Tourist Studies

http://tou.sagepub.com

Interactive service work and performative metaphors: The case of the cruise industry

Adam Weaver

The online version of this article can be found at:

http://tou.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/5/1/5

Published by:

\$SAGE Publications

http://www.sagepublications.com

Additional services and information for *Tourist Studies* can be found at:

Email Alerts: http://tou.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts

Subscriptions: http://tou.sagepub.com/subscriptions

Reprints: http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav

Permissions: http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav

Citations (this article cites 27 articles hosted on the
SAGE Journals Online and HighWire Press platforms):
http://tou.sagepub.com/cgi/content/refs/5/1/5

article

Interactive service work and performative metaphors

The case of the cruise industry

Adam Weaver

Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

abstract This article analyses the use of performative metaphors in studies that examine interactive service work in the tourism industry. That these metaphors provide a valuable means to conceptualize this type of work is not disputed. Performative metaphors aptly capture the nature of service work, with its unpredictability and audience scrutiny. However, performative metaphors can be extended so that they address not only the embodied actions of service employees but also the social relations that shape 'theatrical' production. Tourism researchers could deploy these metaphors in ways that exhibit the broader power structures that affect the enactment of interactive service work. In this article, it is demonstrated that performative metaphors can be used to articulate the often difficult conditions and circumstances under which cruise-ship service employees work.

keywords *cruise ship; exhaustion; interactive-service work; performance; risk*

Introduction

This article examines the use of performative metaphors by researchers who study tourism–related employment. These researchers have equated tourism–related employment with theatre – service employees are viewed as 'actors' who assume certain 'roles'; interactive service work is said to involve 'improvisation'; the workplace is seen as a 'set' (Crang, 1997; Edensor, 2000, 2001; Ku, 2003). Researchers who deploy performative metaphors commonly make reference to studies (e.g. Goffman, 1959; Hochschild, 1983) that examine emotions and their expression (and suppression) in work–oriented environments. These metaphors are used to capture the notion that social encounters between tourists and service employees are quite often indeterminate and entail emotionally expressive displays.

The way in which performative metaphors are used to conceptualize the nature of interactive service work does have merits. They are frequently used to depict service employees as animate components of the service produced

5

(Crang, 1994, 1997; Erickson, 2004). Enacted performances by service employees are inexorably intertwined with the provision of experiential and ephemeral commodities. Expressive acts, and the social interactions that result from them, have commercial value. Furthermore, the social encounters that take place between tourists and service employees defy complete standardization. These social encounters have outcomes that cannot be entirely predetermined; they are, to some extent, improvised and spontaneous. Performative metaphors capture the fluidity and adaptability of human activity in many different tourism-related contexts (Perkins and Thorns, 2001; Coleman and Crang, 2002; Crouch and Desforges, 2003; Crouch, 2004).

Tourism researchers commonly use performative metaphors in order to conceptualize the embodied actions of individuals. While authors who deploy these metaphors clearly indicate that performances are shaped by their respective contexts, they do not usually extend performative metaphors in ways that address these contexts. Only Edensor (2001: 63) has made a concerted effort to articulate the relationship between embodied performances and the *mise-en-scéne*. Researchers may mention the 'displays' and 'theatres' that serve as the backdrop to tourism-oriented performances but the circumstances that structure different performances are rarely explored in performative terms. In this article, performative metaphors are used more broadly in order to conceptualize workplace theatres, and the social relations (and entrenched inequalities) that shape human activity within these theatres. A study that examines cruise-ship employment must take into account the manner in which the cruise-ship workplace is structured by different hierarchies and stereotypes, the hardships and sheer exhaustion that cruise-ship employees experience, and the various risks and uncertainties that these employees confront.

This study examines service work that is performed by certain cruise-ship employees – in particular, restaurant waiters, assistant waiters ('bus boys'), bartenders, bar waiters and room stewards – who provide tourists with customer service. It does not explore the activities of cruise-ship employees who rarely have direct contact with tourists. 'Behind-the-scenes' employees are responsible for tasks such as food preparation and routine ship maintenance. Unfortunately, several cruise-ship companies turned down my written requests to visit these 'behind-the-scenes' zones. This article therefore addresses the performances of cruise-ship employees who have repeated contact with tourists.

The data used in this article were obtained from a variety of sources. A number of North American newspapers have published articles that examine employment on board cruise ships (Moran, 1996; Matas, 1997; Barlow, 1998; Frantz, 1999; Anderson, 2000; Reynolds and Weikel, 2000; Weinberg and King, 2003; Yanez et al., 2003). There have also been several in-depth studies that have examined workplace conditions on board cruise ships (Zhao, 2001, 2002; Klein, 2002; Mather, 2002). The authors of these newspaper articles and in-depth studies primarily used interviews with cruise-ship employees to obtain data.

This study does not simply use data collected from secondary sources. I interviewed two port chaplains and 23 cruise-ship workers in Miami and Fort Lauderdale in September 2000. Both cities have become important ports for cruise ships bound for the Caribbean and the Bahamas. The interviews that were conducted with the cruise-ship workers were particularly difficult. Time is very scarce for cruise-ship workers when they visit ports of call. These workers are often only permitted to disembark from the ship once or twice per week for 5 or 6 hours. While in port, cruise-ship workers telephone friends and family members overseas, remit money to these friends and family members, and shop for food and toiletries. Many workers therefore could only spare 15 to 30 minutes for an interview. These short interviews were not tape-recorded because it was believed that the presence of a tape recorder would intimidate workers – a view that was shared by the port chaplains I interviewed.

Observation-based research was also conducted on board several cruise ships. Between 1999 and 2001, I travelled on board three cruise ships that visited ports of call in the Caribbean and the Bahamas. An effort was made over the course of these research excursions to observe service employees 'in action'. The workplace performances of these employees (and the way in which tourists 'acted' in response to these performances) were noted.

This article is divided into four sections. The first section reviews the use of performative metaphors by researchers who have studied human interaction in very broad terms (Goffman, 1959) and interactive service work (Hochschild, 1983). Recent use of these metaphors by researchers who have examined interactive service work within the tourism industry is then addressed (Crang, 1997; Edensor, 2000, 2001; Ku, 2003). This section of the article also explores the way in which researchers have studied the power relationships that shape tourism-oriented service work. In the second section, the expansion of the cruise industry since the 1970s is discussed. That customer service is an important component of the vacation product offered by this industry is emphasized. This section, too, addresses remuneration and the entrenched hierarchies that characterize the cruise-ship workplace. The third section of the article describes the conditions under which shipboard service employees work. Performative metaphors are used to portray the hardships and difficulties that are faced by these employees in the workplace. In the fourth section, the risks and uncertainties that confront cruise-ship employees are examined. The performances of shipboard service workers cannot be studied in isolation from the risk and employment insecurity that these workers routinely experience. A number of authors have explored the relationship between employment and risk in different work environments (Allen and Henry, 1997; Leslie and Butz, 1998; Reimer, 1998; Beck, 2000; Butz and Leslie, 2001).

In this article, I do not seek to depict service employees as 'puppets' or 'marionettes' who have no control over their own performances. Rather, service employees on board cruise ships are portrayed as individuals who often perform under conditions that they cannot completely determine. Performances in the

cruise-ship workplace are enacted by workers, but they are also shaped by the cruise-ship companies that operate the performance venues and cast the performers. It is necessary, then, to examine the actions of 'theatre owners'. While performative metaphors do demonstrate that service workers possess creative capacities and are more than mere automatons, these capacities are enacted within a context – shaped by theatre owners and other social 'actors' – that may be unfavourable, and even detrimental, to performers.

Performative metaphors and interactive service work

Researchers who examine the performative dimensions of interactive service work frequently cite Goffman (1959). For Goffman, ordinary social encounters are comparable to theatrical performances. Individuals play particular roles when they interact with certain audiences (co-workers, customers, friends, and family members). 'Performers' modify their roles in order to suit particular circumstances and situations. It was Goffman's view that individuals try to present favourable impressions of themselves. They use techniques such as concealment, mystification, hyperbole, and understatement in order to manipulate the way in which audiences perceive them. Performers therefore adapt their corporeal expressivity to promote and create certain impressions of themselves (sometimes by choice, sometimes by necessity). One cannot be a 'self' by oneself; identities are shaped by 'shows' that either persuade or dissuade.

There are several commentators who have critiqued Goffman's approach to the study of social encounters. For example, Giddens (1987: 134) has noted that Goffman tended to study social encounters 'in which there is no obvious disparity of power between participants'. The importance of power, control, and conflict is underestimated in Goffman's research. His texts that address embodied action and interaction have been said to resemble a complex patchwork of meticulously described social encounters and 'situations' (Hochschild, 1983). While Goffman examined these discrete social encounters and 'situations' in detail, he does not address connections that may exist between them.

Other researchers have addressed the notion that enacted performances and social encounters are embedded within relationships of power and are not distinct and disconnected practices that are in some way divorced from broader social processes. An important theme addressed by Hochschild (1983) – in her study of cabin crews on board commercial aircraft – is that emotional displays in the workplace have become intensely commoditized. It is Hochschild's thesis that many occupations (particularly within the service industry) demand that employees display certain emotions in order to produce desired customer responses. The mechanisms used to display emotions include the spoken word, tone of voice, facial expressions, and various bodily practices (e.g. postures, movements, and mannerisms). A variety of skills are valued in many service-oriented workplaces: communication skills, interpersonal skills, and the ability to empathize with customers. Employees may possess many of these skills when

they are initially hired. However, employers do mobilize and develop these skills in order to create a particular service 'style' within the workplace. The embodied capacities and abilities employees possess before they are recruited, and the initiatives employers undertake in order to train employees after they are recruited, influence the workplace performances of service employees.

Research by Bourdieu (1984, 1990) also addresses the notion that embodied practices and entrenched power relationships are deeply intertwined. The body, for Bourdieu, is materialized within networks of social relations. It is a product of the complex interplay that exists between a person's actions and structural constraints/enablements. Embodied practices cannot be dissociated from the contexts – in particular, the asymmetries of power – that shape these practices.

Power and influence are not equally distributed within society. 'External' social structures (for example, different hierarchical systems and mechanisms of social control) affect day-to-day existence and the way in which individuals comprehend and address their social circumstances. In particular, the social position and status of individuals influence their access to certain resources. Individuals who do not possess many resources therefore typically cope with more uncertainties, anxieties, and hazards than individuals who possess a wealth of resources (Beck, 2000). These resources usually enable individuals to create 'status shields' (Hochschild, 1983: 174–5) that protect them from demands and impositions that are made by more powerful individuals and institutions.

Many scholars, in addition to Hochschild (1983), have examined the power relationships that shape interactive service work on board commercial aircraft. This research, on the one hand, demonstrates that employers mobilize considerable power in order to structure the provision of customer service (Tyler and Abbott, 1998; Taylor and Tyler, 2000). Employees also have to contend with certain workplace hazards – in particular, violence and sexual harassment perpetrated by customers (Boyd, 2002; Williams, 2003). On the other hand, cabin crews are not simply passive victims of their circumstances; they have developed ways to cope with the control that is exercised over them by employers and malevolent customers (Bolton and Boyd, 2003).

A variety of different power relationships influence the character of interactive service work on board cruise ships. In her study of cruise-ship employees who orchestrate shipboard activities for tourists, Tracy (2000) views the cruise-ship workplace as a 'total institution'. A complex mixture of company-imposed mandates, customer demands, peer scrutiny, and self-subordination shapes the interactive service work that is performed on board. This type of work resembles an elaborate 'dance' (p. 99) whereby employees, whose activities and appearance are affected by disciplinary power, also actively resist this power.

A study by Crick (2002) that examines the efforts by hotel companies to nurture close relationships (even friendships) between on-site entertainment coordinators and customers similarly demonstrates that hospitality work is simultaneously influenced by workplace rules imposed by employers and the discretion employees can exercise. At times, tourism-oriented work may start to resemble an

activity that is difficult to reconcile with more traditional definitions of work and employment. The boundary between work and 'fun' has even become fuzzy for some hospitality workers. This fuzzy boundary may benefit service workers who seek employment that can be 'fun'. However, 'fun' work may still involve an element of unpleasant 'dirty work' (Guerrier and Adib, 2003).

Recent studies that examine interactive service work in a variety of contexts are nuanced and address the complex tensions that exist between employers and employees. With respect to cruise ships and the cruise industry, however, the relationship between tourism-related work and disparities within the world economy should be discussed more explicitly. The inequalities that divide affluent countries from poorer countries are visibly reproduced on board cruise ships – a situation that is only addressed by Tracy (2000) in a cursory fashion. In certain ways, a cruise ship could be seen as the world writ small.

The extreme inequalities that sometimes characterize the relationship between employers and employees is simply not suitably reflected in recent studies that explore the performative atttributes of interactive service work. However, it is also, to some extent, understandable. There are some researchers who have portrayed interactive service work as series of routinized and standardized social encounters that involve compliance with prepared scripts (Leidner, 1993; Ritzer, 1993). These researchers do not address the ways in which employers use the emotions, skills, and capacities of their employees. Employees in the service industry are often portrayed as individuals who recite prepared statements, and not as inventive and resourceful individuals who frequently improvise and display creativity when they interact with customers. This depiction of service employment does not take into account that many service employees in the tourism sector do not use meticulously drafted and rehearsed scripts. The deployment of performative metaphors by some researchers has therefore been a response to commentators that have de-emphasized the way in which interactive service work often involves unscripted improvisations and creative expression.

Many tourism-oriented sites are populated by a variety of sentient social actors who 'perform' for customers. For Edensor (2001), there are three different types of 'key workers' who contribute to and enact tourism-oriented workplace performances. First, there are the 'directors' who steer and manipulate the movements of tourists at tourist attractions. The second type of worker is the 'cultural performer' who enacts various (commercialized) customs and traditions for tourists. Third, there are 'cultural intermediaries' who mediate the relationships that exist between tourists and the host community. The power relationships that shape social interactions between these 'key workers' and tourists are said to vary from context to context. However, Edensor does not address the relationship between employers and their employees. His article does not examine important issues such as the remuneration of workers, workplace conditions and employment security.

Research by Crang (1994, 1997) also explores the performative nature of service work. In his view, service employees are portrayed as adroit and dexterous social actors who adapt their workplace performances to satisfy different audiences. The waiters and waitresses in the restaurant where Crang (1994) conducted participant observation research performed differently for different types of patrons. Performers appraised their customers carefully and then tailored their performances so that they suited each social encounter. An important discovery made by Crang was that staff members accepted and upheld the culture of the restaurant and the way in which the recruitment process was used to hire employees. Potential employees had to be informal, friendly, and exuberant and have the 'correct' type of body and skills. In her study of an American restaurant, Erickson (2004) also views interactive service work as a performed art. Restaurant waiters, in her words, perform a 'dance of service' (p. 77).

Performative metaphors have been used to describe various aspects of interactive service work within the tourism industry (Crang, 1997). After they are hired, service employees often require some 'direction'. It may take them some time to become comfortable with their 'roles'. There are some employers that describe the uniforms worn by their service employees as 'costumes'. These costumes enable service employees to 'dress the part' effectively. The Walt Disney Company refers to its theme-park employees as 'cast members'. These employees are supposed to view themselves as actors who perform for an audience (the theme-park visitors).

There are, however, possible drawbacks to the use of performative metaphors in studies that address service employment. To his credit, Crang (1997: 142) realizes that the deployment of these metaphors can potentially romanticize hardship and exploitation in the workplace. Performative metaphors have not been used to capture the circumstances and conditions that define the often asymmetrical employer–employee relationship. Williams (2004) warns that 'studies of tourism employment as performance should not be detached from material relations' (p. 67). This article advocates the use of performative metaphors in ways that address the hardships and uncertainties that are experienced by service employees on board cruise ships. It is necessary, then, to consider the attributes of the theatres in which workplace performances take place.

The cruise industry, customer service and employment

The expansion of the cruise industry since the 1970s has been enormous. In 1970, there were approximately 500,000 cruise-ship tourists worldwide (Dickinson and Vladimir, 1997). The number of cruise-ship tourists worldwide had increased to nearly 10 million by 2000 (Kester, 2003). There are many factors that contributed to this increase in the popularity of cruise travel. In 1972, Carnival Cruise Lines introduced the 'Fun Ship' concept. This concept involved the creation and promotion of cruise vacations that were affordable to the mass market (Dickinson and Vladimir, 1997). Even the 'Love Boat' television series

contributed to the popularity of cruise travel (Hobson, 1993; Douglas and Douglas, 2001). This television series popularized the connection that is frequently made between cruise travel and romance.

Many cruise-ship companies have commissioned the construction of ever more expansive and elaborate cruise ships in recent years. There are over 40 cruise ships worldwide that can accommodate 2000 or more tourists (Golden, 2003). These 'super-sized' cruise ships are mobile vacation enclaves that have an extensive array of facilities on board: bars, casinos, spas, restaurants, and duty-free shops. Expansion within the cruise industry has been spearheaded by a small number of corporations. These corporations include Carnival Corporation and Royal Caribbean International. There has also been considerable consolidation within the cruise industry. In 2003, Carnival Corporation purchased P&O Princess Cruises for US$5.5 billion (Boorstin, 2003). A number of cruise-ship companies have been purchased by Carnival Corporation since the 1980s: Holland America Line, Costa Cruises, Windstar Cruises, and the Cunard Line.

The recent and rapid expansion of the cruise industry has important implications for prospective cruise-ship employees. As cruise-ship fleets increase in size, workplace conditions on board cruise ships will become a concern for even more workers. There were over 110,000 cruise-ship employees worldwide in 2002 (Mather, 2002). By 2006, there may be as many as 220,000 shipboard workers in the cruise industry (Klein, 2002). Many of these workers will perform interactive service work.

A vital component of the cruise-vacation product is customer service. For the most part, customer service on board cruise ships involves face-to-face contact between service employees and tourists. The importance of customer service to cruise-ship tourists has been demonstrated by survey research. A questionnaire survey conducted by Teye and Leclerc (1998) indicated that cruise-ship tourists rank cabin service and restaurant service as the most important elements of the cruise-vacation product. The survey results also demonstrated that entertainment, quality of food, and shore tours were not as important to tourists as cabin service and restaurant service.

On board a 'super-sized' cruise ship that accommodates over 2000 tourists and employs several hundred service employees, there are numerous social interactions that occur between customers and employees. Tourists may interact with restaurant waiters, assistant waiters, bartenders, bar waiters, room stewards, cruise directors, assistant cruise directors, and pursers on many occasions over the course of a cruise vacation. The social interactions that occur between employees and customers are potential 'moments of truth' (Baum, 2002) for cruise-ship companies. These moments of truth are instances when a company either exceeds a customer's expectations or disappoints the customer. It is often the case that moments of truth involve performances that are enacted by service employees for an audience (that is, the customers). A customer may be particularly impressed by the way in which a service employee exhibits care, concern, efficacy, tact, or humour in a certain situation.

On board cruise ships, service provision occurs within a relatively insular environment. A cruise ship is mobile and usually operates at a distance from shore. In many respects, a cruise ship is a 'total institution' (Goffman, 1961; Tracy, 2000). While on board the ship, employees eat, sleep, and perform their work-related tasks. They typically share cabins, washrooms, and recreation facilities. Opportunities to disembark from the ship are scarce. While a cruise ship may visit three or four ports of call per week, employees may only be permitted to disembark once a week. Their only chance to contact family members (by telephone or via e-mail) is when they are in port.

Employees on board cruise ships spend a considerable amount of time away from their families. While cruise-ship employees are at sea, partners at home must shoulder many responsibilities. Many cruise-ship employees miss important family events such as the birthdays, holidays, and even the birth of children (Mather, 2002). Despite their extended absences from home, cruise-ship employees have roles that they perform outside of the cruise-ship workplace. They remain parents and partners even when they are separated from family members.

Within the cruise-ship workplace, there is a clear hierarchy of service employees who perform interactive service work. The cruise director and assistant cruise directors occupy the top tiers of this workplace hierarchy (Tracy, 2000). These employees orchestrate shipboard activities for tourists. They typically receive salaries that are between US$30,000 and US$50,000 per annum and they are primarily from affluent countries (in particular, the United States, Great Britain, Australia, and Canada) (Bow, 1999; Klein, 2002). It is possible to identify a middle stratum of service workers who supervise restaurant waiters, assistant waiters, and room stewards. These workers include the maître d'hotel, head waiters, and chief stewards; they are mainly from western and eastern Europe. While income data for this middle stratum is difficult to obtain, one study states that some maîtres d'hotel may earn between US$168,000 and US$240,000 per year (Klein, 2002). These employees receive tips from tourists and a salary from the cruise-ship company. They may even demand a proportion of the tips earned by the workers whom they supervise (Klein, 2002).

The service employees situated towards the bottom of the workplace hierarchy include restaurant waiters, assistant waiters, and room stewards. Their income is mostly derived from tips received from tourists; they usually only receive a very small amount of money directly from the cruise-ship company (often US$45 or US$50 per month) (Mather, 2002; Zhao, 2002). When tips are taken into account, some room stewards and restaurant waiters earn over US$2500 per month (Weinberg and King, 2003). It is the audience members, then, who are primarily responsible for the remuneration of certain performers (and not the theatre owners). Performers situated towards the bottom of the workplace hierarchy are primarily recruited from eastern Europe, Southeast Asia, and central America. To some extent, cruise-ship employees have become typecast. Poorly remunerated employees tend to be from poorer countries.

Employees from affluent countries usually occupy the better remunerated positions. A paradox seems to underpin the 'value' of poorly paid workers. That these workers are so poorly paid is, in fact, the reason that they are so valuable to cruise-ship companies.

The workplace hierarchy on board cruise ships is, to a considerable extent, 'racialized' and mirrors divisions that exist between affluent and poorer countries (Zhao, 2002). Employees from the Philippines and Indonesia, for example, are portrayed by cruise-ship companies as obsequious workers who provide exemplary customer service (Wood, 2000). It has become common practice for cruise-ship companies to recruit their poorest paid employees from poorer countries. One book that provides advice to prospective cruise-ship employees states that Americans 'should not waste time' and apply for certain positions (dishwashers, deck hands, 'bellboys' and 'busboys') that are mostly occupied by workers from poorer countries (Landon, 1998: 22).

A series of 'racialized' stereotypes appear in cruise-vacation brochures. Officers are primarily from northern and western Europe. In some brochures, these parts of Europe are depicted as places that 'produce' individuals who are innately capable and skilled seafarers. The brochures produced by Princess Cruises indicate that the company's maîtres d'hotel and head waiters are 'predominantly Italian' (Wood, 2000: 359); Italians, in this instance, are associated with the provision of exceptional restaurant service. 'Racialized' hierarchies and stereotypes affect the access that individuals have to certain shipboard positions. Of course, hierarchies and stereotypes are by no means unique to the cruise-ship workplace; they also, as researchers have demonstrated, influence the character and operation of the hotel workplace (Adib and Guerrier, 2003).

For cruise-ship workers, the ship is a site where several axes of domination intersect. 'Racialized' hierarchies and stereotypes stratify predominantly male employees. It is estimated that approximately 20 per cent of cruise-ship employees are female (Zhao, 2001; Mather, 2002). Officers, technicians, and maintenance workers are almost exclusively men. While most room stewards and restaurant employees are male, women are better represented in these shipboard occupations than in many others. There are certain shipboard departments in which women outnumber men: nurses and day-care centre employees are mostly female. The differential conditions that men and women confront within society also tend to be reproduced on board cruise ships.

One cannot blame the cruise industry entirely for the imbalances between men and women in many shipboard occupations (the industry could be accused of indifference, however). The attitudes and opinions of the broader population also shape these imbalances. Individuals in many cultures are socialized to view some occupations as 'women's work' and others as 'men's work'. Many women do not apply for shipboard positions because ship-related employment is traditionally viewed as a male-dominated occupation that is not suitable for women (Zhao, 2001).

Hardship and adversity in the cruise-ship workplace

The adequacy of the remuneration earned by restaurant waiters, assistant waiters, bartenders, bar waiters, and room stewards on board cruise ships can be debated. By North American and western European standards, many cruise-ship employees are poorly paid. They work on board vessels that have been described as 'sweatshops at sea' (Reynolds and Weikel, 2000; Klein, 2002) and as 'sweatships' (Mather, 2002). The incomes of cruise-ship employees seem more ample, however, when compared with the incomes earned by their compatriots in eastern Europe, Southeast Asia and central America. Employment on board a cruise ship, for many cruise-ship workers, is better than the (often scarce) alternatives available to them in their respective home countries. A Filipino restaurant waiter interviewed by the author described his circumstances quite clearly: 'If I did not work for the [cruise-ship] company, I can't say where I would be. The opportunities back there [in the Philippines]? Not many for me'. An Indonesian room steward stated that he 'need[ed] money to support [his] wife and three sons'. When he had worked in Indonesia as a shopkeeper, he had not been able to afford 'proper' school supplies and school clothes for his children.

That individuals do choose to work on board cruise ships must be emphasized, however. The decision to work on board a cruise ship ultimately rests with the applicants. For applicants from poorer countries, this decision may be influenced by certain circumstances. These circumstances may include poverty and deprivation. Indeed, cruise-ship companies adeptly exploit poverty and deprivation in poorer countries to their benefit. These companies hire many of their shipboard workers from poorer countries because these workers are often desperate for money and will usually tolerate workplace conditions that would be deemed unacceptable to North American or western European workers. While workers choose to work on board cruise ships, the choices that they make are frequently influenced by a dire need for employment.

There are some cruise-ship employees who view themselves as performers. The notion that cruise-ship service work is comparable to theatrical performance is supported by statements made by the social hostess and activity director interviewed by Tracy (2000: 111). A number of workers I interviewed also deployed performative metaphor when they described their work. The interviewees were not asked to use these metaphors; their use of the metaphors was unprompted. One Croatian restaurant waitress informed me that she 'act[s] with [her] smile. [Her] smile is part of [her] uniform'. A bartender from the Philippines compared himself to the bartender portrayed by Tom Cruise in the film *Cocktail*: 'he [Tom Cruise's character] poured the drinks … and he was popular'. However, the bartender did note that 'the ship is not in Hollywood'; he stated that he was 'a poor man' and that Tom Cruise 'is a rich actor'. Performances undertaken within different venues, and by different types of actors, are remunerated differently within the marketplace; an enormous chasm

separates poorly paid and relatively anonymous performers from wealthy and world-renowned ones.

The social interactions that take place between tourists and service workers on board are carefully controlled. Individual actors are certainly not free to perform as they please – an important detail addressed by most tourism scholars who use performative metaphors. While cruise-ship companies do not provide their employees with prepared scripts that are supposed to be memorized and recited, cruise-ship employees who interact with tourists cannot speak and 'perform' in an entirely impromptu manner. Employees on board ships operated by Princess Cruises, for example, are not permitted to utter the word 'no' when they speak with tourists (Lindberg, 1999). Perhaps there is concern that this word, if used habitually by service employees, could potentially undermine the sense of freedom and uninhibitedness that Princess Cruises wants its customers to experience while they are on board its ships. Furthermore, the on-board maintenance workers and cleaners employed by many cruise-ship companies are only permitted to speak with tourists if tourists initiate the conversation (Mather, 2002). Employees who interact with tourists must often abide by certain rules; the social encounters that take place between employees and tourists cannot be considered pure improvisation. At the same time, however, there are aspects of interactive service work that cannot be completely scripted and routinized. Routinization and improvisation tend to exist in tension with each other.

Room stewards, restaurant waiters and assistant waiters are required to carry out many rudimentary and repetitive tasks. A room steward must clean cabins swiftly and comprehensively. Restaurant waiters must set dinner tables and carry heavy trays of food. The assistant waiters serve drinks and are required to clear the tables after dinner. These service employees, however, are expected to execute these mundane tasks with finesse and humour. Room stewards are expected to interact and socialize with tourists as they clean rooms. Restaurant waiters and assistant waiters are supposed to converse with tourists and even memorize their food and drink preferences (Mather, 2002). The provision of personable and personalized customer service is meant to provide cruise-ship tourists with a more memorable vacation experience. This type of service provision also assists cruise-ship employees in their efforts to earn tips.

The practice whereby on-board service employees are mainly paid via tips has been firmly embraced by cruise-ship companies (Zhao, 2002). Brochures produced and distributed by cruise-ship companies contain recommendations as to the amount of money tourists should tip room stewards, restaurant waiters and assistant waiters. At the end of the cruise, each tourist is issued small envelopes that can be used to pay tips. The payment of these tips, while unpopular with some tourists, has become a formalized procedure.

For service workers on board cruise ships, tips are a precarious source of income. Tip income is tied to the number of tourists on board the ship (Mather, 2002). A cruise ship that operates at close to 90 or 100 per cent capacity carries

more potential 'tippers' than a ship that operates at only 50 or 60 per cent capacity. Employees on board cruise ships do not necessarily earn a steady and secure stream of income. The capacity of a cruise ship can fluctuate from season to season (and even weekly). As a result, tip income can be variable because it is tied to the size and benevolence of the audience. A room steward from Romania told me that his shipboard income is 'up and down' from week to week. It is not, in his words, 'steady and faithful'.

For the most part, service employees on board cruise ships do not retain their entire tip income. Performers in the cruise-ship workplace must compensate 'behind-the-scenes' workers for their support. Room stewards pay a proportion of their tip income to workers who clean and fold bedclothes and towels. Restaurant waiters must pay a proportion of their tip income to the kitchen workers who prepare the food (Klein, 2002). Performances in the cruise-ship workplace would not be possible without the complex (and often hidden) production systems that exist on board.

It is also the case that cruise-ship employees frequently make payments to their supervisors for certain favours. There are some service employees who must pay their supervisors a bribe if they want access to certain audiences. For example, restaurant waiters may pay the head waiter so that they can serve customers seated at tables close to the kitchen. These tables are preferred by restaurant waiters who do not want to carry heavy trays of food across a cruise-ship restaurant (Mather, 2002). Restaurant waiters may also pay the head waiter in order to serve more tourists. A restaurant waiter who serves more customers can potentially earn more money from tips. There are some commentators who contend that these 'under-the-table' payments are evidence that a 'shipboard mafia' operates on board many cruise ships (Klein, 2002; Mather 2002).

Performances in the cruise-ship workplace are shaped by the roles performers receive. When individuals are hired to work on board a cruise ship, they are usually promised a particular on-board position before they arrive at the ship. Individuals who are qualified to be bartenders may be hired as bartenders. Experienced restaurant waiters may be hired to wait tables. Once recruits arrive at the ship, however, they sometimes discover that they have been demoted. A number of the cruise-ship employees interviewed for this study experienced this predicament. Bartenders may discover that they have to work as bar waiters. Restaurant waiters may discover that they have to work as assistant waiters. While cruise-ship companies may miscalculate their need for certain types of employees at a particular time, would-be employees are not usually briefed about this problem. The demotions that they receive once they arrive at the ship are often an unpleasant surprise. Many cruise-ship employees do not receive the 'roles' they were initially promised. These workers would probably claim that they have been miscast.

It is not uncommon for cruise-ship employees from poor countries to incur work-related debts before they even board a cruise ship. Many recruits pay recruitment companies between US$500 and US$4000 in order to obtain work

on board cruise ships (Klein, 2002). This recruitment fee typically includes return airfare, a medical examination, and an administrative fee. These workers therefore pay considerable sums of money in order to perform in the cruise-ship workplace. There are some would-be cruise-ship employees who borrow money in order to pay the recruitment fee. Employees may therefore have enormous debts before they start work on board a cruise ship (Mather, 2002). Usually it is only audience members, and not the performers, who are asked to pay admission fees.

On occasion, fraudulent recruiters have victimized would-be cruise-ship employees. These fraudulent recruiters have hired individuals for positions on board cruise ships that do not even exist. In 2002, a company headquartered in the United Arab Emirates started to recruit cruise-ship workers in Kenya. Each would-be employee paid the equivalent of US$58 for a medical examination. It was eventually discovered that the company was fraudulent and that the advertised shipboard positions did not exist (Mather, 2002). The would-be cruise-ship workers were victimized by the deceitful 'masquerades' of the fraudulent company.

Employment on board a cruise ship can be an expensive endeavour for cruise-ship workers. It can exhaust financial resources. Moreover, it can exhaust the body. A number of commentators have noted that cruise-ship employees routinely work between 10 and 18 hours per day (Frantz, 1999; Mather, 2002). These employees may even work several consecutive months without a day off. 'It is hard to remember when I was not so tired', said one room steward from El Salvador. A survey conducted by the International Transport Workers' Federation indicated that 95 per cent of cruise-ship employees work seven days a week. Approximately two-thirds of those surveyed work more than 10 hours per day (Mather, 2002). Performers in the cruise-ship workplace tend to have very short breaks and intermissions between performances. Extended performances day after day can tire service employees.

The sheer pace of work on board a cruise ship may cause employees to have accidents that could seriously threaten their health. A cruise ship has certain attributes that contribute to its hazardousness as a work environment: steep stairwells, slippery decks, and the motion of the ship while it is at sea. These features of the on-board environment can be potentially hazardous to busy employees who must hurry between different work sites on board the ship (Mather, 2002). The pace and intensity of service-oriented performances, and the environments within which these performances occur, conspire to create potential hazards for cruise-ship employees.

It is frequently the case that cruise ships are understaffed (Mather, 2002). Employees who quit or who are dismissed are usually only replaced at the ship's home port. However, an undersized cast in the cruise-ship workplace is expected to provide the same standard of customer service as a full-sized cast. The undersized cast, however, often has to work more intensely and briskly so that it achieves the same acclaim and praise as a full-size cast.

Exhaustion is not deemed by cruise-ship companies to be an acceptable excuse for poor performances. Performances in the cruise-ship workplace are observed and evaluated even when employees are tired. There are supervisors on board cruise ships who observe and monitor the performances of service employees. However, cruise-ship companies also use feedback from customers in order to evaluate and scrutinize workplace performances and service quality. One device used by cruise-ship companies to collect feedback from customers is the comment card. A comment card is essentially a short survey questionnaire that companies distribute to their customers. The data obtained from comment cards are typically used to measure customer satisfaction. At the end of a cruise, tourists are issued comment cards so that they can rate the services they receive and the employees who provide these services.

The use of comment cards by cruise-ship companies has received mixed reviews from shipboard employees. There are some employees who embrace the use of comment cards by their employers; some of the service employees who were interviewed actually appreciated the positive comments that they received from tourists and believed that positive feedback would eventually enable them to secure promotions. For other cruise-ship employees, however, comment cards are a source of anxiety. One cruise-ship employee wrote about this anxiety when he contacted a port chaplain:

> As a waiter on cruise ships I am forced to convince passengers to write on comment cards that the food was excellent and the service [sic]. The results go to travel agents. Because of the competition, the companies are doing this in order to inform the agencies that they are a good company. To do this the waiters are harassed mentally…
>
> A waiter can be an excellent waiter. But for some reason on that cruise by the time he goes to the kitchen they run out of chicken. He'll make some passengers unhappy or the food is not of the passengers' liking. Or for some reason the kitchen is behind and the waiter has to wait for food and if it comes out late he can get poor marks. Even if he received only two 'good' marks and all the rest were 'excellent' but all the other waiters get only excellent he would be demoted. We have to tell the passengers to put excellent. (Quoted in Chapman, 1992: 11–12)

A service employee who receives poor or mediocre theatrical reviews from tourists can be reprimanded, demoted, or even dismissed.

The performances of cruise-ship employees are closely scrutinized and must adhere to certain standards and principles. Unsanctioned performances are both a difficult and risky endeavour for cruise-ship employees. Performances enacted by cruise-ship employees that subvert shipboard rules have, at times, been quickly suppressed. In 1981, a 'wildcat' strike took place in Miami on board a cruise ship owned by Carnival Cruise Lines (Klein, 2002; Mather, 2002). The strike had approximately 240 participants who were mainly from central American countries. It occurred when two workers from central America were dismissed from the ship.

The company did not reinstate the workers who were dismissed as a result of the strike. In fact, this strike had very serious repercussions for its 240 participants. The strikers were dismissed, escorted off the ship, transported to the airport and flown home. In essence, the 'theatre troupe' responsible for the unsanctioned performance was disbanded. Resistant 'acts' sometimes have tremendous costs for performers and may invite an intensification of discipline and control.

Risk and uncertainty in the cruise-ship workplace

Research that examines contemporary work environments should take into account the political economy of risk and uncertainty (Beck, 2000). The interplay between power and risk has important implications for cruise-ship employees and their performances. In the cruise industry, risk is distributed in a way that is heavily influenced by power relationships. Many cruise-ship employees bear increased risk because they simply do not have the resources to resist its imposition. They are burdened with the risks that are transferred to them by their employers.

It would appear that cruise-ship companies seek flexibility when they employ service workers. This flexibility is achieved with the use of short-term employment contracts. These short-term contracts (usually between 6 and 10 months in duration) enable cruise-ship companies to hire and retain employees when they are needed and dismiss them when they are not. Embodied performances, which are often momentary, are enacted by performers whose shipboard careers may be temporary.

The number of service employees on board a cruise ship is therefore tied to shipboard occupancy rates and fluctuations in the demand for cruise vacations. As a result, risk associated with decreased consumer demand is shifted towards employees and would-be employees. One interviewee, a restaurant waiter from Honduras, captured the precariousness of cruise-ship employment when he said, 'I am never sure . . . I am nervous about it [his work]. It ends when they say. They decide'. Precarious and insecure employment is not peculiar to the cruise industry. Employees in many different industries are deployed (and then unemployed) in accordance with short-term business requirements (Allen and Henry, 1997; Reimer, 1998; Beck, 2000).

The power that cruise-ship companies exercise over their shipboard employees is considerable. These companies deliberately choose to operate their ships under the authority of countries such as Panama and Liberia (and not the United States) (Barton, 1999; Frantz, 1999; Weinberg and King, 2003). As a result, cruise-ship companies that operate ships out of American ports are able to evade rules that usually apply to American workplaces. Employees on board cruise ships do not have to be paid at a minimum hourly rate (Klein, 2002). The number of hours that they work each day is not monitored by US authorities. While Panamanian and Liberian authorities have developed rules that are

supposed to ensure that cruise-ship companies meet certain minimum work-place standards, these rules are simply not enforced (Mather, 2002). Rule compliance is impossible to confirm without inspectors, and neither Panama nor Liberia has a state-run maritime bureau or administrative body that employs ship inspectors. The cruise-ship theatre often operates under conditions that benefit the theatre owner but may be detrimental to performers.

A seafarer whose ship departs from a US port does qualify for sick pay if (s)he is hurt in the cruise-ship workplace or becomes incapacitated by an ailment (Frantz, 1999). On several occasions, American courts have ruled that seafarers should receive sick pay if ship owners have substantial business interests in the United States. It has been determined that certain cruise-ship companies do have substantial business interests in the United States. Both Carnival Cruise Lines and Royal Caribbean International, for example, are headquartered in Miami, Florida.

Despite decisions that have been made by American courts, cruise-ship companies usually do not pay sick and incapacitated employees the money to which they are entitled. The maritime provision for sick pay in the United States indicates that seafarers should receive sick pay equal to the remuneration they received while they worked. A number of cruise-ship companies, however, have routinely violated this provision and have omitted tip income from their sick pay calculations (Moran, 1996; Frantz, 1999). Furthermore, sick and incapacitated employees are supposed to receive sick pay until the end of their contract with the cruise-ship company. It is often the case that cruise-ship companies cut off sick pay once the ship returns to its home port; sick and incapacitated employees may therefore be repatriated without proper compensation (Frantz, 1999). Employees are told that they must 'act' benevolently towards tourists; cruise-ship companies, however, do not necessarily exhibit benevolence in the way that they treat their employees.

Within workplaces, the bodies of workers may be affected adversely (Harvey, 1998; Leslie and Butz, 1998; Butz and Leslie, 2001). The tasks that service employees perform on board cruise ships can cause harm to the human body. Restaurant waiters are required to carry heavy trays of food between the kitchen and restaurant. On each of these trays, there are sometimes as many as 12 to 15 main courses. A waiter who has to carry so many dishes day after day may experience severe shoulder and elbow strain.

The theatres in which workplace performances take place may operate in a manner that is not necessarily conducive to the health, welfare, and prosperity of service 'performers'. Employees on board cruise ships who are hurt in the workplace are often afraid that they will be deemed physically unable to perform their duties and thus be promptly dismissed. In order to avoid dismissal, cruise-ship employees who are hurt or sick often pretend that they are healthy and able-bodied. They perpetrate a masquerade so that they can continue to earn an income. These employees may even hide their discomfort or visible wounds from supervisors. They may use painkillers to mask their pain (Moran,

1996). If dismissed, cruise-ship employees may experience a severe financial crisis that could also affect family members at home. One Miami-based attorney has stated that cruise-ship employees who are hurt in the workplace and then discarded by their employer are simply added to 'a Third World trash heap' (Reynolds and Weikel, 2000: A1). An accident in the workplace could therefore end a cruise-ship worker's theatrical career prematurely.

The duration of a service employee's career in the cruise-ship workplace tends to be very short. One study indicates that employees in the hotel department and food services department, in 2000, had shipboard careers that typically spanned only nine months. In 1990, employees in these same departments had shipboard careers that tended to span 18 months (Mather, 2002). Employee turnover results from dismissals and employees who choose to quit. Repeated turnover means that the cruise-ship workplace does not have a fixed 'cast of characters'.

Many cruise-ship companies that operate ships out of Miami have created a system that enables them to replace quickly on-board employees who quit or are dismissed. These companies maintain a small reserve of would-be employees in several hotels and motels in the Miami area (Moran, 1996; Mather, 2002). Employees are typically not paid as they await placement on board a cruise ship but they do receive free room and board. These workers exemplify a concept described by Marx (1972) as the industrial reserve army. A port chaplain interviewed for this study rather aptly described these would-be employees as 'spare parts'.

In Marx's view, the reserve army includes unemployed individuals who are poised to become part of the workforce if they are needed. An active reserve of would-be workers benefits employers because it disciplines workers who are probably aware that someone else could easily replace them. If workers are made to believe that they are expendable, they are often more acquiescent when they interact with their supervisors (especially if alternative employment opportunities are scarce). The existence of a reserve army therefore tends to stifle collective action that could potentially improve workplace conditions and remuneration.

A reserve army of workers could be said to exist at an international scale. That so many workers from poorer countries travel overseas for work is, in part, related to the unemployment within these countries (San Juan, 2001; Semyonov and Gorodzeisky, 2004). There is a worldwide surplus of unemployed and underemployed individuals who are quite prepared to work on board cruise ships (or even stay in a hotel or motel and wait for shipboard employment) (Weinberg and King, 2003). Prospective cruise-ship employees could be considered a reserve army of 'understudies'. In theatre, understudies are actors who assume the duties of other actors who withdraw from (or who are dismissed from) a performance. These 'understudies' are at the ready should a shipboard position become vacant.

The performances of cruise-ship employees clearly have important implications for individuals who reside in countries that are quite distant from the ship. Many cruise-ship employees have dependants (usually family members) in other countries. A proportion of their income is therefore sent across the world to overseas recipients (Sampson, 2003). These money transfers (or remittances) are typically an important source of income for the families who receive them (Wucker, 2004). However, remittances also benefit the countries to which they are sent. Remittances are hard currency; they are equivalent to income earned from exports. In effect, then, the money that cruise-ship workers (and other overseas workers) send home makes a valuable contribution to the national economies of their respective home countries. Performances on board cruise ships have repercussions for individuals outside of the workplace theatre.

The interviews conducted for this study indicate that cruise-ship companies tend to receive mixed reviews from the restaurant waiters, assistant waiters, bartenders, bar waiters, and room stewards they employ. Many of these workers truly appreciate the opportunity to work on board a cruise ship since their alternatives are rather circumscribed. Employees who were interviewed usually noted that shipboard employment was a vast improvement over their previous circumstances (sometimes unemployment). However, several interviewees were very critical of their employers. A number of employees used the words 'slavery' and 'slave ship' to describe their work and the shipboard workplace respectively. References to slavery were also made by a worker interviewed by an American newspaper reporter (Anderson, 2000).

That deep-seated disparities influence the character of cruise-ship employment does not mean that shipboard employees do not 'perform' creatively in the workplace. Furthermore, it is evident that some cruise-ship employees value their work. Theatre owners, however, do have considerable control over the conditions under which workers perform. The improvised actions of service employees are important to document, but constraints, entrenched hierarchies, hardship, and risk must also be considered. This article demonstrates that cruise-ship employees may perform under circumstances that are unfavourable, and even harmful, to them.

Conclusion

Researchers have used performative metaphors in order to address the way in which interactive service work often involves 'enacted' social encounters between tourists and service employees. In some workplaces, employers try to exercise extraordinary control over these social encounters. This control, however, is by no means absolute. 'Unrehearsed' behaviour and spontaneity may creep into even the most carefully controlled social encounters. Performative metaphors therefore enable tourism researchers to articulate the notion that commercialized social encounters between tourists and service workers cannot be comprehensively rehearsed and scripted.

Performative metaphors also capture the 'theatricality' of interactive service work. This type of service work is associated with self-presentation, display, and interpersonal communication. Employees in service-oriented workplaces can be conceptualized as 'performers'. Their performances are meant to be 'consumed' by customers and they often involve the active participation of customers. Therefore, customers are simultaneously audience members (Crang, 1997) and co-performers (Edensor, 2000, 2001).

Research that examines service-oriented workplaces certainly needs to address the embodied practices of workers. The value of performative metaphors as a means to conceptualize these embodied practices is not questioned in this article. There is no reason for these metaphors to be abandoned or repudiated. However, researchers should take into account workplace conditions within the 'theatre' and the way in which theatre owners treat their performers. Performers in the cruise-ship workplace can shape their own performances, but not necessarily the conditions under which they perform. Perhaps it is necessary for tourism researchers to develop a political economy of theatrical production that addresses the complex relationship between human practice and the broader social milieu. Performances in the cruise-ship workplace have a distinctive 'backdrop' that needs to be explored – and not underplayed.

REFERENCES

Adib, A. and Y. Guerrier (2003) 'The Interlocking of Gender with Nationality, Race, Ethnicity and Class: The Narratives of Women in Hotel Work', *Gender, Work and Organization* 10(4): 413–32.

Allen, J. and N. Henry (1997) 'Ulrich Beck's *Risk Society* at Work: Labour and Employment in the Contract Service Industries', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 22(2): 180–96.

Anderson, J. (2000) 'Cruises Offer Fun in the Sun for All but the Crew: Global Staff Runs Booming Industry', *The New Orleans Times-Picayune*, 5 March, A16.

Barlow, J. (1998) 'Shipping Travels in World of Its Own', *Houston Chronicle*, 15 September, 1.

Barton, J. (1999) '"Flags of Convenience": Geoeconomics and Regulatory Minimisation', *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 90(2): 142–55.

Baum, T. (2002) 'Making or Breaking the Tourist Experience: The Role of Human Resource Management', pp. 94–111 in C. Ryan (ed.) *The Tourist Experience*. London: Continuum.

Beck, U. (2000) *The Brave New World of Work*. Oxford: Polity Press.

Bolton, S. and C. Boyd (2003) 'Trolley Dolly or Skilled Emotion Manager? Moving on from Hochschild's Managed Heart', *Work, Employment & Society* 17(2): 289–308.

Boorstin, J. (2003) 'Cruising for a Bruising?', *Fortune* 147(11): 143–50.

Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Bourdieu, P. (1990) *The Logic of Practice*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bow, S. (1999) *Working on Cruise Ships*. Oxford: Vacation Work.

Boyd, C. (2002) 'Customer Violence and Employee Health and Safety', *Work, Employment & Society* 16(1): 151–69.

Butz, D. and D. Leslie (2001) 'Risky Subjects: Changing Geographies of Employment in the Automobile Industry', *Area* 33(2): 212–19.

Chapman, P. (1992) *Trouble on Board: The Plight of International Seafarers*. Ithaca, NY: ILR Press.

Coleman, S. and M. Crang (2002) 'Grounded Tourists, Travelling Theory', pp. 1–17 in S. Coleman and M. Crang (eds) *Tourism: Between Place and Performance*. New York: Berghahn Book.

Crang, P. (1994) 'It's Showtime: On the Workplace Geographies of Display in a Restaurant in Southeast England', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 12(6): 675–704.

Crang, P. (1997) 'Performing the Tourist Product', pp. 137–54 in C. Rojek and J. Urry (eds) *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*. London: Routledge.

Crick, A. (2002) 'Glad to Meet You – My Best Friend: Relationships in the Hospitality Industry', *Social and Economic Studies* 51(1): 99–125.

Crouch, D. (2004) 'Tourist Practices and Performances', pp. 85–95 in A. Lew, C. M. Hall and A. Williams (eds) *A Companion to Tourism*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Crouch, D. and L. Desforges (2003) 'The Sensuous in the Tourist Encounter – Introduction: The Power of the Body in Tourist Studies', *Tourist Studies* 3(1): 5–22.

Dickinson, R. and A. Vladimir (1997) *Selling the Sea: An Inside Look at the Cruise* Industry. New York: Wiley.

Douglas, N. and N. Douglas (2001) 'The Cruise Experience', pp. 330–51 in N. Douglas, N. Douglas and R. Derrett (eds) *Special Interest Tourism: Context and Cases*. Brisbane: John Wiley & Sons.

Edensor, T. (2000) 'Staging Tourism: Tourists as Performers', *Annals of Tourism Research* 27(2): 322–44.

Edensor, T. (2001) 'Performing Tourism, Staging Tourism: (Re)producing Tourist Space and Practice', *Tourist Studies* 1(1): 59–81.

Erickson, K. (2004) 'Bodies at Work: Performing Service in American Restaurants', *Space & Culture* 7(1): 76–89.

Frantz, D. (1999) 'For Cruise Ships' Workers, Much Toil, Little Protection', *The New York Times*, 24 December, A1.

Giddens, A. (1987) *Social Theory and Modern Sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Goffman, E. (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Doubleday.

Goffman, E. (1961) *Asylums*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.

Golden, F. (2003) *Cruise Vacations for Dummies*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Guerrier, Y. and A. Adib (2003) 'Work at Leisure and Leisure at Work: A Study of the Emotional Labour of Tour Reps', *Human Relations* 56(11): 1399–417.

Harvey, D. (1998) 'The Body as an Accumulation Strategy', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 16(4): 401–21.

Hobson, J. (1993) 'Increasing Consolidation within the Cruise Industry', *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing* 2(4): 91–6.

Hochschild, A. (1983) *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Kester, J. (2003) 'Cruise Tourism', *Tourism Economics* 9(3): 337–50.

Klein, R. (2002) *Cruise Ship Blues: The Underside of the Cruise Industry*. Gabriola Island: New Society Publishers.

Ku, M. (2003) 'Gendered Bodily Performance in Historic Museums', *Tourism Recreation Research* 28(2): 13–19.

Landon, M. (1998) *Crew Ship Crews: The Real Truth About Cruise Ship Jobs*. Hollywood, FL: Info Zap.

Leidner, R. (1993) *Fast Food, Fast Talk: Service Work and the Routinization of Everyday Life*. Berkelely, CA: University of California Press.

Leslie, D. and D. Butz (1998) '"GM Suicide": Flexibility, Space, and the Injured Body', *Economic Geography* 74(4): 360–78.

Lindberg, P. (1999) 'Under the Bridge: Below decks, Backstage, and Behind the Scenes of the World's Biggest Cruise Ship', *Travel and Leisure* July: 98–105 and 138–41.

Marx, K. (1972) *Capital*. London: Dent.

Matas, R. (1997) 'Cruise Ship Industry Leads Ways to Global Workplace', *The Globe and Mail*, 3 September, A3.

Mather, C. (2002) *Sweatships: What It's Really Like to Work on Board Cruise Ships*. London: International Transport Workers' Federation.

Moran, K. (1996) 'Lost at Sea: Cruise Workers Must Endure Long Hours for Others' Leisure', *Houston Chronicle*, 29 September, 28.

Perkins, H. and D. Thorns (2001) 'Gazing or Performing? Reflections on Urry's Tourist Gaze in the Context of Contemporary Experience in the Antipodes', *International Sociology* 16(2): 185–204.

Reimer, S. (1998) 'Working in a Risk Society', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 23(1): 116–27.

Reynolds, C. and D. Weikel (2000) 'For Cruise Ship Workers, Voyages Are No Vacations', *Los Angeles Times*, 30 May, A1.

Ritzer, G. (1993) *The McDonaldization of Society*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Sampson, H. (2003) 'Transnational Drifters or Hyperspace Dwellers: An Exploration of the Lives of Filipino Seafarers Abroad and Ashore', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 26(2): 253–77.

San Juan, E. Jr (2001) 'Interrogating Transmigrancy, Remapping Diaspora: The Globalization of Laboring Filipinos/as', *Discourse* 23(3): 52–75.

Semyonov, M. and A. Gorodzeisky (2004) 'Occupational Destinations and Economic Mobility of Filipino Overseas Workers', *The International Migration Review* 38(1): 5–25.

Taylor, S. and M. Tyler (2000) 'Emotional Labour and Sexual Difference in the Airline Industry', *Work, Employment & Society* 14(1): 77–95.

Teye, V. and D. Leclerc (1998) 'Product and Service Delivery Satisfaction Among North American Cruise Passengers', *Tourism Management* 19(2): 153–60.

Tracy, S. (2000) 'Becoming a Character for Commerce: Emotion Labor, Self-subordination, and Discursive Construction of Identity in a Total Institution', *Management Communication Quarterly* 14(1): 90–128.

Tyler, M. and P. Abbott (1998) 'Chocs Away: Weight Watching in the Contemporary Airline Industry', *Sociology* 32(3): 433–50.

Weinberg, T. and J. King (2003) 'Cruise Ship Workers Find Hardship, Hope on the High Seas', *South Flordia Sun-Sentinel*, 1 June, 1A.

Williams, A. (2004) 'Toward a Political Economy of Tourism', pp. 61–73 in A. Lew, C. M. Hall and A. Williams (eds) *A Companion to Tourism*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Williams, C. (2003) 'Sky Service: The Demands of Emotional Labour in the Airline Industry', *Gender, Work and Organization* 10(5): 513–50.

Wood, R. (2000) 'Caribbean Cruise Tourism: Globalization at Sea', *Annals of Tourism Research* 27(2): 345–70.

Wucker, M. (2004) 'Remittances: The Perpetual Migration Machine', *World Policy Journal* 21(2): 37–46.

Yanez, L., T. Figueras and E. Brecher (2003) 'Foreign Seafarers a Mainstay in Depths of Cruise Industry', *The Miami Herald*, 1 June, 1.

Zhao, M. (2001) 'Women Seafarers Onboard Cruise Ships'. Paper presented at the Seafarers International Research Centre's Second Symposium, Cardiff University. 29 June.

Zhao, M. (2002) 'Emotional Labour in a Globalized Labour Market: Seafarers on Cruise Ships', Working Paper No. 27. Cardiff: Seafarers International Research Centre.

ADAM WEAVER is a lecturer in Tourism Management at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. He has a PhD in Human Geography from the University of Toronto and his research interests include cruise tourism, the relationship between travel and consumer credit, and the ways in which corporations within the tourism industry collect and analyse information about consumers. *Address*: Victoria Management School, Victoria University of Wellington, PO Box 600, Wellington, New Zealand. [email: adam.weaver@vuw.ac.nz]