integration of activities within the lifestyle, integration in the sense of the lifestyle not being segmented in the way the work-leisure dichotomy seems to segment life in modern society. The lack of this type of duality means the 'action' of activities or segments is not separated in the awareness of the lifestyle. There can be a kind of unity between the various aspects of the lifestyle which appears to be typically lacking in modern society where the work-leisure split is so complete. This is in part facilitated because the income-earning activities we call 'work' are not dominant in most cruisers' lives. The task of earning income is usually restricted to a concentrated period of a few months each year. In addition, the concept of a career or occupation is irrelevant in relation to work in the cruising context. These two facts mean that income earning activities do not form the focus of life and so do not contribute to the work-leisure dichotomy or to a sense of multiple and possibly incompatible roles. In a sense, then, there is a merging of activities so that they need not be, or are not, consciously split from the totality of the lifestyle.

2. A Centering of Attention on a Limited Stimulus Field

The compass light and tiller provide a focus, a centering of attention that facilitates the merging of awareness and action. It is an activity of intense concentration, something needed to keep the boat safe in difficult and dangerous conditions. This centering of attention
can only be momentarily relaxed in order to take in the powerful beauty of the surroundings.

But, there is another level of the centering of attention.

My uncluttered life was indeed sweet, and it seemed - as it always does - that the simplest pleasures were best. Not only is the sea unspoiled and without artificiality, there is a primeval quality, a purity surrounding its environment. Maybe you appreciate the sea because when you are lost upon its vastness your life is not jammed up with trivia, the meaningless detail, and the foolish stuff of civilization. (Roth 1972:100)

This is a level of centering that is exemplified by long passages but which occurs throughout the whole life space. It is the process whereby the issues and concerns of land-based urban living lose their significance, they are dropped from conscious consideration, they no longer matter. While engaged in the fieldwork I found it hard to bring my attention to 'back-home' social issues that I cared very much about while there and my focus became much more localised, much more on the activities on and around the boat at sea.

But no matter how many little discomforts there may be at sea, one's real cares and worries seem to drop out of sight as the land slips behind the horizon. Once we were at sea there was no point in worrying, there was nothing we could do about our problems till we reached the next port, and there anything might happen - and usually did. Life was, for a while, stripped of its artificialities; rationing and devaluation and nationalisation seemed quite unimportant compared with the state of the wind and the sea and the length of the day's run. (Crealock 1951:99-100)

Of course, there is more to the limiting of the stimulus field, per se, than simply being out of a city or on an ocean. It takes time and a state of mind for one to get close enough to the sea. One of my interviewees (020) finds a four week passage the ideal length for him. He sails alone in a 22' yacht and had done so from Germany when I met him in Tonga. He recounted that it takes a week for the previous port to clear from his consciousness; then about two weeks of nothing to
consider but the sea; four weeks is necessary length from landfall to landfall because about a week before his next landfall he finds his mind beginning to dwell on the land-to-be, considering the problems of navigation, officials, provisioning, and so on.

I do not like short passages as I don't get into the rhythm or used to the confinement quickly. (020)

There were other expressions in the interviews that pointed to the limited stimulus field as a positive benefit of cruising in general and passages specifically.

It is also true that the spartan existence gives you contrasts so that showers, fresh food, walking a path, riding in a car become exciting events. Being in this life sharpens the experience of these things. You appreciate a minor miracle. (032)

Pirsig, as a participant observer and philosopher, identified similar factors. When he moved from motorcycles to an ocean sailing yacht, he moved into a new space. Pirsig writes of the sea:

Modern civilisation has found radio, TV, movies, nightclubs and a huge variety of mechanized entertainment to titilate our senses and help us escape from the apparent boredom of the earth and the sun and wind and stars. Sailing returns to these ancient realities. (1977:67)

His implication is clear: by cutting down external stimuli, especially artificial ones, we return ourselves to the more limited but less limiting stimuli of nature. And that narrowed stimulus field has a rhythm which is more natural to our bodies and congruent with our sensibilities.

While the interviewees don't always isolate the concept of a limited stimulus field they do clearly identify the factors of nature that lead to such an effect:

We enjoy the life in places like Suvarov as we like the wildlife and the ability to catch food, to
subsist in isolation. We fish each day, dig a well, collect coconuts, go reef walking to see shells and birds, photograph birds - just live. Our life is to appreciate the world of nature around us and to keep the home/boat together. (016/017).

What we see, then, is a limiting of the stimulus field at two levels in cruising. Passage-making, as one part of the lifestyle is also much more than a mere activity, partly because it is so multi-faceted and partly because it usually involves longer periods of time than we would normally associate with an activity. Passages clearly foster and contribute to a focussed consciousness, that is, there is a centering of attention on and in a limited stimulus area. Concommitantly, the lifestyle as a totality is seen as less complex than modern society because of a variety of factors. Not the least of these is that living on a small yacht generally means a simpler life in terms of possessions - especially clothes and consumer durables. While an ocean sailing yacht is a major and complex item its possession and use is so integral that it becomes not an external irritant but a major part of the effort and reward system. I would argue that if the boat becomes a major 'problem' or irritant as an 'external' item the cruiser is likely to leave cruising. One interviewee (013) expressed a feeling of being trapped by the boat and was overpowered by the realisation that everything he owned was tied up in the boat which could be lost at any time. After three and a half years he was heading back to his home port in order to set up a land base.

Cruising can be seen as limiting the stimulus field at both a micro and a macro level. At the micro level, specific activities require and develop a focus while at a macro level the lifestyle is less cluttered and fragmented.

3. Loss of Ego

"Besides, I'm not alone". Lean-faced, deeply tanned, sitting in his parents' old-fashioned living room, Gau's button eyes unnerved the reporter by their lucidity and depth. "Frankly, I consider Atom as a living being, intelligent, sensitive. When the wind blows, this assembly of wood, metal, and canvas
becomes a living thing to me. With all her whims, defects, and qualities, Atom does her job and I do mine. I love her as a - a good servant, as a man loves an animal, or a car. Let's just say that we're friends. OK?" Gau was smiling. (Tazelaar and Bussiere 1977:59)

The first two elements whereby an activity fosters a merging of action and awareness with a centering of attention on a limited stimulus field lead inevitably to a loss of the ego construct, a loss of awareness of the "I" as actor. This is clearly the case in some of the situations mentioned above as the sailor merges with the sea and its life. However, I've chosen to apply this loss of ego more broadly because of the lifestyle orientation of cruising and will look at it on three levels: (a) the union of the sailor with the yacht; (b) the merging of the sailor with the forces of the sea; and (c) the loss of status ranking of profession, wealth, and social class.

(a) Literary references to the union of the sailor with the yacht go back to the earliest of modern day cruisers, Joshua Slocum. In his book, he always personifies his yacht, the *Spray*, and often talks to 'her' in the first person.

Almost aboard that last breaker! But you'll go by, *Spray*, old girl! 'Tis abaft now! One surge more! And oh, one more like that will clear your ribs and keel! (Slocum 1900a:499)

Michael Mermod, who sailed his yacht most of the way around the world, only to have her put in a museum in Switzerland, clearly lost part of himself when the voyage came to an end:

Before going back, I take a last look at *Geneve*. From now on we shall never be alone together, she and I, in the marvellous shared intimacy of joys and sorrows, memories and hopes ... no one can take these memories from us. (1968:293)

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6 Jean Gau is a well known cruiser who had circumnavigated twice, crossed the Atlantic ocean eleven times and was in his 70's at the time of this interview.
The experience has been so great, so profound, that boat and man merge, often to the point where the man recognizes that the boat is in control, is dominant. As Moitessier says: "People who do not know that a sailboat is a living creature will never understand anything about boats and the sea" (1971:4).

(b) The merging of the sailor with the sea that happens in extreme conditions also occurs in benign situations. Moitessier, for example, talks to sea birds and often has a daily routine with a few who follow him for weeks at a time. In another case, he writes that the dolphins "talked" to him and through their actions showed him that he was on a dangerous course; they communicated that he must turn and when he did follow their instructions they played around the boat for hours - as if to show their joy that he had missed the rocks he was unwittingly sailing toward. Two stayed with him, one on either bow, until he was clear of the danger. Moitessier and the sea were truly one, he did not let his sense of self over-power the sea's message (see Moitessier 1971:101-105).

David Lewis also recognised this merging of self with sea when on a circumnavigation in a catamaran:

You cannot live on the face of the ocean, in intimate association as you must in a small vessel, without it becoming a part of you ... (1967:81).

But, it is not just this sense of being part of the sea and its life that is important in relation to this notion of a loss of ego. There is, under many conditions, simply a transcendence of the 'I' - you are simply not conscious of the self, even physically in some cases.\(^7\) The task requires such concentration and focus and action that the sense of being an actor, the sense of self, is irrelevant and ignored.

\(^7\) For example, minor cuts and bruises will go unnoticed when a task or situation is all encompassing, all engrossing.
(c) To the extent that a reduction in consciousness of social status is a loss of ego, cruising is a lifestyle where the ego plays a lesser role than in modern society. Whereas the ego is continually monitoring our status position in the latter, it is much less active in such a way while cruising. Social status and an ego construct derived from it, have no use in a lifestyle where respect comes from getting yourself and craft across the ocean.

Cruisers are down-to-earth; not usually country clubbish, usually not society conscious; even wealthy ones get this way. (007)

Class and economic distinctions are dissolved by the nearness to the ocean and adventure. Yachts really open up all these contacts with all types of backgrounds and life styles, contacts that are prevented from occurring in normal life by social graces. (006)

Another thing about this life is that you can really make your own choice of friends whereas back in regular life a lot of friends are dictated by your occupational, political, or class situation. (037)

In every country I have seen, a caste system of some sort exists, however much it is denied. Even amongst the most civilised and democratic countries, true equality of opportunity is something that has still to be attained.

The sea and ships are great levellers. There is certainly no room on a small boat for a person who is incompetent or won't pull his weight, whatever his 'caste'. All share the same risks in a storm and no earthly influence will select you above the rest to be saved if the ship founders. (Knox-Johnston 1969:172)

Similarly, the kind of social interaction and the simplicity of life in the cruising context remove many of the social forces to which a western city dweller becomes accustomed.

Free from the pressures of others around us, with no compulsion to wear any sort of social mask, we found that we could think more clearly and find peace in doing so. (Saunders 1975:238)
An aspect of the 'flow' experience, then, is the notion that self-awareness, consciousness of self, is reduced. In the cruising lifestyle this loss of ego can be seen on a number of levels ranging from the personal to the social.

(4) Control of Action and Environment
This element of the flow experience is at the heart of the lifestyle of cruising and of the activity of passage-making. My interviewees stressed again and again that this lifestyle provided them with a control over their own actions that was impossible while living in an urban, industrialised society. There is a whole range of controls that are anathema to cruisers from the least obvious and insidious social controls to the most obvious legal and occupational controls and including the highly bureaucratised operation of industrial societies. Unable to "do anything without the approval of society" (046) cruisers go cruising to try and regain some of that lost control over their personal life processes.

You are trying to get away from normal routine and get personal power from the freedom you build yourself. (006)

Passages are marvellous - detached from the land - totally under your own jurisdiction - you make your own laws. (030)

I was a fighter pilot in WWII and find that sailing and cruising is like that as you are your own determiner, are independent - looking for Germans to shoot down is like looking for dragons, for adventure. In the 9 to 5 rat race you lose choices and identity as you are just a cog in a big wheel of the system; now out here again we have to make our own decisions. (037)

This is further illustrated in a log entry I made myself as we left Pago Pago. Clearing the heads and cresting the first of the ocean swells elicited a cry of joy from the skipper (011):

This is where I gotta be, where only the sea rules - a true anarchist's heaven where there are no human laws and rules, where I can do what I want. (October 22, 1978, enroute Tonga)
The feelings of control and of successful negotiation of an ocean provide direct satisfaction and confidence. Dr. David Lewis, writing of his single-handed sailing voyage to the Antarctic, comments that we can not know our own powers unless we can somehow remove ourselves from a society that does everything for us (1977:19).

In the same book, Ice Bird, Lewis notes a theme that came up in my interviews as well. In this case, his eleven-year-old daughter, veteran of their circumnavigation in the catamaran, responded to a TV interviewer's question about whether she was not worried about her father's safety.

"Vicky and I have spent half our lives at sea in yachts. A storm at sea is safer than crossing roads on land, and Daddy knows what to do". (1977:37)

While her assertion might not have been literally true for her father's imminent voyage to the Antarctic - a fearsome cruising place - cruisers quite clearly believe the sentiments expressed by Lewis' daughter. In the more frequented parts of the world's oceans with proper preparation of the person and the yacht and careful reading of the pilot charts, there is comparatively little risk in taking a small yacht to sea.

One of the best things about ocean voyaging and cruising, as a sport, is its safety record. It's not like skiing, skydiving, gliding, motorcycling, or even bicycling, where your safety lies in someone else's hands, be it the pilot who lifts you off, other skiers on the slope, or motorists on the road. Once you sail out the breakwaters, a good watch will eliminate almost all danger of injury or loss due to other people's negligences. Your own preparations, skill, and care will make you safe. (Pardey and Pardey 1982:149)

The risk, then, is seen more as a challenge, a challenge to your own skill and competence - the risk is seen to be within the realm of personal control. This is in contrast to the kind of 'sport' risks mentioned by Pardey but also to the kinds of risks that individuals face from crime and cars, to name but two, within the everyday life of modern cities. The essence in cruising is control and a feeling of control over the self and the interaction with the environment.
Our lives lay in our hands alone — no one knew where we were — and the independence was a good feeling. I felt exuberant and reassured somehow. I knew that I was in charge of the ship and what we did, but I also had the notion that I was in control of the sea that I could see around me — a foolish idea, I suppose, for it is manifest that the sea knows no master. Yet as long as we paid proper respect to the might of the ocean I felt sure that our tiny ship would be safe. (Roth 1972:8)

As Laurence Le Quay says in his *Sailing Free*:

Any well found yacht of sound construction with an able crew can usually cope with anything the sea can deliver, barring unusual conjunctions like fibreglass and coral, or wood and killer whales. (1975:65)

This sense of control is a very important aspect of the experience of ocean passages specifically and the cruising lifestyle in general. In a sense, cruising is a choice individuals make to remove themselves from an environment where they have little control but face a multitude of external and random risks. The choice places them in an environment where they have, or believe they have, more control and fewer externally generated, random risks. Concomittantly, the external risks associated with modern society are only occasionally encountered and so do not dominate the cruising lifestyle.

5. **Coherent Demands for Action and Clear Feedback**

Cruising is a lifestyle whose essence is inescapably entwined with the forces of nature. As I write this at anchor with the wind howling outside it is driven home to me that cruisers are never divorced from the forces of nature surrounding their floating homes. They are always alert to the ebb and flow of the tides, to the changes in the weather, to the ever changing tapestry of colour that is the progression of the days and nights. Cruisers are always in intimate contact with nature. Cruising is a lifestyle that is and of nature. It is a lifestyle that, because of its integral relationship to nature, makes clear demands for action and provides feedback.
At sea you are all the skills, plumber, electrician, light company; you've got to do it yourself. These tasks are physical and mental and emotional challenges that don't let you atrophy. The challenges on land are governed not by you but by rules and regulations so in cruising you can escape from that and get down to basic life. (032)

The quotation however goes further in embracing another element involved with living close to nature - self-sufficiency. Not only does the closeness to nature bring clear demands for action but so does the cruisers' self-imposed self-sufficiency. The cruiser must rely on his or her own skills to find the way, be it navigating or repairing.8

Navigation is a good example of where a totally non-contradictory demand is made for action and where feedback is both immediate and definite. It is immediate in that a position is marked on a chart; as feedback it is marred only by the doubts of the navigator as to its accuracy. The feedback becomes definite when land is sighted when and where expected. As Hiscock, a contemporary and almost legendary cruiser in his own time, says:

Just as on other occasions I, as navigator, experienced a sense of satisfaction coupled with some astonishment that my observations of the very distant sun from an unsteady platform and the use of some simple tables ... enable a small island to be found with certainty after an ocean crossing. (1968:45)

Others also note the thrill of navigating to a perfect landfall, Moitessier wrote of this when he said:

Each time, I feel the same mixture of astonishment love and pride as this new land is born which seems to have been created for me and by me. (1971:159)

He knew what he had to do and he found out in no uncertain terms that he had done it right. The feedback was satisfying.

A demand for action in the cruising life entailed by the self-imposed self-sufficiency is to be able to fix things, usually by improvisation. A couple of incidents reported by Knox-Johnston in his

8 Self-reliance may be a better word. See Chapter 6. However, note the orientation of the book The Self-Sufficient Sailor (Pardey and Pardey 1982).
single-handed circumnavigation will illustrate the kind of situations that develop, especially while at sea. In the first case he had broken a self-steering rudder and, lacking infinite spares, had to repair it. He reports:

The repairs took me three days. The old rudder blade was hopelessly split, so I made a new one out of one of the teak bunkboards. The bar had broken by the middle of the blade, and to rejoin it I cut the handle of [sic] a pipe wrench and then filed it down until it fitted inside the bar, like an internal splint. (1969:71)

Later he describes how he made a new reefing handle by modifying a bottlescrew:

I cut the bottle part of the screw in half and then heated it on the primus [stove] until it was red hot. Then I hammered it until it cooled and repeated the process until I had the right shape. I had to file out the corners a bit which took time but I ended up with a snug fit. (1969:79)\(^9\)

I have experienced similar occurrences, if not as drastic, and found a supreme satisfaction while at sea in the realisation of my own powers and abilities in relation to the demands for action by the sea. The same concept was noted in various ways by my interviewees, for example:

You must be adaptable and practical - the average cruiser is like the remote farmer, he has what he needs and when something breaks he goes to work to make something to fix it. (037)

This last statement is as true in most anchorages as it is at sea. Lack of tradespeople in many areas and lack of funds means cruisers must improvise and do the jobs themselves. The need is obvious and the result rewarding.

The pride you'll feel as your skills develop can't be easily described. The first time you sail your 6-tonner up to the dock so she stops within a foot of the cleats, the first hatch you build that doesn't leak a drop, the first repair job you successfully complete - each is a triumph that will bring a glow to your life. Eventually this self-sufficiency will grow to be a sport. You'll set new

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\(^9\) A bottlescrew is a turnbuckle, used in tensioning the wires which support the mast.
goals and reach them. Then some day there will be an ultimate test. I am convinced that to every person who goes to sea for long periods of time there comes at least one time self-sufficiency will save his life or his boat. (Pardey 1982:303-4)

Success is immediate and tangible: A sail that has been stitched up by hand at sea, a delicious fish dinner, a good day's run and, eventually, arrival at his destination on the other side of an ocean. Failure also is immediate and tangible: a jibsheet that chafes on the shrouds and parts in a squall, a knot that unties in use, a wet bunk under a leaking hatch, a poor day's run on a good wind because the helmsman steered all over the ocean. (Griffith 1979:259)

What has been shown above is that the lifestyle of cruising is largely governed by a set of rules which are non-contradictory and are clear. The rules of nature - of wind, of sea, of sea bottom - are obvious and impose demands on the cruisers. Likewise, with navigation and boat maintenance it can be seen what is needed and non-compliance (through ignorance or sloth) will give clear results. On a social level, rules are not so immediately obvious and are often contradictory. Customs and immigration rules and various bureaucratic situations come to mind here. Subculture rules also must be learned, but these are small aspects of the cruising life compared with the interaction with nature.

6. An Autotelic Nature

I still remember the landfall on tiny Christmas Island 16 days out of Hawaii. There is no doubting our and my excitement and sense of accomplishment at that arrival. But, there was more for me; the passage was its own reward, an experience valuable in and of itself. The almost extrinsic reward of arrival could not add to that intrinsic value, the passage was autotelic - and part of me wanted it to continue uninterrupted.

Cruising as a lifestyle is itself autotelic, a set of activities for which no external rewards are offered. No one, with the exception of a few publishers and admiring would-be cruisers, offers monetary extrinsic/external rewards to people for cruising. In fact, the reverse is more likely the case as employers and governments will often put up
disincentives. In addition, social pressures from family and friends often mitigate against the new cruiser departing. David Lewis sums up the fundamental reward for an extended cruise when, upon arrival in England after the circumnavigation with his family in a catamaran, says: "but at the end we had the satisfaction of having accomplished what we had set out to do" (1969:280).

But, it is Moitessier who goes that step further in describing the deeper autotelic nature of sailing. He writes comparatively little about his shoreside activities, concentrating on what happens to him at sea, the place where the intense rewards seem to be for him:

All our earth's beauty ... all the havoc we wreak on it. God, how good it is to be here, in no rush to get home. (Moitessier 1971:73)

In the end, he never went "home" to France. Moitessier, was the leading contender in a lucrative 'race' to be the first to sail single-handed non-stop around the world when he crossed his outward path in the Atlantic Ocean. He had completed about two-thirds of the course but instead of continuing north in the Atlantic, he turned his helm for the Cape of Good Hope – a second time – because:

I really felt sick at the thought of getting back to Europe, back to the snakepit. ... Sure, there were good, sensible reasons [for going back]. But does it make sense to head for a place knowing you will have to leave your peace behind? (Moitessier 1971:164)

The 'sensible' reason was an extrinsic reward provided by the English Sunday Times. But, not only did he believe ocean sailing to be an autotelic experience but also that the existence of an extrinsic and material reward could impair the autotelic nature of his sailing.

This point was also made by Csikszentmihalyi (1975:22) in noting that there was extrinsic reward involved in some of the activities he studied. He refers to others to support the notion that extrinsic rewards can be detrimental to intrinsic satisfaction but asserts that his own research shows extrinsic and intrinsic rewards need not be in conflict. But, Moitessier saw the extrinsic rewards as a risk, especially in conjunction with other negative aspects of European society.

Trying to reach Tahiti nonstop is risky, I know. But the risk would be much greater to the north.
The closer I got, the more disgusted I would be.
I am really fed up with false gods, always
lying in wait, spider like, eating our liver,
sucking our marrow. I charge the modern world —
that's the Monster. It is destroying our earth, and
trampling the soul of man. (1971:164)

The experience of the sea is an intrinsic experience, one that is
difficult to communicate in any material fashion; it cannot be handed to
someone, or so Moitessier believes.

I can only give them my first log, with birds, sea,
daily sights and little everyday problems. My real
log is written in the sea and sky; it can't be
photographed and given to others. It has gradually
come to life out of all that has surrounded us for
months: the sounds of water on the hull, the sounds
of wind gliding on the sails, the silences full of
secret things between my boat and me, like the times
I spent as a child listening to the forest talk.
(1971:86)

Most of the foregoing evidence contains the illustrations that
point to a lifestyle and its major component activities requiring no
extrinsic reward structure, a lifestyle rewarding in and of itself. The
very essence of the lifestyle is a closeness to nature, a oneness, and
the very essence of nature is intrinsic value. Extrinsic rewards only
get in the way, seem only to detract from the intrinsic value of nature.

The nature of the cruising lifestyle is such that the environment
provides clear demands for action and supplies feedback on action taken
in situations where maximum personal control can be exercised. The fact
of being cut off from 'normal' society, especially while at sea, centers
attention, or, at least, narrows the stimulus field. The action that
follows in this setting is at one with the setting, that is, at one with
the environment itself and its relation to other flow elements. Not
only does the oneness with the natural environment allow for a loss of
ego boundaries, but the facades created for and by the urban ego
construct are of no use or value in the cruising context. Occasionally,
especially while in storm conditions, a total loss of ego occurs while
action for survival takes over completely.
IV. CONCLUSION

This chapter has used the flow model as a lens through which to view the cruising lifestyle. The main features of the model as developed in relation to activities have been applied to a lifestyle, a process which helps an understanding of it. Cruising is a lifestyle dominated by intrinsic rewards and is of itself autotelic. At the same time, the lifestyle provides clear demands for action and plenty of feedback, and participants experience a sense of control of their lifestyle that they perceive as absent in other lifestyles they have lived. And in the end, cruisers perceive the life as simple, self-contained and manageable, that is, controlled by themselves.

This chapter has also illuminated the depth of the shared ideology of this subculture. The flow model has helped to show the depth of individual involvement in cruising and how the experience of cruising has a greater impact on the experience of self and the world than a superficial consideration would suggest. This shared experience is part of what distinguishes cruising as a lifestyle not only from other sailing 'subcultures' but also from the usual lifestyle in modern society. The sense is that the shared experience is valuable, is intrinsically worthwhile to the individual and when seen in conjunction with the process of psycho-social development already discussed suggests a subculture at 'odds' with normal society. That is, cruising as a lifestyle or subculture therefore represents an act of deviance and cruising people can be seen as 'deviant'. Such terminology, however, carries a pejorative connotation which would seem incompatible with the lifestyle thus far analysed. This issue of deviance and its relevance to cruising is taken up in the next chapter.
CHAPTER 10

DEVIANCE

A requisite of sociocultural systems is the development and maintenance of a significant level of non-pathological deviance manifest as a pool of alternative ideas and behaviours ....
(Buckley 1968:495)

Cruising has been shown to be a subculture because it is a lifestyle which is clearly distinguishable from modern western society. At the same time that cruisers accept many of the values central to this western society, their lifestyle is at odds with other, equally important aspects of that society. Also, it has been demonstrated through research and argument that cruisers share an ideology - a set of values, aspirations, personal skills and characteristics, and an approach to life that is to some degree different than that of mainstream society. There is, then, a deviant subculture and it remains to place this deviance into a normative framework. While some of the groundwork has been done for this task it remains to develop a theoretical conceptualization within which such normative judgements can be made. Deviance theory has been chosen for this task not because its current development is adequate for the task but because modification of the theory is possible. Deviance theory was also chosen because of its implicitly pejorative orientation and the belief that to see 'deviance' only in pejorative terms was to accept a misuse of the language and to restrict the analytical potential of deviance theory.

This chapter proposes a new orientation to deviance theory, a model which not only uses a normative approach but also takes deviance,
and especially the term deviance, beyond its negative connotation. This model, called 'the normal curve of deviance', is an heuristic model for analysing the functions of deviance, and allows for the assertion that long-term cruising people are engaging in what I call an affirmatively deviant life-style. 'Affirmative deviance' is a term that was coined at the start of this project and was primarily viewed in psychological terms. Contrary to the suggestion by Altman (1975:275) for the total rejection of the term 'deviance', this chapter suggests that its use be extended, that is, its narrow and pejorative connotation be modified. Liazos (1972:195-6) also discusses whether the term 'deviance' should be used, suggesting its use belies the sociological belief in the equality of people under study. He quotes others to suggest we abandon the term, especially as we seldom use it to refer to those with admired qualities who may also often be different. My contention, on the other hand, is that given the scholarly interest in 'differences', efforts should be directed at making the study of differences, that is deviance, encompass the full range of differences; for example, both the powerful and powerless, the 'affirmative' and the 'negative'. The central concern of this chapter is the concept of affirmative deviance, a recognition that certain types of deviance are positive for the individual and/or society. In reality deviating from the norm is not uncommon in modern western society. It seems more useful to take advantage of the full potential of the word rather than leaving it for use as a stigmatising label.

The 'normal curve' deviance model explored in this chapter is proposed as one way to conceptualise certain types of deviance in a non-pejorative manner. Given human value orientations agreement is unlikely on which deviant activity is 'affirmative' but there could be agreement that some forms of deviant behaviour are functional and may serve a useful purpose. It is crucial to note this distinction and to accept that value judgements influence whether certain behaviour is seen as positive or negative while still agreeing that it is deviant. My aim is to modify the theory to show that the cruising lifestyle is a deviant lifestyle, or subculture, and that, in relation to an humanistic conception of human nature, it is affirmatively deviant (i.e. positive).
I. DEVIANCE THEORY

The literature on deviance, deviants, and criminology is diverse and, naturally, replete with disagreement. One fairly consistent commonality, though, is that an implicit pejorative connotation is attached to the words 'deviance' and 'deviant'.¹ Writers talk of deviance in terms like "morally objectionable" (Lemert 1981:299) while asserting (and challenging) the "commonsense understanding of deviance as meaning not normal" (Wilson and Braithwaite 1978:1; their emphasis, not their perspective). This pejorative connotation is consistently reflected in the emphasis placed on deviance in relation to rule breaking. Whether it be the breaking of social rules (Becker 1963; Box 1971; Douglas 1970a), the breaking of laws (Ball 1980; Kittrie 1971; Wright and Hilbert 1980), or simply behaviour of which others disapprove (Clinard 1968) the implication is clear: deviance is negative. There can be little argument that words such as 'breaking' or 'disapprove' carry semantically negative connotations in our society; their use in this connection therefore gives deviance a similar connotation.

The negative connotations of 'rule breaking' are minor when compared with some other pejorative views of deviant behaviour. The following quotations illustrate this:

Whenever persons and their actions mutually differentiate through processes of stigmatization, rejection, isolation, segregation, punishment, treatment or rehabilitation, the persons, their actions and the processes are data for the study of deviance. (Lemert 1981:289)

deviators ... develop fears, paranoia, poor self-image, and mental anguish ....

(Montanino 1977:280)

Along a similar line, the study of deviant behaviour is seen by some critics (eg Liazos 1972; Wilson and Braithwaite 1978) as a reflection of the penchant of sociologists (among other scholars) for

¹ Part of the work of Scarpitti and McFarlane (1975) can be excepted here.
'studying down'. Sociologists are seen as middle and upper-middle class people applying middle class values to society and especially to those lower down the socio-economic status ladder. The criticism made in the literature is that only the powerless are studied as deviant or violent and the label 'deviant' is only applied by those with power to those who lack it. Liazos puts it thus:

As a result of the fascination with 'nuts, sluts, and perverts' [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. (1972:111).

Taken together, most of these views paint a very negative picture not only of so-called deviant behaviour but also of persons who engage in it - and even those who study it. They tend to see deviance as destructive, as worse than purposeless. There is an implicit value judgement concealed not only in the process of 'studying down' but also in the process of judging certain acts as less legitimate than others. Certain acts are 'negatively' related to social development rather than positive or even neutral. Such a view while concealed and implicit is, of course, value laden to the extreme. However, it is also intellectually and conceptually narrow as it ignores those deviators who engage in deviant acts or join deviant lifestyles out of choice when such choices are made by psychologically healthy people who are fully aware of their actions. It also ignores the very real possibility that such deviant acts and persons may have a positive effect on society.

Douglas (1970a) argues that, from a philosophical basis, good and evil define each other. This view implies that social reality is such that the 'respectable' will see the deviant as not respectable. Now, it may be acceptable to take this at face value for some purposes but it poses a problem scientifically and philosophically when it becomes taken-for-granted. The values implicit in the derogatory label 'deviant' are then ignored and a value-laden analysis results. While I have no argument with values being involved in analysis it is important that those values be acknowledged and accounted for. The point is that the values implicit in this use of the term 'deviant' must not be
ignored as the value or worth of certain behaviour may be missed. This oversight occurs because of the taken-for-granted nature of the 'non-respectable' label placed on deviant behaviour. Of course, this begs the question of who are the 'respectable' and the nature of their power as definers. (See also Altman 1975)

The above overview of deviance theory has shown that it is restrictive in its value orientation and that it does not easily accommodate a view of deviance as purposeful. Before directing attention more specifically at this issue of purposefulness in deviant behaviour, I discuss the labelling of cruisers as deviant. This discussion highlights further issues in deviance theory.

II. ARE CRUISERS DEVIANT?

It has been suggested in previous chapters that labelling the cruising lifestyle as a subculture allows cruising to be classed as 'deviant'. The shared ideology of cruisers' aspirations, values, and attitudes places them apart from modern society, and shows that they deviate. At the same time, the overwhelmingly pejorative connotation of the label deviant suggests its use may be inappropriate. In this section, the labelling issue is addressed along with other ways of defining cruisers as deviant within current deviance theory.

Denzin (1970) takes labelling theory beyond its main concern with official acts of deviance to consider those kinds of behaviour that at an informal and daily level are labelled as deviant. Much of this deviation, while inconsistent with the rules, is still seen as reinforcing those rules. Denzin's emphasis, though, is on socially approved behaviour as the main rule reinforcer. However, under Denzin's concept of deviance, cruisers are clearly deviant because their behaviour is at odds with the rules; they do not reinforce the rules. For example, there is a social rule in our society that says it is

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2 This is consistent with Box (1971:36).
desirable to have, or at least strive for, a regular steady job and career path. Cruisers are deviant by opting out of the 'steady job' rule; they are further deviant because such opting out, even if only temporary, violates the career path rule.³

Denzin's example of the Hell's Angels as an enigma in the deviant labelling process is relevant in relation to the cruising situation. He asserts that the Angel's are "simultaneously branded as deviants and heroes .... " (1970:132) because they break the rules with such style and character. The situation with cruisers is somewhat analogous, even though cruisers are not generally or explicitly labelled as deviants. It appears that cruisers are recognised as breaking a number of social rules but this is acceptable because they, as with the Angels, "have reinterpreted [society's] values in unique ways" (Denzin 1970:132). Society's values, especially those encouraging freedom and initiative, are in conflict with such rules as the 'steady job' and 'keep your children in school' rules but society manages to find acceptable ways of incorporating these values within such organizational constraints. Cruisers reinterpret the 'freedom' and 'initiative' rules in ways that are not expected by society and in ways that break other rules such as those two mentioned above. However, cruisers break these rules in such a way that they do not get labelled as 'deviant'. This lack of a label is also related to their small numbers and because they lack visibility and not so much because of what they do or how they live. The lack of the deviant label is discussed further below. This lack of an overt label notwithstanding, cruisers do face a number of disincentives that the social system puts forward to try and keep them within the bounds of the rules. The restrictions in relation to living on boats (Spurr 1984), visa requirements, the bonding of visiting craft, and so on are all little devices that brand the cruiser as a deviant. At the same time, they are heroes, judging by media attention.

Another rule enforcement device that mitigates against people going cruising, especially for medium time-span cruising, is the stigma

³ The notion is that an occupational career is only maintainable by steady and consistent application to that career. Also, as Henry (1963:32) says "industry is hostile to workers who move too often...."
attached to those with long gaps in employment (unless such gaps can be seen as education and/or training). Denzin suggests that a sense of fear and security permeates relationships and that the fear of losing that security helps keep the parties within the bounds of the relational rules. The employment situation is a good example here because it is common for employers to threaten dismissal for 'rule' breakers and thereby create an insecurity that helps bring the deviant into line again. However, on another level entirely, employers frown upon those people who take major or serious breaks from the career and employment system. Personnel officers almost inevitably place a stigma on candidates whose employment record shows long gaps and the recognition of that stigma is noted by potential cruisers when they think of going cruising.4 This is one of the factors restraining potential cruisers — one might lose some security by breaking the rules.

To take this a little further, consider Becker's concept of commitment (1960). The person who has a central commitment to a career or employment reputation also has a 'side bet', as Becker calls it, that says that the career or reputation will suffer if the person opts out of the job market for an extended period. The side bet is like a socially constructed disincentive to vary from the norm in the urban, career-oriented lifestyle. Cruisers lose their side bets when they opt out of their career path.

Thus far, it has been established that cruisers can be seen as deviant in the most general meaning of the term because they break a number of the social rules which govern western society. While not generally labeled as deviant they do encounter a number of unofficial disincentives because of that behaviour. However, there are a number of other concepts which support the notion that cruisers are deviants, some of which are discussed below.

Using one of Denzin's (1970a) six types of relational deviance, cruising can be seen as implicitly labeled as deviant because of the institutional restraints against cruisers. While there are no laws or social institutions that prohibit cruising, as mentioned previously

4 The Personnel office is one of those "institutions with the power to attach [deviant] labels ...", to stigmatize (Altman 1975:207).
there is a relational element of disapproval shown by society, particularly through bureaucratic interference. These regulations are aimed not at preventing cruising (not explicitly, anyway) but certainly are there to make the lifestyle more difficult to move into. These bureaucratic regulations express the disapproval of the powerful in regard to such deviant behaviour.

Taking this bureaucratic regulation issue further, a slight digression, is illustrative. So-called 'safety' regulations for boats are a case in point. Following Slater (1970) it is possible to view yacht clubs and associations and government regulatory bodies as 'parent' figures as they set about regulating what is considered safe on an ocean going yacht. The insistence on two-way radios and regulation life-rafts, for example, are attempts by the 'parent' to regulate and restrict the 'child'-cruiser. Radios are not only a symbol of dependence upon shore facilities; they are also a powerful psychological crutch, one that sees 'rescue' as close as the radio. The radio therefore seriously devalues the independence of a yacht at sea by making the crew feel dependent. However, the radio does something else in allowing the yacht to call for help - it allows those called upon to give help the moral 'right' to restrict who goes to sea and in what nature of craft. The 'helpers' or officials can quite rightly say that if you, deviant/cruiser, are going to flaunt your independence by going to sea and yet you want us to 'rescue' you if you get in trouble, we are going to reserve the right to determine whether you and your craft are suitable for such a voyage. On this level, then, the official institutions demand dependence, a dependence which brings the independent (deviant) back into the fold, as it were, back within the controls of society.

The lack of outright condemnation or banning of this 'deviant' behaviour called cruising can also be understood from another perspective. Douglas (1970a) explores at some length the notion that morality in contemporary Western society is situational. He asserts that the public now understands morality as problematic and no longer absolutist in nature. He also believes that at a public level U.S. society is now morally pluralistic in a way that was not so even two generations ago. In a sense, then, such a moral pluralism makes many
forms of behaviour that were defined as 'deviant' previously, now only situationally so. That is to say, such behaviour may now be accepted for others, if not for the self, as moral, as acceptable while still being seen as deviant. Of course, to what extent any particular 'deviance' is 'accepted' is neither uniform nor independent of the relative power of groups or individuals in society. As Altman (1975:209) points out, it is a fallacy to assume that our so-called pluralistic society involves equality of power. The societal hegemony influences this situational definition.

However, it is one thing to accept 'deviance' at a moral/philosophical/intellectual level but another to be able to personally psychologically accept that behaviour. The so-called acceptable behaviour may be felt as a threat to one's self-concept. For example, while the new situational morality may 'allow' people to ignore the work ethic, it does not necessarily make it easier for people to give up their psychological commitment and dependence on that particular moral imperative. So, while people might accept cruising as non-deviant in a moral sense, that is find it acceptable in society, they may still find it self-threatening in a psychological sense and so condemn and discourage it because of this sense of threat to their secure and comfortable sense of self. The 'self-threat' must not be confused with the notion that "the social deviator [may be] seen as a threat to the controlling factions ... " (Nett 1953:413). While cruising is too benign a form of deviance to be seen as a serious threat by any but the most paranoid controllers, the reverse is likely to be the case at an individual level, that is, it may be experienced as self-threatening to the individual who encounters it. A second of Denzin's types of relational deviance also takes this up when he talks of deviant acts that are "self-threatening" (1970a:138), that induce reactions that are handled interactionally between the actors concerned. Discussion elsewhere in this thesis has shown that cruisers reject certain values that are central to our society while taking others to an extreme unintended for the ordinary members of society. It has also been shown that there is a prolific literature catering to the 'dreamer' cruisers and to others who are not able to activate nor actualise their own inclination to step outside the security of the taken-for-granted social
and economic structure. These individuals tend to find the active cruiser self-threatening because the act of being a long-term cruiser forces the dreamers and security-bound to come face-to-face with their own lack of existential courage. Cruisers must, therefore, be seen as deviant and their choices denigrated either publically or privately, as socially irresponsible. The Hell's Angel example again comes to mind here. Similarly, cruisers are castigated for a variety of things including not contributing to society economically, neglecting their children's educations, and, if male, forcing their wives into a life space not suitable for the 'weaker sex'.

The discussion above is in a social and interactional context somewhat wider and more public than that of Denzin's. However, there is no conceptual difference because we are still dealing with a relationship as defined by Denzin (1970a:126). The concern is still with behaviour that is at odds with that expected in a particular social/economic milieu and also the impact such behaviour may have on the other person or persons. The cruising behaviour may be (self-) threatening because it challenges some of the taken-for-granted rules on the one hand, but also because it may be psychologically threatening to those who desire such a lifestyle but who, for a variety of reasons, do not actualize that desire. Their sense of self is thereby threatened. Whether the cruising behaviour is also a threat to society, or rather to the hegemony in our society, is quite another issue.

It is apparent that cruisers reject certain values that are central to modern society and this rejection in conjunction with their lifestyle suggests they are deviant. Implicit in Lemart's (1981) discussion of areas for study is the notion that when someone (or a group) eschew central social values they become legitimate targets for study. Cruisers' rejection of social values therefore put them in this

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5 Chapter 3 taps a small part of this literature. Bibliography I lists a small selection of the publications available to the 'dreamer'.

6 See also Altman 1975:273-4.
Cruisers fail to attract the label 'deviant' for a variety of reasons. The absence of law breaking is, of course, an important reason why cruisers are not explicitly labelled. But, there are many other law-abiding people (eg hippies; back-to-the land farmers; commune members) who are stigmatised with a label such as 'deviant'. Why they are singled out in a way that cruisers are not is open to speculation. Cruisers are by and large not as numerous, are certainly much more low-key in behaviour and dress (generally), and are, by the nature of their lifestyle, normally absent – out of sight out of mind. Not insignificantly, of course, cruisers possess one of the great status symbols of our society – a boat – and have therefore made it in terms of some of the central values of society. Last, but not least, it seems likely that the romance and mystique of the sea also help cruisers avoid the deviant label.

Cruisers are also less likely to be labeled 'deviant' because they are not, in most cases, low status people. As mentioned previously, persons of higher status or power are less likely to be officially (or even unofficially) labeled as deviant. Thio (1973) takes this issue further in his castigation of sociologists (especially those of deviance) as simply class biased. Sociologists, by education, status, and 'professional' aspirations, can be seen as part of the power elite that establishes, or at least reflects, the dominant social rules and laws and thereby determines who will be classed as 'deviant'. Thus it is the powerless in society who are most likely to be so defined. While this is not surprising, given the nature of power and influence in society, it is helpful in explaining the reasons an apparently deviant

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7 This ignores the possibility that the majority of people may not be living according to their professed values and that the so-called 'deviants' may in fact be conformists. That is, the 'deviants' may be trying to live in a way that is consistent with the professed values of their society and are 'deviant' only in relation to the activated values in the society. However, to avoid the circuitousness of such an argument, I have chosen to accept for the moment the labelling of deviant as relative to the majority actions and perceptions and to assume they are consistent with each other.

8 See, for example, Denzin (1970a); Wilson and Braithwaite (1978).
lifestyle is not explicitly labelled as such. Within their home society, people who set off to go cruising are generally of high status with potential power. They are also not engaging in an illegal or 'immoral' act and so do not attract an official label or sanction. Their form of deviance is more subtle and can easily be viewed by society as a valid choice while at the same time not be considered fully acceptable behaviour for most people. Cruising, then, is a deviant career in western society. While it may be psychologically self-threatening, it is hard to see cruising as a destructive form of deviance. In fact, I contend it is constructive, or affirmative, deviance.

It is suggested, then, that is a useful development to view deviance in its widest sense - that is, to see deviance as positive or negative (or neutral) and as a potential force for change. The following use of systems theory and the development of the normal curve model of deviance shares with Altman the notion that it is better for sociology "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 ..." (1975:276).

III. DEVIANCE AS A CHOICE

The word 'choice' has not been used in the section above although the process of choosing, of making a personal choice, has been implicit in the text. This absence of the word is significant to my position because it reflects deviance theorists' lack of concern for or awareness of the concept of choice. An orientation to actions as different (ie. labelling them) almost by definition will ignore the 'choice' aspect. At the same time a systems analysis of deviance (eg. Buckley 1967) is so preoccupied with functions, purpose, and results that origins of

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9 See Appendix I for education and occupation statistics; the reality is that it takes money to build or buy a boat and go cruising, and money is one aspect of power.
behaviour, especially issues of choice, are ignored. Nett (1953),
though, in his discussion of conformity appears to be an exception in
recognising that choice is inherent in deviance. He sees conformity as
the "resistance-to-thinking-for-themselves aspect of people ...")(1953:412). Logically, to deviate, to not conform, is to think for
oneself, is to make choices. The element of choice is central to this
thesis and to the concept of affirmative deviance which follows because
to recognise the potential for individual choice is to acknowledge the
potential of the individual.

Berger (1963) puts the concept of choice into a sociological
framework in his exploration of various paradigms of society. His model
of Society-as-Drama is postulated to account for behaviour that is not
consistent with deterministic views of human nature, that can not be
wholly explained by reference to such processes as social control. He
asserts that "we must be at least co-definers, ... we ourselves are
called to an act of collaboration in the maintenance of the [social
situation]" (Berger 1963:145). This notion, in conjunction with others,
allows for the introduction of choice. It allows people to conceive of
personal choice, albeit often unconsciously, to accept the social
situation. More importantly in sociology, it suggests that some
people's actions can be understood as being choices that involve a
rejection of the social situation, that do not accept the status quo.
At this point 'deviant' behaviour may be seen as the result of personal
individual choice. As Berger concedes, we are now in the territory of
at least three disciplines, namely sociology, psychology, and philosophy
- and Berger's examples rely on history as well.

Berger supports his thesis by reference to a number of concepts,
including Weber's 'charisma', Lao-tzu's 'detachment, Goffman's 'role
distance', Sartre's 'bad faith', social manipulation, sub-cultures, and
'ecstasy' (Berger 1963:142-171). All of these concepts suggest how an
individual can to some degree operate in and on society in ways which
are not 'acceptable', that fall outside the 'taken-for-granted'. In all
those processes, Berger postulates a process of choice, the exercise of
freedom.

With the exception of the immediately preceding discussion of
'choice', the foregoing does not help very much in placing cruising or
cruising people into the sociological niche called deviance theory. In fact, of course, the discussion suggests that deviance theory is lacking in its ability to incorporate what the evidence shows is a deviant lifestyle. Deviance theory cannot incorporate cruising easily because of the negative value loading implicit in deviance and it is this deficiency that is tackled by the 'normal curve' model of deviance discussed below. The concept of affirmative deviance and the 'normal curve' rely on a social systems approach to understanding society, on the possibility of choice (sociologically and psychologically), and on the idea that deviant acts do have personal and social functions. To put it another way, the concept of affirmative deviance has been created to widen deviance theory and to more adequately incorporate choice within that theory. This enables us to see as theoretically correct what is empirically evident—cruisers are deviants.

IV. AN EVOLUTIONARY SOCIETAL MODEL

Given the above discussion and the values and attitudes of cruisers as discussed elsewhere, it is fair to say that the cruising lifestyle contains many elements that make its adherents deviant in terms of the taken-for-granted lifestyle of western urban societies. A central notion is that individuals might decide to deviate from the norm because they want to actualise certain perceived abilities and potentialities. In other words, their deviation from the norm may be perceived as having certain life enhancing potentials. However, this essentially psychological conception of their deviation ignores the wider deviation explicit in their social critique. With this in mind the sociology of deviance is drawn upon to place the cruising lifestyle and cruisers within the framework of deviance theory and the potential functions of their deviance in the context of social systems and the analytical framework of modern systems theory.

Buckley (1967) criticises Parsons and others at some length for an overly mechanistic view of society and for focussing on the notion of a tendency for society to stabilise in a position of equilibruim.
Buckley asserts that a cybernetic systems model is a more appropriate way of understanding how a society functions. This latter view sees society as a system "characterised by the elaboration or evolution of organisation [which] thrive[s] on, in fact depend[s] on, 'disturbances' and 'variety' in the environment" (Buckley 1967:40). Such as conceptualisation conceives of deviance as serving a purpose in the life of a society or culture and not simply as a nuisance or as destructive. It is this more complex view of deviance that forms the basis for the deviance model proposed in this chapter.

Modern systems theory as incorporated by Buckley (1967, 1968) and the thinking of others on the functions of deviant behaviour (eg Ball 1973, 1980; Box 1971) were combined with the statistical concept of a normal curve to design the model depicted in Figure 10.1. Societal evolution is at the root of the model because it is the process of feedback and change that enables us to conceive of benefits in deviant behaviour. Obviously, then, this model is mainly concerned with functions and definitions and not with sanctions. If society is seen as purely static in its structures, conventions, and so forth, only destructive results are possible from deviant acts. In such a society, the cybernetic system would aim only to counteract deviance, to be morphostatic. Otherwise, the deviation would lead to a breakdown in the social system. However, if society is viewed with an evolutionary systems perspective there are then a number of functions to be performed by deviant behaviour. In such a society, the cybernetic system would be deviation-amplifying or morphogenic.

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10 Pearson's (1979:20) use of the normal frequency distribution in relation to subculture theory is consistent with my use of it here.

11 This analysis ignores any moral considerations because of the scope of dealing with issues of morality in this context. That is to say, deviance may not need any functional justification where a moral issue is concerned; in fact, a moral consideration may 'demand' deviance that is clearly dysfunctional to some part of society. For the moment this discussion simply assumes there may be functions of deviant behaviour and tries to put these potential functions into an analytical framework.

12 Maruyama (1963:304) explores these concepts in some detail.
Figure 10.1

The 'Normal curve' model of deviance, social change, and personal growth

(a)

Increasingly Deviant (Negative)  Non-deviant Behaviour (the Norm)  Increasingly Deviant (Positive)

(b)

(b) Equilibrium + Homeostatic (or normal) behaviour predominates (synchronic)

(b₂) Maladaptive behaviour contained (b₁) Adaptive behaviour contained

(c) Maladaptive behaviour - upsets the social/personal organisation and leads to negative social change or disorganisation (diachronic/morphogenic)

(d) Adaptive behaviour - upsets the social/personal organisation and leads to positive social change or reorganisation (diachronic/morphogenic)
Buckley reinforces this notion of deviance as functional:

On the positive side, the cybernetic perspective brings out the absolute necessity of deviation — or more generally, 'variety' — in providing a pool of potential new transformations of process or structure that the adaptive systems might adopt in responding to goal mismatch. (1968:495)

These notions suggest that no social system should view deviation as necessarily bad. A social system should recognize that some deviance will serve a creative, adaptive purpose. At the same time, deviant acts may serve a positive purpose for the individual, and may help the individual develop as a fully functioning person. This notion has been explored in Chapter 8, 'Radical' People, and will be returned to later.

The 'normal curve' in Figure 10.1 is not meant as a strict statistical representation of different types of behaviour. Rather, it represents the expectation that there are likely to be a majority of people and behavioural acts which are essentially non-deviant, that is, they fall in what might be termed the 'normal' range (Part b). At the same time, the model suggests there are two types of deviant (extreme) behaviour. They are conceptually and functionally opposite and so are found on either side of the normal behaviour group.

Of course, the model is a continuous heuristic device and allows for the reality of human behaviour, that is, not all behaviour can be simply assigned to discreet points on the model (such points being, in this case, deviant negative, normal, and deviant positive). Rather, the model makes the obvious point that there will be gradations of people and acts and not simply those that are and those that are not deviant. The continuum in Part (a), then, suggests that only in the center of the curve are we likely to find acts and people that are totally non-deviant and can, therefore, be called the 'norm'. The continuum construct allows us to depict the gradations, however, and a movement in either direction along the continuum suggests increasing deviance from the so-

13 This is consistent with the notion that no two people, their values, and their behaviour are likely to be the same. Therefore, it is only a figment of the statistical imagination to show large portions of society as identical and, thereby, as 'normal'.
called norm.

Scarpitti and McFarlane (1975) put this a little differently. They suggest that some norms are rigidly adhered to and/or enforced while others allow for considerable variation in behaviour before sanctions are brought into force. Consistent with the 'normal curve' model, they assert "that normative adherence ranges along a continuum that falls to both sides of the strictest interpretation of a norm" (1975:4). So, while they see some norms as more strictly adhered to than others, my conception is that both types of norms and the degree of adherence will vary along the continuum. Scarpitti and McFarlane's notion that some norms are 'wider' is consistent with my view that norms in general receive more or less strict adherence. One is really a mirror image of the other. Again, Pearson's (1979:20) use of the normal curve to show the 'width' of subculture norms is consistent with its use here.

This 'normal curve' model is essentially a process or adaptive system model that contains homeostatic and equilibrium models within it. Buckley (1967:40) suggests three separate models for our social systems of which only the 'process' or 'adaptive' system model is appropriate. Consistently, my model suggests that there will always be aspects of society that tend to an equilibrium and others which tend to homeostasis. However, it is the homeostatic and adaptive parts of Buckley's conception that are of most use in the 'normal curve' model of society and the utilisation of deviance because it is here that arises the potential for deviance as functional, as useful.

Part (b) in the model incorporates what might be called the 'normal' behaviour within the society, that is, behaviour that is generally synchronic (Ball 1980) in that it promotes stability in the system, or at least is reintegrated into the system without undue problems. However, one side would tend toward an equilibrium and the other would be homeostatic. Behaviour and people that fit within Part

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14 Equilibrium and homeostasis are used in specific ways in this context. The former is used to indicate a tendency to stability at a lower level of organisation. The latter, homeostasis, is used to denote a tendency to stabilise at a higher level of equilibrium, a more complex level.
(b1) of the model where their behaviour is considered maladaptive would tend to lower the level of organisation. Its reincorporation into the system would tend to be of an equilibrium nature (the serious, but not chronic, alcoholism of a person who still manages to hold a job would be an example here). That is to say, maladaptive deviant behaviour can be contained but it only contributes to the low level organisation that the equilibrium model proposes. Within the synchronic portion of the model, Part (b2) is seen as encompassing deviant behaviour that is adaptive and that contributes to the homeostatic nature of the system. Such behaviour as certain of the arts and some entrepreneurial risk-taking can be seen as deviant (and contained) yet still contributing to the higher level of organisation in the society. I will come back to this idea below.

The deviant synchronic behaviour encompassed by part (b) is seen by Ball (1980) as having three main functions, the first of which is quite simply to help in the process of defining what is not normal. Secondly, such behaviour helps to clarify and sharpen the meanings of these norms. Thirdly, "the detection and punishment of deviance provides non-deviant members of society with an opportunity to reaffirm their allegiance to shared social norms" (Ball 1980:380).\(^{15}\)

Besides deviant behaviour serving a synchronic function, it is seen by Ball to be also or potentially serving a diachronic function. Consistent with the evolutionary view of society, Ball sees "societies - or at any rate 'healthy' ones - (as) not ... static and unchanging; they are constantly 'evolving'." (1980:380) The diachronic function is one of promoting change.\(^{16}\) Part (c) in the normal curve model suggests such change is maladaptive whereas Part (d) sees such change as adaptive and leading to largely 'positive' social reorganisation.

The portion of the model to the right of the line Z-Z is of most interest to this thesis: it represents the concept of affirmative deviance. From a sociological perspective, it is the portion that

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15 This is consistent with Box 1971.

16 This is synonymous with Maruyama's (1963) concept of morphogenesis especially when increasing complexity is also generated.
contains behaviour that has the potential for a positive impact on society. From a psychological perspective, it is the behaviour encompassed by this portion of the model which is seen as having the potential to contribute to the increased 'health' of the individual. Because portion Z-Z contains both synchronic and diachronic functions of deviance, such behaviour will not necessarily result in any change within society or the individual. This is because only diachronic deviance is seen as resulting in actual change while synchronic deviance is somehow reintegrated without impact.

The concept of 'affirmative deviance' has been developed specifically to allow a focus on the potential benefits of so-called deviant behaviour, in this case to evaluate the deviance inherent in the subculture of cruising. The utilitarian view that deviance might be functional is not new even though deviance theory tends to focus on a pejorative view of such behaviour. However, the model for displaying this functional view is new as is the integration of sociological and psychological concerns into the same model. With this duality in mind, portion Z-Z of Figure 10.1 can be depicted as having two parts as shown in Figure 10.2.

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**Figure 10.2**

**Societal and Personal Development**

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**Portion Z-Z**

**Affirmative Deviance**

Positive Personal Development  ←  Positive Societal Development
The model somewhat artificially separates functions which are more properly closely linked. That is to say, such a model tends to encourage a segmented rather than an holistic view of social psychological actions. While the two parts of the model will be discussed primarily as if they are independent of each other, it must be kept in mind that they are in fact closely entwined one with the other. The double arrow linking them goes some little way to depicting this interdependence.

The analysis in this chapter, has placed cruisers and cruising in the context of both the 'labelling' and 'functional' perspectives of deviance. It has also shown that while deviance theory tends to take a fairly narrow and implicitly pejorative view of deviant behaviour, the modification of deviance theory by systems theory allows for the inclusion of a more comprehensive analytical framework. Such a framework has been developed in this chapter and allows cruisers' behaviour to be evaluated in relation to the concepts in the 'normal curve' model of deviance with particular attention to the potentially affirmative portion of the model. In arguing for such a model and specifically affirmative deviance, I am asking for a more subtle and sophisticated approach to 'rule breaking' - that deviance should be seen as more complex in relation to function or purpose. I also assert that an activity which represents 'cultural divergence' yet does not also attract strong adverse social disapproval nor legal attention could and should be analysed within such a context.

V CONCLUSION

At this stage in the development of the argument, a number of issues have been resolved and positions established. Cruising has been placed in the theoretical contexts of both subculture and deviance theory and the shared ideology has been explored empirically and conceptually. Conceptual models have been developed to show how individuals come to share the subcultural world view and how such a lifestyle might be functional to the individual and to society. These
two models provide the theoretical link that takes us beyond the empirical categorization system of subculture theory and into a (modified) normative system in deviance theory.

Cruisers and cruising have also been analysed in relation to two theoretical contexts at a psychological level (Chapters 8 and 9). This process further demonstrates the depth of the shared ideology evident in the ethnography (Part II) and so strengthens the case for applying the subculture label to the lifestyle. At the same time, however, these analyses provide further argument upon which to make a normative assessment of cruising in relation to the normal curve model of deviance and the concept of affirmative deviance.

Taken together, both these empirical 'facts' and theoretical perspectives allow the final analysis of cruising to be completed. In this analysis it will be concluded that the lifestyle of cruising is an affirmative process, that the deviance inherent in accepting the subcultural ideology is potentially positive for the individual and possibly for the society. The cruising lifestyle is an affirmative process because it fosters a high level of personal psycho-social development and an in-depth experience of competence, independence, and enjoyment. At the same time, it will be concluded that cruising provides a personal foil to certain problems perceived by cruisers as inherent in modern urban society while also suggesting some parameters of social change. However, cruising can also be seen as its own worst enemy, as facing its own 'Malthusian trap'. The last section of the thesis will now take up these themes.
PART IV

CONCLUSION: OCEAN CRUISING
CHAPTER 11

OCEAN CRUISING: A STUDY OF AFFIRMATIVE DEVIANCE

This thesis has explored the people and a way of life extant in a little studied but widely romanticised subculture - that of ocean cruising. Cruisers are people who make a long-term commitment to cruise, sailing small yachts throughout the oceans of the world. The lifestyle represents a unique and complex solution to the alienation inherent in modern society and is, therefore, a creative orientation. At the same time cruising represents and cruisers express a fundamental critique of modern society; that is, there is also a critical orientation.

Part of the value in studying such a lifestyle lies in it helping us to understand further human nature and what makes human life a satisfying experience. Such a study not only increases our knowledge of society by describing for the first time this western subculture but also provides a protostructural comment. That is, cruising embodies certain structures and experiences which serve as a paradigm for potential changes to work (employment) and non-work time in modern society. Specifically, the study of cruising highlights the roles of autonomy, physical activity, and nature in a conception of the 'good life'. Cruising provides a model of living that avoids the fragmentation inherent in modern society by incorporating a way of living that unifies the physical, spiritual, and intellectual modes of human experience. In providing this unity, cruising poses challenges to the individual that are absent in modern society.

The aim of this chapter is to provide a final synthesis of the research including a summary of the major ethnographic results. The nature of the people who espouse the critique and seek the lifestyle is
summarised as are their characteristics and aspirations. All of this
tells us something about human nature and the 'good life'. At this
point it then becomes possible to answer the questions in relation to
the subculture: Is cruising a deviant subculture? Is it affirmatively
deviant? These questions are explored with regard to the individual and
society. The discussion of deviance is followed by an examination of
the implications of these results and conclusions. Besides exploring
the potential of this lifestyle in protostructural terms, future
dilemmas for the cruising lifestyle are considered.

I  OCEAN CRUISING: CREATIVE AND CRITICAL

The analysis in this dissertation has demonstrated that cruising
contains a dual orientation: creative and critical. Parallel with this
notion is a view of cruising as both searching and escapist. In other
words, it is too simplistic to view cruisers as simply escapist fleeing
a societal situation that is anathema to them. Rather, a more complex
situation is indicated whereby cruisers engage in a creative process of
building a lifestyle, in making reality out of an aspired-to ideal.
That is to say, cruising is a creative process in relation to what it
searches for and escapist in relation to what it leaves behind. One is
a proto-structural comment and the other is a social critique, an anti-
structural comment.

There is another factor or dimension, though, in relation to the
dual orientation - that of the person, the individual cruiser. In
knowing what they seek to escape and what to create there is still an
unknown - what kind of people are involved; what are their
characteristics; what are their aspirations? This third dimension will
be summarized along with, but subsequent to, the first two.

A. A Critical Orientation: The Social Critique

The social critique is considered first because it provides a
base from which to contrast cruising and because the pre-cruiser could
and probably does, hold a social critique well before going cruising.
While it is true that the potential cruiser may have an unactualized vision (a fantasy?) about the cruising life, that is, may have an expectation of what lifestyle s/he will create, a pre-cruiser cannot fully develop the ideology of that lifestyle until the life has been fully encountered. It is also logical to consider the critique first because in a sense it provides the base to which the cruising lifestyle can be contrasted. Out of this critique it is possible to understand what cruisers seek.

The social critique, detailed in Chapter 5, revolves around three basic categories: Personal/social, Political, and Environmental. These three categories, however, are underpinned by a common theme, that of Excesses. This theme reflects cruisers' general apprehension about society, in particular their disquiet about large corporations and governments and the overpowering size of urban areas. Cruisers also believe there is too much interest in extrinsic reward and too little self-reliance - an excess of dependence.

The three categories of cruisers' social critique reflect their dislike of a society that emphasises conformity and dependency, so that to live in modern western urban society is to be dictated to by fashion and opinion leaders and to rely on experts to solve problems and repair possessions. At a political level, cruisers favour the values inherent in liberal capitalism but decry the current tendency to large, intrusive government organisations and big business. Their critique suggests that these excessively big, all-pervasive organisations are a major factor in eroding the goals to which cruisers aspire - autonomy and self-reliance. While cruisers are not radical ecologists, their social critique does reflect a concern for environmental degradation, the waste of natural resources, and over-population.

This social critique appears again in a moment, however, because aspects of cruisers' deviance can be seen in this context. In particular, five descriptors of modern society are used to show how the cruising lifestyle deviates from the norm. At the same time, aspects of the social critique are visible. However, first, it remains to summarise the cruisers' creative orientation and personal characteristics.
B. A Creative Orientation: The Cruising Lifestyle

The cruising lifestyle embodies a union between the physical, the intellectual, and the spiritual. It provides challenges that demand physical and mental powers for problem solving and it does so within a natural environment, one which features a spiritual or emotional union with nature and within the person. Cruising as a lifestyle is its own reward, it is autotelic.

This dissertation has explored the nature of the lifestyle and has provided a basic understanding of the way these people live, that is, what they do on a day-to-day basis. This description(s) allows the reader to know something of the physical situations encountered by cruisers at sea or in port as well as giving an insight into the complexities involved in maintaining, equipping, and provisioning a small ocean-going sailboat. Crisis situations have been elucidated as have the more benign processes of living in a quiet, tropical anchorage. It is a varied and complex mosaic, this lifestyle of cruising, and it is, paradoxically, the variation that is in part responsible for its fundamental unity.

Cruising is autotelic, is its own goal, its own reward, because it contributes to a sense of unity in the experience of the individual. The long-term cruiser has escaped the fragmentation and loss of autonomy inherent in modern society and created a lifestyle that reinstates the essential unity between mind and body that is so crucial to human fulfilment. Cruising does this in a physical environment dominated by nature and nature's imperatives, one that provides physical challenges that must be met to ensure survival and that require physical and intellectual skills to meet. At the same time, a spiritual wholeness develops as the cruiser is further immersed in nature and the constant fight for survival. This struggle is constant not only because income is usually limited but because the nature of the sea never allows for complacency.

Another aspect of cruising is the relative simplicity of living as a cruiser. This lack of complexity is reflected at a personal level where, for example, there is less role fragmentation than in modern society. However, it can also be seen at a material level whereby
cruisers have to simplify the range and quantity of material possessions, must choose possessions on the basis of function and serviceability. The sense of this simplicity is clear in the following quotation from the late Maurice Griffith, one of the then most travelled of world cruisers.

The more complicated life is, the harder it is to enjoy. The only time some people are truly happy is when they are away from things they don't understand or things they resent. Some find this feeling at the seashore, others in the mountains. I don't really think this is an escape so much as a clarification. It's when they are happy just to be alive.

It's this same yearning for simplicity, I think, that explains the deep satisfactions derived from small-boat cruising. In these times of affluence and complexity, there is hardly a level of civilized living ashore, from that of an industrial tycoon to that of a welfare recipient, where a man truly has personal control over his life. The vast majority of decisions are bound by regulations, stultifying custom, and socially instilled inhibitions. A cruising man's decisions, however, are directed by necessity and are carefully calculated to be the most agreeable compromise between the desired and the possible courses of action. The small-boat sailor can see the result of effective effort at an immediate and personal level. There is never a mystery about whether your work was all right or not. The sea soon tells you. This kind of satisfaction is limited to a boat of moderate size where hired expertise and responsibility do not replace personal control and action. (Griffith 1979:258)

Griffith highlights the notion that cruising facilitates a sense of autonomy and control unattainable in a modern society he sees as dominated by organizational imperatives and social constraints. Cruisers face nature's imperatives but these are seen as contributing to a sense of personal control, simplicity, and lack of ambiguity - all of which allow for a sense of satisfaction unattainable in modern society.
C. The Cruising Person

What sort of people formulate the kind of philosophy just discussed? What characteristics does a person require to survive in the ocean environment? The answers to these questions were developed in this dissertation as a result of direct questioning; a self-portrait was elicited. In addition, this self-portrait was buttressed with information obtained through the analysis of indirect questions. The characterisation that developed is interesting not only for what it says about the people but because it includes a set of values, an ideology, embedded in the way they see themselves. However, the characterisation is interesting at another level because the characteristics of a cruising person also have a definite function in survival terms. The analysis, then, allows us to see beyond the words to their values implications and purpose. Cruisers value independence, adaptability, self-reliance, cooperativeness, and resourcefulness as an ideology and because these are survival skills in the cruising environment.

To complement these characteristics and to complete the answers to the question posed, we need also to consider the aspirations of these people. This research shows cruisers sharing a concern for such things as health, family life, and personal worth. However, cruisers are only distinguished from the other sailing subjects in their underlying concern for autonomy and freedom. Linked with these aspirations was a desire for challenge, variety, flexibility, to not be an employee, and to live in a natural environment.

It is clear throughout the literature purporting to deal with issues of self-actualisation that a key concept is activity. That is to say, being passive (as opposed to being receptive) is to not deal with the pressures to conform with modern society. It is to accept the taken-for-granted. The 'activity' or 'action' referred to is, of course, not simply physical action but has a personal psychological

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1 See also such concepts as the life-instinct (Brown 1959), 'flow' (Csikszentmihalyi 1975), play (Caillois 1958; Pearson 1979), human harmony with nature (Slater 1970; Abbey 1968; Mathiessen 1969), intrinsic rewards (Csikszentmihalyi 1975), and conscientisation (Freire, in Berger, et al. 1973).
dimension. Freire's (in Berger, et al. 1973) concept of 'conscientization' is a case in point. He believes that it is only possible to be liberated from oppression by first being able to liberate the self from the ideas of the oppressor. The person must engage in an action to free the self; it can not happen unaided, that is, passively. In this sense, then, passivity is seen not only as a physical manifestation of inaction but as the psychological concept of 'acceptance'. The key to personal liberation or change then becomes a process of actively questioning the 'taken-for-granted'(that is, the accepted) and/or becoming more physically active in life.

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.

Cruisers do not accept the taken-for-granted, do not passively allow society to dictate to them: they get out and create a new life. This lifestyle is one that has activity central to its processes; cruising is a life of action, physically and emotionally. Consistent with Slater it is a lifestyle which fulfills the human need to "test one's harmony with nature" (1970:192), to live by nature's time clock. To get out into nature in our society is to not accept passively the urban environment or its rural equivalent of tourist parks and so forth; rather, to get out into nature is to go into the wilderness, beyond the security of immediate human contact. Clearly, cruising does this a thing.

Underlying the cruising lifestyle and social critique, are a set of personal characteristics that are functional on the one hand and an ideology on the other. The characteristics of autonomy, resourcefulness, and adaptability reflect the aspirations for a life with freedom and challenge, to name but two of the central aspirations, and also point to the social critique. Modern society is seen by
cruisers as reducing autonomy and freedom, as not fostering resourcefulness, and as presenting meaningless and fragmented challenges - cruising here embodies a critique of modern society. But this begs the question that has not been answered directly - is cruising affirmatively deviant? I will now turn to that question.

II OCEAN CRUISING: AFFIRMATIVE DEVIANCE?

It is obvious that to adequately consider the questions of deviance and affirmativeness, we must consider both the personal and the lifestyle or societal levels of analysis. The development of the concept of affirmative deviance is necessary to adequately account for a deviance that is not obviously dysfunctional, to allow the analysis of the cruising lifestyle to adequately encompass the notion that cruising may have a function or purpose for the individual and/or the wider society. This concept of affirmative deviance also facilitates the link between subculture theory, the concepts inherent in 'flow', and the notion of human psycho-social development by putting the subcultural world view, actions, and aspirations into a psychological context. This material can then be analysed using the concept of affirmative deviance.

The concept of affirmative deviance, in short, posits that 'deviance' need not be seen in pejorative terms only and that, in fact, much deviance can be seen as useful (affirmative) for the individual and/or for society. In this model, deviance is seen in a systems framework where change may be functional in the long-term development of a social system or an individual. Affirmative deviance at a personal level asserts that a deviant act may be, or may lead to, a 'growth' experience on the part of the individual. In the context of humanistic psychology, such 'growth' would suggest the individual attains a strengthened identity, an increased ability to experience intrinsic rewards, a more complex and integrated sense of self, and a sense of personal direction.

Affirmative deviance at a lifestyle level can be seen in relation to a synthesised description of modern society, the detail of which is
contained in Appendix VII. Such a comparison can determine relative
deviance and whether that social level of deviance is likely to be
affirmative for the individual. However, it can only make the most
tentative assertions about the function of such deviance at a societal
level. I return to this in a moment, but first I consider affirmative
deviance at the personal level.

A. Personal Affirmative Deviance

It is, of course, not necessary to see cruisers as deviant to see
their life as affirmative. However, the way cruisers live is
deviant.\(^2\) In the case of cruisers a major tool in seeing them as
affirmative in personal terms has been the model of psycho-social
development created by Hampden-Turner (1970). Cruisers, and examples
from their lifestyle, were compared to the dictates of this model and
found to be in fundamental accord with it. That is to say, cruisers'
approach to life and way of living allows them to develop
psychologically. They take interpersonal risks, reach out to other
value systems, attempt to transcend the taken-for-granted, and develop a
way of living that enhances their sense of identity and personal
autonomy. In other words, the way they live is affirmative in terms of
their personal development.

The 'flow' model developed by Csikszentmihalyi (1975) also
contributes to the conclusion that cruisers live in a way that enhances
their personal health and development. The application of the concepts
in Csikszentmihalyi's flow model shows that cruisers' fundamental
objectives in living concern motivations based on autotellic rewards.
Concomittantly, their way of living provides them with a sense of
autonomy and control, a sense of unity within themselves and with
nature, and a lifestyle where intrinsic rewards dominate over extrinsic
ones. Csikszentmihalyi's model is humanistic in a number of ways

\(^2\) It has been shown that cruising - the people and their way of life
- is at variance with the norm in modern western society. The physical,
locational difference was relatively easy to identify, whereas the
ideological was more difficult.
including its emphasis on the whole individual, on the unity of experience. Its application to cruisers suggests that their way of living facilitates growth in these terms. That is, the 'flow' model allows us to conceptualise cruising as personally affirmative.

That cruising is affirmative can be further illustrated by comparison of it to an increasingly popular aspect of recreation and education. I refer here to 'high adventure' programmes such as Outward Bound. Cruising as a lifestyle process can be seen to fit well within the goals and activities of these high adventure programmes, notwithstanding that the latter are only a part of life as opposed to a total lifestyle.

For the purpose of these brief remarks, McAvoy (1980) provides a model that is useful here for showing how cruising is compatible with the goals and experiences in 'high adventure' programmes. He refers to five goals and seven experiential components to such programmes, all of which have a parallel in cruising. The five goals are as follows:

1. **Excitement and stimulation.** Clearly, cruising is a lifestyle that provides for these two goals.

2. **Develop a positive self-image.** McAvoy (1980:117) suggests that the risk activities in high adventure programmes contribute to positive self-image because these programmes push people to discover their capabilities both physically and mentally. This is consistent with Welton (1978) and Tappley (1977) and suggests that as risk is a part of cruising the process of cruising would lead to the same sort of knowledge and to a similar strengthening of the self-concept.

3. **Accomplish complete concentration.** This goal is seen as important because of the segmenting nature of modern society. We have already seen in Chapter 9 how cruising provides for such focussing and concentration at both activity and lifestyle levels.

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3 A variety of terms are used in relation to 'high adventure' activities, for example, 'challenge' programmes and 'risk recreation'.

4 It should also be remarked that the experiential objectives of high adventure programmes bear distinct similarities to Csikszentmihalyi's concept of flow. See also, for example, Noyce 1958; Leamer 1982; Meier, et al. 1980.
4. **Group participation and cooperation.** On individual boats, except for single-handers, cruising depends on cooperation and participation with others for survival. A suggested elsewhere (eg. Chapter 6) there is also a considerable amount of cooperation required between boats because of the vagaries of wind and tide.

5. **Humility in the face of life.** High adventure programmes encompass activities in the wilderness that "help a person realize that humans are quite powerless in the face of natural phenomena such as mountains, rivers, and storms" (McAvoy 1980:118). Undeniably, cruisers learn the same kind of humility when on the open ocean.

Complimentary to these goals, McAvoy outlines seven experiential components as vehicles for achieving these five goals. The seven components, a **challenge environment**, **individual as well as group challenges**, **decision making**, **outdoor skills**, **safety**, **environmental awareness**, and **group interaction** are all experienced in the cruising lifestyle. Given the detailed discussion of cruising presented thus far, a simple listing of these seven components demonstrates that cruising also meets the five goals through the experiences encountered.

As well as at a personal level, the affirmativeness can be seen as deviant in relation to cruisers' perceptions of society. Their social critique has shown that to them life in modern urban society is dysfunctional to their personal autonomy, encourages conformity, and acts to increase fragmentation or a loss of unity within the self. It follows that cruisers perceive a need to be deviant from modern society in order to enhance their personal psychological health. Their deviance, then, is seen as affirmative because it leads to personal growth.

**B. Societal Affirmative Deviance**

Previous chapters have established that cruising is deviant, in fact is fundamentally at variance with modern society. This deviance has been shown in relation to the way life is lived - the obvious differences in daily existence and experience have been thoroughly explored elsewhere. It has also been shown that there is in cruising a subcultural ideology that helps differentiate cruising from the
mainstream society. At this level, then, deviance has been established.

However, it is also worth placing cruisers' social critique in the context of popular and academic thought about modern society. Cruisers' critique is not isolated, not unique. Rather, the concerns they have about modern society in the Western world are shared by many thinkers. It is inappropriate at this point to go into great detail in characterising modern society. However, Appendix VII contains one composite characterisation that provides a context within which cruisers' critique can be appreciated. The description given in the appendix is simply one view of society but it does show that cruisers' critique is shared by others. There is no evidence to suggest cruisers are likely to have read the authors upon whom I drew for this characterisation but it is evident that cruisers share similar views.

The characterisation of modern society given in the Appendix relies on two underlying factors — the technological production process and bureaucracy — and five descriptors — expertocracy, privatisation, alienation, centralisation, and materialism. Cruisers obviously avoid the two underlying factors in modern society — the technological production process and bureaucracy — by removing themselves from daily contact with these factors. However, cruisers' relationship to the five characteristics discussed — professionalised, privatised, alienating, centralised, and materialistic — is less unequivocal. Figure 11.1 counterposes cruising and modern society in relation to these five factors.

The first theme encompasses the notions of expertocracy and professionalism and goes to the heart of modern society. In many ways, an antithesis is found in cruising. Cruisers do not accept an hierarchy based on function nor based on others being the professionals or experts. Cruisers cannot afford to specialise; they must be able to

5 This material is too detailed for inclusion in the body of the thesis and is included in an Appendix should the reader wish to read more of the detail and background.

6 The following are some of the authors drawn upon for this task: Berger, Berger, and Kellner 1973; Camilleri 1976; Faunce 1968; Fromm 1963; Henry 1972; Illich 1973; Josephson 1962; Pawley 1974; Roszack 1971; Rule 1983; Slater 1974; Toffler 1970; and Williams 1976.
### Figure 11.1

MODERNITY AND CRUISING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modernity</th>
<th>Cruising</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Theme 1: Expertocracy</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reliance on experts for advice and service</td>
<td>Reliance on self and peers for advice and service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deferral to hierarchy of experts, professionals</td>
<td>Assume equality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional and institutional dependence</td>
<td>Relative independence of institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrow competency range; specialists</td>
<td>Wide range of skills and abilities; generalists</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nuclear family</th>
<th>Nuclear family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private transportation</td>
<td>Private and public transportation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private entertainment, especially TV</td>
<td>Private and community entertainment, no TV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Mobility</td>
<td>No class commitment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private affluence</td>
<td>Private affluence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual freedom</td>
<td>Individual freedom</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme 3: Alienation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Powerlessness - size, complexity, mass organisations and institutions overwhelm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powerfullness - over own life; no organisations or institutions have daily power; not a 'mass' lifestyle; simple</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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(cont'd)
(Figure 11.1 cont'd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modernity</th>
<th>Cruising</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Theme 3: Alienation (cont'd)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced from nature - loss of contact with forces and rhythms; no long-term experience of nature</td>
<td>In touch with nature - in nature; close to nature; long-term and continuous contact with forces and rhythms of nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-estrangement - person as instrumental, as an object viz worker, consumer, sold on the market</td>
<td>United - non-instrumental; not involved intimately in job or consumer market; an active agent not a passive object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Theme 4: Centralisation</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linked to organisations via, for example, credit cards, telephone, membership</td>
<td>Generally not tied into such systems as credit cards and telephone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominated by large, integrated centralised organisations</td>
<td>Largely out of reach of, or not related to, large organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual freedom lost in organisational imperative</td>
<td>Individual freedom retained in non-organisational setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Theme 5: Materialism</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriented to possessions, 'having'</td>
<td>Oriented to action, to 'doing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extrinsic and other directed or rewarded</td>
<td>Inner directed, intrinsic rewards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artificial needs created and contrived</td>
<td>Functional needs nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privatised ownership</td>
<td>Privatised ownership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competitive, achievement oriented</td>
<td>Non-competitive; achievement a secondary result of activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High throughput of disposable material goods; life of consumption</td>
<td>Low throughput of material goods; oriented to retention not disposal; non-consumption orientation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
function effectively in a full range of skills and abilities, both technical and administrataive. Cruisers must have a wide range of competencies to survive at sea and in remote anchorages; even the few who can afford to hire experts are likely to find that there is no expert available. Modern society increasingly reduces the range of competencies needed by, and available to, the individual whereas cruising reverses this process, which is a major attraction of the lifestyle.

In most respects, cruisers have carried the notion of *privatisation* to its logical conclusion. They have acquired a private possession and usually use that possession as a nuclear family\(^7\). While there is cooperation in the cruising community there is virtually no mutual ownership and little continuity of sharing and proximate caring. Cruisers are mobile and they take their private home with them; in fact, one of the attractions of cruising, especially to experienced travellers, is that their home is with them, they can get away from the existential terror of the public sphere and the tiring process of living in a strange place (more on this in a moment). Their private home (the boat) is also a symbol which facilitates quick, if at times superficial, interaction with others of like circumstances, an aspect which exacerbates the tendency to be self-contained in relation to the local ethnic community. However, some cruisers do shun the cruising community to avoid or reduce the tendency to ignore the local community. Nonetheless, it would stretch the imagination to conclude that cruisers are anything but highly privatised and individuated people. They may criticise the way modern society and especially urban living activates the private sphere but in their own way theirs is certainly a privatised existence.

Privatisation involves more than a person's relationship to the public sphere because it is so intimately tied to the nuclear family. The nuclear family is arguably one of the main defining features of the western form of modernity and this feature follows through into cruising. The archetypical cruising configuration is a couple, with or

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7 Fifty-one of sixty-eight people interviewed were in a couple relationship, some with children.
without children, but seldom with more than the two generations represented by the nuclear family. During this research I encountered only one boat with three generations represented in the six people aboard but I did encounter many boats with single men either sailing alone or with transient crew. All these cruisers interact with the cruising community but basically the boat is the family unit and it is highly privatised.

Alienation is something most cruisers feel in relation to modern society. In fact, to go cruising is usually seen as a way to escape the alienation of powerlessness, self-estrangement, and estrangement from nature. Cruisers criticise the powerlessness inherent in the large institutional structures of modernity and seek out the cruising way of life because it is not dominated by any organisations or institutions, especially large ones. Cruisers choose a life space where they have the power and influence over their own existence which leads them out of the alienation so pervasive in modern, urban society.

The self-estrangement present in alienation is absent in the lifestyle of cruising. As has been shown elsewhere, cruising is an intrinsically rewarding lifestyle and clearly one which provides its own rewards; it is non-instrumental. Likewise, the person in cruising is valued as a being, not simply as a part of a money-making or regulation-enforcing apparatus. The cruiser is the "active agent,...the bearer of human powers" (Fromm 1963:141) and is non-alienated in this sense of self as actor, or as a source of power, will, and thought.

Alienation from nature is an explicit theme in cruisers' comments in the data. Many clearly noted such alienation in their own urban lives and most recognise the link with nature in the cruising life. Granted, most cruisers do not see themselves as nature 'freaks' but they are nevertheless constantly in and among the elements and rhythms of nature. The cruising life is one that is lived in harmony with nature, where the seasons and the wind intimately influence that life. The alienation from nature inherent in urban life is not present.

On another level it is possible to see cruisers as alienated - from modern society. Their critique is so fundamental and their 'escape' sufficiently complete that they are separated from and assume no responsibility for the society from which they spring. In a way,
they are alienated from a sense of responsibility for society that encourages people to take an active role in their community, to be involved enough to have some impact on the way it functions. It can be suggested that cruisers' critique of society — that it is alienating — is activated and expressed as an alienation. Notwithstanding this, cruisers' verbal critique of society is that it is alienating to them in specific ways, namely, that it increases their sense of powerlessness and causes them to experience estrangement from the self and from nature. This estrangement, or the recognition of it, may be what causes them to opt out of society, there may be a trade-off. To gain a sense of self and a sense of oneness with nature, they are forced to accept alienation from society. They accept the powerlessness they feel within society by asserting their individual power outside society.

The **centralisation** theme is addressed by cruisers primarily in their concerns about 'bigness' in government and business. They see a loss of individuality in the context of large, centralised organisations and, in the face of this, a sense of being powerless. The link with alienation is obvious. There is also a political concern that increasing centralisation inevitably leads to a loss of freedoms and independence as organisational imperatives become ever more dominant.

Cruisers' choice of their lifestyle represents a critique of **materialism** in modern society, in fact, a rejection of material success and acquisition as life goals. The lifestyle does not rely on conspicuous consumption nor on the gathering together of a plethora of material possessions, the functions and functioning of which are problematic. While cruisers do have a sizeable material possession in their boat and its gear, their orientation is toward function, and towards acquisition for functional needs not for extrinsic reward. This critique of materialism is extant in the lifestyle in another way — cruisers have a low throughput of material possessions. Consistent with a capital intensive, low cash-flow lifestyle, cruisers do not practice disposable materialism. Items are purchased or made to function, to work, and to last.

* * * * *
Cruisers, and their responses in the interviews, show us a lifestyle and people who criticise the functioning, if not the structure, of modern western society at a fundamental level. While it is true that they accept our political-economic system much as it is, they are part of what Berger, et al., see as "an increasing incidence of de-modernising ideas and movements" (1973:170). Their adopted lifestyle is their attempt to live in a manner consistent with their critique, a critique directed at some of the excesses of modern society, at modernity. It encompasses personal, political, and environmental issues. Consistent with these critiques, cruising provides a lifestyle that rejects materialism as a driving life goal and fosters a non-specialised, non-centralised way of being. That is to say, cruisers do not accept the professionalisation and centralisation of their lives; they retain ability and control in relation to vital life factors. In the process, they maintain contact with nature, are able to link their own actions with results, and do not see themselves as objects – in short, their lifestyle is an antidote to common forms of alienation in western society. Paradoxically, cruisers continue to live a privatised life and while they may criticise the lack of community inherent in modern society, the lack of social and political responsibility, they not only do nothing to change society but adopt a highly non-community oriented lifestyle in the process.

Cruisers represent such a strong individuation and cruising embodies such a lack of institutional support that the cruising lifestyle could be viewed as an example of 'homelessness' (Berger, et al. 1973). Paradoxically, though, it is not so simply nor clearly the case. 'Homelessness' is a label Berger, et al., use to identify one of the main problems of modernity, a problem which they see as arising because of our increasingly secular and pluralistic societies. The authors' idea is that pluralism leads to people alternating "between highly discrepant and often contradictory social contexts. In terms of his biography, the individual migrates through a succession of widely divergent social worlds" (1973:165). The mobility is not simply physical, although that is a factor; such physical or external mobility has correlates "in cognitive and normative mobility" (1973:105). Berger, et al., tie this concept of 'homelessness' to alienation and suggest it
is one of the prices individuals pay for the strong demand for individuation, a price that includes the loss of connectedness, a loss of being part of "collective structures" (1973:175).

We have seen previously that cruisers are not only physically mobile but are highly individuated people. While it is true that there is a high level of co-operativeness among cruisers and that they share an ideology as a subculture, there is virtually no evidence of the 'collective structures' that would indicate a strong sense of belonging. However, the paradox arises because cruisers avoid a number of the central aspects of modernity that lead to 'homelessness'. They apparently do not have to alternate between divergent public and private selves; that is, their biography seems relatively consistent. Similarly, while they have physical mobility, at one level there is a consistent, unified social context within which they move. Cruisers do not alter their fundamental role from place to place or from public to private sphere; theirs is an integrated role. Certainly, cruisers have to cope with being in a variety of cultures but they do not have to adopt the 'ways of seeing' of these cultures, but rather they adapt to these cultures at a superficial level while in contact with them. There is no depth involved, that is, no role change.

The boat also fulfills an important function here, almost more important than its role as transportation - it is a 'home' in a fully integrated sense. The cruiser's boat is both a physical and psychological refuge from the pressure and existential terror of the unknown environments in which cruisers place themselves. The boat is dominant in the cruiser's life because it is the centre of all activity and is almost constantly in use for the wide variety of tasks and events that make up everyday life. Many cruisers will not spend more than a few nights away from their boats in years and are almost continually in the proximity of the boat. There appears to be a stronger more intrinsic psychological tie to the boat than is evident with most possessions in modern western society, something which probably reflects the boat's centrality in the cruiser's life.

This can be seen from another angle by considering Slater's notion that people in America move around too much to develop any "stable community bonds" (1974:196), that they are not really connected
with their surroundings. Part of this he attributes to the isolating effect of the automobile and part to the idea that people are really only observers or outsiders. In his conceptualisation the homelessness results from a detachment from the surroundings including from a sense of community. This is relevant in relation to cruisers because their mobility is at nature's pace and they are not cut off from their surroundings. One of the differences between sailing and powerboating is that sailors are more in touch with and in tune with nature; they must move with nature's forces and cannot overcome them with sheer mechanical power. By Slater's criteria, cruisers do slow down enough to hear their "own viscera" (1974:197).

It's paradoxical that on the one hand the mobility of cruising is consistent with the 'homelessness' of modern society, while on the other, the relationship to nature, the contact with other cruisers, and the snail-like ability to carry their home allows cruisers a sense of being at 'home' in the universe which urban people apparently lose.

It should be clear from the preceding that cruising is a deviant lifestyle. In addition, it is suggested that, in balance, the lifestyle represents an affirmative alternative, an affirmative deviance. However, such a conclusion is still only relevant to the person - the discussion has not demonstrated a positive impact on society itself but only on individual participants. In fact, as humanistic psychology is starting to discuss, "the concept that personal transformation inevitably leads to social transformation ... [is] obsolete" (Campbell 1984:6). Therefore, while it is possible to see cruising as protostructural, as providing a useful alternative, it is more difficult to see its impact on modern society. These potential impacts are considered under two categories: direct and demonstration.

It is difficult to see where cruising can be expected to have a direct effect on the way society functions because cruisers do not engage in any direct effort to change society. Cruisers are not involved in social change except that they have removed their physical support from the society - they have withdrawn their labour. In fact, it can be argued that cruisers abrogate their community involvement by opting out of active participation. The fact that most cruisers draw much of their economic base and virtually all of their technological
equipment from the society they abandon lends further weight to this argument. However, more to the point is that cruisers do not appear to have any direct impact in changing society.

The impact of cruising as a sort of demonstration effect is more problematic but potentially important. It is here that cruisers play the role of 'cultural heros' and where the analysis goes beyond the purely critical, the anti-structural. In this context cruising can be seen as suggesting and experimenting with other ways of living. These ways are not necessarily 'new' in the world but are 'new' in the sense that they are suggested alternatives to modern society. Of course, these ways of living do not have to be seen as literal models for the organisation of society but as containing elements, concepts, and structures that suggest ways of restructuring society albeit in a different physical location. This notion is, of course, consistent with thinking on the function of games (Huizinga 1944; Sutton Smith 1972), cultural rituals (Geertz 1972; Turner 1969) and certain leisure activities (Csikszentmihalyi 1975). The difference is that cruising is a subculture, a sub-part of the main culture. As such, it is a mirror on the one hand and an example on the other. The subculture can be seen as serving the function of "saying something of something" (Geertz 1972:26) and so "represents ... suppositions, desires, hypotheses, possibilities, and so forth" (Turner 1969:vii) that play a role in cultural development. In the context of this research, then, the subculture of cruising can be seen as serving the same anti-structural and proto-structural functions as games/play, ritual, and certain other activities.

The foregoing discussion of the impact on society of the deviance in the cruising lifestyle has centered mainly on its role as a 'testing' ground for new ideas and ways of being. In a sense, too, the cruiser becomes an example, a cultural hero, who demonstrates to others that change is possible. Cruising seen from afar makes some people question and evaluate their current life and makes them more aware of dysfunctional aspects of their life within the urban/corporate structures of modern society. This suggests that the role of 'fantasy' discussed in Chapter 7 goes beyond fantasy helping people become part of
the cruising subculture. The fantasy also serves a complementary function in helping individuals to formulate a social critique, to understand how and why their life in modern society could be changed for the better.

But, in the final analysis, cruisers themselves appear to have only one goal in mind, at least in the short term. Their aim is to improve their own life space and lifestyle. They are not active in social issues or causes and in a sense have quite clearly opted out of their home society. It appears that very few cruisers were ever active in social issues and the few that were have left that part of their lives behind. Very few even questioned whether their lives are worthwhile and only one interview respondent specifically mentioned needing to do something more useful in life, something that would contribute to society.

What the above suggests is that cruisers do not set out to have an impact on society. It has been shown that they have a strong social critique and that their movement into cruising is both an anti-structural and a proto-structural comment. That is, not only do they reject a certain way of living and being but they set up a way of life that is in some senses a model for living; they suggest what is to them an improvement.

That society may benefit from cruisers' protostructural example is a possibility that has been raised within the concept of affirmative deviance and the systems model that encompasses that concept. Essentially, it appears that cruisers are involved in a process that intends only to improve the situation of the self but that, theoretically, can be seen as facilitating some indirect social benefit.

In May's sense, cruisers are seeking to reassert their own significance, a response to what he sees as a "widespread loss of the sense of individual significance..."(1972:36). Cruisers' is a self-oriented process in that they are trying to regain their own power, to regain control of their own lives irrespective of the impact that might have on the wider society of which they are (or were) a part. May would suggest, though, that taking such personal action, "warding off the powers that threaten one's integrity..."(1972:151), is not only personally functional but is also a factor in reducing dysfunctional
violence in society. His thesis is that much of the violence in American society is a consequence of personal powerlessness. Cruisers themselves are but a small factor in such violence but the lifestyle structure they suggest is not an irrelevant model.

One of C. Wright Mills' categorisations also helps to show that cruisers are primarily oriented to their own needs. Mills (1959) talks of 'troubles' and 'issues', the former being essentially individual in character and effect. The latter transcend the local or individual in cause and effect and so involve society. Cruisers' views and solutions are very much oriented to seeing society in terms of 'troubles' in that their 'escape' to cruising is a way of solving their own problems without tackling the wider issues, for example structural problems, of society. They escape the urban society, to take but one of many possible situations, and create a lifestyle outside it, with some parasitic connections.

Hampden-Turner (1970), in a manner similar to Mills, talks of 'practicals' and 'reformers'. The latter seek to remake society while the former use their education and other resources as tools to extract the most from society. There is an interesting paradox with cruisers here because, on the one hand, they are clearly practicals - using their own resources, for example their education, to extract the most from society and then moving on out of it. On the other hand, the 'society' they establish has the hallmark of the reformer; it attempts to remake society, albeit on the fringe or outside of mainstream society. Primarily, though, we see again how cruisers really only act for their own immediate self-interest.

While 'courage', 'perseverence', and 'personal achievement' are not terms that cruisers use to describe themselves, it can be suggested that they are not irrelevant descriptors of cruisers. Slater (1974) sees such qualities or traits as removing people from the social fabric, as 'disconnectors' which put people on separate courses within a society. He sees such separate course as bad for that society. Consistently, in cruising we see an individuated people contributing to their own well-being but not to that of society.

In Illich's sense of the concept, cruisers are not 'convivial' (1973c). While they do engage in autonomous activity it is difficult to
see them as engaging in meaningful 'creative intercourse' with other persons. Certainly, cruisers can be seen as convivial in relation to their environment but their personal freedom is actualised independently rather than interdependently with others.

Cruising, then and the people who engage in it as a lifestyle, is a subculture in which the individual's own needs are paramount. On the one hand, there is an escape from the restrictions of modern society while, on the other, there is clearly an attempt to set up an alternative to that way of living inherent in modernity. It is also clear that neither the escape nor the created lifestyle can be seen as direct contributors to the improvement of the society of which cruisers are so condemnatory. Cruising is affirmative mainly for the individual.

Cruising is an alternative lifestyle which points to contradictions in many Western countries. While obviously not the answer for all people who are disaffected with life in modern society, cruising does inform us of a concern within these societies about the loss of personal autonomy, self-reliance, and intrinsic rewards. Cruising highlights a solution that might help society to overcome the obvious urban problems of alienation, centralisation, privatisation, and the loss of connectedness with nature. Cruising addresses these issues and posits an arch-individualist solution to problems that are in some ways caused by such a stance. Cruisers offer an individualised solution to social and individual problems - they are creative in their own solution but escapist in their actualisation of that solution. Their solution is certainly relevant to the wider society but the links are not made by cruisers themselves; they simply opt out.

III CRUISING IN THE FUTURE

While the cruising alternative is an affirmative form of deviance for the individual and can be seen as offering affirmative solutions to some of modern society's dilemmas, all is not 'plain sailing' in the future. It appears that cruising faces a multi-faceted Malthusian trap, a trap that is developing because of the very forces that make cruising
desirable and possible. Cruising as a critique is made necessary and possible by modern society; the affluence and technology, while not crucial, are what make cruising possible for so many people.

But, the spread of modern society, its technology and its techniques, poses a fundamental problem for cruising. That is to say, the very social and economic structure that cruisers seek to escape is having an impact on an ever increasing number of cultures and countries. Secondly, and not unrelated, Western affluence and the spread of modernity are factors increasing the number of boats setting off cruising. While most of these are short-term cruisers, their presence, nonetheless, tends to create a crowding of traditional and favoured cruising areas. One result of this is that the welcome mat is wearing a bit thin, to the point where some islands and governments are hostile to 'yachtsies'. Ironically, the third dilemma facing long-term cruising is the infiltration of modernity into cruising itself. This subtle process is occurring mainly through the vehicle of technology as even a few long-term cruisers become seduced by the marvels of radar, satellite navigation systems and and so forth. Of course, engines and freezers have long been common, with the former being almost universal. The dilemma here for cruisers is that such technology not only costs money to own and maintain but its repair dictates destinations and length of stay. Technology insidiously draws the long-term cruiser into a closer liaison with modernity. Now, I may be overstating the problem because it could be that the long-term committed cruiser, that is, the person who has moved from the Departure stage to the Commitment stage, may have disposed of most of such technology during the early stage of cruising. In fact, one respondent said this quite specifically – you become a true cruiser when you get rid of superflous or unreliable technology. Another noted that he was building a work bench rather than a freezer because the former increases self-reliance while the latter reduces it.

But, the 'high-tech' examples are only one side of the increasing technological dependence. There is a general movement away from the simple to the more complex, ranging from the use of fuels to construction materials. Engines, of course, increase the cruiser's dependence on shore facilities but they are only one aspect of the fuel
problem. Cooking and lighting also rely on fuels. For cooking, there is a tendency to move towards propane and similar gases and away from kerosene, the latter having virtually displaced wood and coal on boats. Diesel stoves are not uncommon, especially in the higher latitudes, and these at least reduce the number of fuels carried if a diesel engine is also fitted (which is likely). For lighting, kerosene is still common but the increasing use of electricity means an increasing load on the engine and on more complex storage and transmission systems. Propane is widely available now, although there is no universality of fittings, so a boat that chooses propane is probably saving time and effort by using electricity, if only to reduce the search for and storage of fuels to two from three. However, considering safety and supply problems, many boats still use kerosene for cooking, lighting, and heating and rely on diesel for engine power. Both are readily available, if not always of good quality, and both are reasonably 'low-tech', thus minimising service dependence.

The construction of boats is another area of technological intrusion. Arguably, a wooden boat with wooden spars, galvanised rigging, synthetic sails and no engine is least reliant on high-technology. Fiberglass hull construction requires the least maintenance but the maintenance it does need requires complex paints (for example, to combat osmosis). Items made of wood can be repaired in most places in the world whereas fiberglass is not as universal. Steel and aluminium constructions also have major problems although steel is widely considered the best all-round material. This is so because of its strength, because it can be repaired with ordinary welding equipment (which is widely available), and because low-tech paints can be used. Arguably, an alloy mast can be more maintenance free than a wooden mast but it is not so easily repaired in remote areas. Exotic materials such as carbon-fibre have not yet had any appreciable impact on cruising.

A not unrelated issue here concerns the ability of the lay person to accurately judge the quality of a boat's construction. This problem is exacerbated in the case of fiberglass by two factors. Firstly, it is difficult to efficiently judge whether a fiberglass hull has been strongly built. Lay-up of fibres and composition of resins, for example, are not 'visible' once the boat is completed. Secondly,
though, is the not unrelated problem of construction, testing, and surveying of even a new boat. As D.H.Clarke (1981) has pointed out, the rise of 'stock' boats (bought like cars off the 'lot', untried, and untested) has led to the demise of builder and owner 'sea-trials', a situation where there is thorough testing of the boat. Of course, such trials will not show up all the builders' defects but should help. Clarke recounts a story showing the difficulty in such a situation, especially with regard to the hull construction. In this example, a new stock boat not only had many minor defects but turned out to be so poorly constructed that it virtually fell apart in less than a year - it was so bad that the insurers refused to insure it outside the marina! This long discussion serves to illustrate that the reliance on complex materials makes evaluation difficult and increases the cruisers' dependence on experts for diagnostic, evaluative, and repair services.

The first two underlying dilemmas outlined above lead to other problems, in particular to more government restrictions. These take two basic forms, those on the person and those on the boat, with some aimed at both. The restrictions on persons are currently primarily to do with immigration restrictions, visa controls, and bonds. The latter are levied against boats and crews by a number of countries and can amount to thousands of dollars, thereby posing serious problems for cruisers with a restricted cash flow. Currency regulations may also be a burden in some cases, especially requirements that a certain amount of money be exchanged into local currency - with re-exchange prohibited.

The boat faces other restrictions besides bonds. Customs regulations may complicate arrival, length of stay, and departure, quite independent of immigration or the weather. The situation is further complicated by nationality and/or visa requirements. These national regulations are then compounded by the results of too many cruising boats - restricted anchorages and mooring areas, yacht club regulations and fees, and local government health and housing regulations.

Another area of government regulation that appears a possibility, in part because of the numbers going cruising, but which is not yet common is the licensing of skippers and increasing the safety regulations for yachts. A number of European governments have stringent safety requirements for boats, increasing with size and offshore
range. These are examples of governments' increasing tendency to protect people from themselves, to remove personal responsibility from the individual. The use of two-way radios by boaters is, of course, a contributory factor in increasing regulation and fees. Along with an increase in the number of boats has come an increased use of the radio to summon rescue help. Of course, most of these distress calls come from local boaters and many of those come from small powerboats that are out of fuel or whose engines are unserviceable. Nevertheless, all boating gets branded and further regulations are promulgated ultimately also effecting the experienced and capable offshore cruiser.

As I have indicated earlier, though, the two-way radio can have another equally negative result. The ability to transmit by radio\textsuperscript{8} alters the sense of self-reliance in a fundamental way — it allows the subconscious to 'know' or believe that help can easily be summoned if trouble arises. This produces a (false?) sense of security which detracts from the experience of self as fully responsible and in control. At a slightly different level, in the future another development may erode further the independence of the ocean passage. Although thus far only mandatory on some ocean races, the automatic position indicators bode ill for all offshore boats. The Systems Argos was used in the 1982-83 BOC Single-handed Around the World Race and automatically transmitted a position for each boat so that race organisers knew where each boat was at all times (within a few feet!) (McCormick and Day 1983). Should such a device become mandatory for all offshore sailing boats there will be a significant loss in the sense of independence and freedom so important to cruising. Surveillance, par excellence!

Earning an income becomes increasingly problematical as the number of cruisers increases. The earliest world cruisers (ie. pre-World War II) could count on either working for or being given supplies and repairs — they were usually feted and honoured wherever they

\textsuperscript{8} The EPIRB or Emergency Position Indicating Radio Beacon may be thought of in similar terms. Satellite navigation systems also produce this effect because of the false sense of security encouraged by their supposed accuracy. The dependency on their 'accuracy' has led to the loss of a number of yachts in recent years (Bristow 1984)
went. Today's cruisers, however, are generally banned from taking any employment and certainly cannot expect many handouts. In fact, they inevitably have to pay various fees and/or provide bonds. Cruising is so common now that there are few places where anyone makes a 'fuss over' the arrival of a foreign boat except to complete bureaucratic formalities and levy the fees. This all means that it is ever harder for the cruiser to earn an income along the way, the exceptions being some professionals (e.g. dentists) and those who can provide skills in high demand onshore or among the cruising fleet itself. The short-term cruisers in fact provide quite a lot of work for the longer-term people. Notwithstanding this, earning an income is likely to be an increasing problem for long-term cruisers.

The future of cruising is, therefore, not without its problems. Assuming that current trends continue, cruising could face a Malthusian-type dilemma – over-population may lead to 'decay' through such things as regulation, loss of amenity due to crowding and encroaching modernity. Western countries show no inclination to seriously tackle urban and institutional growth so the forces of modernity that encourage people to 'escape' seem likely to increase in intensity. The consequence could be that while the reasons to go cruising may well intensify, the spread of modernity and increasing number of boats may cause a deterioration in the lifestyle of cruising itself; that is, the reasons to stay cruising may become less attractive. Such a scenario essentially sees cruising becoming increasingly escapist in the sense of a total lifestyle. However, an analysis such as this does ignore the experience of passage-making and its central role for many cruisers. Nothing in the above detracts from the fundamental experience of being at sea (except the radio and satellite tracker) and the minority of cruisers who are primarily motivated by passages may still find good reason to stay cruising.

The increasing number of boats are likely to have less effect, too, on those with a short trip or a definite goal in mind, such as a 'long dreamed of' circumnavigation. The crowding may make such trips less enjoyable and less like the current lifestyle of cruising but such trips will be no less rewarding in terms of a sense of accomplishment and the experience of life at sea on the long passages demanded of a
circumnavigation.

Here is one last word from a cruiser on these future dilemmas. In noting the massive increase in cruising boats at Papeete from 160 in 1973 to over 300 in 1977, Herb Payson described a cruising dystopia, Ahe9 in 1990:

Log, June 3, 1990: "We're approaching Ahe in the Tuamotus. We're beaming in on the Universtat-Constellar grid. Photocell pickups translate to print-out screens the intentions of passing yachts, transmitted by computerized, flashing running lights. Every yacht is on a beam reach, guaranteed by South Pacific Nuclear Trade-Winds Control, and the constant flow of traffic is regulated by Circulation Nautique, nerve centre of the No-Longer-Dangerous Archipelago. As we approach the pass leading into the lagoon, specific instructions are flashed on the illuminated scoreboard, sold used to Ahe by the New York Mets back in 1985. Signals gleam red. The scoreboard puts us on hold.

The holding pattern is crowded, but the waiting boats circle carefully and skillfully, sliding past each other in a graceful arabesque. Outgoing traffic, seasonally heavy, suddenly ceases. Signals glow green. We file in, bowsprit to boomkin. Once inside the lagoon, we diverge into four files and proceed with flotilla precision to the village.

The original villagers have long since been transferred to remote atolls, prohibited to visitors in order to protect the cultural purity of Tuamotan life; but Southwest Casting has staffed Ahe with hypnotically trained personnel who re-enact the generous hospitality of the original inhabitants. We proceed to an assigned mooring. Jet launches collect us, and a wave of humanity surges ashore to soak up tropical experience.

The bar opens at 8.00pm. The feast is at 9.00: frozen poison cru; synthetic pot; instant taro root; and a light wine made from reconstituted coconut milk. The turnstile at the entrance to the great hall accepts credit cards. Hosts and hostesses are charming and gracious. Entertainment is live.

The next day the yachts leave the village and spread out over the great lagoon to designated anchorages. A week is spent in isolated splendour, no neighbour closer than 500 metres, an organizational triumph. If one should prefer diversion to solitude, however, there is always the trip to the pass in the glass-bottom hydro to watch professional divers play among incredibly lifelike sharks. (Payson 1980:133-134)

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9 Ahe is an atoll in the Tuamotos archipelago, the heart of the 'South Pacific'.
Overdrawn? Hopefully. But it does provoke another thought. This research began as a socio-psychological analysis of a contemporary group of folk heroes, a subculture. It may turn out to be also a study in exotic anthropology - a portrayal of a vanishing culture.

* * * * *

Cruising is important because it is an attempt by the individual to transcend the momentary and temporary notion of play, of play's ability to release the 'free spirit'. Cruising is an attempt to allow the person to become a 'free spirit' in all of life, not just in a momentary activity. But that benefit is for the participant.

Cruising is important, as is any subculture, because it presents us with a societal mirror, it allows us to see our social values in another context. In addition, cruising shows us a way of actualising different values in a lifestyle, it allows us to see other ways of living and being in nature.

In the final analysis, though, the ultimate value in a lifestyle like cruising is in its potential for provoking a spiritual and physical unity with nature. Cruising provides a unique escape from the modern world and it provides an essential unification of human experience in the universe - cruising can take on spiritual significance and value for the individual.

* * * * *
This thesis and the research that underpins it have confronted me with fundamental philosophical and intellectual insights. In engaging this topic and the lifestyle I have placed myself in a physical and intellectual environment that has contributed to my emotional and intellectual growth. It has placed before me the fundamental dilemma of understanding the 'good life'; doing so in a way that transcends the intellectual. Ocean sailing placed me in a set of experiences that cannot easily be pushed into the background while I continue to reside in a city and while my work is bound to a large organisation. Had I kept the research and the intellectual processes at 'arms length', had I used only half of my human potential as an experiencing and thinking being then I would not have been confronted with any fundamental questions. But, the act of being in the cruising and ocean sailing environment and the fact that I would not keep the experience at arms length means that this research and thesis also contributed to my own understanding of myself-in-the-world.

The thesis, if it has been successful as a communication tool, can do much more than provide an interesting ethnography and some theoretical speculation. It can also help the reader to apprehend the fundamental life questions that I faced in the cruising lifestyle. To some degree, it is a mystical experience that confronts us in cruising because the experience touches a basic philosophical question - what is the 'good life'? The answers cruising provides to that question are not without contradiction, nor without ambiguity. The answer lies in the unity of and with nature. The good life is one lived in close contact and harmony with the forces of nature. It is a life motivated by intrinsic and non-material rewards. Yet, it is not a lifestyle involving close social bonding. Also, it is not a lifestyle stripped bare of modern conveniences and material possessions, and it is not a life that draws its physical sustenance through direct toil with the land or sea. That is, cruising is not self-sustaining in its production of food and other basic physiological needs.

That cruisers are not self-sufficient does not detract from the importance of their experience of nature and the sea. It simply means that cruising is not a complete paradigm for self-sufficiency and is obviously not the complete answer to attempts at overcoming the
shortcomings of an urban, technological, and bureaucratic society. Nonetheless, cruising is an important contributor to thinking about the good life because it makes a fundamental point: The human relationship to nature is a crucial aspect of the 'good life'. Many humans need to be able to experience themselves alone with nature, need to be able to place themselves physically and psychically 'at risk' in nature so as to experience a sense of competence, unity, and peace. That cruising shows us this is its value to society; that it does it for cruisers is its potential contribution to the well-being of all individuals. Such is the potential value of a subculture that is affirmatively deviant.
Appendix I

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

The data below were derived from information received at the time individuals were surveyed.

I. CRUISERS

A. Age

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
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B. Sex

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>62.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>37.3</td>
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C. Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Some secondary school</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete secondary school</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some tertiary</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete tertiary</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>64.4</td>
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D. Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>%</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional/managerial</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>51.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business owner/manager</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical, Trades, Labourer</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E. Time Cruising

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>months to 20 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total years</td>
<td>295</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F. Distances Cruised

Average longest passage sailed by respondents: 35 days
Longest passage sailed by a respondent: 78 days
Total miles sailed: 1.7 million
Average miles sailed: 28,500
G. Yacht Position

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>31.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-owner</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>54.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrelated crew</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family member</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These were the positions nominated by the respondents. All but one of the 'unrelated crew' were aboard the boat on a long-term basis.

H. Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total aboard sample</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of boats with children</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A total of 15 children were aboard 9 of the boats from which an interviewee was drawn.

I. Nationality

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<thead>
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<th>%</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States of America</td>
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<td>54.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Germany</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II. OCEAN RACERS

A. Age

Average 46
Range 27 - 71

B. Sex

All Male

C. Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete secondary school</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some tertiary</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete tertiary</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
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D. Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business owner/Director</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>73.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15.8</td>
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<tr>
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E. Yacht Position

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
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<th>%</th>
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<tr>
<td>Owner/skipper</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>63.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skipper</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crew</td>
<td>6</td>
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F. Nationality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nation</th>
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<th>%</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>10</td>
<td>52.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>42.1</td>
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<td>United States of America</td>
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<td>5.3</td>
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III. SOLING RACERS

A. Age

Average 33
Range 21 - 58

B. Sex

All Male

C. Education

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<tr>
<th>Education</th>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete secondary school</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
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<td>36</td>
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<tr>
<td>Complete tertiary</td>
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D. Occupation

<table>
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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical/Managerial</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>40.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business owner</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not known</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
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E. Yacht Position

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Skipper</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheet hand</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Forward hand</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
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F. Nationality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>No.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Germany</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</table>
Appendix II

LIST OF RESPONDENTS

A. Cruisers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>COUNTRY OF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allen, Joan</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allen, Rex</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beech, Guy</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benson, David</td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bent, Jo</td>
<td>U.K.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berenstecher, Otto</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicknell, David</td>
<td>U.K.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binder, Jack</td>
<td>USA/Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brookewaite, Julia</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooks, Red</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooks, Rob</td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooks, Ruth</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartier, Arlyn</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartier, Victor</td>
<td>USA/UK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chagas, Angelica</td>
<td>Brazil/Swiss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colding, George</td>
<td>Denmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colding, Sue Anne</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conway, Hal</td>
<td>N.Z./USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cortner, Miles</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couch, Lindy</td>
<td>U.K.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davock, Marcia</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davock, Moore</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doyle, Pat</td>
<td>Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastman, Betty</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastman, Peter</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farquhar, George</td>
<td>UK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fletcher, Albert</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fletcher, Dottie</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasebe, Yukio</td>
<td>Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holden, Bob</td>
<td>Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holden, Sally</td>
<td>Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howe, Martin</td>
<td>U.K.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingram, Pam</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson, Jim</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuoelzer, Harold</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lynch Ray</td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magee, Michael</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malseed, Kay</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martel, Alain</td>
<td>France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martel, Giselle</td>
<td>France</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mathias, John</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McMenemy, Sharona</td>
<td>U.K.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pardey, Larry</td>
<td>Canada</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pardey, Lin</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumley, David</td>
<td>UK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robinson, Julie</td>
<td>USA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roy, Jim</td>
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<td>Roy, Kamuela</td>
<td>USA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shreve, Echo</td>
<td>USA</td>
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<td>Shreve, Merle</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skelcher, Robin</td>
<td>U.K.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de Soyres, Cathy</td>
<td>France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de Soyres, Francois</td>
<td>France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stamps, Jim</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swerts, Jan</td>
<td>Belgium</td>
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<tr>
<td>Truesdale, Bill</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upton, Kathy</td>
<td>Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upton, Terry</td>
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</table>
Wachter, Sabina  
Weller, Jane  
Weller, Paul  
White, Dennis  
Williams, Charles  
Williams, Gail  
Wollmar, Gus  
Wood, Roger  
Woodhead, Roslyn  
Young, Lyn  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
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<th>HOME PORT</th>
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<tr>
<td>Cassidy, John</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chute, Jim</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Clarke, Ron</td>
<td>Australia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fornaro, Guy</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harris, Bob</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ings, Terry</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Long, John</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Martin, Don</td>
<td>Canada</td>
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</tr>
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<td>McAlister, Neil</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newton, John</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Palmer, Gerry</td>
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<td>Rafferty, Bill</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rasmussan, Sven</td>
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<td>Rodereda, Ed</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Selby, Bob</td>
<td>Australia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shugg, Glenn</td>
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<td>Tasker, Rolly</td>
<td>Australia</td>
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<td>Tupper, Steve</td>
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### C. Soling Racers

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Name</th>
<th>Country of Home Port</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahern, Michael</td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baron-Hay, John</td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethwaite, Mark</td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapus, Larent</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coster, B.A.M.</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gladwell, Richard</td>
<td>N.Z.</td>
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<td>HAAS, Harold Quant</td>
<td>Germany</td>
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<td>Holler, Richard</td>
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<td>Lamaro, Gianluca</td>
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<td>Packer, William</td>
<td>Australia</td>
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<td>Vanbeen, Dr. E.</td>
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<td>Walker, Dr. S.</td>
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<td>Germany</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not Supplied</td>
<td>N.Z.</td>
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</table>
THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

I. CRUISING

The interviews were semi-structured with a predominance of open-ended questions. Only two parts of the interview used forced-choice alternatives. With the exceptions noted below, the questions listed were for interviewer eyes only and were not necessarily used verbatim. The order of the questions shown below was generally followed but deviation occurred to suit interviewee and other circumstances. Not all of the questions shown were used in each interview.

A. Cruising History

This section began each interview and focussed on the person's history in relation to sailing and their introduction to cruising. It was primarily a sailing/boating oriented history before cruising and since leaving the home port.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CARD A</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aim: To discover the sailing/boating history before and since leaving the home port. To get more data about the cruise to back up the factual data of the fact sheet. To discover the pattern of cruising year to year and to explore the reasons the particular pattern develops; to explore why certain kinds of places are sought out, returned to, or stayed at for extended periods of time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. List of main ports of call in previous period (15 months). 'Main' not by size but by relative importance to interviewee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. List of other anchorages and ports of call.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Select a typical 'good' port under both 1 and 2 and explore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Select a typical 'bad' port under both 1 and 2 and explore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-why were they good and bad?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-activities in each kind of port - necessities and recreation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-characteristics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B. Why Cruise?/The Cruising Lifestyle

This section followed automatically from the previous one because the discussion of a cruising history usually led to a discussion of the motivation for cruising. There was also a tendency for respondents to begin to discuss not only positive aspects of cruising but also the negative aspects of the society they left.

CARD B

Aim: To find out what the life is like, its characteristics, what demands it places on people; what it gives people; what it allows of people; what is positive and negative about it; its ethnography.

1. Decision point. At some point after departing your home port, you decided to continue indefinitely cruising. Can you name that time or place? Describe the circumstances? What were the reasons for going home vs those for continuing? Was there a deciding factor?

NB: DON'T FORGET THE NEGATIVE (OR)

2. May be a good place here to do the Cantril Ladder.)

3. If there was not a point of decision to continue indefinitely, ask for the pros and cons as of now. Why do you continue? What forces make you want to go home?

4. Use Csikszentmihalyi's 8 reasons for enjoying and follow up most important ones for detail.

C. The 8 Reasons Ranking Questions

The fixed choice ranking question was used here. In the case of the first half of the sample, list 'A' below was handed to respondents and they called out the numbers in order of importance to them. The latter half of the sample were handed list 'B' and asked to indicate the rank order next to each item in the list. This change was made because of the availability of printing facilities for the second half of the interview programme.
CARD C

List 'A': 8 Possible Reasons for Enjoying Cruising

1. Friendship, companionship
2. Competition, measuring self against others
3. Development of personal skills (mental and physical)
4. Prestige, regard, glamour
5. The activity itself: the pattern, the action, the world it provides
6. Emotional release
7. Enjoyment of the experience and/or the use of skills
8. Measuring self against own ideal

CARD D

List 'B': 8 Possible Reasons for Enjoying Cruising

Please rank, in order of importance, the following reasons for enjoying life as an ocean cruiser (give the rank of one to the most important and eight to the least important reason).

a. Friendship, companionship
b. Competition, measuring self against others
c. Development of personal skills (mental and physical)
d. Prestige, regard, glamour
e. The activity itself: the pattern, the action, the world it provides
f. Emotional release
g. Enjoyment of the experience and/or the use of skills
h. Measuring self against own ideal

Comments:
D. Ocean Passage-Making

In most interviews, the specific aspect of cruising known as 'passages' was explored in some detail. However, it was not possible to deal with this special topic in all interviews. Card E below formed the basis for this exploration.

CARD E

Aim: To discover the nature of the ocean passage-making experience and to find out how it contributes to the life of a cruiser. What is passage-making really all about?

1. List all the POSITIVE/NEGATIVE aspects of an ocean passage. eg. arrival; departure; birds; fish; sea-scape; sky; sunsets; food; weather; isolation; watch-keeping.

2. What is it about these things that you LIKE/DISLIKE? How does time pass; pace; rhythm; control and independence; boredom; action; distractions; helplessness? What do you think about?

2a. Sometimes do the full list of questions for flow.

E. The Cruising Person

There were two parts to this section. The first provided for completely unstructured responses with no direction on how to answer. The second part occurred when the respondent had no more to say about the 'characteristics' of a cruising person - at that point the 'adjective list' (Card G) was handed to the respondent who was asked if these words were of any use in describing a cruiser.
CARD F

Aim: To be able to describe the kind of people who can and do enjoy the cruising lifestyle. To be able to understand the needs, abilities, motivations, characteristics, etc. of a 'happy' and 'successful' cruiser.

1. Before we look at what cruisers are like, I'd like to find out how you define a cruiser? What kinds of milestones does a person need to pass before you would call them a genuine cruiser? eg. is it a matter of time, length of cruise; length of passage; liveaboard; occupation?

2. Now, I'd like you to think of someone who you consider to be ideally suited to cruising as a long-term life or 'occupation'. As you think about the person, can you describe them, what it is that makes them ideally suited to cruising?
   a. What words/adjectives would you use to describe a cruiser?
   b. What words would you use to describe the opposite of a good cruiser?
   c. Look through this list of adjectives and pick words that best describe cruisers.

CARD G

ADJECTIVE LIST

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Careful</th>
<th>A Loner</th>
<th>Risk Taker</th>
<th>Adventurous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Methodical</td>
<td>Inventive</td>
<td>Emotional</td>
<td>Hazard Conscious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organised</td>
<td>Rational</td>
<td>A Dreamer</td>
<td>Down-to-earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-reliant</td>
<td>Practical</td>
<td>Tenacious</td>
<td>A wanderer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-operative</td>
<td>Single-minded</td>
<td>Eccentric</td>
<td>Optimist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Fatalistic</td>
<td>Realistic</td>
<td>Speculative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patient</td>
<td>A vagabond</td>
<td>Escapist</td>
<td>Competitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easy going</td>
<td>Conqueror</td>
<td>Foolhardy</td>
<td>Nature Lover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selfish</td>
<td>Pessimistic</td>
<td>Resourceful</td>
<td>Irresponsible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domineering</td>
<td>Adaptable</td>
<td>Flexible</td>
<td>Social drop-out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-sufficient</td>
<td>Proud</td>
<td>Spiritual</td>
<td>Masochist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciplined</td>
<td>Nationalistic</td>
<td>Cunning</td>
<td>Curious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patriotic</td>
<td>Helpfull</td>
<td>Courageous</td>
<td>Individualistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contemporary</td>
<td>Crazy</td>
<td>Observant</td>
<td>Opportunist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
F. The Cantril Self-Anchorin Striving Scale

For many respondents, this became the longest and most time-consuming part of the interview. Except for the Biographical information, it was the last part of most interviews. It should be stressed that the questions were asked about life in general and not about cruising in particular. Cards H, I, and J were only slightly modified from Cantril (1965).

CARD H

PERSONAL

(A) All of us want certain things out of life. When you think about what really matters in your own life, what are your wishes and hopes for the future? In other words, if you imagine your future in the best possible light, what would your life look like then, if you are to be happy? Take your time in answering; such things aren't easy to put into words.

Permissible Probes: What are your hopes for the future? What would your life have to be like for you to be completely happy? What is missing for you to be happy? [Use also, if necessary, the words 'dreams' and 'desires'.]  
Obligatory Probe: Anything else?

(B) Now, taking the other side of the picture, what are your fears and worries about the future? In other words, if you imagine your future in the worst possible light, what would your life look like then? Again, take your time in answering.

Permissible Probe: What would make you unhappy? [Stress the words 'fears' and 'worries'.] 
Obligatory Probe: Anything else?

(C) Where do you stand on the ladder at the present

(D) Where would you say you stood on the ladder 2 years before you went cruising?

(E) Where do you think you will stand on the ladder 5 years in the future?

** now if improvement (or opposite) from past to future:

(F) What was worse [better] about the past position?

(G) What is likely to be better [worse] about the future?
CARD I

(Respondents were handed a card with a ladder diagram such as this drawn on it.)

10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0

CARD J

SOCIETY

(A) Now, let us look at your country [or world]. If you picture the future in the best possible light, how would things look in, say, 10 years? Wishes and hopes; dreams?

(B) Taking the opposite view, what are your fears and worries about your country [or world]? Picture the worst possible situation in 10 years. What would things be like?

(C) Where does your country stand on the ladder at the present?

(D) Where would you say it stood 2 years before you went cruising?

(E) Where do you think it will stand 5 years in the future?

(F) What was worse [better] about the past?

(G) What is likely to be better [worse] about the future?
G. Fact Sheet

To complete each interview, a number of biographical facts about the respondent and the respondent's yacht were elicited, as follows:

a. The Yacht

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The yacht's name ____________________________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The yacht's port of registration _____________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Length on deck in feet _____________________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Beam in feet ______________________________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Type of rig ________________________________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Crew size on last passage ___________________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Year launched ______________________________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Year acquired by present owner ______________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>How acquired: 1) purchased new ______________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) purchased second hand __________________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3) self-built ______________________________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4) purchased hull, self-completed _____________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5) other __________________________________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Type of construction: 1) steel ________________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2) wood ___________________________________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3) fiberglass ______________________________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4) ferro-cement ____________________________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5) other __________________________________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Approximate cost to acquire and initially equip, not including</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>provisioning (in thousands of US $) __________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Which of the following are on board?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Auxiliary _________ Electric Nav Lights ________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Refrigeration _______ Electronic calculator _______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pressure water _______ Elect'l generator (sep) _______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Radio Receiver _______ Auto-pilot ________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Radio Transmitter _______ Wind vane self-steering __________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Radar/Loran _________ Wheel steering ______________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Depth Sounder ________ Oven ______________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other __________________________________________________</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. The Person

13. Nationality __________________________________________
14. Sex __________________________________________________
15. Date of Birth __________________________________________
16. Education:  
   1) some high school ______
   2) complete high school ______
   3) some tertiary ______
   4) complete tertiary ______
17. Qualification obtained ___________________________________
18. What was your main income earning occupation just before you started cruising? _________________________________________
19. In your current yacht position, are you:
   1) the owner ______
   2) part owner ______
   3) unrelated crew member ______
   4) family member ______
   5) other ______
20. How many, if any, children are travelling aboard? ______

3. Cruising Facts

21. Home port ____________________________________________
22. Total distance you've sailed:
   while cruising ______
   plus while racing ______
23. Longest passage: in miles ______
   in days ______
24. Date departed home port _________________________________
II OCEAN RACERS

These interviews tended to be briefer with much less elaboration given by the respondents or solicited by the interviewer. The interviews took the following form.

1. (a) How long have you been sailing?
   
   (b) What types of sailing have you done (ie mostly dinghies or larger sailing; protected or ocean)?

2. Have you done any extended ocean cruising (ie greater than 500 mile ocean passage)? If so, please describe the circumstances.

3. (a) How long have you been sailing competitively?
   
   (b) What proportion of your sailing has been competitive?
   
   (c) What type of competitive sailing have you done and in what proportion?
   
   i. dinghy racing
   ii. round-the-buoys cruiser racing
   iii. offshore racing

4. I'd like you to think about ocean racing for a minute and describe the experience for me. Take your time. What is good about it? Bad? What do you like most about it?

5. 8 Reasons Ranking Question:

   The same list used in the latter part of the cruising study (See Part I Card D, List 'B' above) was handed to Ocean Racing respondents. The instructions were changed to read:

   "Please rank, in order of importance, the following reasons for enjoying ocean racing (give the rank of 1 to the most important and 8 to the least important reason)."

6. Cantril Self-Anchoring Scale:

   This series of questions was asked of Ocean Racers in the same form as shown for cruisers (See Part I Cards H, I, and J).

7. Biographical:

   The following information was obtained:

   (a) Nationality
   
   (b) Sex
   
   (c) Birth date
(d) Education:  
   1) some high school  
   2) complete high school  
   3) some tertiary  
   4) complete tertiary  

(e) Qualification obtained:  

(f) Occupation  

(g) Yacht position last major race:  
   Owner  
   Skipper  
   Crew  

(h) Total distance you've sailed (thousands of miles)  
   a) while cruising  
   b) while ocean racing  

(i) Longest passage while racing  
   a) in miles  
   b) in days  

(j) Size of the boat you sailed in your last ocean (overnight) race?  

III SOLING RACING  

The Soling respondents were surveyed by mail-out and mail-return questionnaire. The covering letter and questionnaire are reproduced below. A list of addresses of participating skippers in the 1982 World Championships was obtained and 108 questionnaires were mailed to addresses in 13 countries. Only skipper's addresses were available so two extra copies were forwarded to the skipper for distribution to the crew. The questionnaire was translated into German and French but all but two were returned in English. Twenty-two usable questionnaires were returned.
Dear Sir,

Earlier this year you competed in the Sailing World Championships here in Western Australia and the organizers of that event have kindly given me permission to write to you. In some cases this letter will have been forwarded to you by your skipper as his was the only address available from the committee.

I am a staff member at this University. As part of my job and to upgrade my qualifications I am writing a thesis for a doctorate degree. The research for the thesis is in the social sciences with particular reference to long-term cruising. However, as part of the research I need to survey ocean racing sailors and Sailing sailors. I have done all the other research by interviews but found that you were so busy with the competition while here in WA that it was better for me to write to you. Enclosed is a questionnaire that I would like you to complete and return to me. Also enclosed are some international reply coupons that I hope will cover postage.

I normally send a newsletter and progress report to the people in the study and would like to include you on the mailing list. If you wish to be sent these newsletters, please be sure that your address is enclosed with the completed questionnaire or is on the envelope.

My sailing credentials for this research may be of interest to you. Although I've only been sailing for six years, in that time I've made extended passages in the Pacific Ocean, covering most of the distance from Canada to Fiji. In addition, I've done limited inshore racing and have been crew on some short offshore races. I own a 30-ft cruising sloop which I have yet to take very far but which is gradually being upgraded for extended passage sailing.

May I apologise for writing in English if English is not your native language. Translation required was too high for me to afford. I do apologise for this.

Thank you very much for your co-operation.

Yours sincerely,

Jim Macbeth
Junior Tutor
SOLING SURVEY

This questionnaire is being given to you because of your involvement with competitive sailing in Colinga. You have probably done other sailing and raced on other classes of yacht, but you'll only be asked about this other sailing so that a "sailing profile" for you can be developed. You'll also be asked some questions of a general nature about yourself and society and at the end some biographical questions are added. Your answers are confidential and no individual will be identified in the report.

Most of the questions that follow require you to write your answers rather than simply tick or rank pre-determined responses. This type of response is more consistent with the interviewing technique that was used in the other parts of the research. If you wish to write down more than the space allows, please feel free to attach further pages, or write on the blank back page. Of course, if you have only time for brief, short answers please write what you have time for. I would rather a short answer than none at all. The long spaces are left for those who have time to write a lot.

1. Sailing in general

1. (a) How long have you been sailing and in what circumstances did you learn to sail?

1. (b) What types of sailing have you done (e.g. dinghies, keelboats, cruising)? How much have you done of each? Have you done any long ocean passages or lived on a yacht for extended periods of time?

1. (c) What types of competitive sailing have you done (e.g. dinghies, keelboats, cruisers)? How much have you done of each? Have you done any offshore racing, and if so, what was your longest non-stop race?
2. Soling Racing:

This question is entirely about Soling racing and I would like all your answers to be about racing Solings. You’ve just competed in the Soling Worlds here at Fremantle so I know you have extensive Soling experience and ability. It is your reasons for doing this type of racing that I want to understand and your responses will help me in this task.

1. (a) How did your boat place in the Worlds?

1. (b) What is your assessment of how you personally performed as a sailor during the Worlds? Explain.

1. (c) How long have you been racing Solings or similar racing keelboats (e.g. Diamonds, Dragons)?

1. (d) Now, I’d like you to think about the experience of racing Solings – what it is like to sail Solings competitively. Can you describe for me what it is like to race, what you do while racing? What is good about the experience? What is bad? What do you like most about being out on the water in a race? Why do you continue to race such boats?
2. (d) Continued

2. (e) Keeping in mind what you have just written, I'd like you to think about why you rate Colinga and rank the following 8 reasons in the order of importance that each reason holds for you. Give a rank of '1' to the most important, a '2' to the next most important and so on to '8' for the least important.

1. Friendship, companionship............................

ii. Competition, measuring self against others ..........

iii. Development of personal skills (mental and physical).

iv. Prestige, regard, glamour............................

v. The activity itself: the pattern, the action, the world it provides............................................

vi. Emotional release........................................

vii. Enjoyment of the experience and/or use of skills....

viii. Measuring self against own ideal......................

If you have any comments to make about your ranking or the 8 reasons, please write them below.
3. You and Your Country

This question is in two parts and is of a more general nature. It does not refer
to Solings but rather to you. You'll be asked to write answers and to make rankings.

Part I - You

3. (a) All of us want certain things out of life. When you think about what really
matters in your own life, what are your wishes and hopes for the future? In
other words, if you imagine your future in the BEST possible light, what might
your life look like then, if you are to be happy? What are your hopes for the
future? What would your life have to be like for you to be completely happy?
What is missing for you to be happy? Take your time in answering; such things
aren't easy to put into words.

Anything else?
7. (b) Now, taking the other side of the picture, what are your fears and worries about the future? In other words, if you imagine your future in the WORST possible light, what would your life look like then? What would make you unhappy? What do you fear, worry about? Again, take your time answering.

Anything else?

To the right is a picture of a ladder. Suppose you say that the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you, and that the bottom represents the worst possible life you for.

3. (c) Where on the ladder, which rung, do you feel you personally stand at the PRESENT time? Step number...............  

3. (d) Where on the ladder would you say you stood FIVE YEARS AGO? Step number...............  

3. (e) And where do you think you will be on the ladder FIVE YEARS FROM NOW? Step number...............  

3. (f) If you have any additional comments to make or elaborations to your answers above, please write them here and add a separate sheet if necessary.
Part II - Your Country

3. (r) Now, what are your wishes and hopes for the future of your country. If you picture the future of your country in the BEST possible light, how would things look, let us say, ten years from now? Country________________________

Anything else?

3. (i) And what about your fears and worries for the future of your country? If you picture the future of your country in the WORST possible light, how would things look about ten years from now?

Anything else?
3. (a) Now, looking at the ladder again, suppose your greatest hopes for your country at the top, your worst fears at the bottom. Where would you put your country on the ladder at the present time? Step number....................

5. (c) Where did your country stand FIVE YEARS AGO on the ladder? Step number....................

3. (d) Just as your best guess, where do you think your country will be on the ladder FIVE YEARS FROM NOW? Step number.............

3. (i) If you have any additional comments to make or elaborations to your answers above, please write them here and add a separate sheet if necessary.

4. Biographical detail

4. (a) Nationality.......................... 4(b) Birth date............. 4(c) Sex..........

4. (d) Education: (TICK ONE)
   i. Some secondary school.... □
   ii. Complete secondary school.... □
   iii. Some tertiary (e.g. technical school or university).... □
   iv. Complete tertiary.... □

4. (e) Qualification(s) obtained.................................................................

4. (f) Occupation...............................................................

4. (g) Yacht position during Soling Worlds (TICK ONE)
   i. Skipper.... □
   ii. Sheet hand.... □
   iii. Foredeck hand.... □

(h) Date completed this questionnaire..............................................................

Thanks very much for taking the time to complete this questionnaire.
The full code is in two sections: Personal and Society. Cantril's Code has been modified by the addition of codes needed for this research but none of the original code was eliminated (although some codes were not used). The use of italics indicates modification, that is, material added to an existing code or an entire new code. The section titles and organization have been slightly modified.
A. PERSONAL HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS; PERSONAL WORRIES AND FEARS

The categories for personal hopes and aspirations are given on the left-hand side of the page. The categories for personal worries and fears are given on the right-hand of the page.

Section 1: Own Personal Character

101 Emotional stability and maturity - peace of mind, mental health and well-being; sense of humour, understanding of others, etc.; harmonious life.

102 Be a normal, decent person - leading a quiet life, harming no one.

103 Self-development or improvement - opportunity for independence of thought and action, for following through with own interests; further study; reading for non-leisure purposes; no "rut", more education, create things.

104 Acceptance by others - recognition of my status by others; to be liked, respected or loved, friends/relate to others (exception: where reference is restricted to family or marriage, code under 141)

105 Achieve sense of own personal worth - self-satisfaction; feeling of accomplishment, lead a purposeful life. (Note: recognition by self as contrasted to recognition by others.)

106 Resolutions of one's own religious, spiritual, or ethical problems.

107 To lead a disciplined life.

109 Miscellaneous aspirations regarding one's own personal character.

201 Emotional instability and immaturity - lack of peace of mind, of mental health or well-being; no sense of humour or understanding of others, etc.; life of disharmony.

202 Become anti-social; take to crime; become violent

203 No self-development or improvement - getting in a "rut"; no opportunity for independence of thought and action, for following through with own interests; no further study or reading etc.

204 Not accepted by others - no recognition of my status by others; not be liked, respected or loved, (exception: where mention is restricted to family or marriage, code under 241)

205 No sense of personal worth - feel personally inadequate; unable to achieve aspirations as to occupation or role in life; feel worthless; have no purpose in life.

206 To be a person without character.

209 Miscellaneous worries and fears regarding one's own personal character.
Section 2: Personal Economic Situation

111 Improved or decent standard of living for self or family; sufficient money to live better or to live decently; freedom from debt; make ends meet; relief from poverty; not suffer want, hunger, security of income, etc.

112 Have own business; ability to increase or expand one's business.

113 Have own land or own farm.

114 Have own house, boat, apartment, or garden; or get better ones.

115 Have modern conveniences, such as a car, bathroom, fine or new furniture, fine clothes, large appliances such as washing machine, radio, television, boat improvements, etc.

116 Have wealth - money to do anything I/we wish.

119 Miscellaneous aspirations having to do with economic situation of self or family.

211 Deterioration in or inadequate standard of living for self or family; not sufficient money to live better or to live decently; debt; poverty; suffer want, hunger, etc.

212 Loss of the Boat

219 Miscellaneous worries and fears having to do with economic situation of self or family.

Section 3: Job or Work Situation

121 Good job, congenial work for self, spouse, or other family member; independence in choice of occupation; pleasant, interesting job or work situation; chance of advancement.

122 Employment - steady work for self, spouse, or other family member.

123 Success in one's work for self, spouse, or other family member; make a contribution to one's field.

221 Poor job, uncongenial work for self, spouse, or other family member; no independence in choice of occupation; unpleasant, uninteresting job or work situation; no chance for advancement.

222 Unemployment - no steady work for self, spouse, or other family member; inability to find or hold a job; unable to work because of sickness or old age.

223 Failure in one's work for self, spouse, or other family member; contribute little or nothing to one's field.
Section 4: Other References to "Self"

131 One's own health - continued or regained health (physical or mental) for self; strength to enjoy life.

132 Happy old age - long and happy life; peaceful, pleasant, secure old age.

133 Recreation, travel, leisure time; sports, reading for pleasure, etc.

134 Variety, challenge, an active life.

135 Stay with the sea, live aboard, cruising life style, live near the sea, boat.

136 Personal Flexibility; not restricted by others; simple life; self-sufficiency.

137 Concern for place of living; outdoors; close to nature; clean, quiet, etc.

138 Become shore based, not cruise forever.

139 Miscellaneous aspirations involving other references to "self".

141 Happy family life - happy marriage; pleasant home; love within family; have a (good) relationship, husband or wife; have children.

Section 5: Other References to Family

141 Happy family life - happy marriage; pleasant home; love within family; have a (good) relationship, husband or wife; have children.

No or unhappy family life - no husband, wife, or children; no marriage or unhappy marriage; no home or unhappy home; no love within family.
Relative concern for spouse, children, parents, or other relatives; be close to them; keep them together or get them together again; help or take care of them; live up to their expectations.

Health of family continued good health or improved health (physical or mental) for members of family.

Children adequate opportunities for them (including education); children themselves do well, be happy, successful.

Miscellaneous aspirations regarding family.

Section 6: Other People, Community, Nation

Freedom, specifically freedom of speech, of religion, of occupation, of movement, etc.

Lack of freedom, including specifically lack of freedom of speech, of religion, of occupation, or movement, etc.

No improvement in present government; fear present government will continue.

Political instability; chaos, confusion; lack of internal peace; civil war; riots; etc.

Miscellaneous worries and fears having to do with the political situation.

Economic stability (in general); freedom from inflation; fair prices.

Economic instability (in general); inflation; unfair or high prices.

Deterioration in or inadequate standard of living for nation or group (not restricted to self or family) - people unable to live decently; poverty, want, hunger, etc.

Miscellaneous economic worries and fears not restricted to self or family.
Social justice - greater equality in the treatment, benefits, and opportunities afforded all elements of the population, irrespective of race, color, class, caste, religion, etc.; integration; fairer distribution of wealth; elimination of discrimination or exploitation.

Future generations - better prospects and opportunities. (Note: if restricted to "own children," code under 144.)

Social security, including pensions, annuities, etc.

Miscellaneous aspirations having to do with the social situation.

Desire to be useful to others; ability and opportunity to serve the people, community, nation, world; or to hold public office.

Miscellaneous aspirations having to do with public service or with religion or morality where the reference is not restricted to self or family.

Social injustice; continued inequality in the treatment, benefits, and opportunities afforded various elements of the population; discrimination or exploitation based on race, color, class, caste, religion, etc.; continuing unfair distribution of wealth.

Future generations - no better prospects or worse prospects; no opportunities. (Note: if restricted to "own children," code under 244.)

No social security; no pensions, annuities, etc.

Miscellaneous worries and fears having to do with the social situation.

Not to be useful to others; not to serve the people, community, nation, world.

Spiritual, ethical, moral, or religious disintegration, deterioration, or complacency on the part of society.

Miscellaneous worries and fears having to do with public service or with religion or morality where the reference is not restricted to self or family.

Section 7: International Situation and World

Peace - maintenance of; no war; no threat of war.

Better world - more international cooperation; countries working together; more international understanding and responsibility; relaxation of international tensions; stronger U.N.; world government.

War; nuclear war; living in fear of war.

Militarism and armaments; misuse of nuclear energy; fallouts from nuclear tests.
195 Miscellaneous aspirations having to do with the international or world situation.

293 Threat, aggression, domination, or conquest by Russia, Communist China, Cuba, or other Communist power; become a Communist satellite.

295 Miscellaneous worries and fears having to do with the international or world situation.

Section 8: General

196 Maintain status quo (in general); person is happy with things as they are now.

296 Can't think of any fears or worries.

199 Miscellaneous aspirations that do not fit under any of the preceding categories.

299 Miscellaneous worries and fears that do not fit under any of the preceding categories.
B. SOCIETAL (OR WORLD) HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS; WORRIES AND FEARS

The categories for societal hopes and aspirations are given on the left-hand side of the page. The categories for fears and worries are given on the right.

Section 1: Political

401 Honest government - fair and just; no corruption or nepotism.

402 Efficient government - competent leadership and administration; effective party system; no excessive bureaucracy.

403 Balanced government - adequate system of checks and balances; no excessive power in hands of government; less central government; more power to states or provinces.

404 Democratic or representative government - maintain present democracy or become a democracy; have more democracy or more representative government.

405 Socialist government - aspiration to become a socialist or welfare state.

406 Freedom - with specific reference to freedom of speech, of religion, of occupation, of movement, etc.

407 Law and order - Maintenance of the public peace; decrease or no increase in crime, juvenile delinquency, etc.; fair courts, good or improved juridical practices, penal system, etc.

505 Dishonest government - unfair and unjust; corruption and nepotism.

502 Inefficient government - weak, indecisive leadership and administration; no effective party system; excessive bureaucracy.

503 Communism - fear of the Communist danger or of the consequences of Communist control. (Note: if specific reference to the external threat from the USSR, Communist China, or other Communist powers, code under 586.)

504 No democracy or representative government; loss of democracy; totalitarianism. (Note: if specific reference to Communism, code under 503.)

505 Fear country will become socialist. Welfare state.

506 Lack or loss of freedom - in general, or with specific reference to freedom of speech, of religion, of occupation, movement, etc. (Note: If loss of freedom is specifically connected with Communism, code under 503.)

507 Lack of law and order - failure to maintain public peace; prevalence of or increase in crime, juvenile delinquency, etc; unfair courts; poor or unfair juridical practices, penal system, etc.
Section 2: Economic

408 National unity - absence of unrest, tensions, and antagonisms based on regional, class, caste, religious, etc., differences.

411 Political stability, internal peace and order.

412 Capitalistic; free enterprise; fewer restraints on business

413 Less bigness in government, business, reduce multinationals; reduce their power.

419 Miscellaneous aspirations having to do with the political situation.

508 Disunity among people of the nation - unrest, tensions, antagonisms based on regional, class, caste, religious, etc., differences.

511 Political instability, chaos, civil war.

518 High or increased taxes.

519 Miscellaneous worries and fears having to do with the national political situation.

421 Improved or decent standard of living (in general); greater national prosperity (in general) no poverty.

422 Improved standard of living or greater national prosperity through technological advances - increase in rate of mechanization, use of modern scientific advances, nuclear energy; greater productivity in industry or agriculture; development of natural resources.

423 Economic stability; no inflation; fair prices

521 No improvement in or inadequate standard of living (in general); not be a prosperous nation (in general).

522 No improvement in standard of living or no increase in national prosperity through technological advances; economic backwardness; no industrialization; low productivity in industry or agriculture; no use of modern scientific advances or of nuclear energy; no development of natural resources.

Failure to preserve present standard of living; decrease in national prosperity.

524 Economic instability; inflation; unfair or high prices; depression; national bankruptcy.

Unemployment

525 No room for small business; too much big business.

429 Miscellaneous aspirations having to do with the national economic situation

529 Miscellaneous worries and fears having to do with the national economic situation.
Section 3 : Social

Social justice (in the most general, positive sense); greater equality for the good of all in the treatment, benefits, and opportunities afforded all elements of the population.

Eliminate discrimination and prejudice based on race, color, caste, religion, age, sex, etc.; integration.

Eliminate discrimination or exploitation based on differences in class or economic status (e.g., with reference to the poor, the workers, the common people, etc.); fairer distribution of wealth, income, and opportunities regardless of class.

Education — more and/or better schools; technical and trade schools; fight ignorance and illiteracy.

Improved labor conditions — shorter working hours, etc.

Control of labor — no strikes or labor unrest or pressures; regulation of labor practices and labor unions.

Social security — adequate annuities, pensions, etc.; security for aged, handicapped, indigent.

Housing — adequate or improved housing conditions; no slums.

Agrarian reform, especially “land for the landless”; agricultural development; help for the peasants.

Public health — improved medical care; more doctors, hospitals; combat disease, epidemics, drugs, alcohol; people healthy.

Social injustice (in the most general sense); continued inequality in the treatment, benefits, and opportunities afforded various elements of the population.

Continued discrimination and prejudice based on race, color, caste, religion, age, sex, etc.; segregation.

Continued discrimination or exploitation based on differences in class or economic status (e.g., with reference to the poor, the workers, the common people, etc.); continuing unfair distribution of wealth, income and opportunities based on class differences.

Inadequate educational facilities and schooling; lack of technical and trade schools; ignorance and illiteracy.

Poor or unfair working conditions — long working hours; forced labor.

Abuses by labor — strikes, labor pressures and unrest; abuse of power by labor unions; inadequate or no regulation of labor practices or labor unions.
442 Limited population growth — no excess of population; control of birth rate; emigration.
443 Sense of social and political responsibility and awareness on the part of the people; less complacency; people working for the common good.
444 Morality, ethical standards, religion, honesty, self-discipline on the part of the public generally.
445 An Humanistic Society; more personal, caring, cooperative; tolerance for individual; not pushy, violent; 'hasale' free; room for personal fulfillment, happiness.
446 Less Materialism, consumption, greed; more idealistic.
447 Less Welfare, socialistic government and programs.
451 Self-Reliance, society to foster self-sufficiency, independence, individual initiative and freedom.
459 Miscellaneous aspirations having to do with social matters.
542 Unlimited population growth — excessive population; excessive birth rate; too much immigration.
543 No sense of social and political responsibility or awareness on the part of the people; complacency; people not working for the common good.
544 Lack of morality, ethical standards, religion, honesty, self-discipline on the part of the public generally.
545 Less Humanistic Society; superficial; loss of personal choice; no tolerance.
546 Too much mechanization and standardization; materialism; conformity, automation, consumerism, regimentation, industrialism.
552 Starvation, famine, food shortages.
559 Miscellaneous worries and fears having to do with social matters.

Section 4: International Relations

461 Peace — no war or nuclear war; freedom from fear of war or devastation.
462 Disarmament, limitation of armaments, control or banning of nuclear weapons; cessation of nuclear tests.
561 War; nuclear war; living in fear of war; devastation from war's consequences holocaust (eg, destruction, famine, imprisonment, etc.).
562 Continued armament; no control or banning of nuclear weapons; misuse of nuclear energy; continuation of nuclear tests; fear of fallout.
Lessening of cold war; reduction of tensions between East and West; coexistence.

Better relations with Communist bloc or individual members of Communist bloc.

Friendly relations with all countries.

Better world - more international cooperation in general (without specific reference to cold war); countries working together; more international understanding and responsibility; stronger United Nations; World government

Maintain neutrality - keep aloof from conflicting ideologies, blocs, etc.; have no enemies; not take sides.

Help other nations (especially the underdeveloped); promote world-wide prosperity.

Increased foreign trade or exports.

Miscellaneous aspirations having to do with international relations, the cold war, peace, etc.

No lessening of cold war; no reduction of tensions between East and West; no coexistence.

Be isolated from other nations; no friends; foreign relations deteriorate.

Inability to maintain neutrality or to keep aloof from conflicting ideologies, blocs, etc.; make enemies; have to take sides.

Miscellaneous worries and fears having to do with international relations, the cold war, peace, etc.

Section 5: The Nation Itself

Be militarily strong.

Maintain or attain the position of a world power.

Enhancement of status and importance of the nation in general in international affairs; play a more important role in international affairs and negotiations.

Play a more important role specifically in regional affairs or of regional leadership

Not to maintain or attain the position of a world power.

Lose or have not status or importance in international affairs in general; no important role in international affairs or negotiations

Failure to exert ideological or moral leadership - failure to exercise potential influence abroad for peace and freedom, to convey own ideas and culture to rest of world, to be a mediating power, or
Exert ideological or moral leadership; exercise potential influence abroad for peace and freedom; convey own ideas and culture to rest of world; be a mediating power; bring about understanding or reconcile opposing views of nations.

National independence - attain or preserve independence or gain greater independence; freedom from interference or excessive influence from other powers; pursuing independent foreign policy; achieve economic self-sufficiency or independence, security.

Lease Nationalism; open societies; no boundaries; keep cultures but no nationalities

Miscellaneous aspirations having to do with the independence, status, or importance of the nation.

Lack or loss of national independence - to live on sufferance of others; be subject to interference or excessive influence from other powers; to have no independent foreign policy; economic dependence; have to accept foreign aid; loss of culture.

Threat, aggression, domination or conquest by Russia, Communist China, Cuba, or any other Communist power; become a Communist satellite.

Too much Nationalism; too self-important as a country; interfering in other's affairs.

Threat, aggression, domination, or conquest by any foreign power (not specifically Communist), economic domination.

Miscellaneous worries and fears having to do with the independence, status, or importance of the nation.

Section 6: General

Maintain status quo; content as things are; present trends satisfactory.

No hopes or aspirations for the country.

Concern for Environment; live in harmony with nature; less pollution and exploitation; not use nuclear fuel; conservation.

Miscellaneous aspirations for the country (or world) not covered by any of the preceding categories.

Status Quo remain

No fears or worries for the country.


Miscellaneous worries and fears for the country (or world) not covered by any of the preceding categories.
APPENDIX V

THE CANTRIL DATA

In combination with Appendices IV and VI this appendix provides data which, because of its detail, seems inappropriate in the body of the thesis. This appendix is in three parts, the first of which discusses the research tool developed by Hadley Cantril (1965) and includes a brief review of some of the theoretical and philosophical issues important in understanding the strengths and weaknesses of that research tool. The second and third parts of the appendix contain detailed discussion of each of the main sections (and individual codes) of the results. This includes examples of respondent statements to illustrate all important codes.

I. THE SELF ANCHORING STRIVING SCALE: THE TECHNIQUE

Any superimposing of preconceived ideas which forces patterns upon people's reports loses the richness, the uniqueness, the flavor, or the authenticity of what they are trying to say about themselves. What is needed is information which transmits reliably, in people's own terms, what they are feeling. (Cantril 1965:vii)

This quotation sums up Cantril's orientation and his objectives when he set out to survey human aspirations in thirteen different countries. Such a survey had the problem of avoiding ethnocentricism in the questioning and analysis stages of the research. The research instrument Cantril designed aimed to minimise or eliminate as far as
possible, researcher bias while tapping the information available in a non-structured way.

While Cantril "hoped to learn something more about the forces which propel and frustrate people in various social and economic situations" (1965:viii), my use of the Self-Anchoraging Striving Scale1 was intended to explore these same forces but primarily in relation to cruising sailors. At the same time, the two racing groups were surveyed for comparative purposes.

The Striving Scale, while eliciting information about personal and national concerns, does not attempt to judge these concerns. The aim is to allow people to describe their own concerns, in their own words, and then to code those concerns to develop a descriptive picture. It is important to stress, though, that the subjects, each individual subject that is, create their own picture against which they make numerical ratings. In the present study, the descriptive picture is of most interest with the numerical rating being less important.

The Striving Scale method recognises that people have different realities and standards against which they judge that reality. As Cantril says, the Striving Scale

seems to provide a simple, widely applicable, and adaptable technique for tapping the unique reality world of an individual and learning what it has in common with that of others. (1965:22)

The essence of the technique is that a person is asked to define the best and worst situation personally and nationally before being asked to provide a relative rating of attainment in the past, present, and future. A simple eleven-point scale, depicted as a 'ladder', is used, '10' being the best and '0' the worst situation. This 'ladder' is actually shown to respondents when they are being asked to provide the rating.2

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1 Hereafter called the Striving Scale or 'the instrument'. The word 'code' has the potential to be confused in this Appendix. The word is only written with an upper case 'C' when referring to the total document as is found in Appendix IV. Within that Code are a series of numbered parts (eg. 102) and these parts are referred to by the word code with the 'c' in lower case form.

2 See Appendix III for full details of the questions used.
There were a number of differences between the Cantril administration of the instrument and its administration in this study. Firstly, Cantril used interviewers for all his research, in most cases these interviewers being nationals of the country concerned. In addition, local coders were also utilised. Extensive training was done in both cases. In this study, I did all the interviewing of the cruiser and ocean racing subjects while the Soling racers completed a questionnaire using the Cantril questions. I also did all of the coding, with the exception of the check-coding. An independent person also coded all the items and we met to resolve differences.

Secondly, in most cases Cantril administered his questions at the outset of interviews that were only concerned with the Striving Scale and the supporting biographical data. On the other hand, I administered the Striving Scale toward the end of an interview of which it was only one section. The total interview structure meant that the Striving Scale was administered to subjects who, in the process of thinking about and articulating their personal opinions, were intellectually 'warmed-up'. This was particularly true for the cruising interviews which took an average of 2-3 hours, one-quarter of which was usually devoted to the Striving Scale. I believe that the context of the Striving Scale questions within the total interview context and the question-re-question format allowed the respondents to go beyond the superficial and often to articulate the taken-for-granted. Cantril, on the other hand, felt that his survey did not tap the taken-for-granted aspects of people's concerns whereas I believe the cruising study also elicited this important data. I make this assertion on the basis of the breadth of interviewee concerns and because they expressed issues that were taken for granted by similar subject/national groups in the Cantril Survey. Of course, it could be that the nature of the cruiser respondents is such that they do not take for granted as many aspects of their lives as does an average sample of people from western nations.

The Cantril technique does not always elicit the very personal concerns of individuals much as it does not always go beyond the superficial. However, as mentioned above, the total interview context helped overcome the latter problem, as did the slow pace of an interview where detailed notes are being taken long-hand. In addition, the
context of the interviews within the participant observer situation also helped to minimise these two problems. However, as Cantril says, while these problems may be serious for a clinical psychologist, they are not so for research of this nature.

Cantril established a basic Code that was used throughout his study but did add special code sections when specific issues emerged for any given country. In this study, the basic Cantril Code was used. However, I also found that certain issues in my data required the development and inclusion of new codes.

The coding process followed these stages:

1. The interview responses were analysed and divided into individual items, one 'thought' per item.

2. Each item was then typed onto a card, resulting in some 2000 cards.

3. Each card was then assigned a code number and new codes developed as required.

4. Each card was then independently coded by another person and the cards were sorted by code number.

5. Coding conflicts between the two coders were then discussed and resolved.

When the coding was completed, the data were tabulated and the analysis proceeded. Whereas Cantril chose to compare countries on the basis of code sections without looking for themes throughout the code sections, I chose to focus on themes and on those unique to the subject groups. As the analysis in the dissertation has shown, for cruisers in particular, there are a number of themes which transcend the more structured organisation of the Code itself. Cantril's analysis also differed from mine in his extensive use of correlation analysis. He extended the scope of his study by adding some subsidiary correlation questions, something not considered feasible nor necessary for this study. The Striving Scale was not the major tool in my research design whereas it was the only tool in Cantrils' study.

Other similarities and differences between the Cantril study and this one are discussed as relevant with the analysis of the data, both in the following part of this Appendix and in Chapters 2 and 4.
II. THE SELF-ANCHORING STRIVING SCALE: THE RESULTS

This part of the appendix should be read in conjunction with the tables in Chapter 4 (pages 67-8, 76-7, 85-6, 92-3) and Appendix VI following. The full details of the Code are to be found in Appendix IV. The following discussion is designed simply to show examples of response items that were coded into specific parts of the Code. The analysis is to be found in Chapter 4.

A. Personal

A total of 999 items were identified in the responses to the questions about Personal Aspirations and Personal Concerns. The largest proportion (62.2%) of these fall into the Aspirations category, something that is repeated in the Society part of the instrument where 61.3% of the response items are in the Aspirations category.

(1) Personal Aspirations

Of 47 possible codes, cruisers' responses coded into 38 codes, Ocean Racers into 30 codes and Soling racers into 23 codes. There were 419, 120 and 82 items coded respectively. Table VI.2 gives these figures as well as showing the item response rate (as a percentage) when compared with the number of respondents as a percentage. This shows that cruisers had slightly more to say proportionate to the other two groups. This discrepancy is consistent with the data collection methods used.

(a) Section 1: Own Personal Character

With the exception of code 102, Be a normal decent person, cruisers' response items were coded into all the codes in this section. However, no ocean or Soling racer items appear in this code or codes 106 and 107. Few cruiser items appear in these two latter codes.

Code 101 Emotional stability and maturity: Of the 16 items from cruisers coded in this code, 9 are concerned chiefly with issues of
happiness and peace of mind. For example, one cruiser said that "the utopia is to be happy" (054)\textsuperscript{3} while another said:

happiness is a very personal thing and you need to be happy with yourself; once you figure that out you can do it (be happy with yourself); within that framework, in a happy state of mind, other things then get their importance. (032)

Respondent 062 simply acknowledged that being "happy with what I'm doing will give peace of mind." Of the remaining cruiser items, three were relate to emotional issues (eg. "not insecure or frightened of insecurity" 027) and four are miscellaneous items relevant to the code. Only three items from the ocean racers were coded here and they cover a wide range of the code. Eleven items from soling racers appear in this code, five of which are related to happiness and peace of mind. The other six items cover a wide spectrum of issues relating to the self (eg. "I would like to remain down-to-earth, retaining a sense of humour and not taking life too seriously" 616) and the process of living (eg. "what really matters is to get involved in something that can provide life-time enjoyment" 601)

\textbf{Code 103 Self development or improvement:} Seventeen items in this code are from cruisers; five from ocean racers and six from Soling racers. The seventeen cruiser items cluster into three issues, two of which straddle a theme (five items) that focusses on independence of self and on not stagnating. The issue of independence in this code refers to a more personal level (eg. independence of thought) than do later codes which refer to personal flexibility (136) and political freedom (151). The independence referred to in code 103 is explained by the other items in the code and their clustering around the issues of the opportunity to be creative (eg. "to make things, to be creative" 066) and of self-development. This latter item contains a desire for more education specifically and the gaining of more knowledge through living. All cruiser items, though, revolve around concepts of self-development, a 'growth' for the person. The five items coded for ocean racers span

\textsuperscript{3} Such numbers refer to respondents - 000's to cruisers, 600's to Soling and 700's to ocean racers.
similar issues with mention of "creativity" (709) and freedom ("opportunity to do the things you really want to do - a bit of freedom in other words" 706). The Soling racer respondents provided six items to this code and the items cluster, with one exception, around issues of learning and education. Respondent 620 would "like to be better qualified academically" while 612 wanted to "continue to grow in knowledge and self by maintaining an open and enquiring mind. These two examples encompass the range of the five items. The sixth item in the code is a desire for stimulation: "I want to have my mind stimulated by what I do in work and play" (606).

**Code 104 Acceptance by others:** This code revolves around the need for friends and to be held in esteem by others. Only two items mentioned the desire for the respect of others and one of these refers specifically to a desire to be seen as equal: "in a situation where me as a woman is seen as equal and respected" (010). The other ten items refer to issues of wanting friendships, with two of these referring specifically to the ability to make friends and to relate to others, more easily. All of the responses of ocean racers in this code focus on friendship, ranging from "being successful in personal relationships" (718) to having "good friends" (704). One item specifically mentions the need for mutual interdependence with others. The four Soling racer items in this code cluster around the issue of friendship with a mention of respect (612) and the desire to "share life and the world with as many friends as I can" (606).

**Code 105 Achieve sense of my own personal worth:** In direct contrast to the previous code this one focusses on recognition by the self rather than by others. Proportionately more Soling racer respondents were concerned to mention this issue than either of the other groups. There were eleven items from cruisers, three from ocean racers and six from Soling racers. Whereas five of the six Soling racer items are target and goal oriented (eg. "to be progressively achieving my worthwhile goals" 612) only four of the twelve cruiser items are goal oriented and two of those refer specifically to being productive. The remaining items are concerned with doing what is right for the self and being
satisfied with oneself. Of the three ocean racing items, two are concerned with making a contribution to society and the other with trusting the self.

**Code 106** Resolution of one's own religious, spiritual, or ethical problems: Only three items were coded into this code and they were all from cruisers. All three items focus on ethics and personal values with no mention of religious or spiritual issues.

**Code 109** Miscellaneous: Twelve items from cruisers and three from each of the others were placed in this miscellaneous code. Of the twelve cruisers items, four reflect a wish to "live for the now" (027) or being "spontaneous day-to-day" (011) while the rest are spread over a range of issues. Specifically relevant to cruising are issues of self-control through awareness (007), being different from the norm (068), and leading a non-materialistic life-style (013,122). Two of the three ocean racing items express a desire to become less competitive, as does one of the Soling racer items.

(b) Section 2: Personal Economic Situation

The largest proportion of items coded here fall into the first code, that dealing with standard of living.

**Code 111**: Improved or decent standard of living: Security of income is an issue for most cruising people. Nine of twenty-five items specifically use the phrase 'financial security' and another five refer to financial independence or stability. A further six items refer to having 'enough' or 'reasonable' amounts of money. The following quotations are indicative of the items coded here:

- financial security appears nice sometimes (014/015)
- financial independence (to continue) (029)
- enough money to live in a good place (046)

I would like financial security - there is a thrill in little schemes to make money but it is a pain to have to do. (057)
The remaining items from cruisers are varied and include one which refers to wanting to always have too little money and one specifically wanting a "better financial level" (009). Four of the items mention not needing to be millionaires nor have wealth and the overall sense of the responses is one of moderation but with security. The ocean racers provided eight items here. Two items refer to financial security (eg. not worried about the next dollar" 706) while others simply refer to having "a good income" (719), having "enough money to live comfortably; not planning to work to be a multi-millionaire but it'd be nice if it comes along" (718), and "not being hungry" (504). Only one Soling racer item was coded here and that one refers to wanting "enough money to live" (609).

Code 114: Have own house, boat: This code was slightly modified to include the item 'boat'. Eight of the eleven cruiser items coded make reference to a boat and four specifically to wanting a larger boat. A ninth item mentions having a house or a boat. Two items mention having a house and one mentions wanting a vegetable garden. No Soling racer items were coded here but six ocean racing items were: two items for houses and four for boats. Two of the four boat items (by ocean racers) specifically mention wanting boats for other than racing; no cruiser items mention wanting to switch to racing.

Codes 112, 113, 115, 116 and 119: Table VI.2 shows that the first four of these codes received few items and could usefully have been included with 119 (Miscellaneous). In code 115, three of four non-cruiser items orient towards wanting more material possessions while none of the cruiser items are so oriented. In code 116, all three non-cruising items specify wealth, something that is in direct contrast to the cruising items in code 111 where the emphasis is on security and simply having enough. In the miscellaneous code 199, four of thirteen cruising items actually express a disavowal of wealth; for example, "money is not a big thing if I'm allowed to work; I prefer not to use money but to barter" (063) and "money isn't everything to me; I couldn't care less about having a house; material things don't mean anything to me" (043).
(c) Section 3: Job or Work Situation

For cruisers and ocean racers in particular, there were proportionally fewer items coded in any of the four codes available than was the case elsewhere.

Code 121: Good job, congenial work: Only a total of eighteen items across all three groups were placed in this code, seven (39%) of which came from the Soling racer respondents. While a mere 11% of cruisers mentioned this code 16% of ocean racers and 39% of Soling racers did. The predominant concern was with having a satisfying job. One Soling racer went so far as to say that "job satisfaction (is one of) two things that are most important to happiness in life" (602). Two other Soling racer responses are more instrumental in seeing work "as necessary to support a sailing habit" (620) or giving "the time I want for sailing" (608). All the responses fit a narrow part of the total code in the focus on the respondent alone (ie. self) and their concern with satisfaction to the exclusion of other issues.

Code 123: Success in one's work: Again, we see a very small proportion of cruisers (3.2%) interested in this item while 16% of ocean racers and 22% of Soling racers provided items for this code. Of the cruisers, two were concerned with writing and publishing a book while the other was hoping for business success. Business success features in all three items from ocean racers; for example, to be the best architectural firm in Canada and to be successful through a creative process in yacht design and construction. The four Soling racer items are all concerned with success in occupational endeavours.

Code 124: Not an employee; no regular job: This code was created to reflect the unique orientation of cruisers to work, particularly for certain explicit statements about work. These items express a wish to have no regular employment and/or to not be an employee. Some examples of items are:

stay out of employee situation; no 9-5 job (013)

keeping work aspect small enough that life is not
run by the organisation and hierarchy (018)
I do not wish to live in routine Japanese society,
working at a regular job (024)
I don't want a job, or to work for anyone; I want to
work for myself; not for money making (052)

Code 129: Miscellaneous: There are seven items in this code, only one
of which is not from a cruiser. The one Soling racer respondent hoped
"That 20 years in business will be enough and after that I may go
farming or into politics" (616). The responses from cruisers included a
variety of issues including one person who said that she saw cruising as
an interruption to her creative occupational pursuits.

(d) Section 4: Other References to Self

This is the section of the Code for Personal items that has the
largest number of code numbers specifically created for this study. It
was clear after the initial coding of the responses that cruisers
focussed on a number of issues which were not explicity covered in the
Code. Therefore, to be consistent with Cantril's practice, new codes
were added. There was a very high response rate from cruisers
throughout this section (with one exception), a fairly high response
from ocean racers, and a low (with one exception) response rate from
Soling racers.

Code 131: Health: Thirty items in this code refer to "good health"
(008). A number of cruisers qualified the general concern for health by
specific reference to the needs of the cruising life. Some examples
include:

good health — this life necessitates being fit; and
if not fit I would have to give up this life (026)

stay well enough to keep cruising (027)

health to continue, till arthritis catches up to me
and precludes cruising (040)

While 27% of the cruisers and 37% of the ocean racers mentioned health,
only 17% of the Soling racers did.
Code 132 Happy old age: Only two cruisers and one racer mentioned this issue although it was referred to in other parts of the interviews. Of course, a number of cruisers had already 'retired' and were in the process of living their 'old age'.

Code 133 Recreation, Travel, Leisure Time: The word 'travel' must be emphasised in this code because the cruisers focussed heavily on travel (twelve of twenty-six cruiser items) for the purposes of seeing places, "how different cultures live, different ways of doing things, different techniques of work, craftsmanship." (012). Whether with a boat or not, cruiser items show that they wanted "the ability to travel, including enough freedom and money but I would not go luxury class" (054). The other items from cruisers cover a wide range of subjects from "being closer to music, movies, etc" (008) and having a "good library" (034) to having "enough time for reading as much as I can; good books and entertainment, being very interested in ethnology and classical music" (047). The predominance of the items for both ocean and Soling racers are for sufficient time to be able to sail. The ocean racers mentioned racing and cruising while the Soling racers focussed on competition, with the Olympics being mentioned twice.

Code 134 Variety, challenge: While 25% of cruisers mentioned items for this code, only 5% of each of the other two groups did. The following statement sums up the majority of the items that were coded here for cruisers:

to be able to seek adventure, to be able to be challenged through the variety of things I do and by staying active; if on land, I'd probably start farming as a hobby; its being able to do new things, to be creative, adventurous. (056)

The single ocean racer item in this code mentions having a challenge while the Soling racer item mentions variety.

Code 135 Stay with the Sea: Forty percent of the cruising respondents mentioned items that fit in this category. The thirty-three items fall into three themes, the first of which refers to wanting to remain near the sea and two-thirds of which refer to having a boat. Items here
reflect a desire for "something to do with the sea including still having the boat and sailing" (039), and recognise that "the sea is really in our blood, though and will hope to keep contact with the sea" (025). The second theme shows a concern "to be able to cruise and voyage" (067), "to move freely around the world" (038) and to keep the "cruising life style with the informality, the variety, the outdoor life" (028). The five items in the third theme simply mention living aboard a boat, whether cruising or not. Twenty-six percent of the ocean racers, but no Soling racers provided items for this code. The items show an involvement with the sea. "Since I've taken up sailing, I want to be involved in boats for the rest of my life" (715) and "I love the sea and want to live with and be involved with the sea still; live on an island preferably" (709).

**Code 136 Personal flexibility**: Items from almost 29% of cruisers, no ocean racers, and no Soling racers, appear in this code. More than 50% of the items involve wanting to live in a "way I can be as free as possible to do what I want to do without too many limitations, restrictions, or prohibitions of one kind or another" (052), and "to live independent of the rules of society and to be independent from concensus, the tyranny of the collective will and decision" (011). The remaining items are concerned with self-sufficiency (7 of 27 items), flexibility (2 items) and to "lead a simple life" (061). The self-sufficiency issue was expressed well by a cruiser in the following:

>a good existence - enough food for self (and a few others sometimes), not being dependent on society for processed goods, entertainment, etc., being able to preserve our own foods and make clothing (010)

**Code 137 Concern for place of living**: The items from the cruisers and ocean racer emphasize the location where they live and focus on nature. On the other hand, the Soling racer items do not mention nature nor do they define location, for example, "a nice home in an area/setting I like; which I've got" (620). As one cruiser said, "I'd like to live near nature; I'm not a city girl anymore" (050).
Code 138  Become Shore-Based: Eleven cruisers suggested that they desire a shore base, thus suggesting that they will not cruise forever. For example:

Outside of cruising, I'd like to live alone in the outback of northern Queensland, building up a place from scratch (012)

I'd like to have a base; I do not want to be a rootless traveller (018)

I want to establish another base ashore so I can put down some roots somewhere - other than California (042)

I'll not cruise forever (055)

I hope to live ashore, though (066)

Code 139  Miscellaneous: The cruiser items in this code reflect the variety expected in a miscellaneous code. They range from wanting "a big dog, as I miss pets on a boat" (016/017) and looking "forward to the unexpected" (025) through to wanting "a chance to socialise with a mixture of people and not the same ones all the time" (034) and "knowing enough to see what system and location has the fewest 'evils' and choosing the best one to live in" (036). There are no Soling racer items in this code but the twelve ocean racer items cover a variety of issues from "being in a situation where I have enough personal power" (711) to "not becoming a workaholic" (718).

(e) Section 5: Other References to Family

With the exception of one code in this section, there were not many items to code here. The exception is the first code where almost 50% of all respondents expressed the need or wish for a happy family life.

Code 141  Happy family life: Proportionally, fewer cruisers are represented in this code (45%) than are ocean racers (47%) or Soling racers (56%). There is a major difference in content within the code, however. While the items coded for ocean racers and Soling racers are primarily oriented towards the broader concept of the family (eg. "a happy family life is important" 621; "fulfilling family life; happiness
in a marriage situation, compatible partner and good associations with kids” 710), the majority of cruiser items are concerned with finding a suitable partner. This is a reflection of the real difficulty many single cruisers have in finding and establishing a meaningful long-term relationship in such a mobile lifestyle. In addition, many marriages do not stand up to the strain of the life-style and often one partner will leave cruising. However, this large number of items also reflects the fact that a strong partnership is especially important in such a lifestyle. The following statements illustrate these points:

being on our own together as a couple (061)

a good relationship with a man, meaningful and peaceful (050)

he's my world; one reason we enjoy cruising is we get on so well together (043)

a mate is the most important thing in any location and especially while cruising - you really need someone to share this life, good and bad (031)

to share this life with a nice woman companion - love, sex, a close relationship; one reason to go ashore is the chance to meet more women (026)

the most important thing is my husband; if it was not for him I would not be here (008)

Code 142 Relatives: No Soling racers are represented in this code and ocean racers are proportionally more highly represented (32% vs 10%) than cruisers. The issues are also slightly different for the two groups with ocean racers being concerned with the general welfare of the family (“I no longer want to neglect my family so I cannot be a top competitor” 709) and cruisers being concerned to be closer to their family (eg. “close enough to my children to see them more often; and the grandkids, too” 065).

Code 143, 144, and 149: These codes attracted very few items. Those statements that are included here, however, consistently orient towards the health and wellbeing of children.
(f) Section 6: Other People, Community, Nation

In the original Cantril Code this section had four separate parts: Political, General Economic Situation, Social and Religion, Morality, Public Service. However, as this section and the following one, International Situation and World, received so few items in the codes I have chosen to condense the former for ease of presentation. As Table VI.2 shows, only one code in this section received a significant number of items from the respondents. It is, therefore, the only code I will discuss in detail.

Code 151 Freedom: This code deals with issues of personal freedom and represents items which explicitly mention such freedoms. Related issues and comments appear in other codes and also throughout other parts of the cruiser interview. "Personal freedom is a big thing" (067) and is the thrust of most of the items, for example: "the freedom to move anywhere, work anywhere I want, live anywhere I want" (063). The ocean racer items are more political in orientation, specifying the wish to live in a democracy and to have freedom of speech. Cruiser items show that cruisers have a more international orientation, is shown in the discussion of the Society codes, and that they appear more interested in issues of national boundaries and restrictions on international movement.

The dearth of items in this section and the next one is probably related less to lack of interest on the part of respondents than to the fact that these sections are very closely allied to the Society part of the instrument. In fact, some of the codes found in this section (eg. code 171) are almost identical with codes found in the Society part of the instrument. It appears that the respondents kept their own personal considerations fairly well separated from issues of a broader societal nature.

(g) Section 7: International Situation and World

This section attracted only one item for coding, an item from a Soling racer in 191, Peace.
(h) Section 8: General

This section contains the Status Quo code (196) and a general miscellaneous code. Had Cantril's Code been used without my additions, the codes in this section would have attracted many items. As it is, there is nothing significant in this section to warrant discussion.

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(2) Personal Concerns

There are forty-five possible codes for responses to the second question in the instrument. Cruiser responses fitted into 28 codes, ocean racers into 22 codes, and Soling racers into 18. There were 274, 67, and 37 items respectively. Table VI.3 shows the response rates for the three respondent groups.

(a) Section 1: Own Personal Character

While all codes except 206, To Be a Person Without Character, received some items from cruisers, only code 205 received more than 12% of respondent cruisers. Few responses from the two racing groups fitted any of these codes.

**Code 205 No Sense of Personal Worth:** Ten items were coded here and these reflect the respondents' concern to be able to "build and create" (019) or the fear of losing one's "own ability to live a moral position and values" (003). One respondent expressed a fear of a "continued inferiority complex" (031) and another worried about the "loss of ability to assess life and sort it out" (061).

(b) Section 2: Personal Economic Situation

This section received a fairly high response rate but only from cruisers and ocean racers.

**Code 211 Standard of Living:** The concerns of cruisers coded here are fairly basic. The items range from specific concerns about hunger ("end up starving in the gutter" 060) to "being broke" (031) and "being
in debt because then I would be plugged into a structure I could not get
out of" (021). Items from ocean racers, on the other hand, go beyond
the problems of "being hungry" (704) and "bankruptcy" (706) to concerns
such as "not having enough money to do what I am doing now - designing,
building and sailing my own boat" (713).

Code 214 Loss of the Boat: No Soling racers provided items which coded
here. For cruisers, "losing the boat would be a big 'down' but it would
not be the end" (063); a cruiser would "hate to lose the world we have
right now, on a reef or something" (044). For cruisers thinking of
having to quit cruising the boat is also important as a "re-
establishment fund to set up shop" (008) back on land. For some ocean
racers, too "life revolves around boating so to lose that is bad"
(504). Both cruisers and ocean racers relate closely to their boats and
"wrecking a boat would be a shock" (715).

(c) Section 3: Job or Work Situation

Few respondents were concerned with being unemployed or with
failure in employment. However, a substantial number of cruisers (25%) were about having a poor job or uncongenial work.

Code 221 Poor Job, Uncongenial Work: Statements such as "Having to
make a living in a boring and soul-destroying occupation, for example an
assembly line" (039) or even "going back to being a lawyer" (026)
reflect the kind of attitude that the cruiser respondents had to
working. The Soling racing respondents expected to work in occupations
on a regular basis and their concerns as expressed here are with
satisfactions obtainable in their jobs - "I would be concerned if I did
not enjoy work" (603) and "got no job satisfaction" (602).

(d) Section 3: Other References to Self

Three of the five codes in this section were created in response to
the kinds of concerns that emerged from the data and that did not fit
adequately in any of the existing codes. Aside from code 231, which is
the top ranking concern of all respondents, the central concern
expressed by cruisers in this section is related to personal freedoms
and independence. Even code 231, A concern for ill health, was seen by cruisers in terms of dependence and the resultant inability to move freely.

Code 231 Ill health, Accident, Death for Self: This code is the most important issue or worry for all three respondent groups. Within the code itself, the major difference between the groups is that the Soling racers do not express a concern for death. Otherwise, the two main concerns of all three groups are to not be disabled nor to be in poor health generally. Cruisers, in particular, linked incapacity to the inability to sail or cruise. Ocean racers and Soling racers expressed a similar concern for their ability to be involved in a physically active life but did not make specific mention of sailing. For many cruisers, their "greatest fear is to be put in the position of being a complete invalid" (007) and "end up in a wheelchair and be unable to continue to cruise" (029). Reiterated in the concern for health is the recurring theme of independence: "I fear a breakdown in my health as there goes independence" (009).

Code 232 To be Dependent on Others: Given the consistent theme of independence throughout the cruising interviews (and in the cruising literature) the two aspects of dependence that appear in this code are appropriate. They are expressed clearly in these two quotations:

I fear being totally dependent physically on someone taking care of me; this fear is especially of being paralysed. (007)

I would not like having to be dependent on the services of others or the community. (034)

Interestingly, neither ocean nor Soling racers provided any items for coding in this code.

Code 236 Loss of Personal Flexibility:

This is not a concern in the political sense, but rather to not want to find myself back in society tied to anyone or a mortgage; that I can be free to leave, no restrictions put on me; not committed to 9 to five job or a boss or job that puts undue restrictions on me. (062)
Over 25% of cruisers expressed a need to remain free and flexible, not wanting to "be a cog in the system of bullshit" (011) or living a "life where energy is sapped by strictures and demands of a system" (011). The "complications and hassles/that come from ownership" (019), ownership that is related to the materialistic ethic, is seen as one way of losing flexibility as one has "no choice but to work every day, tied to a firm for a house and basic security" (062). Cruiser responses suggest that they do not wish to "be trapped, obligated to hold down a job or routine of life that they don't like; which is what North American life is geared toward, trapping people" (058).

**Code 237 Living in uncongenial Place:** To the cruisers in this study, living on the sea usually means living in congenial surroundings and always means living close to the rhythms of nature. The 20% of cruisers who mentioned this code overwhelmingly denounced urban living:

- to go back and live in suburbia; dread that kind of living situation (013)

- To live in a big city in a small flat and a lot of driving to go to my job I would fear (045)

- away from fresh air, woods and the sea (018)

- an upstairs flat in suburban Midlands (022)

Aside from the general condemnation of urban (or suburban) living expressed by cruisers there was a resistance to "living in an area of air pollution and noise" (034) and to "living in a heavily polluted area such as New York" (054).

**Code 238 Loss of Personal Freedoms:** This new code was established because the existing codes did not account for the non-political nature of a number of items and because the specific mention of being "incarcerated in a prison" (021) was frequent enough to be included in a unique code. Jail seems to epitomize for cruisers the fear of constraints, viz., "I'd sooner be crippled and free than in jail and healthy, so jail is the worst thing." (067). "To be in prison for a long time to me is the worst thing in life; being closed in and not have the freedom to come and go" (047). This code (238) was filled out with more general concerns for freedom, the fear of "a life devoid of
freedom" (011) and the specific fear of living "in a communist country, as I did all I could to escape from communist East Germany" (047). This code attracted one item each from ocean and Soling racers and each mentions a fear of "being in jail" (608).

(e) Section 5: Other References to Family

Many items were coded into the first three codes in this section. In particular, the health of family and a concern for having a happy family predominated.

Code 241 No or unhappy family life: This code attracted in excess of 12% from all three respondent groups (see Tables 4.8 and VI.3). The concerns are divided fairly evenly among a concern for "not having children" (063), having no partner ("not having a wife" 502), and fear of being with the wrong partner ("to have to live with someone you really do not get on with" 021; "relationship not getting better" 050).

Code 242 Relatives: There is only a fine distinction between this code and code 241 in that this code involves the mention of separation from or abandonment by the family and only the use of specific terminology permitted a clear decision regarding the placement of items.

Code 243 Ill health - family: This item was clearly important to all three groups and was the second highest ranking code for cruisers. Aside from items which express a general concern for the well-being of family members, particular mention is made of an issue in the mind of many cruisers: "losing a kid overboard would be a hard thing to handle and always on my conscience" (030).

(f) Section 6: Other people, community, nation

As with Personal Aspirations, the sections of the code that are mainly concerned with issues beyond the individual and her or his family received few response items from any of the three groups. Two codes are exceptions to this, code 251, Lack of Freedom (for cruisers) and code 291, War (for cruisers and ocean racers).
Code 251 Lack of Freedom: Among cruiser responses, there is evident a "concern for the way shore-life is going and a fear that society could put such severe restrictions on free movement that cruisers could no longer move freely around the ocean's" (009). This is a fairly obvious and expected theme but a more subtle concern is also evident in the fear that "bureaucracy may take over and we will not be able to move or do anything without the say-so of big brother" (039).

Code 291 War: "I can't really think of anything else that we couldn't manage except, of course, nuclear war" (025). The reference here to 'we' was not clearly related in the context to the individual but may refer equally to society at large. Only a minority of the references to war in the responses mention nuclear war but the nuclear armaments issue came up consistently throughout the cruiser interviews and from the other two respondent groups. Both mention war, and nuclear war is referred to specifically:

Nuclear holocaust would be the most God-awful traumatic period to finish things off and everything that goes with it. (701)

I am frightened that everything could end up in a nuclear war. (618)

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B. Society

Hadley Cantril's original objective in developing this instrument was to engage in a cross-cultural and cross-national study of personal and national concerns. The National or Society section of the instrument was administered in relation to the country in which a citizen resided. Similarly my administration of the instrument to the ocean and Soling racers was on a national basis as the respondents were, or are, essentially non-nomadic and are nationally oriented. The cruisers, however, posed a different problem which became obvious early in the interviewing programme. The people who had been cruising for the longest periods, or who were 'out' indefinitely, could not relate the questions here to any particular country. They often considered
themselves to be citizens of the world and the questions I asked could only be considered on a world level. Approximately 40% of the respondent cruisers answered the questions in terms of the world rather than a specific country and while others were not explicit in this non-national orientation, their answers were essentially world based.

This did not pose any serious problems for analysis of the data because my objective was not a comparison of national concerns but rather a comparison of the concerns for human society of three groups of sailors. I was and am comparing the orientations of three groups of people, not three nationalities. In fact, fourteen nationalities are represented in the study.

1. Society Aspirations

As was the case in the Personal portion of the instrument, the respondents apparently found it easier to talk about their aspirations than about their concerns. In fact, of the 977 items coded in the Society portion, 599 (or 61.3%) items were in response to the aspirations side of the questions.

While there is substantial agreement between all three respondent groups about a desirable personal future, their assessments of the nature of a desirable societal future bear little relationship to each other. Tables 4.7, 4.8, and 4.9 in Chapter 4 illustrate this discrepancy as do Tables VI.4 and VI.5. These tables show the code numbers which received items from at least 12% of the respondents, and provide a quick summary of the results. Thirteen, twelve and five codes respectively received a 12% response rate from cruisers, ocean racers, and Soling racers. However, no one code received more than a 12% response rate from all three groups.

A perusal of the cruiser and ocean racer lists shows a considerable amount of conceptual agreement on what comprises a good society. The cruisers emphasised the related issues of an humanistic society, a concern for the environment, social justice, and less materialism while ocean racers emphasised the elimination of inequality, social and political reponsibility, an humanistic society, and social justice. The concerns of the Soling racers were very different from those of cruisers and ocean racers.
Following is a discussion of the codes which received the highest response rates and some relevant discussion of other significant codes. There are six sections to the Society Code: Political, Economic, Social, International Relations, The Nation Itself, and General. Three sections, Economic, International Relations and The Nation Itself received very low response rates throughout, especially from cruisers for the first and Soling racers for the others.

(a) Section 1: Political

None of the codes in this section received a 12% respondent rate from Soling racers. However, three of the codes did receive a greater than 12% response rate from cruisers and two others 12% from ocean racers. Codes 402, 403 and 413 involve issues of government while 406 is concerned with freedom.

Code 402 Efficient Government: Expressed generally, in this code the cruisers' responses reflect a desire for a

low key government structure that does not imprison people, that allows and fosters independent action and thought. This includes the elimination of economic, social and legal pressure to conform and lose one's own independence. (009)

Specifically, two issues emerge as important, that of bureaucracy and that of leadership. The former issue involves a belief that there needs to be "less red-tape" (022) and an attempt to "find a way to run a complex sophisticated society without so much bureaucracy" (041). The leadership issue shows the cynicism that people felt for political leaders and suggests that government "not be controlled by professional politicians, military persons and industrial empires, which it is now" (049) but that the "government system be one where people are self-disciplined, where the leader is not 'politics'-based but wisdom-based" (016/017). The ocean and Soling racer items in this code are oriented in a similar manner. The ocean racer's concerns in this code are similar, a desire for "less bureaucracy" (709) and that there be less "playing politics" (716).
Code 403 Balanced government: Only the ocean racers said anything relevant to this code. Their concern was with over-government, especially in terms of centralisation.

Code 406 Freedom: There are a number of issues implicit in any discussion of freedom and the responses in the various codes bear this out. But, "freedom for the individual, especially political and economic is seen as a social concept, as an important social value" (041). Two specific freedom issues are emphasised here. Firstly, cruiser responses are concerned to have "entirely free movement around the world, to do away with travel restrictions" (030). The responses suggest that it is important to have these "freedoms - of movement, speech, etc. - but while respecting other's freedoms" (038). This concern for freedom was extended to include the notion that "people be free, that is able to reach their potential" (019). The ocean and Soling racer items were consistent with those of the cruisers, desiring for example, "freedom of choice to lead life the way I want" (709).

Code 412 Capitalistic: Items from the ocean racers dominate this code with their clear statement about the desirability of "free enterprise and with fewer restraints on it" (702)

Code 413 Less Bigness in Government and Business: The items in this code reflect the concerns held by cruisers about large organisations; the concerns focussed on a desire for "organisation in small units to cope with modern problems" (022) and "less multi-national industry which has to be eliminated for a good society" (050). While asking that "big monopolies be regulated" (054), there is a call in cruiser items for "less Government" (023, 035) and "less government regulation of business and individual" (033). This latter point is consistent with the issue of bureaucracy as raised in code 402.

Other Codes: A range of issues are represented by the remaining codes in this section and most were mentioned by the respondents. By way of example, the following items are given:

Code 401: more honesty in government (035)
Code 404: fair representation in government (056)
Code 405: remain free from Communism but changing
to a more socialist country (047/048)

Code 407: law and order (024)

Code 411: no terrorism; no matter what the cause,
to put bombs in shops and kill little
children is not right, and I agree with
some of the causes (054)

The Miscellaneous code (419) attracted a wide range of
statements. Concerns about education, civil servants, the police,
deficit financing by governments, the work ethic, and the desire for no
government fell within the ambit of this code.

(b) Section 2: Economic

Economic concerns were not high on the priority list for cruisers
although code 421, Standard of Living, was highly ranked by both ocean
racer and Soling racers. Two other codes in this section were also
emphasised by Soling racers, 423 Stability and 425 Employment.

Code 421, Improved or decent standard of living, ranked first for
Soling racers and fourth for ocean racers and reflects a concern for "a
higher relative standard of living" (704) and a "comfortable life-style"
(715). While wanting a "steady economic growth" (607) it is desired
that

we continue to strive to encourage, educate and
raise the standards of the not so well off to higher
levels rather than lower the levels of the tall
poppys by bringing them down to the lower levels of
society. (612)

Code 423, on the other hand, reflects a desire for "low inflation"
(603), "reasonable interest rates" (607) and to "stabilise inflation and
wages" (713).

Code 425, Employment, reflects a desire for "low unemployment"
(605) and for "everybody to be able to work and reach their goals"
(030). The Miscellaneous code 429, reflects a number of other issues,
some of which are represented here:

abolition of money - going to the barter system
(018)

a society that is not carried away with industrial-
isation for industrialisation sake but which is
using it with integrity, that is, using it to make things better rather than using it to make more money now (025)

less concentration on growth economy; the feeling that we have to produce more and more must go (035)

self-sufficiency economically, for defence (711)

need population increase to keep economy going (719)

(c) Section 3: Social

Cruiser responses had a very strong orientation to social concerns. Evidence for this is found in the high proportion of cruiser items which fitted codes in this section. In addition to the original codes, four new codes were created for this section in order to reflect more accurately the concerns being expressed by the respondents, particularly cruisers. For example, the Soling respondents focussed on only one code, 436, which calls for control of labour and unions, while ocean racers placed importance on six codes ranging from elimination of discrimination and exploitation to a desire for less welfare. Cruiser responses focussed on an humanistic society, on education, and on self-reliance.

The codes that did not rank highly for cruisers still elicited from the various groups many items that reflect their orientation. The following quotations are an illustrative sample.

Code 433: people categorised by values not racial, social, or economic structure but according to their ability to use their inner qualities (709)

Code 436: a far better relationship between management and labour with less activity by the left in unions (717)

people relating better in terms of workers versus employers (602)

less strikes (607)

Code 441: free medical care (711)

Code 447: too much welfare is a problem and need red-tape to cut out the bludger and leave in the real needy cases (022)
oriented towards reward; I hate welfare; people should be rewarded for their abilities and if they are not producing that's their problem (707)

The above quotations are provided to give some idea of the issues that were raised in less emphasised codes. I will now discuss the codes which received the highest response rates.

**Code 431: Social Justice:** These items are basically a call for "equality of opportunity for everyone" (054) and for "a fair society, fair to each person" (059). However, one ocean racer said that "more equality among people will come from people working harder, that lots of unemployed really don't want to work" (718). In contrast to this, another ocean racer saw a need to move "away from a society that does not care to one that does care about the disadvantaged, especially as a lot of their problems are not their fault" (711).

**Code 434: Education:** The range of items that cruisers mentioned in relation to education is consistent with the items emerging in other parts of the code. For example, there is a call for "equality of basic tools such as mental and physical powers and a reasonable education to get everyone a start" (067). At the same time, education is seen as helping people to make better choices in life, viz., "everyone to have knowledge to choose a goal that would excite them" (068). The issue of self-reliance is also raised as a wish to use "education to help people want to be self-reliant, to get off their butt and not just be spoon-fed" (008). On a more 'pragmatic' level, a Soling racer said "we need to educate people much more if they are going to handle the jobs of tomorrow" (616).

**Code 442 Limited Population Growth:** Cruisers said that there should be no growth in population and a reduction in population if possible. Some quotations illustrate the point:

compulsory sterilisation and rigid population control is necessary but with some means of measuring quality of parenthood so some could have more kids (022)
drastic reduction of the birth rate (022)

population growth curtailed would lead to a better world (008)

limit population and reduce it in some places (038)

On a slightly different note, one cruiser response calls for "control of the seething masses as masses are not a part of a good future" (022). However, none of the cruiser items are related to the issue of immigration as is the one ocean racer item. This is understandable given that few cruisers related solely to one country, especially when the interviews were conducted when the cruisers were not in their home country.

**Code 443 Social and Political Responsibility:** The general sense from all groups is that people should be working harder for their country ("people who are able should not put themselves first but their country" 701) or simply that they would "like to see changes in attitudes toward work to maintain the standard of living; that is, people need to be more industrious and responsible in attitudes to work" (714). These items from racers are in contrast to the cruiser items which focus more on "people working together for a better world rather than just for money" (011).

**Code 445 An Humanistic Society:** Almost 50% of all respondent cruisers identified at least one item which fitted this code. It is possible, therefore, to consider this the most important aspiration for cruisers and the second most important code overall for them. Only 15.8% of ocean racers and 5.6% of Soling racers provided items to this code, which is consistent with the lifestyle and orientation to sailing of these two groups.

There are three main themes within the coded items and a minor theme relating to "a revival of family life, a restrengthening of the family" (143). The major themes are i) caring, happiness, ii) personal growth, and iii) non-aggressiveness.
i) Caring, happiness. The statements made by cruisers illustrate this aspiration:

where people help and empathize with each other (010)

- a greater appreciation of the individual for self as opposed to what they have (018)

like to see a more cooperative activity; as without there is less efficient use of energy (023)

- a system where people have consideration for others and don't have to step on others (035)

physically and emotionally more sensitive to each other in society (058)

ii) Personal growth. Cruisers are people who have chosen to opt out of modern western society in order to pursue, for a variety of reasons, a lifestyle at variance with what is expected of 'grown-up' people in western society. Some of these issues appear in the items below:

- I see that man is potentially unable to operate from internal authority and my utopia in ten years would have an evolutionary process helping to increase personal ability to take charge of personal authority. (011)

- the development of full human potential, fully actualised (023)

- a world that allows people freedom and encouragement and facilitates their growth and the reaching of their personal goals (031)

- a society that will let me alone to live my life in a corner by myself (064)

iii) Non-aggressiveness. This theme combines the issue of a "lack of violence, physical and mental" (010) with the issue of slowing society down; in particular that it not be "a rushed society" (016/017), that it be "a less pushy society" (037) and a "more relaxed and less industrious society" (053).

The ocean racers in this code also talked of "no violence of any kind" (705), of "not having to work so hard" (716) and of a society that "values the individual as opposed to the mass only" (706).
Less Materialism: Cruisers comments here are on the materialistic and consumption oriented lifestyle common to western societies. They said that a society which is "less materially oriented is very important" (058) but they also consider it important to have a "better ecological responsibility for example, a non-consuming society with less disposable materialism" (011). Likewise, "a society with less material concern is desirable so we do not feel the incredible drive to acquire things thereby sacrificing family life and relaxation" (008). In addition, cruiser items suggest we should "use our wealth or power to make a deeper more valuable world away from this fierce materialistic society" (051).

Self Reliance, Independence: Here cruisers translated a desirable personal mode of living to the societal level, which requires "a society that encourages personal initiative" (002) and a society where people think independently enough to reject mass pleasure and mass imperatives; where they can identify and act on their own thoughts and beliefs. (010)

A "society that fosters independence and individual initiative" (013), that promotes a "greater degree of self-sufficiency, a back-to-the-land level where you know what you're doing" (018) is mentioned.

(d) Section 4: International Relations
Most of the codes in this section did not receive any items from any respondents and the two codes which recorded more than a 12% response rate involve similar issues, one being the special case of the other. Cruisers hoped for Peace (code 461) and a Better World (code 466), the latter code being essentially to do with international cooperation. Ocean racers mentioned items that fell into 3 codes but none had a respondent rate of 12% while Soling racer responses were coded into only 1 code (461), but this code had a 16.7% respondent rate. Relatively speaking, cruiser responses frequently coded into these codes, something which may reflect their international orientation and exposure. Of course, to many of the cruisers interviewed, the world was their society and all their answers were oriented to a better
international situation.

Cruiser items in code 466, Better World, reflect their international orientation. They would like to see "a world of understanding with people meeting on a person-to-person (understanding) level" (007). In this "world society people can stop being patriotic to a country and begin to work as a world society of mankind" (009). Consistent with code 445, An Humanistic Society, the more specific items from code 461, Peace, indicate a "hope for peace; peaceful people lead to peace; peace is interpersonal and inter-social peace" (007). Other items which express this hope follow:

Just learn to live in harmony - that'd be my greatest wish for mankind as a whole" (029)
no nuclear holocaust (044)
no more wars (038)
PEACE! (043)

(e) Section 5: The Nation Itself

This section attracted very few items to any of its codes and without the created code 487, Less Nationalism, would not have ranked among the codes which were important to cruisers. Code 486, however, did attract interest from ocean racers in a hope for national independence, to be "more autonomous from outside influences if that is possible" (704). This concern from ocean racers is understandable when it is remembered that all respondents are either Canadians or Australians and that many people in both of these countries feel a sense of a loss of independence due to the power of multi-national corporations and of the American government. 4

Code 487, Less Nationalism, reflects not only cruisers' desire for free movement about the world but their lack of national attachment. One respondent said that the world should keep "separate cultures but nationalism should be gone" (007) while others wanted "no national boundaries but only one country for the world" (016/017). Likewise,

4 I make this generalisation as a Canadian, resident there for 25 years, and after 13 years living in Australia.
respondents said there should be a "breakdown of nationalistic barriers as put up by customs, immigration, etc." (018) and a "continuation of the melting pot of nations" (002).

(f) Section 6: General

This section contains the code for maintaining the status quo and a created code 493, Concern for the Environment, which did not feature in the original code. Ocean racers were the only groups to put any emphasis on maintaining the status quo, 21% wanting things to be "pretty much like it is now" (715).

Cruiser responses coded under 493, Concern for the Environment, break down into three sub-themes. Firstly, there is a general concern about our abuse of the environment, from "less pollution" (050) to doing "nothing destructive to the environment and people, for example pollution, raping the earth" (063). Secondly, it is suggested that there be "no nuclear industry" (045) and one item would "like to see something done about the whole nuclear business. You are at the mercy of others, its an all inclusive danger that we can do nothing about" (052). And, thirdly, consistent with the cruising life-style, is a wish to see "more interest in nature, the countryside; that's what its all about" (026) and "living closer and in tune with nature, even if we have to give up some of the so-called technological advances" (034). In summary, this code is about hoping for a "decent ecological balance, including the use of solar power, a fishing balance, and a reduction in pollution" (036), and "environmental responsibility" (014/015).

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(2) Society Concerns

War dominates the respondents' concerns for society and the world. 'War' was ranked either first or second by all three groups of respondents and, with 'Political Instability', was one of two issues that all three agree upon. Table VI.5 shows where there is agreement between the groups. As in previous sections, Soling racer responses concentrated into fewer codes and also showed less agreement with the other two groups than cruisers and ocean racers did with each other.
There is also less conceptual agreement between cruisers and ocean racers than there was in the Personal section. That is, not only is there little agreement between specific codes but there appears to be less commonality in responses coded into different but related codes.

Besides agreement on a fear of War, cruisers and ocean racers also agreed in their concern for Economic Instability and Political Instability. The concerns of cruisers are conceptually broader than both the other groups, including concerns about Freedom, Materialism, and Standardisation, and issues of social responsibility. Soling racers, on the other hand, tended to be more concerned with Standard of Living and Unemployment, which are issues that are more quantitative than qualitative.

Consistent with the Personal section of the instrument, fewer items were elicited about 'Concerns' than about 'Aspirations'. As Table VI.1 shows only 378 items were coded for Society Concerns while 599 items were coded for Society Aspirations. Likewise, with the exception of the Soling racers fewer codes received at least 12% response rate.

Following is a discussion of the codes which received the highest response rates as shown in the Tables and some reference to other relevant codes or items. There are six sections to the Society Code: Political, Economic, Social, International Relations, the Nation Itself, and General. With the exception of the concern for War, the International Relations section received no significant attention. Likewise, with the exception of ocean racers' concern for Threat from Foreign Powers, there was no interest expressed in The Nation Itself section.

(a) Section 1: Political

For cruisers, issues of freedom dominated their responses to these codes with concerns about communism, democracy and freedom expressed. On the other hand, Soling and ocean racers were not as focussed in their responses. Note that no items coded into code 501, Dishonest Government, while there were only five items coded into code 401, Honest Government. In both cases, however, there was strong concern shown in codes 402 and 502 which refer to efficiency in government.
Code 502  Inefficient Government: The heading to this code belies the fact that it is also concerned with issues of over-government "too much government involvement in personal and regulatory bodies" (002), "ever present bureaucracy" (041), and a belief that "every government is inefficient compared to private enterprise" (032). To the respondents "increasing government regulation" (502), an "increase in restrictions and red tape from government" (056), and "indecision in our parliamentary system" (708) were all causes for concern.

Code 503  Communism: The "communists taking over" (046) was not an attractive proposition, according to the responses, essentially because it would mean "being trapped in a culture where all people and actions are contained" (023) and because "modern Communism is not socialism and you have no freedom"
(047/048). Similar sentiments are expressed in the few Soling and ocean racer items which were coded here.

Code 504  No Democracy: "Society is heading to its own destruction via extremes of capitalism and socialism and it gets repressive when at extremes; people like us are a threat to powers" (063). "Either left or right extremes are equally negative" (020) as "totalitarian governments remove freedoms" (009).

Code 505  Fear country will become socialistic: While there is an emphasis on the term 'Communism' in other codes, this code represents the more general concerns of socialistic policies. According to one ocean racer, the "selfishness and greediness of capitalism will bring socialism" (709) and a cruiser item sees the "trend toward welfare type state will result in negative effects, for example, people lose goals" (058).

Code 506  Loss of Freedom: Nearly one-quarter of all cruiser respondents mentioned items that were coded here. When taken in conjunction with concerns for socialistic and Communistic issues, this represents one of the main concerns. As in previous codes, there is "a fear of seeing a world with even less freedom and self-reliance" (012) and "no freedom of choice" (054). The three following quotations
provide further perspective on how cruisers saw the issue:

people being controlled by either government or large corporations, when there's no freedom (028)

complete loss of personal freedom and it is plain that it is occurring; we are heading for something close to dictatorship (035)

increased restrictions on individuals and reduced restrictions on large organisations and institutions are feared (041)

At the extreme, a number of cruisers believed that "society is like a penitentiary" (057).

Code 508 National Disunity: Only Soling racers made statements that fit this code. Their concerns were that there not be "a lot of infighting" (620) and that the "population not be unhappy" (601).

Code 511 Political Instability: This is one of the issues about which all three respondent groups agreed; they agreed that "riots" (065), "civil war" (040) and "violence" (022) are all things to fear in the future. Some expressed these ideas in more detail.

panic, violence, rats in a trap, killing, war (010)

complete and uncontrolled lawlessness; no civil control, a society completely outside any system of law we can think of (705)
The worst condition I can imagine is a revolution or civil war; Italy could develop in that direction because of unemployment problems and terrorist problems. (622)

(b) Section 2: Economic

There are only a few codes in this section and the differences between them are a matter primarily of emphasis, of specific issues within a general concern for the economic future of society. There is not much agreement between the items coded for the three groups although for ocean and Soling racers their highest ranking code is to be found in this section. For ocean racers, the concern is Economic Instability (code 524) and for Soling racers it is Unemployment (code 525). Soling racers are also concerned with a fall in the Standard of Living (code
523) while cruisers' only concern in this section was with Economic Instability (code 524). A flavour of the concerns is obvious in these quotations.

Code 523: falling standard of living (605)

Code 524: like a 1929 crash; which might be a good thing, a lesson to younger people who have no sense of value (040)

inflation is kind of a scary thing, people working all their lives and ending up with bugger all (706)

economic disaster through government mismanagement (710)

Code 525: fewer jobs even than now because of greater technology (053)

massive unemployment, given the conditions we have now where unemployed are poor and get no satisfaction (716)

many people without work (609)

I think the labour market will be much more competitive as manual jobs are done by machine. Those that have jobs will be satisfied but those lacking ability will find it hard to get jobs and thus contentment (616)

Note that in both this section and in code 511 of the last section, responses suggest that while unemployment is undesirable in itself, the personal and social problems caused by massive unemployment are also of concern.

(c) Section 3: Social

There are many codes and issues involved in this section and expressions of concerns about most of them have been registered by cruisers, while Soling racers had very little concern for any of the issues. Ocean racers discussed issues related to a number of the codes but registered 12% or more for only one code, 542 Unlimited Population growth. Cruisers expressed concern about the issues in code 543, Social and Political Responsibility, by saying that there is "too much security to the point where people think the world owes them something" (019) and
worrying that "people are not willing to give up time, etc., to help the young people, or the less fortunate, the sick." (059)

Code 546, Standardisation and Conformity, is the second highest ranking code for cruisers. While the original wording of the code has the word 'mechanisation' in it, that is not the issue that cruiser responses focussed on in the code. Consistent with cruisers' belief that our mass urban culture is a strong factor in the pressure to conform, cruisers expressed a fear that society will become too "restricted and regimented" (002). Two themes emerge from the items that fell into this code. The first concerns conformity and a fear of "a society that demands that people fit into the system rather than the system fitting/adapting to people" (016/017).

It's getting worse because you can do nothing without the approval of everyone, you are too protected. If you go out of your house you are always told what to do - not only the highway code - but it is in you mind. You can't do anything without the approval of society. (046)

brainwashing of people to conform, to fit in categories to not allow non-conforming people who are a threat (063)

identity numbers for the mass of people (057)

The second theme in code 546 concerns the nature of work and life generally, the "continual material acquisitiveness" (030). "Education is seen as making consumers out of people" (025) and "society is too impersonal, too much by computer and not enough of the personal touch" (008). Consistent with this last statement are "the kind of general rules and regulations that are applied to the mass and every case, whether they fit or not" (041). "Production line work" (057) and "restrictions on individuality in work" (057) are also of concern.

(d) Section 4: International Relations

One code within this section is the one place where the three groups express agreement. As Tables VI.5 shows, the three groups expressed a real fear that war, and especially nuclear war, might be a reality in the future. In the case of cruisers, the addition of the nuclear concerns in the two codes (561 and 562) shows that 24.6% of cruisers fear nuclear weapons as a factor leading to war in the
future. Ocean racers, on the other hand, do not specify so strongly the issue of nuclear war, although the fear of a "complete holocaust" (706) may be read as referring to nuclear war. "War is an appalling prospect - this is very important, more than communism" (047/048) and it means "we could all be dead, the world could be burned out" (023). "Nuclear war is about the worst thing that can happen - I do not think a real all-out nuclear war will happen but that is not a conviction" (052).

What do I fear, just nothing, I guess. When they manage to explode all their bombs there won't be much left except gentically ruined lower animals and plants that aren't too affected by radiation; so much heat from bombs would melt the ice caps and flood the world (038).

(e) Section 5: The Nation Itself

There was not a great deal of interest in this code by any of the respondent groups and only one code received a 12% response rate, Code 588, Threat, Domination, etc., by a foreign power. In that case, 32% of the ocean racers feared becoming "economically dominated by the USA" (704), or "overrun by an enemy force" (710). These two statements sum up all the items in this Section from ocean racers, with most of them reiterating the latter.

While cruisers did not have much to say in this section, their comments clustered around two codes, Loss of National Independence (585) and Too Much Nationalism (587). No one individual respondent appears in both codes so there is no individual contradiction. In addition, while one set of items is concerned about loss of national independence and power, the other fears extremes of nationalism and patriotism. As we have seen previously, cruisers are not oriented towards nationalism and do not consider patriotism a characteristic of cruisers. This section of the code is consistent with the same section in Society-Aspirations, in which the only code to receive a 12% response rate was the code 487, Less Nationalism.

(f) Section 6: General

The specific sections and codes have accounted for most of the items expressed by all respondents and the only code here to receive much response is 593, Pollution. Few cruisers feared that the status
quo will remain; they did fear "Reagan's kind of America" (050) and that "all this insanity goes up and down and nothing seems to change" (0590).

The concerns expressed in this code are various and summarised by the following quotations.

- continuing to remove human experience of the natural world (009)
- quality of food, water, and air getting worse (025)
- devastation of a lot of wild life in the oceans and on land (025)
- general ecological disaster (036)
- continuing carelessness in education system and elsewhere that results in waste of human resources and other resources (059)
- polluting the pond, so to speak, that we live in (067)

* * * * *

In conclusion, it is worth reiterating that one of the the aims of this Appendix is to present a selection of quotations from the raw data so that the reader may gain a more thorough understanding of the data. Read in conjunction with the analysis in Chapter 4 and Appendices IV and VI, the information in this Appendix should be useful in obtaining a more thorough understanding of the data.
Appendix VI

THE CANTRIL STATISTICAL TABLES

Table VI.1

Coding Statistics - Totals

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**Section 1 : Own Personal Character**

| 101 | 16 | 13 | 20.6 | 3 | 3 | 15.8 | 11 | 7 | 38.9 |
| 102 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 103 | 17 | 16 | 25.4 | 5 | 5 | 26.3 | 6 | 5 | 27.8 |
| 104 | 12 | 9 | 14.3 | 6 | 6 | 31.6 | 4 | 4 | 22.2 |
| 105 | 12 | 10 | 15.9 | 3 | 3 | 15.8 | 6 | 5 | 27.8 |
| 106 | 3 | 3 | 4.8 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 107 | 1 | 1 | 1.6 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 109 | 12 | 11 | 17.5 | 3 | 2 | 10.5 | 3 | 2 | 11.1 |

**Section 2 : Personal Economic Situation**

| 111 | 25 | 21 | 31.3 | 8 | 7 | 36.8 | 1 | 1 | 5.6 |
| 112 | 1 | 1 | 1.6 | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | 5.6 |
| 113 | 3 | 2 | 3.2 | 1 | 1 | 5.3 | 1 | 1 | 5.6 |
| 114 | 11 | 11 | 17.5 | 6 | 4 | 21.1 | - | - | - |
| 115 | 3 | 2 | 3.2 | 3 | 3 | 15.8 | 1 | 1 | 5.6 |
| 116 | 2 | 2 | 3.2 | 1 | 1 | 5.3 | 2 | 2 | 11.1 |
| 119 | 13 | 11 | 17.5 | 3 | 2 | 10.5 | - | - | - |

**Section 3 : Job or Work Situation**

| 121 | 7 | 6 | 9.5 | 3 | 3 | 15.8 | 7 | 7 | 38.9 |
| 122 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 123 | 3 | 2 | 3.2 | 3 | 3 | 15.8 | 4 | 4 | 22.2 |
| 124 | 9 | 8 | 12.7 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 129 | 6 | 5 | 7.9 | - | - | - | 1 | 1 | 5.6 |

**Section 4 : Other References to Self**

| 131 | 18 | 17 | 27.0 | 9 | 7 | 36.8 | 3 | 3 | 16.7 |
| 132 | 2 | 2 | 3.2 | 1 | 1 | 5.3 | - | - | - |
| 133 | 26 | 21 | 33.3 | 10 | 7 | 36.8 | 9 | 8 | 44.4 |
| 134 | 19 | 16 | 25.4 | 1 | 1 | 5.3 | 1 | 1 | 5.6 |
| 135 | 34 | 25 | 39.7 | 5 | 5 | 26.3 | - | - | - |
| 136 | 27 | 18 | 28.6 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 137 | 11 | 9 | 14.3 | 2 | 1 | 5.3 | 2 | 2 | 11.1 |
| 138 | 14 | 11 | 17.5 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 139 | 19 | 14 | 22.2 | 12 | 7 | 36.8 | - | - | - |
Table VI.2: Personal Aspirations – Coding Statistics, cont’d.

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Section 6: Other People, Community, Nation

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Section 7: International Situation and World

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Section 8: General
### Table VI.3

**Personal Concerns - Coding Statistics**

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**Section 1: Own Personal Character**

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| 212         | 13        | 12         | 19.0 | 3         | 3          | 15.8 | -         | -          | -   |
| 219         | -         | -          | -   | 3         | 3          | 15.8 | 2         | 2          | 11.1 |

**Section 2: Personal Economic Situation**

| 221         | 16        | 15         | 23.8 | 2         | 2          | 10.5 | 3         | 3          | 16.7 |
| 222         | 2         | 2          | 3.2 | -         | -          | -   | 1         | 1          | 5.6  |
| 223         | -         | -          | -   | 1         | 1          | 5.3 | -         | -          | -   |
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**Section 3: Job or Work Situation**

| 231         | 42        | 33         | 52.4 | 12        | 10         | 52.6 | 5         | 5          | 27.8 |
| 232         | 10        | 9          | 14.3 | -         | -          | -   | -         | -          | -   |
| 236         | 23        | 17         | 27.0 | 2         | 2          | 10.5 | -         | -          | -   |
| 237         | 20        | 13         | 20.6 | 1         | 1          | 5.3 | -         | -          | -   |
| 238         | 12        | 11         | 17.5 | 1         | 1          | 5.3 | 1         | 1          | 5.6  |
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**Section 4: Other References to Self**
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Section 5: Other References to Family

Section 6: Other People, Community, Nation

Section 7: International Situation and World

Section 8: General
Table VI.4

Society Aspirations - Coding Statistics

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**Section 6: General**
Table VI.5

Society Concerns - Coding Statistics

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Section 2: Economic

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Section 5: The Nation Itself

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APPENDIX VII

THE SOCIAL CRITIQUE and MODERN SOCIETY

The cruising lifestyle is chosen or sought by people for a complex set of reasons, some of which involve a negative evaluation of much of the society they have left or are trying to leave. This appendix has two purposes. First, it presents some aspects of cruisers' social critique and in their own words. That is, quotations from the cruising literature are used to illustrate how they write about their critique. This presentation is made as further evidence to support the discussion of cruisers' social critique which is contained in the body of the thesis. These, then, are cruisers' views.

The second task of the appendix is to provide a social critique from outside cruising against which cruisers' critique can be juxtaposed. This view of modern society has been compiled from a variety of academic sources and admittedly reflects simply one composite view of modern society. The elements of this discussion are used in the body of the thesis, especially in Chapter 11, and the detail here is provided as background should the reader wish to pursue the points further. This critique is useful because it is basically similar to cruisers' view and therefore helps to support and clarify their position.

I THE CRITIQUE IN CRUISER'S OWN WORDS

The quotations in this section are illustrative rather than exhaustive and are not organised to match the discussion in the body of the thesis. This organisation is necessitated by the nature of the statements quoted - some of them contain ideas that straddle the
discreet sections of the analysis. The quotations begin with a comprehensive statement and end it with a parable written at sea by Bernard Moitessier.

There was also the problem of steamers. Should I light the masthead tricolor light? This I did, hooking it to a 12-volt Hot Shot battery which failed by midnight. At 12:30, after a tour of the foredeck, I made the command decision to leave things as they were and turn in. There was still a rosy glow to the north. Land of the Midnight Sun - we were there, by gosh!

But I was too exhilarated to sleep. Listening to the music of sailing full before a breeze, I fell to thinking about the state of the shorebound society, its ills and dissonance. I could identify many of its troubles and some of their causes.

Overpopulation is straining at the limits of the earth's ability to house us all. World food supplies, already deficient, are dependent on petrochemical-based fertilizers which promote growth, all right, but pollute soil and streams and probably degrade the product. And pollution in all its aspects degrades the environment on which we depend.

The depletion of nonrenewable resources, particularly oil, is folly. Gross inequities in the distribution of wealth, exacerbated by galloping inflation worldwide, accelerate a social turbulence that can only end in a new Dark Age. Meanwhile, the preoccupation of all governments with armaments and nuclear weapons, when food supply, population and pollution problems threaten life, is a defence posture that is absurdly juvenile. It seemed clear to me, hundreds of miles from land, that false values had become the basis of Western civilization, and of the U.S.A. in particular.

Some basic causes, I mused, were: the internal combustion engine and its flagrant misuse in the automobile; Freud and his less-able followers, who have had the arrogance to substitute the ego for the principles of self-discipline and self-determination developed over the eons by the world's great religions; the arrogance of science in trying to impose its will on nature (nuclear fission, for example) when its practitioners don't understand the functioning of even simple plant cells; and applied Keynesian economics - unrestrained greed - that is scientifically applied by Harvard Business School zealots intent only on a 10 percent net compounded annually.

Moreover, the military complexes which devour so much of the world's natural resources have grown top-heavy with ambitious, self-serving brass. If the Pentagon were a ship, the negative metacentric height would have long since capsized the mess and solved the problem. Associated with this is the insatiable, inept, but powerful defense establishment famous for shoddy and slipshod work and for overrunning contracts and then recovering their costs from the government - all at taxpayer's expense. Equally irresponsible are the advertising
industry, whose greatest accomplishment has been to foist the
300-hp. automobile on the public; television, another great
invention, which has not only accelerated the peddling of
spurious products but also created generations of TV idiots who
can neither read nor write; and the minimum wage laws which
make it impossible for young people to get training in the
purposeful, creative coordination of hand, eye and brain at an
early age, when such training is most necessary and productive.

I could go on and on, but what is the answer?

Americans are so brainwashed we still have no real sense of
shame that as 6 percent of the world's population we use 35
percent of the world's energy. Not even the post-OPEC oil
crisis, not even the solemn warning of President Carter several
years ago has affected our collective 'demands' for
petrochemicals and petrochemical fuels. A big part of the
reason is that all of us, when on shore, are locked in, whether
we like it or not, to the use of the motor car; and with it we
have become dependent on the oil companies and auto
industry. Throughout my career as a ship-builder, I had
proudly contributed to the world's present ills, thinking
erroneously it was in the world's best interests. Perhaps it
has been, up through the Polaris submarine, designed
specifically as a deterrent system. But beyond that I thought,
what if all the brainpower, resources and energy that have gone
into later 'defense' systems could somehow have been diverted
to much more important problem of how to provide non-polluting
and renewable sources of energy?

In the meantime, there is a dawning awareness among
responsible scientists and politicians that we can't live with
nuclear power because of that unsolvable waste disposal
problem. And, an increasing use of fossil fuels is generating
so much carbon di-oxide that the greenhouse effect it seems to
create poses an equal threat to survival. (It has certainly
done away with the afternoon sou'wester which used to come with
the regularity of the rising sun along our American East
Coast!)

What if those resources spent on ever-more-horrible weapons
and nuclear development had gone instead into development of
elegantly-simple solar energy devices that each of us could
have (and control) rather than, as now, being dependent on the
'energy establishment'? And some of the money could have gone
into financing the reintroduction of commercial sailing ships
which need no real development funds at all.

Just what was the answer, I asked myself as I sat there in
my weathertight canopy, sailing grandly through the North
Atlantic? Certainly one isn't going to change all of mankind
overnight. Avarice will persist. Free enterprise and
competition should persist. It may be too late to introduce
moral and ethical standards into generations of businessmen,
lawyers and administrators who grew up without the built-in
integrity; but why can't the running rules be changed so these
same individuals would have to work within acceptable
parameters? Perhaps we need a Jarvis-type of groundswell by
people so that we can accomplish - with respect to survival on
earth for our children and grandchildren — that which Jarvis accomplished with respect to property taxation in California.

Men and women of foresight counsel planning, conservation, and the development of regeneratable, non-polluting resources such as solar energy. Our défilement of nature is not conquering it. Our civilization really is not creating anything but a fool’s paradise. Daily existence in the polluted atmosphere and bumper-to-bumper traffic in and about our cities is certainly no real paradise. Every day we increase the probability that in the not-too-distant future we will have irreversibly tipped the scales against return to an environmental balance.

The answer was clear to me. It must become universal law that all human activity, all otherwise-free enterprise and government activities are to live in harmony with nature. No further environmental degradation of any kind should be tolerated. Automatically, all our avarice would be redirected along more constructive lines. Nuclear and all other armaments would be obsolete. Use of petrochemicals would be reduced to the highest and best use. DNA-research budgets would be converted to start learning what really makes nature tick and how to encourage, not irresponsibly tinker with, the process. Solar energy and biodynamic farming would come into their own, as would sail power for commercial ships.

How would this law be put into effect? One way would be to put the 'think-tanks' of the world to work on 'cost-benefit analysis' so dearly loved by decision makers. The resultant benefits would stand out clearly and the law could be adopted world-wide by treaty.

It was midnight. We were still surfing. With those thoughts behind me I left things in the hand of the Lord, the self-steerer, and the integrity intrinsic in the ship's hull and rig. (Bergson 1979:150-1)

Michel Mermod, in his book The Voyage of the Geneve relates a mid-ocean conversation with his crewman, Marc. Mermod accuses Marc of leading a degenerate existence as a 'sea gypsy' and when Marc protests, Mermod says:

Now listen, I'm quietly making my way home to my beautiful native land, and there I shall again become a worthy citizen, fully aware of my responsibilities.... [To which Marc replies] Stop it at once or I shall die laughing! You'll never settle down to civilisation. You don't even know what the word means. I can see you strangling to death in a tie, paying taxes, national health insurance, old age pension, the lot! Of all the people to keep to a routine, pay rent, play soldiers in the army, and rush around pointlessly from dawn to dusk. And all for what? eh? tell me! Just so as to collect stomach ulcers and die of a heart attack knowing — and it's the truth — that you have behaved like a cog in a factory churning out human beings. (Mermod 1968:277)
Later, when he finds that his native Switzerland is going to make a hero of him and his voyage with official receptions and the placing of GENEVE in a museum, he ponders the twist of logic that allows them to honour him, someone who is less than nothing. A drop of water in the immensity of the ocean. But now the world of men has decided otherwise.... My adventure has woken their atavistic instincts, bound as they are to their human technological civilisation, and has stirred in them the old dream of a life lived rather than endured, reminding them that despite their organisation for turning men into units, there is still a choice to be made. (Mermod 1968:292; ellipsis in original)

A comment from someone who became a 'cruiser' on a power boat and left city life to become a resident of the sea comes from Sloan Wilson. He is a novelist who decided some years ago that the life he was leading in New York city was no good for him, that no matter how he tried to live in the city, it did not satisfy him: he got fat and was vain; he hated jogging in the park while "athletic clubs, horseback riding and bicycles [were met]...with equal revulsion..." and he and his friends drank too much; he earned a lot and was always short of money. He followed these comments with:

I was beginning to hate my profession, for how can a man write novels which make any sense when everything around him seems senseless? Perhaps it was a sign of my own neurosis, but almost everything I saw outside of my immediate family circle seemed without kindness, reason or morality, and any talk of working to help improve the world simply served to increase my own sense of complete helplessness and futility. (Wilson 1969:14)

A man who eventually circumnavigated from Sydney, Australia, saw similar issues as he departed what is arguably one of the most beautiful urban harbours in the world.

With a good ship, good company, a good light breeze on the port quarter we eased out of Sydney harbour, the whole wide wonder of the world before us. Behind us, chuckling into the rifts and eddies of the wake, we were leaving all the pressures of the rat-race, all the struggle for the peak of the pyramid, all the necessity to keep up an appearance. And all the lesser annoyances: the stink of city transport, the grime of city skies, the thousand disciplines it's necessary for anyone to follow to each day's target, the targets themselves....

You could call us drop-outs, the four of us. That's my own description too, but perhaps I should enlarge on that. We were
dropping out from the non-essential world to find the real world, to enjoy it rather than to find it, for we knew it was there. In his way Columbus was a drop-out, a non-acceptor of the world as it was, and from his dissatisfactions he enlarged that world's horizons. Thoreau, leaving his teaching career for a rouseabout life of odd jobs and river voyaging, later for his life in the woods, was a drop-out in today's sense of the word; as a drop-out, and writing of himself as one, he produced his only immortal work, Walden. He was only demonstrating that he could have most of his time to himself, and live on less than two dollars a week.

I was a very determined drop-out myself. To see a boat of my own nodding at her mooring as I left for work each morning was familiar, but it seemed always a reminder that she and I were both in need of faraway places, of empty white beaches, of brown-skinned smiling happy people, of coconut palms, of translucent green water. All it needed was the time in which to enjoy it all. And I realise that I never had a chance of resisting it. (Le Guay 1975:7-8)

Moitessier's parable of the 'Fairy Tern' closes this brief look at cruisers' social critique. He wrote this shortly after completing a non-stop solo circumnavigation by crossing his outward path in the Atlantic. Moitessier was leading in the race from Plymouth to Plymouth and decided to drop out of it and instead to continue on again through the Indian and Pacific Oceans to Tahiti.

Slowly, I reach out my hand. She looks at me, preening her feathers. I reach closer. She stops smoothing her feathers and watches me, unafraid. Her eyes seem to speak.

I reach my hand a little bit closer ... and gently start stroking her back, very gently. She speaks to me then, and I understand that this is no miracle. And she tells me the story of the Beautiful Sailboat filled with men. Hundreds of millions of men.

When they set out, it was on a long voyage of exploration. The men wanted to find out where they came from, and where they were going. But they completely forgot why they were on the boat. And little by little they get fat, they become demanding passengers. They are not interested in the life of the boat and the sea any more; what interests them are their little comforts. They have accepted mediocrity, and each time they say 'Well, that's life,' they are resigning themselves to ugliness.

The captain has become resigned too, because he is afraid of antagonizing his passengers by coming about to avoid the unknown reefs that he perceives from the depths of his instinct. Visibility worsens, the wind increases, but the Beautiful Sailboat stays on the same course. The captain hopes a miracle will calm the sea and let them come about without disturbing anyone.
The sun climbs. It passes its meridian, and I have still not moved. Now my little gull is sleeping on my knee.

... Just then she awakens and tells me some more about the Beautiful Sailboat. Lots of the men are still sailors. They don't wear gloves, the better to feel the life of the sails and the lines, they go barefoot and stay in touch with their boat, so big, so tall, so beautiful, whose masts reach all the way up to the sky. They don't talk much; they watch the weather, reading the stars and the flights of gulls, and watching the signs the porpoises make. And they know their beautiful boat is headed for disaster. But they do not have access to the sheets or the wheel, they are a bunch of barefoot tramps kept at large. People tell them they smell bad, tell them to wash. Many have been hanged for trying to trim the after sails and ease the jibs to alter course at least a little. And the captain waits for the miracle to come between the bar and the saloon. He is right to believe in miracles ... but he has forgotten that a miracle is only born if men create it themselves, out of their own being. (1971:166-7; ellipsis and emphasis in original)

He continues by moving on from observation to suggestion, "that it is a thousand times truer to have men guided by heart and instinct than the twisted gimmicks of money and politics" (1971:183). He goes on further to talk of social attitudes towards progress and how to define that concept:

The Monster has arranged things so that the hippies are accused of lots of crimes. Their crime is feeling deeply that Money is not the ultimate goal in life. It is refusing to be accomplices of a society where anything goes so long as it is legal. It is disagreeing with the physical and spiritual degradations of the race for Progress. That so many understand this a great hope for us all. (Moitessier 1971:183)

It appears from this research that most cruisers agree with this critique. Their action emphasises personal change - to create and to escape - but it is not clear that their 'understanding' is "a great hope for us all" (Moitessier 1971:183).
II. THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF CRUISING

Cruising is primarily, although not exclusively, a phenomenon of western, industrial society. It is within this social context or culture that cruising forms a subculture, one which is critical of that society. Their critical orientation is directed at this modern society. While cruisers' social critique can be empirically derived, to determine whether or not their lifestyle is actually different from that which they criticise, the historical-sociological setting of cruising must be described. Modern western society is the background against which cruisers are reacting and it is the task of this section to sketch this background. No claims are made that the sketch is exhaustive.

Throughout much of the literature that analyses modern western society there runs a theme of dehumanisation created by the processes and institutions of society. That is to say, individuals are seen as de facto dehumanised because of forces intrinsic to such concepts as bureaucracy, the technological production process, urbanisation, and education, to name but a few of the more obvious. Ideas and concepts from a number of writers have been incorporated into this sketch to provide a broadly based view of the nature of modern society. In this discussion modern society is characterised as alienating, professionalised, privatised, centralised, and materialistic. Berger, Berger, and Kellner (1973) see two central factors underlying these five descriptors of modern society, namely bureaucracy and the technological production process.

The Technological Production Process is described by Berger, et al. as being functionally logical and guided by criteria of efficiency, thus imposing technocratic controls over the individual and social relations. At the same time, the authors argue that these controls divide life into a series of separate components sans integration. This lack of integration of the self is exasperated by the multiplicity of personal and material relationships encountered by individuals and the plurality of meaning systems which are needed to understand the variety of situations faced in modern society. This multiplicity of roles arises in part because of the complexity and segmentation in urban society. People must develop separate roles to suit the different
demands of worker, parent, friend, relative, comrade, or lover. On top of this, life is approached as problematic because there is no tradition on which to draw and every situation must be exploited for its maximum yield. Taken together, the 'problem' orientation and the need to 'exploit' suggest that change and striving, respectively, characterise life.

**Bureaucracy** is seen to develop consistent and complementary themes, especially in relation to the "cleavage between private and public spheres" (Berger, et al. 1973:104). In addition, bureaucracy is founded on a belief in the need and ability to organise and manage all phenomena and to assign each to a particular jurisdiction of control. There is also the notion in bureaucracy that there are proper procedures and that there are certain 'rights' inherent in these procedures. While we have all 'experienced' these aspects of bureaucracy, Berger, et al. suggest that these notions also form a part of the consciousness underlying modern society.

Having briefly noted these two factors underlying modern society, the five descriptors mentioned previously will now be enlarged upon. Probably the most common concept used to describe modern society is **alienation** - a concept that has gone well beyond Marx's use of it in relation to the production process. As Faunce (1968) says, the term is now used to refer to almost every social ill and the concept is so general that it has become a difficult one to focus on and with. However, it is usual for the term alienation to be used in relation to powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation, self-estrangement, and estrangement from nature. Of central concern in this thesis are powerlessness, self-estrangement, and estrangement from nature because it is these aspects of alienation that cruisers seek to overcome.

Alienation in the sense of powerlessness is seen to develop because of our society's sheer size, complexity and its 'mass' characteristic. Fromm (1963:125) notes that the size and power of our organisations and our cities means that we become relatively less and less powerful as

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1 See, for example, Bullock and Stallybrass (1977), Faunce (1968), Josephson (1962) and Williams (1981).
individuals. From the gigantic corporations and urban agglomerations through to the awesome power of the nuclear arsenal we as individuals tend to be and feel overwhelmed, powerless to control the important events in life. The complexity of society means individuals are less able to understand and influence society and the events that are important in their lives and are then increasingly reliant on experts in every regard. This whole process is exacerbated by the 'mass' nature of society - communication, consumption, spectator sport, politics, transportation, and so on. The 'mass' nature of society is alienating because such a "society weakens or destroys traditional human groupings, thus leaving the individual at the mercy of impersonal ... [organisations and groupings] and powerless to withstand these pressures" (Josephson 1962:42).

Alienation from nature is manifest in a number of ways including our cultural need to control nature and the physical reality of our society that separates most people physically from the forces and rhythms of nature. Josephson points out that humans and nature were considered related parts of a more or less harmonious whole [but] to understand and control nature - the goals of modern science and technology - men first had to separate or alienate themselves from it. (1962:36)

So, on the one hand our relationship became one of dominance while on the other we became less in tune as functioning beings with the processes of nature. As a consequence of the vast majority of people in modern society living in giant metropolitan areas, the average person has little concept of or experience with aspects of nature such as the productivity of the soil, the forces of a flood, the changing tides, the phases of the moon, or the trauma of a drought. Nature is increasingly seen on TV or 'experienced' from a freeway or in a nature reserve - in either case transitory and as an observer rather than participant.

Self-estrangement takes alienation one step further with the notion that in modern society the individual increasingly becomes instrumental, something to be used as a consumer, as a worker, as a voter - but never becomes a fully-functioning, integrated person. It is increasingly the case that the individual engages in activities which are merely instrumental, are not ends in themselves (Fromm 1963; Faunce 1968).
Fromm is particularly scathing of this 'marketing' orientation:

In this orientation, man experiences himself as a thing to be employed successfully on the market. He does not experience himself as an active agent, as the bearer of human powers. He is alienated from these powers. His aim is to sell himself successfully on the market. His sense of self does not stem from his activity as a loving and thinking individual, but from his socio-economic role.

(1963:141-2)

Thus, humans are alienated because the authentic self is not invoked, is not involved.

These views of alienation, then, suggest that people are losing not only the potential of their own personal power, but also losing that sense of wholeness of the person with the self and with nature, the sense of unity in the universe. There is seen both a loss of personal identity and unity with (and within) the universe.

The issue of Professionalisation in modern society is raised by a number of authors. Berger, et al. (1973) first mention it in relation to the technological production process as this process institutionalises an hierarchy of experts that all ordinary workers as well as experts recognise and utilize. Such an hierarchy develops logically from technological segmentation whereby all processes and functions are broken down into areas of specific action and/or knowledge. The 'expert' is so in relation to such a specific area. Bureaucracy would seem to encourage such a process (ie. professionalisation) in two ways. Firstly, members of the bureaucracy have very clearly demarcated areas of competencies:

[E]ach jurisdiction and each agency within it is competent ONLY for its assigned sphere of life and is supposed to have expert knowledge appropriate to this sphere. (Berger, et al. 1973:46)

The competencies are well known to those within the bureaucracy, at the least, and probably known of on a general level by those outside. Secondly, it is these outsiders, or clients, who recognise the expertocracy but from another angle. Berger, et al. consider the client to be only passively involved with the bureaucracy and that this passivity leads to feelings of impotence. It seems that such feelings, when taken in conjunction with professionalisation, suggest the client is likely to be dependent on the institution and its experts.
Professionalisation goes beyond the world of work (as, of course, does bureaucracy) because the technical expert increasingly demands recognition and subservience in all aspects of modern life, from how to recreate to how to procreate - even marriage and hygiene have become increasingly the preserve of experts and less so of the family and peers (Camilleri 1976; Roszak 1971). Illich's (1973b) argument is consistent with these writers in his discussion of the role of the education and medical professions in the increasing professionalisation of society. The consistent theme is that such professionalisation removes more areas of competence from the individual and places these competencies in the hands of experts and institutions. Increasingly, then, the individual becomes dependent on these institutions and on the centralised and integrated structures of technological society (Strasser 1983:159).

From quite different perspectives, the architect Pawley (1974) and sociologists Berger, Berger, and Kellner (1973) arrive at a similar conclusion on one dimension of life, namely that it is privatized. Both argue that our society has developed in a way that dis-integrates the social life of people by separating life into two spheres - the public and the private. The public sphere is seen to be restrictive, organised, and role-bound so that the individual has little or no scope for individual initiative and independent action. It is 'in' the public sphere where work, political 'participation', and so-called community involvement take place. These types of activities, though, are increasingly 'modernised' in Berger et al.'s sense that they are dominated by technology and bureaucracy.

Berger, et al. see privatisation caused by the logical split of the 'world' into the public and private spheres. The private sphere gains importance because the individual is so controlled by rules and roles in the public sphere. Life is 'segmented' into public and private and both are further segmented themselves. In particular the public sector is segmented (by, for example, work roles) and depersonalised such that the individual is forced to the private domain for human needs such as belongingness and actualisation. Both Pawley and Berger, et al. agree, though, that other forces in society make even the private domain less than competent to fulfill these needs.
Pawley sees our society as 'choosing' privatisation; for example, we have made a choice for:

the private car and against public transport, for suburban life and against urban or rural community, ...
for nuclear and against the extended family, for television and against the cinema and the theatre, for social mobility and against class solidarity, for private affluence and against community life ... all these are choices in favour of privacy, in favour of individual freedom, in favour of anonymity, but against the idea of community. (1974:60-61)

This analysis suggests that our lives have lost integration, the integration that should occur at the public, or community, level. Consistent with this is Berger, et al.'s contention that work is part of the public sphere and as such no longer fulfills an inherently integrative role in the social or community process. Public life has become anonymous and multi-relational and the public institutions no longer provide the integration and stability that the individual needs. This throws more responsibility on to the private institutions, notably the family. The nuclear family is itself no longer equipped to provide these needs as it too has lost its ability to facilitate inter-generational integration.

The private sphere takes on still further significance given Berger, et al.'s belief that the 'role playing' required in the public sphere means that the private sphere must assume the burden of responsibility for providing scope for self-actualisation. This in turn further encourages the public self to become false and rule-bound so that genuine actions of the actualisation process are confined to the private sphere, resulting in independent thought and action, questioning and inquiring, and the genuine presentation of an authentic self being eliminated from the public sphere.

Consistent with Pawley, Camilleri suggests that the "legitimacy of the system is maintained by the very promise of rewards for 'privatised needs'" (1976:37). It is these 'privatised needs' that become transformed into 'materialism' (discussed below). These views suggest, then, that the conjunction of factors lends credence to the notion that life in modern society is increasingly a private affair and less an 'affair' with a community of important others than an 'affair' with the self.
Modern western society has become ever more centralized because of the dual processes of the increasing centralization of organisations and of their decision structures along with the increasing ability of modern communications and computer technology to centrally monitor and control activities. Rule (1983) sees the role of communications and computer technology as key variables in this centralisation process. These variables "enhance the power of centralised bureaucracies over ordinary people" (Rule 1983:167). He also talks of the scope for mass surveillance because of the electronic footprints left by the plastic-card-carrying individuals. His point, then, is that this technology provides the means previously unheard of for individuals to be monitored and for reports of their activities to be stored centrally.

The other aspect of centralisation, the structure of private and government organizations, goes hand in hand with the ability to use technology to monitor and control the organisation's own and another's activities. That is, corporate bodies are becoming larger to the point where some trans-national businesses are larger than some governments. The point here is that such large organisations inevitably, given the bureaucratic model, centralise their control and decision-making systems. In any case, the concentration of some industries, for example the media, means that control of the 'product' is also centralised and is certainly out of the hands of individual members of society. Faunce (1968:134) sees all aspects of society being centralised, including religion, unions, government, and education. This process of centralisation is aided by the ability to store, control, and evaluate large amounts of information in nationally (and internationally) linked computer systems. This linking inevitably gives greater capacity for control to the centralizing institution.

Materialism, the last descriptor of modern society to be discussed, is not used in relation to a physical theory to explain the universe but rather to represent a number of concepts relevant to modern society, including the tendency to place a high degree of importance on material interests, on physical goods. Materialism is a term representing a

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2 Virtually all Australian media is controlled by 3 large national corporations.
concept of values, or ethic, that encompasses the modern orientations to consumption, achievement, status seeking, wealth, and competitive behaviour. All of these orientations, including materialism appear to be strong or dominant in modern Western society. They share an underlying value of extrinsic, other-directedness. That is, these orientations encourage the individual to rely on outward signs of success or on the approval of others - they do not encourage nor rely on a sense of inner, self-judged competence, self-acceptance, and self-confidence. These orientations are also mainly or predominately extrinsically rewarding. They are not dominated by intrinsic rewards. The essence of these orientations is, then, other-directed and extrinsic.

Such materialism is described at length by Alvin Toffler (1970) who portrays the diversity of products, images, and experiences that are sold in America. He suggests these products serve 'consumer needs' but also implies they are to some degree created needs and/or are linked to the image that suits the lifestyle. There are a plethora of styles, images, and cults from which to choose but they do not appear to have or cater to any intrinsic value; Toffler writes of them as images and products created by manufacturers and advertisers.

Advertisers strive to stamp each product with its own distinctive image. These images are functional: they fill a need on the part of the consumer. The need is psychological, however, rather than utilitarian ... . Thus we find that the term 'quality' increasingly refers to the ambience, the status associations ... . (1970:198)

Toffler could have added that this is an artificial process or experience. This psychological need is manufactured and sold, unrelated to intrinsic value or function. It appears that the essence of his concept of the 'super-industrial' society moving increasingly toward the "... psychologisation of both goods and services ..." (1970:401) is one of manufactured experiences - experiences become the new products and they are artificial, 'man'-made and not nature related.

Toffler is basically uncritical in his celebration of the coming super-industrial society and of the manufacture and marketing of images and experience. While agreeing with Toffler's basic description, Illich (1973b) is highly critical of this consumption orientation. He
juxtaposes a life of consumption with one of action, the latter being uncharacteristic of modern society. Furthermore, he sees this consumption orientation, be it of goods, services, or experiences, as a form of addiction rather than of personal growth (1973b:57).

The anthropologist, Jules Henry, sees this consumption orientation of American society as a commandment. Society says "Thou shalt consume!" (1972:27). He links this push to consume with the technological imperatives of a society that substitutes a higher standard of living for the inner self, for quality of life\(^3\). Henry also touches on the achievement orientation of American society with the notion that people are driven by social norms to achieve.

To function inefficiently, to permit one's accomplishments to fall short of one's potentialities, is the same as using one's industrial capital inefficiently and considered a symptom of neurosis. (Henry 1972:23)

Again, we see this orientation to efficiency, the dominance of extrinsic over intrinsic values.

This materialism is seen by Pawley (1974), as destroying community, as increasingly privatising individuals and cutting communication. The more each person owns, for example a personal/private lawnmower, the less they need to rely on the social network to share one.

Competitiveness is another aspect of this materialistic orientation. Slater (1974) links achievement with competition, seeing achievement as a competitive process in our society - and it is competition between, not within, people. Slater suggests that this competitive attitude requires

- a permanently intense and narrow motivation.
  Success is achieved by becoming a machine - an engine without a governor, singlemindedly devoted to winning competitions and aggrandising the ego.
  (Slater 1974:122)

The implications are that the competitiveness and achievement orientation are extrinsic, other-directed 'drives' or attitudes. They tend to encourage a non-intrinsic intensity, an orientation to

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\(^3\) Standard of living is seen as measuring physical items, especially, in this context, consumer goods.
measurable, external rewards, to goods, to consumption. Sadler provides specificity to these notions with a link to sport:

In contrast to other cultures oriented toward values of being and becoming the dominant American culture was oriented toward the value of doing ... [and] the value of doing [becomes] interpreted within a framework of competition. (Sadler 1973:166)

It appears, then, that the orientation to consumption and competition is associated with two general outcomes. According to Pawley, it leads to privatisation and the destruction of the public goals. For other analysts, it leads to impoverished social relations and a diminished sense of self or well-being.

In a way that begins to draw together the themes of this discussion, the social theorist and psychoanalyst, Eric Fromm, summarises the 'common-sense premises' of modern society as based on the modern concept of 'progress', which means the principle of ever-increasing production, consumption, timesaving, maximal efficiency and profit ... or the dogma that increasing consumption makes man happy ... that the aim of life is having (and using), not being ... . (1973:11)

Fromm, then, points to an underlying concept, one that helps link the five descriptors of society discussed here. The concept is that of 'being' as opposed to 'having'. Each of these five descriptors are aspects of society that operate so as to restrain the individual person from acting on or experiencing a unique sense of being. They subjugate the individual to some powerful aspect of society such as the consumption orientation and the need to accept and become simply a pre-determined role within institutions. There is also an underlying passivity, a lack of action, and a separation from the forces of nature.

Together, these five descriptors are representative of much current critical thinking about our society. However, one other dimension should be mentioned, that of authenticity. As Berman (1971) points out, the term authenticity can be substituted for by numerous other words (for example, autonomy, individuality) but all suggest the need to be oneself. Berman suggests that the notion of a search for authenticity is somewhat of a paradox because each person is automatically being oneself. He adds, though, that
those who seek authenticity insist that this paradox is built into the structure of the world they live in. This world, they say, represses, alienates, divides, denies, destroys the self. To be oneself in such a world is not a tautology, but a problem. (1971: xiv)

This paradox helps in an understanding of the nature of life in modern society and also helps to understand the shift from a concern for only social problems such as poverty, racism, and sexism to a concern for problems such as alienation. There is possibly a malaise at another level for the 'successful' - those with jobs, the rich, white, and male - a malaise which leads them in a search for authenticity, a need to free themselves from the repression of institutions and the iterated structures of modern urban society. 4

The foregoing discussion of modern society is not exhaustive and does not canvas all schools of thought in relation to modern society. However, it does provide the background detail to the points made in the main body of the thesis, points which show that cruisers' critique of society has parallels in the popular and academic literature.

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This appendix has done two things. First, it provided data from cruisers' own writings that illustrate their critique of modern western society. Second, it has provided a more detailed discussion of a critique of modern society from outside cruising than was appropriate in the main body of the thesis. The comparison between that critique and cruisers' critique is, however, done in the main body of the thesis.

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4 These iterated structures may be seen as institutionalized, static, and repetitive. They almost have a "life" of their own.
Appendix VIII

WHY RACE?

The racing of sailboats touches almost all small boat sailors at some time in their sailing history. That 'touch' may be as little as a casual 'race' between friends as they run home past familiar landmarks after a weekend in a local anchorage. Or, that 'touch' can be almost a whole way of life such as for the person who is a professional crew member of an ocean racing 'maxi'\(^1\), an America's Cup contender, or the 18 foot skiffs of Sydney Harbour fame. Cruising sailors do 'race' each other occasionally, be it casually while on a day-sail or in races such as the so-called 'Tall Ships Race' in The Bay of Islands, New Zealand\(^2\). Notwithstanding this racing, the cruiser subjects in this study cannot be considered as yacht racers — they are not sufficiently competitive and do not engage much if at all in organised racing. But, racing is a big part of the yachting scene and it would have been remiss to completely ignore in this thesis the issue of racing and why people do race sailboats. If nothing else, it provides information from a related sphere that helps the understanding of cruising and cruisers.

This appendix then, provides the data and analysis on racing that helps distinguish between cruising and racing. Two different types of racing situations were chosen for study, partly as they represent the spectrum of racing and partly because of their similarities to and

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1 70' in the International Offshore Racing measurement system.

2 Held each Christmas, boats of 30 ft and with more than one mast are eligible to enter (as at 1978).
differences from cruising. The two racing 'types' or situations are ocean or offshore racing and Soling racing. The former involves bigger boats, mostly in the 11 to 15 metre range and involves an overnight component. The Soling, on the other hand, is an Olympic class keelboat of 8.2m sailed by a crew of three. These boats are raced in protected waters, are built to strict design specifications and are seen by Soling racers as 'thorough-breds'. The boats and racing situations could hardly be more different\(^3\).

The racing of Solings is a highly competitive sport. The competition is face-to-face and immediate - the boats in a close race are often less than a metre apart, sometimes drifting on a light breeze and sometimes moving at high speed in rough seas. Ocean racing, on the other hand, does not have the immediacy of face-to-face contact; competitors often lose sight of one another only hours after the start and possibly do not sight another boat in the race until the race is over five, ten, fifteen or more days later. While the radio allows the plotting of other yacht's as dots on a chart, there is not the immediacy of a Soling 'rounding a mark' a foot away.

The data reported in this chapter were generated in response to questions about why respondents undertake to race and what is the nature of the experience that makes it desirable. The data from ocean racers were collected by interview and those from Soling racers were collected by questionnaire. The questionnaire responses were generally less detailed and less comprehensive than were the responses from the interviews. Nonetheless, the content of the responses was equally codable and is used below in the analysis.

A word about the Codes is in order here. Two different Codes were developed to analyse the ocean and Soling racers' responses because of the way the Codes were developed and because of the quite different nature of the responses from the two sets of respondents. The Codes each arose from the data supplied by the respective respondent group. These Codes were not developed prior to the research and then applied to the data; rather the Codes arose from the data. Hence, the the two Codes are

\(^3\) Unless the racing of small multi-hulls or dinghies were to be considered.
different. The nature of the Codes is similar to those developed by Cantril\(^4\) although the specific components differ. The nature of the Cantril research was such that general questions about life were being asked and a general Code could therefore be developed. With regard to racing, while the same racing-specific questions were asked of each subject group, the orientation to racing of the groups was sufficiently different to warrant two Codes.

Tables VIII.1 and VIII.2 show the Codes that were developed and the ranking that eventuated from coding items about the respondents' motivation to engage in the respective activities of sailboat racing. The development of the Codes for use in the analysis, and the illustration of the response data, was done by sorting statements into similar groups. As mentioned above the data suggested enough difference between the ocean and Soling racers to have two slightly different Codes. However, there are similarities in the Codes and it could be argued that one Code for both groups could have been used. Comparison of the two 'competition' code sections illustrates why they have been separated. First, it should be noted that the specific issue of 'winning' was mentioned often enough and separately from competition to warrant a separate code section in both cases. However the references to competition by the two groups were different, the Soling orientation being specifically towards competing in a high calibre field of contestants. The ocean racers' orientation was more general and included a reference to the satisfaction of completing the competitive task. The differences are illustrated in the discussion of the two Codes below. The use of two Codes allowed the unique richness of each group to emerge separately.

The remaining three sections in this appendix discuss, in turn, each racing group and then a comparison between Soling and ocean racers.

\(^4\) See Appendix IV.
I. OCEAN RACERS

This section discusses the motivations for ocean racing. Table VIII.1 summarises the data. In unprompted responses, 68.5% of respondent ocean racers mentioned that a reason for racing, and one of the very positive aspects of offshore racing, is the development of a comraderie among the crew. It can be more than an issue of teamwork or of simple friendship because of the nature of an offshore race that may last days or weeks.

If for no other reason there has been a relationship with a team of blokes; there is a friendship, a relationship that is everlasting because you undergo conditions in which you are subject to danger. The minute you do that you recognise that you depend on each other and so share something deeper. This dependency builds up something lasting. (717)

Table VIII.1
Motivations for Ocean Racing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Code Section</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The crew as a team; Comraderie.</td>
<td>68.5</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Adventure; challenge; exhilaration of sailing</td>
<td>63.3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Competition; satisfaction with completion of task</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>On the ocean; away from everyday life</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Satisfaction of sailing the boat well</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tactics; navigation; racing routine</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Business; testing gear and designs; advising clients</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Winning</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Preparation; planning</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 16
Similarly, one respondent noted that "being on the ocean with a bunch of fellows you work up a comradeship" (702), and another was proud and happy that his boat "went into its fifth season with the same eight men who helped us build it" (505)\(^5\).

The second ranking code section as shown in Table VIII.1 probably is a major factor in the nature and strength of the relationships mentioned above. "The excitement of racing goes along hand-in-hand with the fact you're as alone as you can ever get because you're hundreds of miles from other boats" and land (701). At the same time, a long offshore race was reported to be "like an instant adventure which is hard to get in our society" (711). And, of course, in going offshore and overnight, especially for races between continents, there is the lure of the open sea.

Longer races are interesting, challenging, exhilarating; man against the sea, that sort of rubbish [laughs]. (715)

It is not 'rubbish', though, as comments by cruisers would tend to confirm that the sea is one place where people can still be adventurers.

Competition is the third ranking section of the Code.\(^6\) The essence of the items in this code section is not the issue of winning but rather of competing in and completing offshore races. "We enjoy the racing, the satisfaction of finishing races and we've never withdrawn from a race" (716). Two other quotations illustrate this orientation to competition in ocean racers.

On long-distance races being competitive is less important than on shorter races. I am very competitive and like to win and have a pride in accomplishment... . But a longer race has less competitive intensity and more other things such as seamanship, self-reliance, and companionship. (709)

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\(^5\) There are few women involved in offshore racing, although this is changing. For example, an all-female team entered the Victoria, B.C., to Hawaii Race in 1984. (see "Get Set..." 1984).

\(^6\) Including the specific mention of 'winning' in this code section would not alter its rank because of the overlap of respondents.
I like the competitiveness and the complexity - it's like a chess game where the pieces get up and walk around of their own volition (710).

Offshore ocean racing within the parameters of this study included only people who had raced in events that included at least one night at sea during the race. However, all respondents had been in races longer than that minimum, and 52.5% had been in races of ten days or more. This point is made here to emphasise the distinctive nature of the ocean racing situation which was commented on by respondents. It is also a preamble to comments on the fourth ranking section of the Code, 'On the ocean; away from everyday life'. The following two quotations are from respondents whose longest races were 20 and 16 days respectively and who both had sailed in many races of similar duration. They sum up the essence of what 36.8% of the respondents mentioned as a reason for offshore racing.

Long distance racing will only attract those who will enjoy that solitude and not attract those who are so aggressive and competitive. I enjoy ocean racing because of the complete feeling of being responsible for - you're on your own, you're in an element you can enjoy so long as you've organised yourself ahead of time. (701)

It is nice to get out on the ocean, its nice to be out there where there is no city. You can just think about nothing, but that is mostly on off-watch as you are concentrating while on watch. So its the natural things that start to come home to you, the waves, the surfing [ie high speed sailing]. (708)

Ranked fifth, and equal to 'Tactics', is the code section representing the thrill and satisfaction of making an ocean racing yacht perform properly. While the respondents expressed satisfaction in keeping the boat moving with light air sails in light wind, the emphasis in this code section is on more exciting sailing. "I like to sail up wind in 15-18 knots when the boat is really performing, that is, it is really thrilling to get the boat moving" (703). Another found "steering the boat, getting the most out of it, a buzz" (713).

A previous quotation compared ocean racing to playing chess with self-activated chess pieces, so that you are playing not only your
opponent but also the chess pieces. It is that reality, of multiple variables, that makes offshore racing tactically stimulating to its proponents.

With racing you need to take many cues, physical and mental, and sort out which are needed for that moment. You need to be able to sort out these stimuli and cues and make good decisions. This is what I really enjoy about racing. (704)

I do enjoy a sort of routine and enjoy the time I'll be steering, meals, navigation, roll call and the fun of plotting your competitors - that is a highlight of the day, from 4 to 6 pm, when you look at your tactics. (701)

The last three ranking code sections all received 21% response rate. A number of people see ocean racing as part of their business and race primarily to advise clients and to see their product in use. However, to another respondent "the boat is a test platform for new ideas" (714). It should be remarked that this respondent (714) had sailed about 300,000 nautical miles, mostly in yachts he designed and/or built. Most of this sailing was on non-competitive delivery trips while moving the boat from one race venue to the next. In another case a respondent was primarily involved with inshore racing until he became a partner in a sail loft which sold sails to offshore yachts. In a sense, he then had to race on his customers' boats as part of the sail-making business.

The results of this research dispute the notion that people compete only to win. As we shall see later, even in the highly competitive Solings, winning does not rank as the primary motivation for sailing. Even if the inherent problems of self-reporting are taken into account, winning ranks low enough to be judged as not being the most important motivation. There is obviously a complex of motivations for racing offshore and actually winning races is a fairly minor aspect of the total picture. Two respondents who mentioned liking to win put it like this;

It's just the buzz of bloody competing, getting in first. I don't worry about handicap winning; I want to be first across the line. (713)
I do like to win, once I get involved (big smile) but I wouldn't buy my own boat to go out and win ocean races. (715)

The respondent (713) who sought line honours was more oriented to 'winning' than some others and recognises that the only way to experience the immediacy of winning in long ocean races was to be the first boat in, that is, take line honours, as it is termed7. The boats competing for handicap honours may not know for days after crossing the finish line whether they have won or not - and the line honours winner may not be well placed on handicap.

Ocean and passage races are an off-beat way to engage in competitive sports. Calling anything a competitive sport in which you cannot tell whether you've lost or won at the end seems odd, and yet that's precisely what happens in this kind of racing... The longer the race, the longer you wait to find out. In the Swedish Race [from America], we knew we had everyone beaten who had finished ahead of us... But we had to wait four or five days on the beach, until the time ran out on the smallest boat. I once had the Bermuda won for nine solid hours, only to lose it fourteen minutes before the time ran out on the smallest boat. (Snaith 1966:196)

Taken together, then, it has been shown that beating other boats is only one aspect of the multi-dimensional face of ocean racing.

The final code section relates to the process of preparation and planning a long-distance ocean race. It is "challenging to coordinate all the elements necessary to race - navigation, food, crew, spare parts, repairs, medicine - the whole thing, its incredible" (709). "The whole process of preparing and completing a race is satisfying. You are not satisfied unless the boat is prepared well enough to do well" (716).

Some of the statements that ocean racers made that did not code into specific sections of the Code help to round out a picture of ocean racing, especially when compared to inshore racing, most of which is two to three hours long. "It's different from round-the-buoys which is a very aggressive gut-wrenching experience" (701). Looked at another way,

---

7 Most yachts compete for handicap honours because only the biggest boats can expect to be first across the finish line.
"you've got to keep going; it's a moral commitment. You don't give in, you can't give in. You're not just going out to do something like a 3-hour race is; you make a commitment and it's about fulfilling that commitment - that's the essence" (712).

The motivations for engaging in offshore yacht racing have been shown to be complex and wide ranging. While there are motivations which make it akin to cruising, the competitive aspect makes it akin to Soling racing. Ocean racing is similar in part to both but is not the same as either. This is explored more thoroughly below and elsewhere.

II SOLING RACERS

Solings are an Olympic class keel-boat. One of the respondents to my survey considered them to be "the 'formula one' of yacht racing" (606). All of the respondents were competitors in the 1982 World Championships which were held off Fremantle in Western Australia. I was, therefore, sampling from the world's best small-boat racers. That their orientation to racing would differ from the offshore racers was to be expected, partly because of the nature of the boat, partly because of the nature of the actual races, and partly because of the nature of my population.

The most interesting and unexpected result of coding the Soling data (See Table VIII.2) was the section ranked first with its orientation not only to competition, but also to top quality competition. To compete in Solings is to compete with sailors who are so good that one can always learn from them, "that you are open to glean from other, more experienced yachtsmen... and can only increase your knowledge of competitive yachting" (605). Fundamentally, though, "the best thing in this job is sailing aggressively against very good opponents" (608). "Racing Solings is an enjoyable battle" (601) and a "competitive challenge" (603). The result here is consistent with the ranking of 'competition' in the results of the '8 Reasons' ranking questionnaire discussed later. The primary reason for sailing Solings is to compete in "the ultimate fine tuning machine" (615).
The reason ranked as second for racing Solings provides further depth as to the reasons the competition is so valued by Soling sailors. Olympic class boats must meet strict specifications of design and equipment so that there is essentially no difference between the boats that enter. In such 'one-design' racing it is not uncommon for all the boats to be provided by an organising authority and for competitors to draw lots to be allocated a boat. This means that winning races depends on tactics and crew performance, with tactics in fact being part of crew performance. Forty percent of the respondents said that they race Solings because "tactics will win or lose the race" (610) and because "I prefer tactical sailing and Solings is a one-design boat" (609).

Given that the sections ranked three and four are equal in response rate, it can be seen that the three top ranks involve issues of competition. There is "pleasure in winning" (604) and a "feeling of being much better than all your competitors which is a great feeling" (606). "I guess the other competitors are really just barriers to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Code Section</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Top quality competition, learning from top sailors/competitors and class of racing; test; battle</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tactics, tactical sailing</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Fellowship, teamwork</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Winning</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>On the water, in the sun</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Olympic stature; Olympics</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 16
overcome on the way to achieving your goal - and some are easier than others" (620). No similar sentiments were expressed by either ocean racers or cruisers, the latter being singularly uncompetitive in their orientation to the ocean and sailing.

Ranking equally with 'Winning' was 'Fellowship and Teamwork'. While the code section ranked first by ocean racers' is similar, the concepts being expressed by the two respondent groups are not identical. "You feel very close to your fellow crew members" (606) and "the good that comes from this type of sailing is the team satisfaction of doing well" (602) are two expressions of how Soling sailors see this code section. It appears that a bond between people does develop and that there is satisfaction in doing well as a team, but at the same time the nature of the responses suggests something different from the ocean racers who are concerned less about the team working well together and more concerned with the development of relationships. Soling sailors sail together not for compatibility of personality in a social sense but to put together a winning combination of skills; they get together for the business of doing the job, winning (Packer 1983).

On a boat you are no more friends during a race. You have a job to do, you do it and you don't have time to be nice with the other crew. (608)

Ranked as fifth by Soling racers is an interest in being 'On the water, in the Sun' but this was connected with competition and testing oneself. Two quotations illustrate this code section's orientation:

The aspect which I liked most was getting out in the ocean with the sun, wind, and water, in a test of my personal ability. (605)

The experience is good because you are on and in the water, using the elements and the object is to win a race. (601)

However, to provide the balance in the code section, the following quotation is also relevant:

I love it out on the water; strangely, even in the World Champs I find it extremely relaxing, unless I get into direct conflict with a competitor. (616)
Ranked sixth but also showing up in other sections throughout the Code is an interest in Solings because they are Olympic class boats. This means not only "sailing against Olympic gold medalists and past world title holders..." (605) but the sailing of "Solings because we want to go to the Olympic Games" (608). In all types of sports there are people whose main objective becomes to compete (and win) at the Olympic Games, arguably the pinnacle of amateur sport in the world. Sailing is no different and the kind of racing represented by Solings is oriented to events such as the Olympics.

III OCEAN RACERS AND SOLING RACERS COMPARED

As was indicated at the start of this discussion of Why Race? there are certain differences between the nature of the activities engaged in by the two types of racing groups. In addition, the data suggest that the two groups of respondents engage in their respective activities for different reasons, find different satisfactions, and have different perspectives. Parts I and II preceding have presented the data from each group but have only briefly mentioned the relative orientations. It is the aim of this part to make these comparisons.

Both groups are involved in 'racing' yachts but that is as far as the similarity with regard to competition can be taken. Not only do the two groups place different importance on competition but their orientation to competing also differs. Tables VIII.1 and VIII.2 show that Soling racers place a high level of importance on competing (and winning), to the extent that the first three top ranking code sections are oriented to competition and a fourth code section (number six) is also oriented to competing. Further strengthening the importance of competition, the fifth code section, which is concerned with being on the water, is tied in with the act of competing. In addition, mention of teamwork is linked to the success of that team in the competition. Consistently and continually, Soling responses include some mention of competition.
On the other hand, ocean racers place comparatively little importance on competing as part of their motivation for engaging in offshore racing. Competition as such does not appear until the third rank and although it received a 53% response rate competition is often tied to the successful completion of the race course and is not simply a matter of winning. In these cases, such competition as is expressed is in combination with the notion that the first task is to reach port safely, that is, to compete with the elements of nature in order to complete the race. The data suggest that simply being capable of organising for and completing a major off-shore race is equated with success. This then is quite a different orientation to competition from that of the Soling racers.

The differences emerging here are perfectly consistent with the view gained through participant observation. However, some contradiction occurs in relation to Cailliois' view of competition in games. He suggests that games of skill - and yacht racing would seem to fit this category - inevitably become competitive and, in fact, players lose interest when there is no chance of rivalry. Clearly, cruising is not a game in this sense, and it also appears that ocean racing as a total experience does not involve a loss of interest when the competition is well removed. The data suggest that ocean racing is valued and interesting not just because of the inter-boat competition but because of the whole racing/sailing process. While rivalry undoubtedly adds another dimension, ocean sailing is intrinsically interesting to some people anyway. In addition, ocean racers receive interest and satisfaction from moving the boat well and from completing the task. These are valued irrespective of the existence of rivals. As is shown in detail below, the differentiation of ocean from Soling racers in terms of the intrinsic rewards of the activity is consistent with the 8 Reasons results. In both cases, ocean racing appears more autotelic than Soling racing. That is, the motivation to race and the

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8 Cailliois appears to use the terms PLAY and GAMES synonymously. Briefly, he sees six characteristics, namely free, separate, uncertain, unproductive, governed by rules, and make-believe as being the defining characteristics of games (1958:9-10). These six characteristics fit sailboat racing reasonably well if not perfectly.
nature of the experience are qualitatively different.

Other rankings of ocean racers are obviously tied to competition. Ranks six and eight are both competitive. Rank six is slightly less competitive than a pure 'tactics' code section would imply because the issue of navigation is included here. These two sections both appeared in most responses in part because successful navigation has an impact on how well the tactics operate. However, the important point here is that navigation itself is seen as an interesting and rewarding part of offshore sailing.

The fifth ranked code section may appear to be competitive but is not. The responses coded here were concerned simply with sailing the boat efficiently in relation to the prevailing conditions and with enjoyment of that sailing task. Such an orientation to sailing is in no way related only to racing; most, if not all, cruising people also enjoy the process of operating an efficiently sailing yacht.

The above discussion has focussed on the importance of competition in the rankings and has ignored the qualitative dimension of how competition manifests itself in the different racing situations. The Soling racers responses were very much more aggressive in their use of words such as 'aggressively', 'beating' and 'battle' to describe the racing situation. In contrast, ocean racers did not use such terms to refer to the competitive aspect of their activity. Competition in offshore racing is generally not face-to-face in the same way as round-the-buoys racing. On even the shorter offshore races, yachts may not even see each other again after the start of the race, let alone be within close physical proximity and shouting distance as is the case in Soling racing. Ocean racers might sail the boat hard and aggressively but there is little scope for competing aggressively with other boats. The main contact between boats in an offshore race is by radio when each boat is required to provide a position report to race headquarters. Competitors do not usually converse with each other during these official radio schedules so there is little chance for aggressive competition over the radio. Ocean racing respondents referred specifically to their dislike of round-the-buoys racing and the following response expresses their point well:
Ocean racing is different from round-the-buoys which is a very aggressive gut-wrenching experience. I just don't like going around a weather mark with four other boats with everyone yelling and cursing at each other. There's an element creeping into round-the-buoys racing here that is just not attractive, they're not gentlemen - but out to win at any cost. (701)

While some of the off-shore racers also race in round-the-buoys events, it is clear that the nature of the competition in the two types of racing is different not only in the importance placed on the act of competing but also in the nature of the competition or the competitive process. But, the data also suggest other substantive differences in the orientation of the two racing groups.

One way or another, both groups mentioned an enjoyment of the environment in which their activity takes place, usually with specific mention of the ocean. Soling racing is by no means always conducted on the ocean and specific mention of the ocean in this case by Soling racers was in part because the 1982 World Championships were held in the ocean rather than in an estuary or lake. However, that is a minor point as Soling racers still mentioned an affinity with the elements and the out-of-doors. In addition, two Soling respondents did mention that the racing was a good break from their jobs.

A case can easily be made to show that ocean racers get a more complete and thorough break from the 'everyday life' (ranked fourth). It appears that the nature of the relationship with the ocean and the break from 'everyday life/work' is another dimension that differentiates the two racing groups from each other. As has been suggested earlier, a 3-hr race is seen by an ocean racer as a fairly minor event, almost as a diversion rather than a fully engrossing and complete break from the daily norm. Ocean racing takes a person well away from daily life for a significant period of time and places that person in a totally different environment, one demanding different skills and providing different experiences. At a very fundamental level, then, the experience of going off-shore in a yacht is a different 'break' than is a 3-hr race around an inshore course. The off-shore race involves a substantially longer time period, up to a month and a half in the case of one interviewee; almost total isolation from society, especially in the short term; and
an unremitting relationship to the forces of nature, that is to say, such racers cannot just retire from the race and go home when the wind comes up if they are 100 or 1000 miles from shore. Retiring from the race will not remove them physically from the situation. In addition, particularly while off-watch, a totally different relationship to the ocean and the weather is likely because those on board a yacht are living in close contact with the rhythms and forces of nature. Such a daily existence is very different from that normally occurring for the respondents, all of whom were city dwellers actively involved in some city activity such as business. It is the nature of ocean passages for both ocean racers and cruisers that integrates the nature of the sailing experience and distinguishes both from racing Solings.

The foregoing has relied almost solely on data derived from open-ended questions. However, the respondents were also asked about their motivation for racing via a fixed-choice ranking question where they were required to order eight statements. These eight statements were those identified by Csikszentmihalyi (1975) as the factors explaining why people engage in specified activities for which there were few if any extrinsic rewards. Tables VIII.3 and VIII.4 display the results of this ranking procedure.9 When compared to Tables VIII.1 and VIII.2, Tables VIII.3 and VIII.4 indicate that the two methods of questioning have tapped similar data and that the two processes give results which are basically congruent. The most obvious difference for the ocean and Soling racing data is that competition is seen as more important than friendship in the '8 Reasons' data but less important in the results of the open-ended questioning. Seen in relation to all the items in both tables, the difference does not appear significant.

9 The full tabulation, including cruising subjects and selected comparative data from Csikszentmihalyi, appears in Chapters 5 and 9.
The Soling data, in Tables VIII.2 and VIII.4 are even more consistent, competition topping the list in both cases. The open-ended data (Table VIII.2) are more detailed, a not surprising result of the method of research and analysis, while the '8 Reasons' data derive from categories that themselves arose out of a complex analytical process of another research project. It may be more accurate to say that the latter is simply analysed to a higher level of abstraction.

One other aspect of the '8 Reasons' data is consistent with the other findings in this thesis and that is the so-called 'autotelic score'. Csikszentmihalyi (1975:19) derived this score to measure the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>The activity itself: the pattern, the world it provides</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Enjoyment of the experience and use of skills</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Competition, measuring self against others</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Friendship and companionship</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Development of personal skills</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Measuring self against own ideals</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Prestige, regard, glamour</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Emotional release</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 19

Autotelic Score: $6.0 + 5.9 = 11.9$

$5.8 + 2.7 = 8.5$

$3.4$
intrinsic or autotelic nature of an activity. Table VIII.3 and VIII.4 show the respective scores for the two racing groups and indicate a consistent difference. Discussion thus far has suggested that the nature of ocean racing is such that factors intrinsic to the process (e.g., life at sea; comraderie; completing a complex task) are more important than factors extrinsic to the process (e.g., prestige; competition); the reverse is suggested for Soling racing. Consistent with what could be expected, the autotelic score for Soling racers is lower than that for ocean racers.

Table VIII.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Soling Racers: 8 Reasons Ranking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Competition, measuring self against others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Enjoyment of the experience and use of skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Development of personal skills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The activity itself: the pattern, the world it provides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Friendship and companionship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Emotional release</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Measuring self against own ideals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Prestige, regard, glamour</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 16

Autotelic Score: \[ 5.2 + 6.1 = 11.3 \]
\[ 6.8 + 2.5 = -9.3 \]
\[ 2.0 \]

10 The score is derived by subtracting the sum of the two least autotelic items (3 and 7 in Table VIII.3) from the sum of the two most autotelic items (1 and 2 in Table VIII.3).

11 Cruisers' autotelic score, it will be recalled, was 9.7.
The distinctions that have been made above with regard to competition and what is essential to the experience of racing point to the conclusion that racing off-shore and racing Solings are very different activities. There are other differences, such as the nature of fellowship mentioned previously, and there are similarities. Competition, notwithstanding what has been said above, is still a central motivating force behind both activities. To take away the fact of a race is for some racers to take away the reason for an ocean passage; competition is still central in such a view. While ocean racing has some similarities to cruising because of the nature of off-shore sailing whether racing or not, it must be remembered that both racing groups differ from cruising on the fundamental level of life style. Both racing groups see their involvement as an activity, as a break from their normal routine, or life style. Cruising, on the other hand, is a life style and a cruiser's relationship to cruising is at a lifestyle level not at an activity level.
Please note that the references have been divided into two. The first contains only material of a biographical and technical nature, most of which is about sailing and cruising. This bibliography does not include all magazines read during the course of this study but only those actually referred to in the thesis. To do otherwise would have been to unnecessarily lengthen the bibliography.

The second bibliography contains only academic sources. The reader of the text should be able to discern in which Bibliography a reference appears by the context of the reference.
Bibliography I

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