Tourism and Film: real, ‘reel’ and imagined spaces of cruise ships

Jo-Anne Marie Lester

Thesis submitted to the Cardiff School of Management in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

2011
Declaration

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree. This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. A bibliography is appended. I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organizations.

Signed

(Candidate)

Date
ABSTRACT

Tourism and Film: real, ‘reel’ and imagined spaces of cruise ships

As architectures of the sea, cruise ships are unique, but under-explored spaces of travel and tourism. Characterised by their bounded, mobile and transient distinctiveness, a ship’s inner spaces are inhabited by an onboard community of people for purposes of work or leisure. Framed by the notion of cruise ships as imagined geographies, the primary focus of this study is to interpret and critically explore the discourses of popular films and what these reveal about cruise ships as distinctive socio-cultural spaces of travel and tourism.

Embracing Michel Foucault and his influential work on discourse, knowledge and power, popular films are positioned as sites of knowledge production through which particular regimes of truth are constituted. The approach to the analysis of popular films in this study, acknowledges the multisensory nature of film and how such spatial constructs are experienced in and through the imagination, emotion and memory. Conceptualised as liminal spaces which can be temporarily inhabited and travelled through, my embodiments of Carry On Cruising [1962], Ship of Fools [1965] and Titanic [1997] are reflexive in their approach, enabling me to draw on my own experiences of living and working on cruise ships.

My voyages with the three films that form the archive of data for the purposes of this study, reveals a uniform set of discourses that engender specific imaginings about travel and vacations at sea. Although different in genre, these films all contribute in varying ways to the notion of ships as hedonistic pleasure spaces of promiscuity and romantic pursuit. Through this archaeological endeavour my excavations also unveil a set of more nuanced and subtle discourses surrounding gender, employment practises, the spatial organisation of ships and shipboard rituals, all of which contribute to particular ways of seeing cruise ships and the cruise experience.

In the context of tourism studies, this research makes a methodological contribution in its approach to visuality, discourse and film. Moreover this thesis contributes to a greater understanding of the discursive structures of popular films and what these reveal about the spatial constructs of passengers ships and their embodied cultural practices.
Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisory team, Professor Nigel Morgan and Professor Annette Pritchard, who have provided so much support, guidance and encouragement throughout this journey. I have appreciated their enthusiasm for my topic and their critique and honesty along the way. Our meetings were both an invaluable and enjoyable part of this endeavour and I am grateful for the time they gave in helping me to shape my ideas and plotting the way forward. It has been an adventure!

I would also like to acknowledge and thank my friend and colleague Dr Cathy Palmer, who not only encouraged me to start this scholarly journey in the first place, but who through our previous research collaborations and explorations, opened up my thinking to various aspects of the sea and its cultural significance.

I would like to offer my appreciation to the University of Brighton and School of Service Management for supporting this research and giving me the opportunity to undertake it. I would like to thank Dr Paul Frost and Dr Steven Goss-Turner, who helped me to find the time and space to complete this thesis and my friends and colleagues, who have been a constant presence throughout my journey, providing support, much welcomed encouragement and helping me to celebrate the milestones along the way.

A big thank you is extended to my family for all their love and support, and especially to my Dad who has had to live amid the turmoil of my research, and with my distracted state of being, for far longer than I would have wanted.

Finally, my partner Noel, who I must acknowledge on two fronts - firstly for his expertise and knowledge in media technologies and for all his support and skills in the technical production of this thesis, and secondly, and most importantly, for being so supportive, his amazing patience and for being with me every step of the way – I couldn’t have asked for more.
Contents

Declaration

Abstract

Acknowledgements

Chapter 1  Introduction

1.1  Introduction  1
1.2  Overview and background  1-4
1.3  Cruise tourism and cruise ship space  4-11
1.4  Positionality  11-14
1.5  Aim and objectives  14-15
1.6  Scope and contribution  15-17
1.7  Thesis structure  18-22

Chapter 2  The ‘visual’, popular film and tourism

2.1  Introduction  23-24
2.2  The ‘visual’  24-26
2.3  The moving image and the art of travel  27-29
2.4  Researching popular film and tourism  29-34
2.5  Re-envisioning tourism and popular film  34-42
2.6  Chapter summary  42-43

Chapter 3  Study approach

3.1  Introduction  44-45
3.2  The research paradigm and the landscape of tourism research traditions  45-51
3.3  The socio-constructionist/interpretist approach  51-53
3.4  Representation and non-representation  54-57
3.5  Film as a multi-sensory space  57-60
3.6  Autoethnography and reflexivity  61-62
3.7  Film selection  62-67
3.8  Doing discourse analysis  67-73
3.9  Limitations of study  73-74
3.10  Chapter summary  75

Chapter 4  Foucault and discourse

4.1  Introduction  76-77
4.2  Discourse and discourse analysis  77-81
4.3  Introducing Foucault  82-84
4.4  ‘Producing’ the human subject  84-89
4.5  Foucault's 'archaeologies’ of knowledge  89-93
4.6  Foucault and ‘regimes of truth’  93-94
4.7  Foucault and power  94-97
4.8  Chapter summary  97
Chapter 5  The cruise ship: real and imagined

5.1  Introduction  98-99
5.2  Space  99-103
5.3  The sea as an object of fascination  103-113
5.4  The cruise ship as symbolic and material objects  114-123
5.5  Cruise ship space as a playground for risk, adventure and play  123-137
5.6  Chapter summary  138

Chapter 6  Carry on Cruising

6.1  Introduction  139-140
6.2  The seafaring community: hierarchy and gender  140-144
6.3  The sea  144-149
6.4  Ships as panoptic spaces of surveillance  149-151
6.5  The sexualized body and gendered gaze  151-153
6.6  Play  153-154
6.7  Performance  154-156
6.8  Carnavalesque  156-158
6.9  Community / family  158-159
6.10  Romance  159-160
6.11  Celebration  161
6.12  A reflexive journey  161-163
6.13  Chapter summary  163

Chapter 7  Ship of Fools

7.1  Introduction  164-165
7.2  My Journey with Ship of Fools  165-167
7.3  Architectures of the sea  167-168
7.4  Ship Society  168-173
7.5  Boundaries  173-176
7.6  Panoptic spaces of surveillance  176-181
7.7  Space for romantic encounter, ludic behaviour and promiscuous adventure  181-186
7.8  Spectacle  186-189
7.9  A reflexive journey  189-192
7.10  Chapter summary  192

Chapter 8  Titanic

8.1  Introduction  193-194
8.2  The sea  195-199
8.3  Architectural grandeur  199-202
8.4  Identity  202-206
8.5  Performed identities and rituals of dress  206-209
8.6  Spaces of play and promiscuous adventure  209-212
8.7  Titanic’s demise  212-214
8.8  A reflexive journey  214-217
8.9  Chapter summary  217-218
### Chapter 9  An ‘archaeology’ of sea travel and ocean cruising

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>An ‘architecture’ of sea and ship space</td>
<td>219-226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>Transient and mobile communities</td>
<td>227-234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>Spaces of transgression and performed identities: romance, promiscuity and play</td>
<td>234-238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>Chapter summary</td>
<td>238-240</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chapter 10  Voyage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>Charting the navigational map of inquiry</td>
<td>242-247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>Cruise ship space</td>
<td>247-249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>Films as discursive spaces of travel and tourism space</td>
<td>249-250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>Cinematic autoethnography: an embodied methodological voyage</td>
<td>250-253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>Cruise ships as imagined geographies</td>
<td>253-255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>Key contributions of the thesis</td>
<td>256-257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>My voyage: twists and turns and moments of fear</td>
<td>257-259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>The stopping (off) point</td>
<td>259-263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.10</td>
<td>Chapter summary</td>
<td>264-265</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bibliography 266-290

Filmography 291-292

### Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>The place of imagery in cruise tourism marketing</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>Thesis structure</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Film and the process of knowledge formation and the construction of meaning</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Stages of viewing and analysis of films</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Leading cruise lines: largest ships of their fleet</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Cruise and the carnivalesque</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>Rhythm and flows of the research inquiry: a kaleidoscope of merging and overlapping themes and concepts</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>The place of imagery in cruise tourism marketing</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 1  Introduction

1.1  Introduction
This chapter outlines the background to the study, its significance and the aims and objectives of the research, scoping both the study and its key contributions to the tourism research agenda. In doing so I will briefly contextualise the research within my interests as a researcher and in cruise tourism and popular film. The chapter concludes with a brief outline of the thesis structure and a summary of its chapters.

1.2  Overview and background
Scholars have argued that there exists a relationship between mediated imagery and ‘ways of seeing’ (Berger 1972; Wang 2000), referred to as the ‘hermeneutic circle’ (Urry 1990; 2002) or the ‘circle of representation’ (Jenkins 2003). In other words, a relationship exists between the images and perceptions that individuals hold about particular destinations and subsequent experiences. The argument is that the language of tourism, in all its guises, plays a powerful role in influencing, and to some extent, controlling people and their travel behaviour (Dann 1996a). For example, individuals tend to notice particular elements but be blind to others within the same space or location (Wang 2000). Moreover, there is a significant and continuing history of research about the connections between the mediation of tourism, actual visitation and the collection of visual reminders of particular travel experiences (see MacCannell 1999; Urry 1990; 2002; Crawshaw and Urry 1997; Jenkins 2003; Caton and Santos 2008).

Drawing specifically on media culture, Jansson (2002:432) makes links between the mediatization of tourism and ‘imaginative hedonism’ or ‘hyper-tourism’, he states:

Mediascapes…consist of the multitude of the mediated texts surrounding people in their everyday lives – television programmes, magazines, advertisements, postcards and so on. While these texts are diffused and consumed in sociophysical spaces, they also represent these other spaces, providing people with both realistic and phantasmagorical visions of the world. And, as the postmodern argument tells us, in contemporary society it has become increasingly difficult to separate ‘representations’ from ‘reality’, signifiers from their signified.

Furthermore in the context of postmodern debates surrounding the blurring of the boundaries between real and simulated experiences (Baudrillard 1994) and the potential

---

1 Several scholars have drawn on Hall’s (1997) ‘circuits of culture’ to conceptualise the links between image, representation and tourism including Jenkins (2003) and Morgan and Pritchard (1998).
demise of tourism in the corporeal sense (Urry 1995), Jansson (2002:429) contends that rather than replacing the physical experience of travel, consuming the mediated spaces of travel and tourism “…reinforces the desire for ‘first-hand’ tourism”.

More recently the issue of imaginative travel has explicitly surfaced in the tourism literature, for example Crouch et al (2005:1) refer to the tourist imagination as a “bridging concept”, recognising the routine daily consumption of place through a variety of media such as films, books, television, newspapers and photography. Likewise, Urry (2006) highlights the significance of ‘imaginative travel’ as a mobility practice stating that “[w]e “travel” forward in time to places only known through visual images, experiencing in one’s imagination in advance what we imagine the atmosphere of place to be” (Urry 2006:x). There exists a plethora of ways in which imagined places and spaces of tourism may be conceived, for example through travel brochures (see Henderson 2001; Echtner and Prasad 2003); guidebooks (see Bhattacharyya 1997; Gilbert 1999; McGregor 2000); literature (see Herbert 2001; Robinson and Anderson 2002); music (see Gibson and Connell 2005; Dawe 2007); and film (see Beeton 2005; Bickford-Smith 2010; Reijnders 2010; 2011).

Contributing to the growing agenda within tourism inquiry concerned with the relationship between film and tourism, this research conceptualises popular films as particular spatial constructs that mediate a range of ideologies and discourses that both frame and constitute places and spaces of tourism, thus feeding the tourist imagination. Part of the mass-mediated environment, films circulate in society as powerful vehicles of discourse in which ideologies are produced, re-produced and circulated to, and consumed by, global audiences. As Aitken and Zonn (1994:5) assert, “[t]he way spaces are used and places are portrayed in film reflects prevailing cultural norms, ethical mores, societal structures, and ideologies. Concomitantly, the impact of a film on an audience can mold social, cultural, and environmental experiences”. Argued to be the dominant art of the twentieth century (Jameson 1991 cited in Denzin 1991), Denzin (1991:x) asserts, “[a]rt not only mirrors life, it structures and reproduces it” and as such “[t]he postmodern society is a dramaturgical society”. The discursive significance of popular film lies not only in the power of its global reach in terms of viewing audiences (see Beeton 2005) but also in relation to a film’s exposure. As Burgin (1996) reflects:
A ‘film’ may be encountered through posters, ‘blurbs’, and other advertisements, such as trailers and television clips; it may be encountered through newspaper reviews, reference work synopses and theoretical articles (with their ‘film-strip’ assemblages of still images); through production photographs, frame enlargements, memorabilia, and so on. Collecting such metonymic fragments in memory, we may come to feel familiar with a film we have not actually seen. Clearly this ‘film’ – a heterogeneous psychical object, constructed from image scraps scattered in space and time – is a very different object from that encountered in the context of ‘film studies’ (Burgin 1996 cited in Burgin 2006:9)

Embracing Foucault’s (1989) notions surrounding power and discourse, this research positions popular film as sites of knowledge production. Taking a socio-constructionist perspective, this study embraces the philosophical viewpoint that human subjects are produced as opposed to being simply born (Game 1991) and embraces the philosophical position that the human ‘individual’ is discursively constituted (Foucault 1989). Drawing on popular films as visual data, this research is not only concerned with the visual in terms of the visual artefact per se, but also with visuality in relation to the embodied and performative encounters with the visual, as Stimson (2005:2) further articulates,

…what might be said to differentiate the study of visuality from the study of visual culture, is not the analysis of objects of visual expression as culture – in this they are both roughly the same – but instead the attention to that moment of layering given by the concept of visuality, the moment when culture and body meet in the lived, affective experience of the beholder.

Embracing the complex nature of visuality my study approach recognises film as part of “…the globalized (and globalizing) media culture, which enable people to travel mentally and emotionally without moving in physical geography” (Jannson 2002:430). As such, whilst concerned with the power of discourse (Foucault 1989), in this study I seek to move beyond the notion of film as primarily a visual medium and the realm of representation per se to take a haptic (Bruno 2002), non-representational stance (Thrift and Dewsbury, 2000). In doing so the study approach recognises the tactile, performative, emotional, embodied nature of being and connecting with the material world and the ways in which we come to understand and construct our own particular knowledge and views of the world. In the context of film, Lukinbeal and Zimmermann (2008:15/16) assert:

Film is an assemblage of sight and sound, of texture and (e)motion, memory and experience. Moving beyond the sensory subjectivities of voyeurism and voyages, film is, paradoxically, also an assemblage of simulacra and of representational, non-representational, haptic, affective and performative practices.
Consequently in this study I conceptualise popular films as unique liminal spaces of travel in themselves, revealing how these ‘reel’ (see Aitken and Zonn 1994; Horton 2003) and sensory (see Marks 2000; 2002) spaces can be temporarily embodied through imagination, emotion and memory (Bruno 1997; 2002; Barker 2009; Grainge 2003). Drawing on autoethnographic principles (Sparkes 2000; Anderson 2006; Burnier 2006; Westwood et al 2006) my study approach explicitly positions ‘self’ in the research field acknowledging the complexity of ways of seeing, encountering and imagining places and spaces of tourism.

The role of particular mediascapes in constructing imaginations of physical travel in the corporeal sense is acknowledged within the tourism literature (see Jansson 2002; Jansson and Falkheimer 2006). However, although the connections between popular film and tourism are well established (see Strain 2003; Beeton 2005; 2010; Tzanelli 2007; Roesch 2009), in the main it is the links between popular film and land-based destinations that has received much of the attention in tourism studies to date (see Mintel 2003; 2007). At its highest level of abstraction this research is concerned with space and spatial constructs and how the practices of tourism unfold within particular spatial settings. Of particular interest here is the embodiment of tourist spaces, not just in the corporeal sense in terms of the physical act of travel, but with particular tourist spaces as imagined constructs. More specifically, focusing on the mediatization (Jansson 2002; Jansson and Falkheimer 2006) of places and spaces of travel and tourism through popular films, this thesis is concerned with cruise ships as imagined spaces, or imagined geographies (see May 1996) within which the various practices of cruise tourism and the embodiment of cruise ship spaces are revealed.

### 1.3 Cruise tourism and cruise ship space

Ships are afforded high cultural status defined by their historical, political and social significance and as such it is not surprising that ships and sea travel have a long history in the popular imagination. Indeed Foucault (1986:27) has described the ship as “…the great instrument of economic development…simultaneously the greatest reserve of the imagination”. In the context of tourism, ships continue to be powerful architectures of the sea, if only from a demand perspective. Whether measured by the upsurge in passenger numbers or by the increase in both the number and size of cruise vessels, the cruise sector is one of the fastest-growing areas of the global travel industry. As the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) recently reported “[a]nnual growth rates have held steady at around
8% since 1989, easily overcoming the effects of 9/11 and making this the fastest growing tourism subsector” (WTO 2010: xviii). Within the UK, the continued popularity of ocean cruising is demonstrated with the Passenger Shipping Association (PSA) recording a 4% growth in passenger numbers in 2009 exceeding 1.5m for the first time with an estimated 8% increase to 1.65m for 2010. Projections for further growth continue with claims that “…UK cruising is on course to reach 1.75m in 2011 and 2m by 2014” (PSA 2010:7). Over the last decade European cruise passenger numbers have trebled to reach nearly 5m, with the UK remaining the top source market in Europe, and second globally, after North America (PSA 2010).

Amid this growth the industry has undergone significant consolidation and diversification. Three conglomerates, Carnival Corporation & Plc; Royal Caribbean Ltd.; and Star Cruises control “[e]ighty-eight percent of the world’s supply of cruise ship bed-places” (WTO 2010: xvi). Concurrently, growth in demand for ocean cruising has resulted in market segmentation, increasingly defined as ‘luxury’, ‘premium’, ‘contemporary’ and ‘budget’, with the contemporary sector, followed by premium being the fastest growing (WTO 2010). Undoubtedly, one of the key incentives for selecting a cruise holiday is the opportunity to visit several countries and destinations during one seamless vacation. Whilst the Caribbean followed by the Mediterranean sustains their position as leading cruise destinations, the expansion in demand alongside consistent growth in repeat cruise passengers, has resulted in the emergence of new destinations and cruise itineraries (WTO 2010). This plethora of ports of call, both in traditional and emerging destinations, continues to attract greater passenger numbers.

Paralleling these developments the industry continues to be serviced by larger and more technologically advanced ships (Ward 2010; WTO 2010). In terms of size the “…average ship capacity has increased from 1,500 passengers in 1990 to a projected 2,500 for the decade starting 2010” (WTO 2010:xxiii). Consequently it is not just the destinations that serve as key pull factors for this type of vacation, arguably in many cases modern cruise liners are designed and conceived as tourist attractions in themselves (Lester and Weeden 2004). Indeed Kwortnik (2008:293) describes modern cruise ships as “…a combination of floating hotel, sightseeing vessel, gourmet restaurant, food court, nightclub, shopping center, entertainment complex, and recreation facility”. Often referred to as a ‘mega cruise ship’ and termed a ‘very large cruise vessel’ (VLCV), ships exceeding 100,000 gross
registered tonnage (GRT) illustrate not only the technological innovations in shipbuilding but also the concept of a ship as a ‘floating resort’ or ‘marine resort’ (WTO 2010). Whilst recognising that not all modern cruise ships can be categorised as a marine resort, those that can, are described as:

…more than a simple floating hotel. Their accommodative dimension is reflected in the distribution of space – with a large atrium surrounded by passenger staterooms – and in the hotel terminology used for a number of onboard functions, such as “hotel manager”. But a cruise ship is also a tourist resort, incorporating all kinds of facilities specific to a resort, such as beauty salons, video theatres, libraries, planetariums, shops, golf courses, art galleries, business centres, cinemas, casinos, spas, etc. (WTO 2010: xiii)

It is perhaps Royal Caribbean International’s (RCI) largest Oasis-class ships that best exemplify the scale, scope and new directions in passenger shipbuilding and the concept of a holiday resort at sea. For example Oasis of the Seas and its sister ship Allure of the Seas launched in November 2009 and 2010 respectively, are currently the largest cruise ships in the world, each weighing 220 900 gross registered tons with a capacity of 5,400 passengers (Ward 2010). Adding to the total number of people onboard are those that work and live at sea, in the case of Allure of the Seas, 2,394 crew make up the seafaring community (Macefield 2010). Measuring 1,187 feet in length, and at just 5mm longer than its sister ship, Allure of the Seas is presently the world’s largest cruise ship. Both ships are almost identical in structure and concept, with 16 passenger decks and a ship space designed around seven distinct themed “neighbourhoods” - Central Park, Boardwalk, Royal Promenade, Pool and Sports Zone, Vitality at Sea Spa and Fitness Center and the Youth Zone (Macefield 2010).

Arguably, such vessels reflect the significant shifts in the concept of ocean travel in that these leisure spaces are highly simulated. In this particular example, styled as an ‘entertainment ship’, Allure of the Seas could be likened to that of a floating theme park at sea. For example a partnership with DreamWorks animation studio “…has brought a new dimension to Allure’s entertainment offering, using some of DreamWorks’ most popular characters from shows including Shrek, Madagascar and Kung Fu Panda” (Macefield 2010:18). In addition to passengers meeting these characters throughout their voyage, other highlights include a 3D movie screen showing DreamWorks films and other Disney classics, as well as a 90-minute version of the Broadway musical Chicago (Macefield 2010).
Characterised by a ship’s physical proximity, betwixt and between land and sea, the intrigue associated with such spaces of travel and tourism is framed to some extent by notions of accessibility and inaccessibility. Cruise travel has a history of being associated with the travelling elite, and to some extent affordability still remains a determining factor in the accessibility to these types of holiday spaces. Despite the increasing popularity of cruising many people have yet to experience this type of holiday. Moreover, these waterborne spaces are embodied by an onboard community for purposes of both work and leisure and as such it is not only the isolated nature of these spaces that contribute to the notion of ships as imagined geographies (see May 1996), but their inner spatial arrangements create clear divisions between spatial areas set aside for passenger activities and closed, private spaces occupied by a ship’s workforce. Arguably, the fascination of cruise ships lies in the fact that for many the inner spaces of a cruise vessel exist only in their imagination. As such it is argued here that as architectural objects, whether gazed upon close up in port or at a distance out at sea, through industry promotional material or popular media, cruise ships are for many people imagined spaces of travel and tourism.

Arguably marketing discourses have and continue to frame the notion of a vacation at sea through a range of concepts including those of exclusivity, luxury and fantasy. In the context of larger cruise vessels, Chin (2008: 70) asserts:

Cruise line production and marketing of pleasure on large and mega cruise ships conjure the allure-promise of ‘dream vacations’ on ‘dream ships’ wherein passengers or ‘guests’ can live – albeit temporary – fantasy lives of having their ‘staterooms’ cleaned twice a day, all their meals served in elegant restaurants and/or cabins, and a selection of entertainment venues ranging from Broadway-like shows/revues to casinos.

In terms of the relationship between cruise marketing, consumer expectations and experiences, Kwortnik (2008:306) argues, “…cruises deliver on the sensational, emotional and experiential promise” and also refers to the risk of ‘ambient pollution’ such as “…noise, music, odors, smoking and ship motion”, which are potentially detrimental to cruisers’ experiences both physically and psychologically. Moreover amid the ‘massification of pleasure cruising’ (see Chin 2008) issues surrounding the loss of traditions, diminished connections with the sea, and problems such as crowding and queues have emerged (see Kwortnik 2008). As Chin (2008:67) further asserts, “[I]arge and even larger ship settings and operations can elicit disenchantment because of longer queues at check-in, embarkation/debarkation, meal services, show-times and shore excursions”.

Additionally, Robins (2008) highlights some of the operational challenges that the industry is increasingly facing. These include widespread shipboard illnesses; design features of newer ships resulting in greater risk of travel discomfort amid rough seas; and challenges surrounding onboard security and policing.

A ‘cult of nostalgia’ is described as surrounding the ocean liner (Wealleans 2006), perpetuating entrenched perceptions of particular rituals of cruising described as “…the rigidities imposed by the social conventions of the classic transatlantic voyages” (WTO 2010:1). Despite the industry having undergone significant growth and product differentiation during the past two decades, stereotypes and myths persist, including for example, the age of passengers and traditional formalities such as dress codes (see Bryant 2000; Millard 2003; Nicholas 2003, Peisley 2003). As Nicholas (2003:2) states:

Ancient myths still hang around cruising like bits of Atlantic fog. The images of bejewelled old dowagers, tottering around on the dance floor in the grip of grim faced officers, went out with the old Queen Mary. Movie starlets do not board the ship carrying yappy little dogs that subsist on a diet of steak and champagne. Nor will you be required to bring with you an armada of luggage. The era of changing four times a day at sea has been discreetly dumped overboard.

What is of interest in the context of this study is the extent to which popular films perpetuate certain myths, rituals and traditions associated with cruising. In terms of the connections between popular films and cruise travel, Hollywood has a long history of drawing on the perceived glamour of the cruise liner as a backdrop in which to situate many of its stories (Atterbury 2009; Votolato 2007; 2009). By the 1930s the ocean liner was synonymous with modernity and glamour and as such was appropriated as the ideal backdrop for movies, as Votolato (2009) asserts, “Hollywood has created our image of the ocean liner today, even more than advertising of the ocean liner in their heyday”. Indeed the mediatization of ships as romantic spaces of travel is highlighted by Votolato (2007:111) who states, “[t]he romantic potential of this activity was dramatized many times in literature and films during the twentieth century”. Certainly the role of films in the continual glamorization (see Dickinson and Vladimir 2008) and romanticization (see Douglas and Douglas 2004) of the cruise experience is recognised in the tourism literature. However to date there exists little sustained investigation regarding the discourses of popular films and their propensity to construct imaginings of the cruise experience whether for purposes of work, travel or leisure.
Aspects of cruise marketing and branding have received some attention within tourism research (see Dingle and Harding 1994; Ahmed et al 2002; Kwortnik 2006; Dev 2006; Li and Petrick 2010). However it is purposeful marketing through cruise line promotional material that has received much of the attention within tourism studies to date (see Douglas and Douglas 2004; Berger 2004; 2006; Weeden and Lester 2006). There exists little sustained investigation into issues of representation and the ways in which cruises and the cruise experience are culturally constructed. This said, acknowledgement of the role of popular media in the formation of consumer perceptions does exist, as evidenced through the much cited popular US television series, the *Love Boat* (see Dickson and Vladimir 2008; Cartwright and Harvey 2004; Quartermaine and Peter 2006).

Given the considerable growth, development and transformation of the industry within a relatively short period of time, cruise tourism in general remains largely unexplored in comparison to land-based tourism (see Chin 2008) and despite some notable exceptions (see Foster 1986; Yarnal 2004; Yarnal and Kerstetter 2005; Weaver 2005a; Kwortnik 2008) cruise ships and cruise ship spaces have received relatively limited attention within tourism research. This is perhaps not surprising as it is indicative of a ship’s inaccessibility, as Papathanassis and Beckmann (2011:154-155) have most recently asserted:

…the secluded space, controlled setting and socio-cultural environment onboard a cruise vessel, constitute close-to-ideal laboratory conditions for social researchers. This, in combination with the niche-character and developments (e.g. mega-liners) of the cruise industry, renders it highly suitable and attractive for case-study research. Gaining access to such an attractive research environment is nonetheless restricted, requiring the permission and support of its owners. A ‘social cocoon’ is by definition inaccessible for outsiders. Given the economic aims and business focus of the cruise sector’s gate-keepers, it is understandable and expected that access is preferentially granted to researchers serving managerial motives.

The recent review of cruise research publications carried out by Papathanassis and Beckmann (2011) revealed just 145 scientific papers with the research agenda focusing primarily on management issues associated with cruising. Despite the exponential growth of cruise-related publications over the last decade, study of the consumer experience is under-researched, and where consumer behaviour has been researched the focus has predominantly been in the areas of service quality and consumer satisfaction (Sirakaya et

---

2 Made up of scientific peer-reviewed journal articles, published in English and electronically available journals.
al 2004) and customer loyalty (Petrick 2003). Moreover there exists little inquiry into the “…study of social life and human behaviour on board” (Papathanassis and Beckmann 2011:164). However during the past few years some significant contributions have emerged in this area. For example, Jaakson (2004a) examines cruise passenger behaviour by investigating onshore activities; Yarnal (2004) embraces the concept of play to further understanding of the cruise tourist and their experiences; and in terms of cruise ship space, Yarnal and Kerstetter (2005) address how this particular type of vacation space can facilitate social interaction among passengers. More recently Huang and Hsu’s (2009) study examines the connections between the social interaction among fellow passengers and cruise experiences. In terms of those that live and work on cruise ships, Thompson (2002; 2004) has investigated aspects of corporate culture and social identity onboard ships focusing in particular on the spatial and organisation structures surrounding personnel eating spaces. Shipboard working practises with a focus on concepts of performance and emotional labour has and continues to receive some significant attention within cruise related research (see Tracy 2000; Zhao 2002; Weaver 2005a; 2005c; Gibson 2008). There exists little in the tourism literature addressing the cultural aspects of the cruise experience, although some notable exceptions include Douglas and Douglas (2004) and Berger (2004; 2006). The issues explored in relation to cruise ship design have predominately focused on safety (Wang 2001) with notable exceptions such as Quartermaine and Peter’s (2006) ‘Cruise, Identity, Design and Culture’, and Wealleans’s (2006) ‘Designing Liners’, which are worthy of mention here.

While not dismissing the importance of the visual in terms of marketing and promotion, this thesis focuses on visual data that pervades particular cultural milieu not explicitly connected with the marketing of the cruise product per se. I argue in this thesis that discourses surrounding the experience of cruising, such as those of popular film, often mediate particular notions, such as sexual, sensuous and promiscuous encounters. Additionally, cruise ships are often depicted as unique travel spaces, microcosms of a world betwixt and between land and sea, in which onboard communities become spectacles subject to close scrutiny and surveillance in terms of their characters, personalities and relationships. Also of interest to this study is the symbiotic relationship the sea has with the nature of cruise travel, and the ways in which this relationship is constructed and mediated through popular films. This study purposively selects three
popular films in its examination of such themes: *Carry on Cruising* [1962]; *Ship of Fools* [1965] and James Cameron’s *Titanic* [1997].

As such this study seeks to contribute to the growing research agenda pertaining to the cruise industry. Embracing a socio-cultural perspective, through the medium of film, it examines cruise ships as significant, but under-explored spaces of travel and tourism and seeks to address the complexity of the ways in which cruise ships are spatially constructed, organised and embodied. Taking a cross-disciplinary approach drawing on cultural studies, visual culture, cultural geography and anthropology this thesis utilises popular films as the archive of data through which the examination of cruise ship space and thus the cruise experience takes place. Despite the plethora of instances in which such unique places of dwelling are immortalised on celluloid across all genres of film, thus frequently entering popular consciousness, the relationship between moving pictures and these particular liminal spaces of travel and tourism has received little explicit attention (see Clarke et al 2009). In terms of cruise ships and the cruise experience, it is important to highlight here that this analysis rests not just on cruise passengers and their consumption of cruise ship space but rather on cruise ship societies or cruise ship communities.

In engaging with film this research recognises the complexity of an individual’s multi-dimensional and multi-sensual encounters with the world (Crouch 2001) and as such the multi-sensory nature of the visual (Scarles 2009; 2010). It acknowledges the inevitability that, as the researcher, I will influence this process and will be unable to adopt a position of scientific objectivity (see Law et al 2007). Therefore, before articulating the aims, objectives and structure of this thesis, it is useful to make comment here on myself as a researcher and to explicitly declare my particular interest in the subjects of cruise tourism and popular film.

### 1.4 Positionality

I cannot recall exactly when it was that I first became interested in cruise ships, but I can remember as far back as my teenage years wanting to sail on a ship. At the age of nineteen I spent some weeks working in a voluntary capacity on educational cruise excursions. Thereafter I attempted to secure an industrial placement position working with a cruise operator linked to my undergraduate study at university. I was unsuccessful, not even

---

reaching the application stage. At that time my employment opportunities were restricted due to my gender. Having graduated from university, I initially worked abroad for a major tour operating company in a land-based position before eventually securing a job living and working at sea on passenger vessels. So on reflection, for inexplicable reasons, I have always been drawn to the sea.

Having left behind living and working at sea some ten years ago, I embarked on a new journey as I returned to university to research and study for a Masters degree in Tourism Management. Unsurprisingly my dissertation research embraced my continued interest in the cruise phenomenon with a study into consumer behaviour focusing on perceptions and motivations in the context of cruise holidays. At this time cruise travel was a nascent subject area within education generally and cruise tourism was receiving very little attention in terms of its significance and inclusion in the curriculum of travel, tourism and hospitality degrees. Having graduated with a postgraduate qualification I found myself teaching at university and it was during this time that the subject of cruise travel became firmly embedded in the curriculum at both undergraduate and postgraduate level across the travel, tourism and hospitality subject areas. It was during this phase of postgraduate study and subsequent employment at university that I recognised the array of stereotypes and pre-conceptions that many people, not least students, held in relation to their perceptions of cruise holidays.

Around this time James Cameron’s *Titanic*, was being appropriated by journalists when writing about the cruise experience. Associated elements of popular culture, such as Celine Dion’s chart topping song, *My Heart Will Go On*, were equally embraced within media portrayals of cruise vacations. The following excerpt is from an article review of the Grand Princess, which at the time of its launch in 1998 was the largest passenger vessel servicing the cruise industry, describing the ship’s nightclub:

…the eyes look for the mid-point of the hull, where the split would happen. Then it seeks out the aftermost point of the giant, the place where Kate Winslet and Leonardo DiCaprio would have to cling as their class-torn romance goes downwardly mobile…an ungrippable eyrie of sheer black glass 200ft up…everynight the passengers sway to the dance version of My Heart Will Go On… (Franks 1998)

The explicit reference to *Titanic* in marketing media triggered my interest in the power of discourse and in this case visual discourses to construct individuals’ ‘ways of seeing’
(Berger 1972), together with ways of thinking about and emotional responses to particular places and spaces of tourism. To recount my own thoughts and feelings when *Titanic* was released in the UK in 1998, I do recall my unease as I sat in the cinema watching Cameron’s global box office success. I remember thinking to myself, ‘I am glad that I have experienced the unpredictable forces of the sea’ in the sense that to a large extent I had confidence in the architecture and strength of modern cruise ships and their ability to withstand the perils of the sea. I remember asking myself, ‘would I want to take a cruise holiday without this experience and knowledge, having watched the movie?’ Indeed my thoughts at the time were not isolated; significantly the release of the movie *Titanic* raised some speculation from within sections of the cruise industry as to the movie’s impact on cruise bookings. Thereafter it always surprised me that onboard the ships I worked, the ship’s cinema screened the movie, the onboard resident bands played and sang the movie’s soundtrack, *My Heart Will Go On*, while the disco played the upbeat dance version of the same chart topping hit. On reflection, perhaps my experience of working and living at sea had sensitised me to the real dangers of the ocean and thus my reading of the film and associated popular media was, and remains, very different to others.

It is the case that I have experienced sea conditions that have been so extreme that as I have lain on a bed in a dark cabin throughout the night, so frightened, I have promised myself that I would disembark in the morning if we survived the night. I have also had to disembark a vessel in an emergency situation and understand very well the chaos and disorientation that can occur during such activities. So perhaps for me when I am watching a movie such as *Titanic*, I am seeing myself on that vessel, I am with those people, I feel the excitement, the love, the fear, the despair - I can taste the salt in the air and I shudder at the thought of the cold water. Yet in stark contrast when the storm is over, the panic subsides, there is something quite mesmerizing, almost surreal about the inexplicable expanse of calm ocean and with these memories I see the seascape shift and change in colour, I gaze seaward transfixed on the shimmering ripples of the sea around me, I close my eyes and smile.

The purpose of revealing these memories serves only to illustrate that an individual’s background and experiences influence the ways in which information is assimilated and the sense that is made of it. In this particular case it highlights how visual media act as powerful multi-sensual triggers, bringing to the surface deep physical and emotional
memories that otherwise would remain submerged. Therefore as I have experiences (and associated memories) of working and living on cruise ships, my interpretations of any of the films drawn upon for the purposes of this study will be individual and undoubtedly not entirely representative of a wider audience. Additionally I want to illustrate that watching a film is not just a visual and auditory activity, rather a multi-sensory experience that evokes a variety of cognitive and sensual responses.

1.5  **Aim and objectives**

In articulating the primary aim and objectives of this study it is useful to briefly highlight the aspects of inquiry that this research will not explicitly address. This is necessary as what is researched and presented in this thesis is only a partial element of a broader conceptual framework as articulated below (see figure 1.1). The focus of inquiry presented in this thesis rests with my personal imaginative embodiment of film space and my interpretation and analysis of the discourses of specific popular films. It does not seek to research and evidence links between popular films, the tourist imagination and subsequent patterns of behaviour. These areas of inquiry are not dismissed as unimportant; rather such questions, as significant as they are, fall beyond the scope of this thesis. To appropriate an earlier adaptation of the ‘circle of representation’ as presented by Weeden and Lester (2006), figure 1.1 is presented as an illustration of the broad conceptual framework within which this research is situated.

**Aim:** The overall aim of this research is to interpret and critically explore the discourses of popular films and what these reveal about cruise ships as distinctive socio-cultural spaces of travel and tourism.

**Objectives:**

1. To examine how cruise ships are conceptualised as both real and imagined spaces of travel and tourism;

2. To identify the ways in which popular films can be conceptualised as unique spatial constructs that both frame and constitute places and spaces of travel and tourism;

3. To develop an embodied approach to film analysis within tourism inquiry;

4. To critically examine the relationship between the spatial constructs of cruise ships and embodied cultural practises as mediated through three popular films.
Figure 1.1 The place of imagery in cruise tourism marketing adapted from Jenkins’ (2003) conceptualisation of the ‘circle of representation’ (after Hall, 1997) cited in Weeden and Lester (2006)

This research explores the mediatization (Jansson 2002; Jansson and Falkheimer 2006) of the cruise experience within the socio-cultural milieu as portrayed, constructed and experienced through the power of popular film. It is a highly personalised interpretation of this experience acknowledging the individual nature of ‘ways of seeing’ (Berger 1972; Wang 2000) embracing the corporeal, multi-sensory nature of engaging with moving image (Bruno 2002; Marks 2000; Barker 2009).

1.6 Scope and contribution
Aspects of visuality and the mediatization of tourism is arguably gaining momentum within the tourism research agenda (Feighey 2003; Burns and Lester 2003; Falkheimer and Jansson 2006; Burns et al 2010a; 2010b) with a growing focus on the significance of film as visual data pertaining to particular areas of tourism research (Beeton 2005; 2010 Burns and Lester 2005). Additionally there is a growing momentum within tourism to explicitly acknowledge the multi-sensory aspects of the visual (Crouch and Lübbren 2003; Scarles 2009; 2010). To date the research agenda in the area of tourism and film has been
dominated by film-induced tourism focusing on the measurement of visitor numbers (Burns and Lester 2005) and “…business-related issues, including destination marketing, image and tourist motivation” (Beeton 2010:2). This study departs from a focus on business and management orientated research and acknowledges the gaps in the interdisciplinary nature of media studies and tourism studies (Mazierska and Walton 2006). It responds to calls for greater interdisciplinary cooperation between the cognate areas of film and tourism specifically (Tzanelli 2004; Beeton 2010) and what Beeton (2010:1) describes as an “…emerging field of film tourism research [which] invites multi-disciplinary post-modern study, which has moved from simply considering business and marketing aspects towards approaches incorporating multiple disciplinary perspectives”.

Moreover, this study contributes to the growing and relatively recent engagement in film studies that focus on space and place. More specifically, cruise ships as floating hotels, alongside hotels, motels and hostels, constitute what Clarke et al (2009) refer to as ‘Stopping Places’, who acknowledge the incidental featuring of filmic stopping places in books and the “…scattered works on film noir, detective films, and so on” (Clarke et al 2009:4). However this study responds to Clarke et al’s (2009:4) further assertion that there has “…been surprisingly little sustained engagement with the near omnipresence of stopping places in film”. Given the propensity for popular films to mediate and construct particular spaces and places of tourism, this research aims to contribute to the growing interest and recognition of the relationship between popular culture, in this case popular film, the tourist imagination and the ways in which films in themselves can be conceived as unique spaces of travel.

The focus on cruise ship space and the cruise experience is an important one in that, as previously highlighted, for many people these spaces of travel and tourism exist only in the imagination, they exist as imagined geographies (see May 1996). As I have already outlined, the research agenda focusing on the cruise industry and the cruise experience has gained significant momentum in recent years, however, with few notable exceptions (see Foster 1986; Jaakson 2004a; Yarnal 2004; Yarnal and Kerstetter 2005) little has emerged focusing on the cruise experience and that of cruise ship space. Additionally studies focusing on the mediatization of the cruise experience and bringing together popular culture and cruise tourism are relatively rare. Notable exceptions include the work of Simpson (1999) on the phenomenon of James Cameron’s Titanic and tourism and the work
Chapter 1: Introduction

of Schwichtenberg (1984) regarding love, heterosexual romance and family as mediated through the popular US television series, the *Love Boat*. More recently Nicholson’s (2009) study examines Mediterranean cruise-liners during the inter-war period through British amateur filmmaking. This research builds upon such work with its focus of inquiry on spaces of tourism and the cruise experience.

This research both recognises and contributes to several burgeoning areas of inquiry within tourism studies generally. It embraces the continuing debates regarding particular tourism and leisure spaces and their liminal characteristics (see Moore 1980; Shaw and Williams 2004; Pritchard and Morgan 2005; Jaimangal-Jones et al 2010) and that metaphorically many tourist practices can be conceptualized as a type of performance (see Adler 1989; Chaney 2008; Edensor 1998; 2000; 2001; Bærenholdt et al 2004). Contributing to an increasing interest in the embodiment of tourist spaces that draw on the concepts of space (Crang and Thrift 2000; Hubbard et al 2004; Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003; Tuan 1977) this study utilises Lefebvre’s (1991) ‘spatial triad’ as an over-arching concept that acknowledges the inter-relationship between physical space, experiential space and symbolic space. Additionally this study explores spatial concepts such as Tuan’s (1977) notion of ‘architectural space’, Foucault’s (1986) ‘heterotopia’ and Bakhtin’s (1984) ‘carnivalesque’ in its conceptual framing of the relationships between built environments, spatial boundaries and the functioning of temporary and transient societies at sea.

Finally this research contributes to the growth and diversity of methodological approaches emerging within tourism studies. For example the adoption of discourse analysis as a methodological tool has gained significant momentum within the field of tourism (see Jaworski and Pritchard 2005), as too has the focus on a Foucauldian approach to discourse analysis (see Ayikoru and Tribe 2007). This research contributes to the growing interest in the power of discourse, discourse analysis and the work of Foucault within this methodological sphere (see Urry 1990; 2002; Wang 2000). Drawing on some of the traditions and principles associated with autoethnography, this research also explicitly situates the self in the research field and acknowledges the importance of the positionality of the researcher (see Morgan and Pritchard 2005; Law et al. 2007; Tribe 2008). In doing so my approach to analysing the discourses of popular films in this research moves beyond the concept of film as a primarily visual and auditory medium adopting a haptic, non-representational approach that recognises the embodied nature of the researcher.
1.7 Thesis structure

This following section outlines the structure of the thesis. First and foremost I provide an overview to each chapter and thereafter illustrate diagrammatically (figure 1.2) the connections between the aims and objectives of this research and the thesis structure. Voyage is the final chapter of this thesis and outlines the key contributions as a result of my research journey.

Chapter 2 Visual sense, popular film and tourism

This chapter presents the landscape of research that brings together the two disciplinary fields of tourism and film. In doing so it aims to outline the relationship between popular films and imagined places and spaces of tourism (Crouch et al 2005; Urry 2006). First and foremost this chapter provides a brief reflection on the significance of the visual in Western contemporary society and on the historical connections between visual media and the art of travel. The extent to which it has been argued that many aspects of tourism and the tourist experience can be articulated in visual terms is touched upon highlighting the significant attention the ‘visual’ is presently receiving within tourism studies. In doing so the ways in which this study goes beyond that of visual culture per se to embrace notions of visuality is articulated. Thereafter the growing interest in the relationship between popular film and tourism is explored revealing new directions and emerging agendas in the research of tourism and film. The multi-sensory nature of film and the ways in which such liminal spaces can be inhabited and travelled through underpins and frames particular aspects of the study approach.

Chapter 3 Study approach

This chapter furthers the discussion regarding the overall study approach and presents the research paradigm. Specifically it defends the pluralist ontological perspective embraced in this research and reflects on the overarching philosophical premise that human subjects are socially and culturally constituted. Taking a socio constructionist/interpretist perspective this chapter articulates the significance of discourse and in this case specifically visual discourse in constituting knowledge and the ways in which individuals engage with the visual and make sense of the world around them. The significance of representation and the politics of such in the context of this study are highlighted at the same time as illustrating the ways in which the concept of non-representation also underpins the study’s
methodological approach. Consequently, this chapter highlights the appropriateness of employing a discursive approach to film analysis, in the face of alternative and other well-established methods associated with film-analysis. Drawing on the links made in chapter two between popular films, the imagination and the multi-sensory aspects of engaging with film, further comment is made on the traditions of film analysis. My positionality as a researcher is further outlined, defending the postmodernist autoethnographic, reflexive and embodied approach to my interpretations, encounters and experiences of the film spaces drawn upon in this study. Finally this chapter outlines the interpretist framework utilised in this study and the rationale for the selection of the three films that provide the focus of in-depth analysis: *Carry On Cruising* [1962], *Ship of Fools* [1965] and *Titanic* [1997].

**Chapter 4  Foucault and discourse**

Following the preceding discussion in chapter 3 regarding the study’s inquiry paradigm, this chapter focuses on the work of Michel Foucault further outlining the ways in which the Foucauldian perspective frames the methodological approach to discourse analysis for the purposes of this study. Taking forward the socio-constructionist/interpretist approach outlined in chapter three, this chapter presents the Foucauldian approach to film analysis whereby popular films in this thesis are drawn upon as the *archive* of data for analysis and are referred to as *discursive domains* in which the fabric of the film’s body (i.e. its text or language as defined in terms of written, audio, visual and material) organises and constructs a range of *discursive formations* or conceptual frameworks that allow some modes of thought and deny others. The interconnectivity of Foucault’s thoughts on knowledge, power and discourse and the ways in which these are drawn upon to further frame this study’s methodological approach are also examined in this chapter.

**Chapter 5  The cruise ship: real and imagined**

This chapter draws on existing literature in the development of the study’s conceptual framework addressing the complexity of the ways in which cruise ships are spatially constructed, organised and embodied, together with how such ‘worlds’ are mediated and experienced through popular films. In seeking to explore the complex nature of cruise ship space, this chapter takes a multi-disciplinary approach to understanding the dialectical and complex nature of space (Lefebvre 1991). Structured into three key sections, although undoubtedly interrelated, this chapter explores the social construction of i) the sea as an
object of fascination; ii) cruise ships as symbolic and material objects; and iii) cruise ship space as a playground for risk, adventure and play.

The chapter explores the ways in which ocean cruising is represented, imagined and experienced. Arguing that cruise ships are inextricably linked with the sea, this chapter first and foremost explores the concept of the sea as a vast expanse of space that is both a physical and symbolic object of fascination. It is argued that the sea is symbolically potent and inseparable from the very notion of the cruise experience itself and as such any analysis of cruise ship space and thus the cruise experience cannot ignore the existence of the sea. It explores the sea as a particular space or landscape that resonates rich symbolic potency in the Western imagination. Permeated with ideologies, myths and seaborne rituals, the cultural analysis of the sea presented in this chapter contributes to the complex and intertextual nature of discourse analysis illustrating how discourses of the sea frame our understanding of many aspects of cruise travel and our imaginings of the cruise experience.

Thereafter the chapter focuses on cruise ships as both material and symbolic objects, their place within the cultural system of objects (Baudrillard 1996) and the notion that ships operate as sign systems themselves (see Berger 2004). Lefebvre’s (1991) production of space, the relationship between architectural space, social structure and cohesion (Tuan 1977) are explored in relation to cruise ship societies or communities. Additionally drawing on cultural studies and anthropology, theories of space that embrace notions of performance (Goffman 1975; Turner 1988), liminality (Turner 1974), heterotopia (Foucault 1986), play (Turner 1982) and the carnivalesque (Bahktin 1984) are presented and in doing so it is argued that cruise ships are unique carnivalesque spaces of risk, adventure and play.

The discursive approach adopted in this chapter draws upon and makes reference to popular films where appropriate to further highlight the connection between film and the discursively constituted nature of cruise ships and the cruise experience. Overall this chapter illustrates how built architectures, natural landscapes and mediated discourses can all be conceived as unique spaces that frame and constitute the practice of tourism.
Chapters 6, 7 and 8
These chapters present my discursive analysis of the films *Carry on Cruising* [1962], *Ship of Fools* [1965] and *Titanic* [1997] respectively. I represent them in chronological order in terms of the year of release, which reflects the periodic encounters with these films, and the subject of sea travel. In relation to the history of sea travel, *Titanic* is situated pre-first world war, *Ship of Fools* during the inter-war period and *Carry on Cruising* located post second world war. Drawing on key themes derived from the secondary literature and the conceptual framework as presented in chapter five, my interpretation and analysis of these films is underpinned by particular notions surrounding the sea, ship space, ship societies and communities, identity, ritual and traditions, romance and promiscuity, performance and play. Reflecting the study’s approach to the analysis of film in this thesis, where appropriate, this chapter presents the data as embedded moving images. Each analysis will include a reflexive piece embracing the embodied and reflexive nature of the research and processes of analysis.

Chapter 9 An ‘archaeology’ of sea travel and ocean cruising
Aligning with the Foucauldian approach to discourse and discourse analysis, this chapter draws together the findings from the analysis of the three films that constitute the archive of data for the purposes of this research. In doing so I look for the discursive regularities and discursive formations across the three films, as well as drawing out the discursive omissions (Foucault 1989), that I have encountered through my own voyages with *Carry on Cruising* [1962], *Ship of Fools* [1965] and *Titanic* [1997]. Highlighting the dominance of particular discourses and discursive formations this chapter presents various regimes of truth (Foucault 1989), whether reel or real, and how these contribute to our imaginings of cruise ship space and the cruise experience.

Chapter 10 Voyage
This final chapter reflects on my ‘voyage’ in terms of my journey and exploration of the research questions and revisits the theoretical and conceptual lens that framed my study, the inquiry paradigm that guided my approach to the research and the application of the embodied and reflexive approaches to the analysis of films. In doing so the interdisciplinary nature of this study is highlighted reaffirming the significance of bringing together the fields of tourism and film in the context of the aims and objectives of the research. Importantly this chapter presents the key findings and contributions of the
research and reflects on the limitations and gaps in this research offering thoughts for future avenues of inquiry.

Figure 1.2 Thesis structure
Chapter 2 The ‘visual’, popular film and tourism

2.1 Introduction

Despite the fact that there has been significant recognition of the importance of visual data in tourism (see Chalfen 1979; Uzzell 1984; Albers and James 1983; 1988; Dann 1988; 1996; Edwards 1996; Markwell 1997; Morgan and Pritchard 1998; Pritchard 2001; Markwick 2001; Echtner 2002; Garlick 2002; Echtner and Prasad 2003, Scarles 2004; Crouch and Lübbren 2003; Palmer and Lester 2007; Tribe 2008; Burns et al 2010a; 2010b; Waterton and Watson 2010), it has been argued that within tourism studies, there are many aspects of ‘the visual’ that are empirically under-researched (see Burns and Lester 2003; Feighey 2003). It has been noted that in general, the visual is seemingly a neglected area in social science research with calls for the visual to be given as much recognition as words. As Pritchard and Morgan (2003:119) state,“[w]hilst we are not suggesting that images should replace words as the dominant mode of research or representation, we are arguing that they should be seen as an equally meaningful sphere of study in social science research.” More recently, however, Palmer (2009:74) has observed the increasingly momentum of tourism related studies that are engaging with aspects of the visual “…whether as technology, as a form of evidence or as methodology”.

This said the connections between media studies and tourism have been slow to emerge (see Mazierska and Walton 2006), with a focus on popular culture and tourism less visible. With the exception of some notable examples (see Crouch et al 2005; Falkheimer and Jansson 2006) this area remains relatively unexplored in tourism studies, with cinema and film being no exception (see Palmer and Lester 2007). Moreover it is argued that many of the studies bringing together particular media texts and tourism have been narrowly focused, primarily concerned with the subsequent actions and resulting tourist behaviour from viewing a media text, rather than seeing a film as text in its own right “…with a view to uncovering the layers of meanings placed into and onto the film by players, directors and viewers” (Burns and Lester 2005: 53). Indeed Beeton (2010:3) agrees, highlighting the extent to which much work in the area has focused on business-orientated issues, but argues that “[u]nderstanding how audiences read the signs to create their various images of a place is central to our understanding of their expectations if and when they visit”.

Reflecting on the current state of knowledge in this arena the aim of this chapter is to unveil some of the emerging themes that firmly position popular film as a significant, but
relatively under-researched, area within tourism studies. Firstly this chapter will reaffirm the nature and increasing significance of the visual within contemporary society, briefly reflecting upon the attention that the visual has received within the tourism research agenda to date. Secondly an overview of the historical development and evolving nature of the moving image will be commented upon to highlight the historical links between such media and the art of travel. Thirdly, this chapter will discuss the current state of research within tourism studies that brings together aspects of film and tourism. Finally, an overview of the connections between film and tourism in the context of this thesis will be presented.

2.2 The ‘visual’

Recognition of the significance of culture and the part it plays in the social sciences in understanding society is commonly referred to as the ‘cultural turn’. This turn marks a shift in the ways in which “…many social scientists understand social processes, social identities, and social change and conflict” (Rose 2001:5). Sturken and Cartwright (2001:3) define culture as “…the shared practices of a group, community, or society, through which meaning is made out of the visual, aural, and textual world of representations”. Highlighting the increasing prominence and domination of the ‘visual’ in Western culture over aural or textual media, Sturken and Cartwright (2001:1) contend that visual images, as a ‘language’, are “…central to how we represent, make meaning, and communicate the world around us.” Certainly Rose (2001:6) would agree with this viewpoint arguing “…the visual is central to the cultural construction of social life in contemporary Western societies”. Rogoff (2000:29) further argues that visual media are the primary ways individuals obtain geographical knowledge of the world. Highlighting the role of imagery as a knowledge producing practice, he states:

In today’s world, meanings circulate visually in addition to orally and textually. Images convey information, afford pleasure and displeasure, influence style, determine consumptions and mediate power relations. Whom we see and whom we do not see, who is privileged within the regime of specularity, which aspects of the historical past actually have circulating visual representations and which do not, whose fantasises of what are fed by which visual images? (Rogoff 2000:29).

For some it is argued that sight is one of the most important senses in terms of the knowledge we now have of the modern world (see Macnaghten and Urry 1998) and that tourism is a sensual undertaking dominated by visual imagery (see Burns and Lester 2003). Indeed, in the context of tourism, Feighey (2003:76) highlights the increasing power of
visual technologies as everyday practice and the extent to which a range of visual medias may “…have an indirect influence on those who have no direct experience of such technologies”. Burns et al (2010a:xv) further articulate the rate at which visual technologies have developed, stating:

…tourism is an image-rich cultural and commercial part of the material world…[o]ne only has to consider the rapid transition from the 20th-century passive consumption of visual materials (photographs, brochures, TV documentaries, and postcards) to the greater interactivity of the 21st century such as home-made videos, manipulable digital images, interactive web sites and the like.

In many ways the significance of film as visual media lies in its power to mediate our experiences of place and geography, bound up in the systems of representation. Along with a variety of visual media, film shapes particular comprehensions of the world for individuals and society (Zimmermann 2007). Part of the geographical landscape of visual media, film contributes to “…media’s power to conceptualise and spread political ideas and reinforce hegemonic orders” (Zimmermann 2007:59). As Zimmermann (2007:60) continues:

The availability of feature films in the last two generations allows us to scan the world, to catch glimpses of other places and cultures, to note processes of movement, identity, capital and change…Film and television emotionalize space, place, movement, and identity thereby affecting the viewer’s perception. Visual media have also become active agents in globalization in they spread Western cultural beliefs and attitudes.

The power of film as visual discourse to mediate and socially construct particular knowledge of and ways of seeing the world lie to some extent in its institutional setting and associated practises. Indeed pointing out the fact that the banality of film may obscure its importance, Burgess and Gold (1985:1) assert:

The institutions and practises that comprise the media have a significance that demands our attention. They are an integral part of popular culture and, as such, are an essential element in moulding individual and social experiences of the world and in shaping the relationship between people and place.

Burgess and Gold (1985:1) further argue “…a geography of media must address the question of the ideology of places as well as focusing on their qualities and the emotional experiences that they generate”. In terms of acknowledging the material and symbolic forms that constitute particular ways of life and thus a particular culture, Burgess and Gold
(1985:2) go on to emphasise that “popular media, such as newspapers, music and film, be considered just as legitimate an expression of culture as literature, sculpture and the theatre”.

With reference to the politics of film, Monaco (2000:263) highlights how all films have the ability to “…deconstruct traditional values of culture” and how film “…either reflects reality or recreates it (and its politics)”. However the significance of film lies not just in terms of representation, but in the mediating power of film discourse to (re)present and (re)construct specific ways of seeing space and place. Drawing on the work of Metz (1977) and the term scopic regime, Lukinbeal and Zimmermann (2008) draw the distinctions between ‘vision’ in the physiological sense and ‘visuality’ as a social construct. Stimson (2005:2) refers to visuality as “…part of our common-sense understanding of the world”, whilst Edwards and Bhaumik (2008:3) explores the nature of vision and sight “…as sensorially integrated, embodied and experienced”.

The significance of film and the ways in which it relates to the world is amplified by the technological advancements and changes in societies that have resulted in the far reaching circulation and viewing of film. Monaco (2000) draws on the work of Walter Benjamin in which clear distinctions are made between film and older arts in the sense that film as a newer art is mass-produced and thus has the capability of being viewed by greater numbers of people. Indeed, as Kim (2010) asserts, “…film and television experiences as everyday routines are becoming one of the most powerful information sources and image creators, and one of the most common social and cultural activities”. Certainly it is argued that film, as a social phenomenon, is an extremely powerful interface that mediates and communicates the world to a far reaching audience often in the home environment, thus influencing the perceptions individuals hold of the social world and to an extent how they operate in it. This said, the mechanics of the moving image and connections with travel can be located well before the technological advancement of television. The following section will therefore reflect upon the historical development and evolving nature of the moving image and in brief will highlight the historical links between such media and the art of travel.
2.3 The moving image and the art of travel

The nickelodeons, the silent movie, the Hollywood blockbuster, the Cinerama or the IMAX illuminate the evolution of the ‘moving image’ and technological advancements enabling ‘mechanical reproduction’ (see Benjamin 2000) of imagery in Western societies. Unlike the era of the nickelodeon, in which cinema was the haunt of the working classes unable to afford live theatre, today film in all its various guises is now considered to be a mass entertainment medium. Morkham and Staiff (2002:298) refer to the work of the late Louis Marin (1993) in which he suggested “that travel is configured into the very heart of (Western) representation – that to read a book, see a film, look at a painting or follow a map is to travel somewhere”. In terms of the cinema it is argued that “[t]he cinema is a machine for constructing relations of space and time; the exploration of the world through images and sounds of travel has always been one of its principle features” (Ruoff 2006:1). Accessibility to moving images whether by leaving the home and going to the cinema or by staying in the home environment and watching television enables travel through visual space. Indeed in the context of television Moores (2000:96) highlights how such consumption “simultaneously combines ‘staying home’ and, via electronically transmitted sounds and images, ‘going places’”.

Of course this phenomenon is not new, for example the late 19th century witnessed the emergence of the travelogue film that dominated this early cinematic period (Ruoff 2006) and is an illustration of the technologies that enabled moving images of travel experiences and expeditions. Bruno (2002) draws on pre-classical cinema with the example of a Pathé film released in 1906, *A Policeman’s Tour of the World*, to illustrate the part travelogue film played in early 20th century travel through film with a combination of real locations and staged sets. She states:

As a travelogue, *A Policeman’s Tour of the World*, holds a significant place in film history. The hybrid terrain of the travel film, with its architectonics of mixed forms (actuality and fabrication) is pivotal in the development of film narration. For here, as elsewhere, the tour of the world becomes a vehicle for the very transition to fictional cinema; crossing borders translates into the cross-over into feature films. In this travelogue, actuality is transposed into fiction via detection – itself a form of “discovery.” Discovery marks cinema in many different ways. The motion picture, a language of “curiosity,” appears actually to have been fashioned out of a discourse of exploration. A travel scene is thus a primal scene of the motion picture (Bruno 2002:76).
The above excerpt taken from the work of Bruno (2002) highlights the role of early cinema in creating spaces of travel and discovery through a mix of both actual footage and fictional narrative. Thus even as far back as the turn of the twentieth century film performed a powerful role in transporting people through ‘reel’ and imagined landscapes.

Describing cinema as “an apparatus of travel…born in the arena of tourism” (Bruno 2002:76) we are further reminded of the simultaneous development of technologies of seeing and other travel and tourism related advancements. These include, among others, transportation, travel photography, postcards and the birth of the Thomas Cook tours (Bruno 2002; Crawshaw and Urry 1997). Mazierska and Walton (2006) trace connections between travel and moving images to as far back as the interwar years in which Western societies witnessed huge technological advancements, not only in new modes of transportation such as trains, cruise ships, motor cars and aeroplanes, but also in technologies that enabled particular ways of seeing ‘other’ places and people. For example, Nicholson (2006) highlights the emergence and popularity of amateur film-making for the British traveller during this period. He also illustrates that even as far back as the 1930s the concept of travel through moving images was already conceived citing an example of the analogy of the cinema as ‘the poor man’s luxury liner’ (Newnham 1931:7 cited in Nicholson 2006).

It is the ongoing technological advancements in the creation and transmitting of moving images to mass audiences that has stimulated the emergence of terms such as ‘arm-chair travel’, ‘virtual travel’ and the ‘cinematic tourist’. In the context of cinema, Bruno (1997) further articulates the notion of travel through the landscape of film. Conceptualising the architecture of film as modern cartography, a mobile map, a space of travel, Bruno (1997:15) states, “[t]he (im)mobile film spectator moves across an imaginary path, traversing multiple sites and times”. Bruno (1997:11) further asserts, “[f]ilm has much in common with this travelling geography, especially with regard to its constant reinvention of space. Film viewing is an imaginary form of flânerie, a “modern” gaze that wanders through space”.

Undoubtedly our sense of travelling through and dwelling in virtual spaces is even more apparent given the current technological sphere in which we live, as Moreno (2007:41) posits, “[in] many ways the Internet (chat rooms, online gambling, search engines,
pornography, and MySpace) and digital media sources (DVDS) now allow us to dwell: we can belong to virtual social networks. We can navigate our bodies in virtual spaces”. Continuing this theme of visual spaces as places of habitation, Bruno (2002:107) highlights the language of contemporary technology and the virtual mapping of space:

Cyberspace is an actual place, with Web “sites.” This is a place of exploration and bonding with “navigators.” “Cruising” the Internet, “surfing” and “browsing,” we “visit” a Web site. Today’s moving site is a home. We all have an address there. In fact, our street address has turned into an “e-dress.” We might have our own “home” page. We enter conversations as if they were “rooms.”

Further advancing the notion of travel without physical departure and the concept of dwelling in virtual space is “the cyber-tourist phenomenon of online virtual/synthetic worlds, such as ‘Second Life’... and the enveloping cinematic travel space of the IMAX screen” (Wearing et al 2010:117).

Such concepts contribute to the continued development and power of such media in postmodern Western societies to mobilise particular forms of travel. They are also illustrative of the ways in which such media can be conceived beyond their visual aesthetics which support points made earlier about the multi-sensory and embodied nature of the visual. The following section will outline the current state of research in the areas of tourism and film and by doing so will highlight some of the gaps in research and map approaches which endeavour to bring the two domains of study together.

2.4 Researching popular film and tourism

In terms of moving images, Mazierska and Walton (2006:9) pose the over-arching questions: “What makes a media text a touristic text [and] where does the touristic dimension of the film or television lie?” They posit two perspectives, the objectivist and the subjectivist or discursive. The objectivist perspective aligns with the notion that the tourism aspect or element is explicitly inherent in the text because of “…being produced during touristic activity or documenting a tourist’s experience” (Mazierska and Walton 2006:9). Conversely the subjectivist or discursive perspective is where, “…the tourist aspect is in the eye of the beholder; there are no touristic films or television programmes as such, but only ways to see them as a product of or a stimulus to the tourist gaze” (Mazierska and Walton 2006:9).
Embracing the objectivist perspective there exists a plethora of media texts that focus exclusively on aspects of travel, profile particular tourism destinations or document travel and tourism experiences. Such texts include travel programmes and/or documentaries such as ITV’s *Wish You Were Here*; BBC’s *Passport to the Sun*; the many travel documentaries of Michael Palin; anthropological films such as Dennis O’Rourke’s *Cannibal Tours*, to mention a few of the many. In the case of cruise tourism one of the mediated texts in the form of a television show that revealed some insight into life onboard a luxury cruise liner was the 1997, BBC ‘fly on the wall’ documentary-soap, *The Cruise*. This documentary featured the now well-known British singer, Jane MacDonald, and is claimed to have raised “…awareness of cruising as a fun experience and one for all people and not just a wealthy minority” (Cartwright and Harvey 2004:42).

Alternatively the subjectivist or discursive perspective encompasses a range of media texts including non-specific travel programmes popularised by television. Rick Stein’s *Food Heroes* and *French Odyssey* whereby the master chef toured the UK and Southern France respectively is a good example here. The many publications, guidebooks, websites and tourist board literatures outlining places and sites to be visited, popularised by movies, is illustrative of popular film as subjectivist or discursive touristic texts. Films that have arguably popularised or are definitively associated with particular destinations are vast. While impossible to mention all, some of these include: *La Dolce Vita* [1960] and the city of Rome; *A Room with a View* [1985] and Florence; *The Last Emperor* [1987] and Beijing; *Much Ado About Nothing* [1993] and London; and *Sex and the City* [2008] and New York.

The growing number of travel guides that draw explicitly on film and movie locations is a clear indication of the mapping of destinations through such media. A recent trilogy of travel publications that focus on Europe; North and South America; and Asia, Oceania and Africa, all encompass the phrase, ‘Travelling the World Through Your Favourite Movies’ in their titles (Ishii 2008; 2009a; 2009b).

The propensity for a film or movie to stimulate a desire to visit a particular destination has been described by terms such as ‘film tourism’, ‘film-induced tourism’, or ‘movie-induced tourism’. Film tourism can be described as “the business of attracting visitors through the portrayal of the place or a place’s storylines in film, video and television” (STB 1997: cited in Mintel 2003) or “tourist visits to a destination or attraction as a result of the destination being featured on television, video or the cinema screen” (VisitBritain: cited in
Importantly Burns and Lester (2005) highlight that such terms are not confined to movies and films screened at the cinema but also embraces television and includes TV series following a similar pattern set by ‘literary tourism’. The emergence of an anthropological theme arises with Iwashita (2006) reminding us of places that entice literary pilgrims and that the same label could be transferred to those in search of locations for films and television programmes. Thus the broader term of ‘popular media-induced tourism’ has emerged, reflecting visitation to places that have “…strong associations or connections with films, television programmes and novels (literary depictions and figures) or their authors” (Iwashita 2006:60). Such a position has been recently adopted by Reijnders (2011:234) who in his study into Dracula, Transylvania and the popular imagination also recognises the influence of literature and film in such cases and thus the appropriateness of the term ‘media tourism’, “…recognising the many-sided and historical back-ground of the phenomenon”.

Indeed the use of different terminologies to describe the same or similar phenomena is noted by Karpovich (2010) who outlines the embryonic stage of what she terms, ‘film-motivated tourism’ as a field of inquiry. Karpovich (2010) identifies the multidisciplinary nature of work in this area as a reason for the varying terminologies adopted, compounded by the limited communication and collaboration between disciplines. So while many of the ‘labels’ utilised here are familiar in the context of tourism studies, Karpovich (2010:11) argues that there exists a range of alternative terms used by scholars in other disciplines, such as media studies, cultural studies and fan studies, to essentially express the same phenomena. These include, for example, ‘symbolic pilgrimage’ and ‘cult geography’ (see Karpovich 2010). Whatever terminology used to reference the relationship between film and tourism, what is abundantly clear is the continued recognition of the connections between successful films and subsequent upsurges in visitation to particular destinations (see Mintel 2003; 2007). For example the first decade of the 21st century is credited as the era of the mega-blockbuster and the rise in what has been recently described as ‘set-jetting’ tourism (Mintel 2007). Consequently, and not surprisingly, much of the early inquiry in these areas has traditionally engendered a business-orientated focus to their investigations (see for example: Tooke and Baker 1996; Riley et al 1998; Busby and Klug 2001; Beeton 2001; Gundle 2002).
Despite the exponential growth during the last two decades in the area of tourism and film, studies seeking to develop greater understandings of the links between these particular mediascapes (Jansson 2002) and tourists’ motivations, expectations and experiences of particular locations have been slow to evolve. Some notable exceptions include Carl et al.’s (2007) research that examined the phenomenon of the *Lord of the Rings* (LOTR) trilogy and tourists’ experiences of New Zealand as the ‘Home of Middle Earth’. Findings based on three tour operated LOTR-themed products suggested, the more simulated the tours were in matching the cultural landscapes of the films, the greater the levels of satisfaction. In a similar vein, Reijnders (2011) study into tourists’ travel experiences to Transylvania in search of *Count Dracula* also revealed that in some cases tourists sought to compare their imaginations with the landscape they are visiting. Conversely tourists also desired “…to come ‘closer to the story’ and to make a ‘connection’ through a symbiosis between reality and imagination” (Reijnders 2011:245). In this case the search for reality is discarded and replaced by a more sensory and embodied experience of such imagined spaces of travel and tourism (Reijnders 2011).

Examples of the analyses of film that specifically examine the text are seemingly less evident within tourism studies, although notably O’Rourke’s 1987 documentary film *Cannibal Tours* has received much attention and analysis (Bruner 1989; Lutkehaus 1989; Loizos 1999; Yamashita 2003; Palmer and Lester 2007). Certainly O’Rourke’s narrative portraying a group of seemingly wealthy Western travellers encountering the Other as they cruise the Sepik River in Papua New Guinea has enticed much commentary in terms of tourism. Also worthy of mention here is Mazierska’s (2002) analysis of the films of Eric Rohmer and Tzanelli’s (2003) analysis of *Captain Corelli’s Mandolin*. Other notable works include Tzanelli’s (2006) and Law et al’s (2007) research that focuses on the Twentieth Century Fox’s production, *The Beach*. Moving beyond the popularising of Thailand and the area in which the filming took place for tourism consumption, both Tzanelli (2006) and Law et al (2007) in different ways address aspects of visual consumption and authenticity and the ways in which film has the power to re-present and re-create a destination. Of particular interest in the context of this study is Gibson’s (2006) examination of the films of Merchant Ivory, including his cinematic adaptation of Forster’s novel, *A Room with a View*. In her interpretations of the films, Gibson (2006) demonstrates how films can function as sites of tourism, mobilising the virtual gaze.
In many ways the relatively slow emergence of tourism studies to embrace the significance of film in its research agenda is not surprising and is perhaps symptomatic of a range of issues including the points made earlier about the neglect of the visual in social science research generally (Pritchard and Morgan 2003) and within tourism specifically (see Burns and Lester 2003; Feighey 2003). To further unravel the reasons for the lacunae existing within the research agenda one also has to consider the evolution of tourism and film as cognate areas of study. Until relatively recently, much examination of tourism has been dominated by positivist approaches focussed towards sports-related or business and management studies (Pritchard and Morgan 2007) resulting in a slower emergence of cross-disciplinary approaches to the inquiry of tourism as a social and cultural phenomenon (Phillimore and Goodson 2004). Additionally the recognition of film as an area of study in its own right has also been slow to evolve, traditionally embraced by the disciplinary domains of art and literature (Braudy and Cohen 2004). Moreover, interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approaches to research within the field of tourism have been slow to evolve. This is despite recent recognition within the academic milieu of the value of transcending particular disciplinary boundaries to reveal different perspectives not just in terms of methodological approaches but also in terms of unveiling alternative avenues of inquiry (Coles et al 2009). In the context of media studies and tourism, Mazierska and Walton (2006:8) highlight the scope for interdisciplinary cooperation between these two disciplines but are particularly critical of the lack of such approaches, describing the limited interdisciplinary nature of inquiry as “inadequate cooperation between tourism and media studies”. Arguing that parallels exist between the two disciplines, they go on to state:

…debates on tourism have so far informed media studies only in limited ways, mostly in cases where the media text represents travel or/and overtly serves touristic purposes….However, even when it happens, the usefulness of an interdisciplinary approach is often overlooked (Mazierska and Walton 2006:8).

Focusing on film and tourism, such observations regarding interdisciplinary cooperation are also noted by Tzanelli (2004:21) who comments on the limited perspectives evident in examining the relationship between film and tourism, making the point that, although “sociology has featured a proliferation of studies on film and tourist consumption, combined analyses of the fields are in their infancy”. These observations aside, the landscape of tourism research is currently experiencing a significant shift with a growing recognition of the value of research in these areas that are theoretically and/or multi-
disciplinary in their orientation (Beeton 2010). Whilst these developments are slow, and perhaps a reflection of the acceptance in areas of non-applied inquiry within the sphere of tourism research, Beeton (2010:5) has recently asserted, “[t]here has always been a friction between “pure” academic research and applied, “relevant” research; however, without theoretical development, so-called “real-life” research cannot be undertaken. Thus, the nexus between theory development and practical application is very strong indeed”.

Such observations alongside the developing perspectives on the interrelationship between film and tourism studies (see Jackson 2005; Mazierska and Walton 2006; Beeton 2010) unveil the rich terrain of research possibilities and perspectives that exist by bringing together various aspects of film and tourism studies. The following section will present and discuss these connections further highlighting new directions, emerging agendas and approaches and in doing so will identify the connections between popular film and tourism for the purposes of this study. In addition to acknowledging the power of film discourses to mediate and construct geographical knowledge of the world, the following section addresses issues such as authenticity and ‘reel’ landscapes of film; film and sense of place; conceptualising film as liminal spaces of travel and tourism; and the sensory and imaginative embodiment of film space.

2.5 Re-envisioning tourism and popular film

Identifying parallel debates in tourism and media studies, Mazierska and Walton (2006:8) highlight that “the contentious issue of authenticity in tourism has its counterpart in film studies in an ongoing debate about realism in film and television”. Indeed the issue of authenticity can be applied to film locations contributing to issues of realism. For example some films are made in the actual locations and places integral to the narrative of the film, while others are produced in inauthentic settings, staged or simulated landscapes. Certainly there are many debates surrounding the landscape of film and cinema and whether they are ‘real’ or ‘reel’. On this matter, Horton (2003:71) states:

…all landscapes in cinema are ‘reel’. That is to say, both landscapes that look like we could touch them, walk through them and smell them, as well as those that look entirely fanciful or theatrical, are presented to us through the medium of film.

In general, the concept of landscape is complex. Landscape is not just gazed upon for its aesthetic qualities but is ideological in nature and bound up with notions of power and status. What is perceived to be beautiful or singled out as worth gazing upon is socially
defined. Landscapes and their representations are subjective in our understandings and thus interpretations are polyvisual depending on one’s cultural perspective (Robertson and Richards 2003). Film is a space and place of meaning and thus a mediator of particular landscapes. Embracing the notion of ‘landscape as place’ within film and cinema, aligns with concepts embraced in tourism studies such as the geographical expression ‘sense of place’. In the context of film and cinema this is referred to as “the location where the narrative is supposedly set (whether real or imagined)” (Lukinbeal 2005:6).

Highlighting the ways in which film and cinema landscapes address the issue of realism through constructing a strong ‘sense of place’, Lukinbeal (2005) presents the work of Bernard Nietschmann (1993) and four ways in which a film can convey a strong ‘sense of place’. These include: techniques such as a narrative that enables viewers to comprehend and journey through geographical scales; conveying the complexities of place with the use of multiple signifiers rather than stereotypical ones; positing place in the foreground rather than as purely background scenery; and situating narratives within place rather than just through actions and events. In acknowledging the creative and art form of film-making it is useful to think about issues for authentic place-making. Indeed Bruno (1997:17) states:

Heterotopic perspectives, and a montage of “travelling” shots with diverse viewpoints and rhythms guide the cinema and its nomadic way of siteseeing. Changes in height, size, angle and scale of the view, as well as the speed of the transport, are imbedded in the very language of filmic shots, editing and camera movements. Travel culture is written on the very technique of filmic observation.

Such debates on authenticity and a sense of place are further highlighted in terms of filming institutions and issues such as image formation and the construction of identity, a point we are reminded of in terms of British documentary film and what Sydney-Smith (2006:81) refers to as “colonizing Hollywood”. The significance of such institutions in the construction and often stereotyping of national identity is illustrated by Richards (1997:xii) who states “[c]ulture, in particular popular culture, is the battleground for identity. Cinema and latterly television have played a vital role in defining, mythifying and disseminating national identity”. The film-making industry has been noted for the part it plays in constructing and communicating dominant ideologies about particular nationalities (Richards 1997) and Hollywood as an institution has played a major role in the stereotyping of particular nationalities. Indeed the constituting power of Hollywood in the construction of particular identities can be attributed to its dominance as an institution from
Chapter 2: The ‘visual’, popular film and tourism

the 1930s to the 1960s with classic Hollywood cinema pervading mainstream Western cinema (Hayward 2000). In terms of the sanitisation of place, it is claimed that Hollywood has a long history of drawing on the perceived glamour of the cruise liner as a backdrop in which to situate many of its stories, however hardships connected with working and travelling at sea were not dissimilar to some still found in the contemporary shipping industry. Yet, often, these remained absent discourses within Hollywood cinema (Atterbury 2009).

The concept of ‘sense of place’ is complex and issues such as authenticity and myth-making have long been established in the tourism literature (see Selwyn 1996). Endeavouring to draw together such themes in the context of film and tourism is no less problematic. Buchmann’s (2006) investigation of tourism to Upper Rangitata Valley, Canterbury, New Zealand (the home of the film locations of Lord of the Rings) is illustrative of these issues. In one sense Buchmann (2006) highlights the contested notion of authenticity in tourism studies in that the film myth of “Edoras” entices tourists as seekers of ‘myths’ and not necessarily ‘authenticity’. To reflect for a moment on the point made by Buchmann is to propel the issue into further confusion - Lord of the Rings is known to be a mythical story with characters and a place that doesn’t really exist, except through literary text, film text or in the imagination. Rather the location of the film is New Zealand, therefore we are left to surmise whether film tourists are searching out the authentic landscapes and places as set out by the story-tellers or the authentic landscape of a filmed location. Such questions of authenticity are complex, indeed drawing on Baudrillard’s (1983) notion of simulacra, Lukinbeal and Zimmermann (2008:19) articulate the difference between “…the content of what is seen…[and] the form of what is seen”. They further assert, “[c]inema makes no claims that it is anything but a mechanical re-production. Rather than re-producing the ‘real’ or re-producing what is ‘seen’, cinema produces a ‘reality-effect’ – a simulacrum of the real” (Lukinbeal and Zimmermann 2008:19).

It is not the purpose of this study to explore debates surrounding whether a particular film reflects reality or not per se. Neither does the focus lie in debating whether versions of reality as constructed through the powerful communication via mass media such as television and film become the accepted version of reality. Essentially it is enough to appreciate the power of film to construct narratives, stories and versions of reality and its
role in socially constructing ways of seeing that is of significance in the context of this study (see Lukinbeal and Zimmermann 2008). Considerations regarding historical specificity, site of production, targeted audiences and the producer may, however, enhance particular understandings and analyses of film. Appreciating the ways in which the landscapes of film and cinema powerfully create a sense of place reinforces the power that film and other related media have in constructing and nurturing the tourist imagination. This connection has been recognised by Crouch et al (2005) in their examination of the relationship between tourism and media generally. In acknowledging the multiplicity of approaches and theoretical perspectives that can be embraced to study aspects of media and tourism they position such enquiry within an over-arching theme of the tourist imagination:

To discuss the tourist imagination as a kind of bridging concept is to recognize the shared vitality which lies as much in the sense of global mobility engendered by the media in our daily consumption of films, books, television, newspapers and photography as it does in the actual activities of travelling, enjoying and exploring (Crouch et al 2005:1).

Such a perspective is also one embraced within what Urry (2006) describes as the “new mobility paradigm” in which we are reminded of the significance of “imaginative travel” as a mobility practice in that “[w]e “travel” forward in time and places only known through visual images, experiencing in one’s imagination in advance what we imagine the atmosphere of place to be” (Urry 2006:x). It is this mobility of relationships between tourism and the media that Crouch et al (2005:2) contend can be examined and encapsulated by the concept of the tourist imagination in that “[i]t designates the imaginative investment involved in the crossing of certain virtual boundaries within the media or actual boundaries within the physical process of tourism”. As previously mentioned, film is explicitly conceptualised as a travel space. As Bruno (1997:17), further states:

The genealogical “architectonics” of film is an aesthetic touristic practice of spatial consumption. Film creates space for viewing, perusing, and wandering about. As in all forms of journey, space is physically consumed as a vast commodity. In film, architectural space becomes framed for viewing and offers itself for consumption as traveled space – for further traveling. Attracted to the vistas, the spectator turns into a visitor. The film “viewer” is a practitioner of viewing space – a tourist.

As previously posited there exists a plethora of technologies that mediate other places, people and travel related experiences. In emphasising the power of television, cinema and
other media to ignite the tourist imagination, Crouch et al (2005:3) remind us of the “cognitive and emotional dimensions of tourism in which holidays are a dream like emancipation from the world of work. If holidays pre-figure utopia then the media play a large part in that kind of anticipation.” They reference the work of Inglis (2000:5), who comments:

Television is the source of the imagery with which we do our imagining of the future, and the holiday imagery now so omnipresent on the screen – in the soaps as well as the ads and in the travel programmes of all sorts – is one of the best places to find our fantasies of the free and fulfilled life.

Crouch et al (2005:1) further connect the role of the media and the embodiment of spaces and places, stating:

…the activity of tourism itself makes sense only as an imaginative process which involves a certain comprehension of the world and enthuses a distinctive emotional engagement with it. This is true even if the experience of tourism is only confined to a cycle of anticipation, activity and retrospection.

Certainly Sydney-Smith’s (2006) study examining British crime film and geographical space is situated in the tourist imagination paradigm. So too can we appreciate the influence of popular war time films such as D-Day, The Cruel Sea and Dunkirk, and one’s imagination and sensory engagement with WW2 memorial sites and other related spaces. Indeed the connections between film and thanatourism sites of death, conflict and war are explored in the work of Dunkley (2007). Equally, holiday images can feed back into the imaginative activity of the media (Crouch et al 2005). Indeed such a two way process is also noted by Jackson (2005:190) in her examination of the parallels that exist between the tourism gaze and the film gaze in that the material focus of the tourist gaze is influenced by a mediated reality while in turn the gaze of the film spectator or television viewer is “based on contemporary understandings of material reality.”

The concept of the gaze has been appropriated in tourism studies to examine the ways in which tourists visually consume particular environments (Urry 1992; 1999; 2002). Indeed Jackson (2005:190) reminds us of the commonalities that exist between film and tourism studies and concepts of the gaze in that “[t]ourism and film studies have developed concepts of the gaze to hypothesise how/why tourists/spectators view spectacle, and what they derive from looking.” One of the ways in which to examine the relationship between films and the tourist imagination is through the concept of spectatorship and the gaze.
Embracing a psychoanalytical approach, theories of the cinematic gaze have been established within the domain of film studies as early as the 1970s. Situated in early structuralist theory, the concept of the gaze is essentially concerned with the ways in which the spectator experiences film (Sydney-Smith 2006) and embraces the relationship of pleasure and images. As Sturken and Cartwright (2001:72) posit, psychoanalytic theory addresses:

…the pleasure we derive from images, and the relationships between our desires and our visual world. We can have intense relationships with images precisely because of the power they have both to give us pleasure and allow us to articulate our desires through looking.

Psychoanalysis and concepts of the desire to look encompass terms such as scopophilia (the pleasure in looking), exhibitionism (pleasure of being looked at) and voyeurism (pleasure in looking while not being seen), (Sturken and Cartwright 2001). While concepts of the gaze suggest realignment from place and product to notions such as the act of looking, visual consumption, possession and appropriation of place and product, caution must be taken in using the term spectatorship. It is important to recognise that in the context of media and film there is a difference in what is referred to as the ‘textual spectator’ or ‘subject-position’ which is quite different from the ‘social audience’ who go to the cinema, view television or rent films and movies for watching in the confines of the home environment (Nixon 1997). In psychoanalytical theory the term ‘spectator’ is often referred to in terms of being socially constructed by the cinematic apparatus and thus, as stated by Sturken and Cartwright (2001:73), “theories of spectatorship often give us the means to analyse the subject position constructed for and offered to viewers by a given film or set of media texts”. Sturken and Cartwright (2001:73) reminds us of the influence of Christian Metz and other French theorists who wrote about film in the 1970s and their perspectives on spectatorship:

…the viewer suspends disbelief in the fictional world of the film, identifies not only with the specific characters in the film but more importantly with the film’s overall ideology through the identification with the film’s narrative structure and visual point of view, and put into play fantasy structures (such as an imagined ideal family) that derive from the viewer’s unconscious.

Of course it should be recognised that different people will look at media texts, including film, in different ways, as was suggested by findings of Ang’s (1991) research on the popular television series Dallas (1978), (cited in Sydney-Smith 2006). Furthermore, what
should not be forgotten or dismissed is the art of the filmmaker and others involved in the production of media texts such as the director/s, producer/s and editor/s. This production team all influence the stories, narratives and discourses. To embrace a Foucauldian perspective to the analysis of film would be to recognise the cinema as an institution and the power of knowledge constructed by and circulated within particular institutions (see Denzin 1995).

Other variables that have been considered by scholars in terms of viewing film concern the context of viewing. For example in acknowledging the significance of the textual analysis of film, Zonn (2007) reminds us that watching film is also about place and experience, therefore:

Watching a film at the local multiplex, in front of your own 42” flat screen TV, on a DVD player at 35,000 feet, or through the windshield of your car are place-based experiences that can become subtle yet integral and even defining features of our daily lived practices.

In this study I embrace several perspectives regarding my use of film as data. First and foremost I conceptualise popular films as spaces of travel and site-seeing (see Bruno 1997). Indeed the cinema and film has been conceptualised as spaces of site-seeing, as Bruno (2002:83) asserts:

Anticipation through day-dreaming and fantasy, and the experience of this state of phantasmagoria of visual space, further link tourism and film. Travel culture was positioned at the historical and genealogical juncture of a century that produced various forms of dream machinery.

Drawing the distinction between travel in the physical sense and virtual journeys enabled by technologies of the moving image, Mazierska and Walton (2006:5) summarise some key parallels and connections that exist between tourism / travel and the moving image / media. They state, “[t]he similarity between experiencing journeys and places through the moving image and the actual deployment of the tourist gaze ‘on the ground’ derives from and pertains to the psychological roots of these activities, their characters and histories”. They further posit that both are endemic of the natural state of human curiosity and as such a seeming need to learn about other people and places.

The concept of liminality is well developed in tourism and leisure studies with particular sites and attractions often theorised and explored for their liminal characteristics (Moore
Chapter 2: The ‘visual’, popular film and tourism

1980; Shaw and Williams 2004; Pritchard and Morgan 2005; Jaimangal-Jones et al 2010). It is interesting to think of film space as liminal spaces. Responsive to the desire for escapism from mundane reality we are also reminded of the temporal nature of both types of journeys in that “[t]he viewer who enters the film theatre is like a tourist who embarks on a journey; for both of them the duration of their escape is limited” (Mazierska and Walton 2006:5). Arguably both the space of the cinema and that of film are liminal in nature providing the temporal release from work and domestic routine, facilitating virtual movement and liberating mental pleasures (see Crouch et al 2005). Indeed Sydney-Smith (2006:79) also contends:

Both film and tourist industries are, after all, mutual products of the modern era of mass communication in both senses – of mediation and physical transportation – sharing similar social and cultural preoccupations, in particular a desire for excitement and escape from the quotidian.

Embracing the concept of liminal space further and moving beyond the notion of the viewer engaging with film as a disembodied spectator, what is of interest here is the affecting and affective (see Moreno 2007) nature of popular film. Reflecting on experiences of watching television as a child, Moreno (2007:41) recollects the ways in which television not only provided a sense of escapism but was a space of and for becoming, an “…affective media field that my world grew from with every encounter I had with different people and places my parents could not offer or afford”. Moreno (2007:41) further describes how his “body became part of the sensual fabric of the moving imagery (ideas, people, places, and the human imagination) as television became a part of my body as an extension of the social spaces off screen”.

In thinking about travel through mediated space, the work of Bruno (1997; 2002) provides an interesting perspective in terms of film and the notion of site-seeing, in that the focus within film theory on sight shifts to thinking about film as the locus of site. Bruno describes this move as a shift from the optic to haptic. Connected with the sense of touch, Rodaway (1994:44) states:

Touch literally concerns contact between person and world. It is participation, passive and active, and not mere juxtaposition. The haptic system gives us the ability to discriminate key characteristics of the environment and our place as a separate entity in that environment or world, but is not just a physical relationship, it is also an emotional bond between ourself and our world.
The concept of haptic aligns with the notion of embodying and connecting with the landscape of film beyond that of the gaze. While acknowledging the power of the visual either in terms of looking or in the visual nature of film as both a mode of representation and a form of sensory stimulus, haptic develops a theory surrounding the ability to connect sense to place and relates to kinesthesis in “…the ability of our bodies to sense their own movement through space” (Bruno 2002:6). Bruno (1997:18) further asserts:

The relation between film and the architectural ensemble involves an embodiment, for it is based on the inscription of an observer in the field – a body making journeys in space. Such an observer is not a static contemplator, a fixed gaze, a disembodied eye/I. She is a physical entity, a moving spectator – a “skin job” drawing the map of haptical space.

With a theoretical shift from optic to haptic and from sight to site, Bruno, in her work on ‘Atlas of Emotion’ movement and journeys through spaces, states:

On the way, the fixed optical geometry that informed the old cinematic voyeur becomes the moving vessel of a film voyageuse. Here, we actually travel with motion pictures – a spatial form of sensuous cognition that offers tracking shots to travelling cultures (Bruno 2002:6).

Thus through the notion of site-seeing, film offers “…a sensuous orientation to cognitive mapping, creating a spatial architectonics for mobile, emotional mapping. As a house of moving pictures, film is as inhabitable as the house we live in” (Bruno 2002:251).

2.6 Chapter summary

This chapter has presented the relationship between film and tourism. In doing so I have argued that while there has been some significant work in this area within tourism studies, there is scope to develop connections between tourism and popular film beyond the realm of film-induced tourism to a much greater extent. As outlined in the introductory chapter this thesis is concerned with links between popular film and tourism. What this chapter has sought to do is outline the current terrain within tourism studies that brings together aspects of film and tourism highlighting emerging areas of interest and inquiry. This chapter has also introduced the complex nature of how we engage with film. The concept of film space has provided useful perspectives for thinking about the mediation and construction of particular ideologies and discourses that both frame and constitute places and spaces of tourism. Powerfully controlled by the institutions of film-making and film-makers it has been argued that films themselves are unique spatial constructs that both
mediate and constitute real or arguably reel places (Aitken and Zonn 1994; Horton 2003). It has been posited that films are distinctive liminal spaces characterised by the concepts of performance and play that go beyond the obvious notion of film sets, actors and actresses. As such this chapter has illustrated the ways in which films can also create tourist spaces of performance and play (Tzanelli 2006) that provide temporary escape from work and domestic routine, thus feeding the tourist imagination.

In unveiling concepts surrounding the notion of film as liminal spaces or as Bruno (1997) puts it, unique spaces of site-seeing, this chapter raises questions regarding approaches to the analysis that moves beyond film as data conceived in visual and auditory terms. In addition to acknowledging the importance of representation and the politics of such, the study of popular films in this thesis also takes on a haptic, non-representational dimension acknowledging the emotional and embodied aspects of film space. It argues that films can be conceived as temporary spaces, which can be inhabited, travelled through and experienced as sites of tourism in themselves. Such a perspective plays a significant role in framing this study’s approach to the analysis of films.

The following chapter will develop further this position. First and foremost chapter three will present the study approach and in doing so will reflect briefly on the development and current terrain of research approaches within tourism studies. Thereafter the study’s inquiry paradigm will be presented and defended, bringing together notions of socio-constructivism, interpretism, representation and non-representation. My positionality as researcher in the field will be outlined, drawing on traditions and principles associated with autoethnography. I will argue my positionality in this chapter is one that departs from the objective observer engaging with film as a static and inert element of materiality, to one which experiences film spaces as haptic geographies (Rodaway 1994) and the embodied experience as a multi-sensual one.
Chapter 3  Study approach

3.1  Introduction

Ultimately all research designs and methodologies are informed either consciously or unconsciously by underlying philosophical and theoretical perspectives that consider particular and often varying ontological and epistemological viewpoints. Moreover the complex relationships that exist between ontology, epistemology and methodology raise a series of questions that enables the researcher to identify, structure and develop their research paradigm. Such questions concern the form and nature of reality; the origin and production of knowledge; and the means by which knowledge is searched for and collected (Goodson and Phillimore 2004). The research agenda within tourism inquiry has traditionally aligned with the positivistic research paradigm (see Tribe 1997; 2005; 2006; Riley and Love 2000; Pritchard and Morgan 2007). However in recent years the landscape of research has seen a significant shift towards more interpretive and critical modes of study, most recently described by Ateljevic et al (2007) as a ‘critical turn’ in tourism studies.

As already briefly outlined in the introductory chapter my study is discursive in its approach, drawing on popular films as my archive of data (Foucault 1989) through which I explore cruise ships as imagined spaces. My study approach embraces what Hall (1997) describes as the ‘discursive turn’ in the social and cultural sciences in what he claims to be “…one of the most significant shifts of direction in our knowledge of society that has occurred in recent years” (Hall 1997:6). Additionally the ontological and epistemological foundations of my study contribute to the growing number of inquiries that challenge the positivist paradigm and particular disciplinary perspectives, which have historically dominated the research agenda within tourism studies (see Tribe 2010; Ren et al 2010). It is argued that the positivist scientific paradigm still dominates much of tourism research (Pritchard and Morgan 2005) and although Tribe (2010:30) has most recently noted within the territory of tourism studies that “…interpretative methods, sustainability and critical theory have established a footing”, in areas there is scope to develop interdisciplinary co-operation to a much greater extent.

The key aim of this chapter therefore is to present and justify my research paradigm and study approach. First and foremost I will briefly discuss the ontological and epistemological approaches that have traditionally dominated the landscape of tourism
research. I will highlight some of the developments in the inquiry paradigms and associated methods that have, and continue, to emerge within the current terrain of tourism research commenting on tourism and visual studies in particular. Thereafter this study’s overarching inquiry paradigm will be presented and I defend the pluralist ontological stance adopted for the purposes of this inquiry. Reflecting on the overarching philosophical premise that all human subjects are socially and culturally constituted the interpretive and socio-constructionist approaches to the research will be outlined. Such articulation of the study’s ontological and epistemological foundations will underpin the subsequent discussion in chapter four regarding the significance of discourse and in this case visual discourse in constituting knowledge and the ways in which individuals make sense of the world around them.

This chapter will also outline my approach to the analysis of film revealing the ways in which I endeavour to move beyond the visual consumption of film and the notion of simply ‘reading’ the text (or discourses) of a film. Rather my research, interpretive in approach, recognises the tactile, performative, emotional, embodied nature of being and connecting with the material world and the ways in which we come to understand and construct our own particular knowledge and views of the world. As such this study explicitly positions ‘self’ in the research field acknowledging the complexity of ways of seeing, encountering and imagining places and spaces of tourism. Therefore my positionality as a researcher will be further outlined as I defend the postmodernist autoethnographic approach to my engagement with, and imaginative embodiment of, the film spaces drawn upon in this study. Finally I will provide the rationale pertaining to my choice of films that constitutes the archive of data within this thesis. Limitations and ethical considerations will also be outlined.

3.2 The research paradigm and the landscape of tourism research traditions

There are many research paradigms presented by various scholars, for example Goodson and Phillimore (2004:35) outline what they determine to be the four major research paradigms as positivist, post-positivist, critical and interpretive, while Guba and Lincoln (2005) discuss an alternative range of paradigms from positivism at one end of the scale, moving through postpositivism, critical theories, constructivism to participatory approaches at the other end of the continuum, all of which influence the ways in which any research inquiry is structured and shaped. The positivist paradigm embraces a set of beliefs
that essentially align with the viewpoint that a real and observable world exists in which “...the relationship between the researcher can only be one of objective detachment or value freedom to determine how things really work” (Goodson and Phillimore 2004:35). Positivism sits at the polar position to the interpretive inquiry paradigm, in which it is argued that knowledge is constructed as opposed to simply discovered or found (Schwandt 2000 cited in Jennings and Junek 2007). It can be argued however, that “all research is interpretive, guided by a set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied” (Denzin and Lincoln 1998:26) including those that align with positivist approaches and quantitative methods.

Traditionally the context for many researchers, particularly tourism scholars, has essentially been that of the positivist and post-positivist paradigms (Goodson and Phillimore 2004). While the social sciences have in general made significant advancements in utilising interpretive practices pertaining to social scientific inquiry (Guba and Lincoln 2005), the research landscape within the domain of tourism has been slower to respond. To some extent it is argued that the historical debates surrounding the epistemology of tourism as discipline or field contribute to the ways in which scholars have habitually investigated tourism knowledge (Tribe 1997). Despite early influences and the continuing significance of anthropological and sociological perspectives to aspects of tourism inquiry (Ren el al 2010), it is further argued that, “...a tidal shift occurred in the 80s and 90s when business and management approaches came to dominate tourism philosophically and institutionally” (Ren el al 2010:3). As such, traditionally conceived as a business, tourism has often been categorised and measured in what Tribe (1997:640) describes as monetary flows, which include “...consumer spending, business income, expenditure and profit, and the effects on the national and regional economies of the tourism generating country and host country”. As already highlighted in chapter two, research in the area of film and tourism has been no exception with much emphasis on measuring visitor flows and the economic benefits from films that have popularised places to visit.

It is often assumed that the positivist paradigm is synonymous with quantifiable data collection methods, however the work of Denzin and Lincoln (2005) illustrates the evolutionary development and complex terrain of research methodology. Although North American in perspective, Denzin and Lincoln’s moments of qualitative research nonetheless provides a useful framework in which to briefly reflect upon the landscape of
tourism research (see Riley and Love 2000). Mapping out what they refer to as the eight moments of qualitative research, Denzin and Lincoln (2005) highlight the first moment, which they label the *traditional period*, as essentially positivist in nature. This period illustrates the ways in which early anthropologists archived their subjects of investigation and tried to objectively record their findings in the field, “[t]hey were concerned with offering valid and reliable, and objective interpretations in their findings” (Denzin and Lincoln 2005:15). Arguably this period was “…characterized by qualitative quests to locate the objective “truth” as seen in the life of the Other” (Riley and Love 2000:169).

Working through the *modernist phase, blurred genres, crisis of representation, a triple crisis, postmodern period, postexperimental inquiry, methodologically contested present*, and the final moment which Denzin and Lincoln (2005) simply label, *the future*, it is evident that the philosophical foundations regarding particular claims, assumptions and beliefs regarding the nature of reality, truth and knowledge have been subject to much scrutiny and debate.

Indeed the *modernist phase* (post war period up until the 1970s) focused on rigorous, standardised and more formal approaches to the analysis of qualitative data. Such approaches are still evident in qualitative inquiry today (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). The third moment, *blurred genres*, (1970-1986) continued the traditions of the 1st and 2nd moments, as well as seeing the social sciences drawing on methods and tools of analysis from the humanities, for example semiotics and hermeneutics. The naturalist, postpositivist and constructionist paradigms also established influence in this period (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). The 4th and 5th moments, *crisis of representation* and *postmodern period*, saw a significant shift in approaches to qualitative inquiry. The *crisis of representation* (mid 1980s) for example recognises reflexive research, as Riley and Love (2000:170) outline:

The fourth moment, the “crisis of representation,” entered an era of the self as integral to the process of knowing. Writing oneself into the text was the way in which fieldwork and interpretation came to be recognized as a single process. These personalized accounts revealed the world of “real,” lived experiences…[t]his orientation to research renewed the debate about validity, reliability, and objectivity in qualitative research.

Continuing from this, the 5th moment, the *postmodern period*, was one where the concept of the disembodied researcher was replaced with more participatory research and where
the “…search for grand narratives was being replaced by more local, small-scale theories fitted to specific problems and specific situations” (Denzin and Lincoln 2005:20).

Within the field of tourism, Riley and Love’s (2000) five year cyclical review of several tourism journals from 1970-1996 concluded that much qualitative inquiry in tourism was firmly embedded in the first and second moments with limited research exploring the third moment and *blurred genres*. Riley and Love (2000:180) contended that most qualitative research aligned with the second moment *modernist phase* with an emphasis on “the trustworthiness of data gathering and analysis”. In many instances qualitative techniques were embraced “to frame or enrich quantitative data (i.e. precursors to quantification) and to test hypotheses, concepts or theories” (Riley and Love 2000:180).

Mapping some of the early research on tourism and the visual against such observations, it is perhaps not surprising that the method ‘content analysis’ has commonly been embraced by scholars undertaking analysis of visual material. This is particularly evident in utilising brochures as visual data (see for example Dann 1988; Pritchard and Morgan 1995; 1996). It is argued that there is no definitive definition of what content analysis is and there exists many approaches to the application of the method. However a quantitative approach is commonly adopted, seeking to measure and count frequencies and categories identified within the material under investigation, this material often being of a qualitative nature (Finn et al 2000; Bowen et al 2006). A truly quantitative data approach to content analysis employs concepts of replicability and validity (Rose 2001), having “the advantages of objectivity, precision and verifiability” (Walker and Chaplin 1997:130).

Uzzell’s (1984) study is an early example of work in the arena of tourism that sought to analyse the symbolic structure of tourism brochures, seeking to determine the myths and meanings that package holiday companies convey through such promotional material. Despite the clearly structured framework for analysis employed in this research, Uzzell (1984) made the observations regarding the power of visual evidence such as photographs to convey multiple meanings. In later tourism related studies, scholars employed semiotic analysis alongside content analysis in their investigations (see for example Albers and James 1988; Dann 1996b). Such a combination is described by Bowen et al (2006) as a hybrid methodology, the merits of which are explored in the context of examining tourism
advertising images in which they state such a methodology “…presents the opportunity to simultaneously examine both manifest and latent content” (Bowen et al 2006:65).

One of the central criticisms regarding the limitations of employing a purely quantitative approach to the analysis of qualitative data lies in its rigorous sanitisation of the data in that the context of the data being analysed is often ignored. Arguably, the visual data is dis-embodied from both the cultural and social setting in which it exists, thus having a limiting impact on furthering understandings of meanings, significance and such like of the data being analysed. Indeed Burgess and Gold (1985:8) recognise what they describe as the “quantitative elegance” of content analysis, but also identify the limitations of the method. In the context of news media they cite Walmsley (1980:344):

> Despite its relative precision and unequivocal nature, place name counting pays no attention to whether the news about a given location is favourable or unfavourable. Nor does the technique take account of the fact that the format of the news and even the language used can be symbolic.

A useful example that takes a semiotic approach to the analysis of the visual in tourism is that of Markwick’s (2001) study of Maltese postcards. The analysis links the semiotic framework to a number of interrelated theories of travel motivation and considers issues such as the origin of postcard production. To an extent Markwick considers the wider context surrounding the postcard imagery, thus addressing some of the limitations mentioned earlier in relation to employing content analysis on a purely quantitative basis. Thus one of the ways in which researchers have addressed some of the debates and limitations of these methods has been to embrace a more discursive approach (see for example Pritchard 2001; Pritchard and Morgan 2003; Burns 2004).

Since Riley and Love’s publication in 2000, the research terrain in tourism has seen some significant movement. Botterill (2001:199) in his examination of the epistemology of many tourism texts identifies the “…influence of positivism and the scientific method in interdisciplinary tourism research”, further stating:

> The assumed normality of positivist epistemology in tourism research is, it is argued, unhelpful to the development of the field. That the more complex and difficult matter of the underlying assumptions upon which positivism is premised – the nature of reality (the ontological question) and the way of knowing (the epistemological question) – are rarely articulated can be construed as a potentially serious flaw (Botterill 2001:199)
At the same time that Botterill was making these observations, Franklin and Crang (2001:5) in their article titled ‘The trouble with tourism and travel theory?’ rather provocatively asserted “…tourism studies had become stale, tired, repetitive and lifeless”. In doing so Franklin and Crang (2001) make some interesting observations that in part explain the dominance of the positivist paradigm within tourism research. First and foremost they highlight the speed at which ‘tourism’ as the object of research has developed and grown amid what they assert to be a relatively new tourism research community. Highlighting the issue that much tourism research has been policy led and industry sponsored they question the extent to which specialist expertise to study tourism’s complex cultural and social processes exist within schools of tourism. In promoting the significance of the journal ‘Tourist Studies’ Franklin and Crang (2001:6) advocate the need for consistent contributions:

…to the development (and testing) of theory in the area of tourism and related studies [providing] a platform for the development of critical perspectives on the nature of tourism as a social phenomenon. It seems all too clear that the theoretical net needs to be cast much wider so that tourist studies is constantly renewed by developments in social and cultural theory and theory from other disciplines.

Despite the observations made by Botterill (2001:199) that “[t]ourism research had progressed in both a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary manner”, the endeavours of the more qualitative and interpretive tourism researcher continue to face questions surrounding purpose and industry applicability (Lester 2007). Therefore the study approach presented here broadly speaking aligns with the call for multi-disciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches to the study of tourism as a complex social and cultural phenomenon. Specifically, as previously highlighted in chapter two, it addresses the criticisms made by scholars (see Tzanelli 2004; Mazierska and Walton 2006; Beeton 2010) regarding the limited and inadequate interdisciplinary inquiry and cooperation that exists between tourism and media studies.

The following section will discuss the research approach that I embrace in this thesis. Having commented briefly in the above on the complexities inherent in the nature of research approaches and qualitative inquiry this section will focus its discussion on the overarching research paradigm that underpins my study. This study approach essentially embraces a postmodernism perspective; it embraces pluralism rather than the notion of grand narratives and the concept of a universal truth and embraces the socio-
constructionist/interpretist approach. The following sections will present these concepts and outline their applicability for the purposes of this research.

3.3 The socio-constructionist / interpretist approach

Amid the plethora of qualitative approaches that have emerged in the social sciences during the past few decades, it is argued that many align with what is termed social constructionism or social constructivism (Burr 1995). These paradigms are influenced by a range of disciplines such as philosophy, sociology and linguistics (Burr 1995) and are often utilised interchangeably. The complexity of their meanings and appropriateness of purpose is dependent upon their intended use (Schwandt 1998). Robson (2002) argues that in the case of the phenomenologist, the constructivist (or constructionist) paradigm embraces the over-arching theme of the social construction of reality. As Schwandt (1998) asserts:

In a fairly unremarkable sense, we are all constructivists if we believe that the mind is active in the construction of knowledge. Most of us would agree that knowing is not passive – a simple imprinting of data on the mind – but active; mind does something with these impressions, at the very least forms abstractions or concepts. In this sense, constructivism means that human beings do not find or discover knowledge so much as construct or make it. We invent concepts, models, and schemes to make sense of experience and, further, we continually test and modify these constructions in the light of new experience (Schwandt 1998:237).

Embracing a cultural studies perspective it is claimed that language plays a significant role in constructing and constituting the world rather than just reflecting an objective reality (Barker and Galasinski 2001). This paradigm also contends that society is not viewed as an “object-like reality” (Walsh 2004:227) and that the social construction of society relies on the sense-making practises of individual members of a society (Walsh 2004). As Schwandt (1998:236) posits:

[c]onstructivists are deeply committed to the contrary view that what we take to be objective knowledge and truth is the result of perspective. Knowledge and truth are created, not discovered by mind. They emphasise the pluralistic and plastic character of reality – pluralist in the sense that reality is expressible in a variety of symbol and language systems; plastic in the sense that reality is stretched and shaped to fit purposeful acts of intentional human agents.

Drawing on Hall’s (1997) constructionist approach to representation, representation is defined as “using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to other people” (Hall 1997:15). It is a system of production and exchange
of meaning within a culturally defined setting involving the use of language, signs and images, which stand for or represent things. The constructionist approach to representation contends that meaning is constructed by drawing on the linguistic systems, as Hall (1997:25) argues:

Constructivists do not deny the existence of the material world. However, it is not the material world which conveys meaning: it is the language system or whatever system we are using to represent our concepts. It is social actors who use the conceptual systems of their culture and the linguistic and other representational systems to construct meaning, to make the world meaningful and to communicate about that world meaningfully to others.

Hall (1997:26) postulates that sounds, images (photographic or painted) and digital impulses transmitted electronically all make up the representational system and whilst material things may be signs also, “…it is what these ‘things’ signify that is important with a constructionist approach” (Hall 1997:26). Embracing Hall’s (1997) ‘circuit of culture’ is not new within the tourism arena, for example Morgan and Pritchard’s (1998:18) publication: *Tourism, Promotion and Power: Creating Images, Creating Identities*, utilised the concept to frame much of their work concerning tourism imagery as a cultural construct. They demonstrate the complexity of the constituted nature of tourism imagery stating “…language, representation and meaning do not exist as isolated concepts but are inexorably intertwined in a continuous circle whereby language utilises representations to construct meanings”. More recently, the research of Jenkins (2003) explicitly drew on the work of Hall (1997) to investigate the significance of visual culture, imagery used within travel and tourism marketing and tourist behaviour. Referring to the ‘circle of representation’, Jenkins (2003) investigated the links that may exist between the images used in marketing and ensuing tourist behaviour. Moreover in the context of the Caribbean cruise product, Weeden and Lester (2006) explored the relationship between the commercial representation of a destination and tourists’ ‘ways of seeing’, again embracing the work of Hall (1997). More recently, Kim’s (2010) study sought to explore tourists’ experiences of the film location of Korean television drama series, Winter Sonata, in South Korea. Although not explicitly referencing the ‘circuit of culture’, their research included a comparison of tourist-generated photographs with still images from the scenes in the television series.

Embracing an ontological viewpoint that there are multiple realities and that reality is socially constructed this research, at one level of abstraction, firmly places media such as
popular film in the ‘system of representation’ or the ‘circuit of culture’ as outlined by Hall (1997). I draw upon popular films as cultural artefacts that mediate particular discourses that construct and represent particular aspects of the cruise experience. In the context of this study, the complexity of embracing popular films as knowledge producing sites and the construction of meaning is bound up with the point at which meaning is constructed. As such while my study approach considers the production and art of film-making, I also acknowledge the ways in which individuals engage with, interpret and construct meaning from the visual and material culture that they embody. Adopting an ontological viewpoint that meanings and objects of investigation are socially constituted, Schwandt (1998:222) further asserts that “…particular actors, in particular places, at particular times, fashion meaning out of events and phenomena through prolonged, complex processes of social interaction involving history, language, and action”. In the context of my study issues regarding representation, interpretation and the role of popular film as a cultural landscape is particularly pertinent to my study approach. In recognising the complex and multi-faceted nature of the construction of meaning, the process of interpretation cannot be ignored. It is argued that the issue of interpretation is key to the constructionist approach in that:

The constructivist or interpretivist believes that to understand this world of meaning one must interpret it. The inquirer must elucidate the process of meaning construction and clarify what and how meanings are embodied in the language and actions of social actors. To prepare an interpretation is itself to construct a reading of these meanings; it is to offer the inquirer’s construction of the constructions of the actors one studies (Schwandt 1998: 222).

In the context of this study aspects of interpretation and thus my approach to the analysis of film are further complicated or enriched (depending on how the challenge is viewed) by the philosophy and debates surrounding embodiment and the very nature of ‘being’ in the world. As such the following section will explore the approaches to engaging with film and film analysis that recognises the body of the film, the body/s of the spectator, audience or researcher and the body/s of the film-maker. In doing so my approach to the analysis of film draws on the concepts of representation and non-representation and the multi-sensory nature of ‘the visual’. As such this section will further articulate the approach taken in this study regarding the embodiment of popular films.
3.4 Representation and non-representation

Drawing primarily from the debates occurring within the field of cultural geography, Wylie (2007:2) summarises the varying philosophical viewpoints and tensions “…that underpin different understandings of and approaches to landscape”. Of particular interest to this study is the differing approaches that juxtapose between the notion of landscape as “…a particular way of seeing and representing the world from an elevated, detached and even ‘objective’ vantage point” (Wylie 2007:3) and “…landscape as a milieu of meaningful cultural practices and values, not simply a set of observable material cultural facts” (Wylie 2007:5). Wylie (2007) points out, “…increasingly, UK-based cultural geography, has sought to position the cultural practice of landscape very much within notions of embodiment, inhabitation and dwelling” (Wylie 2007:3). Presenting the tensions between the subjective and objective approaches to the existence of landscapes, Wylie (2007:8) states:

…in practice most people want to have both, or want to claim that subjective and objective both exist, albeit in different ways. We perform this division all the time. We assume, on the one hand, the existence ‘out there’ of an objective, phenomenal and material landscape of facts and figures, slopes and rocks and motorways and other measurable processes. Then, on the other hand, we acknowledge a subjective, perceptual and imaginative landscape composed of ideas, dreams, signs and symbols, cultural values, conflicting viewpoints, artistic conventions and so on.

Wylie’s (2007) articulations of these perspectives are useful in thinking about the discourses of popular films and the construction of meaning. Indeed I embrace the viewpoint here that such constructions are not a one way linear process and that meaning is not absolute, to the contrary it is argued by some that meaning does not exist except when a text is performed (see Ingold 2000). As such it could be argued that meaning is enacted when the space of the film is embodied and performed. Embracing aspects of the performative acknowledges multiple interpretations depending on the context and what the researcher brings to it. As such I firmly situate myself in the field of inquiry as the embodied, reflexive researcher.

The concept of ‘non-representational theory’ is utilised as “…an umbrella term for diverse work that seeks better to cope with our self-evidently more-than-human, more than textual, multisensory worlds” (Lorimer 2005:83). Responding to the visual and sensory ‘turns’ both within tourism (see Scarles 2009; 2010) and film studies (Barker 2009; Bruno 2002; Marks 2000) I seek to engage with the landscape of film as haptic geographies (Rodaway 1994),
Chapter 3: Study approach

revealing the more tactile, performative and emotional engagement with the materiality of film and ‘reel’ spaces of tourism. Conceptualizing popular films as cultural landscapes, a more than visual approach to ways of engaging with the body of a film addresses Lorimer’s (2005:85) point that “…the reading and seeing of landscape-as-text was a limiting perspectival expression of social constructivism” and acknowledges some of the tensions that exist between the constructivist approach and the real sense of the field. As Crang (2005:225) states “…qualitative research is often torn between a constructivist approach and a longing to convey a ‘real’ sense of the field”. So in terms of film and representation, it can be argued that:

The film is more than a representation of the filmmaker’s vision – or the boom operator’s or cameraperson’s – because what we see when we “see a film” is not merely a record and product of what the filmmaker saw at a given moment in a given space…the film is also always more than a representation constituted by the spectator. Our experience of the film is not the film’s experience of itself…all these bodies - characters’, actors’, viewers’, and film’s – are entities whose attitudes and intentions are expressed by embodied behaviour (Barker 2009:9-10).

Therefore aspects of embodiment and the body are an essential consideration in the ways in which meaning is constructed through the landscape of film. We can refer to the body(s) of those involved in the art of film-making, the body of the film itself and the body(s) of the voyeur, spectator, viewer (Barker 2009) and as I argue the body(s) of the researcher(s). I argue in this study that these three aspects of ‘body’ form a trialectic relationship in the process of knowledge formation and the construction of meaning. Such a conceptualisation aligns with Lefebvre’s (1991) ‘spatial triad’ in terms of ‘representations of space’, ‘representational space’ and ‘spatial practise’ (see below figure 3.1)
The above conceptualisation aligns with Soja’s (1996) work on *Thirdspace*. Also drawing on Lefebvre’s spatial triad, Soja (1996:72) presents ‘the trialectics of spatiality’ stating:

> The three moments of the ontological trialectic thus contain each other; they cannot successfully be understood in isolation or epistemologically privileged separately, although they are all too frequently studied and conceptualized this way, in compartmentalized disciplines and discourses.

Such a perspective aligns with Rose’s (2007:257) observations that in terms of visual images “…there are three sites at which their meanings are made: the site of production, the site of the *image or object itself* and the site of its *audiencing*”(original emphasis). Again these sites are often difficult to deal with in isolation.

Inevitably some of the films that form my *archive* of data for the purposes of this research have already received huge amounts of attention, interpretations and commentary, for example *Titanic* [1997]. However even in this case we are reminded of the plurality of interpretations, as Studler and Sandler (1999:4) state:

> …we need to remind ourselves that even though the meaning of Titanic may be taken for granted as obvious, since the film is the most popular of popular cinema, we should not be so quick to jump to conclusions. There may be those among us
who believe that the film has become so popular because it is expensive, because it is a romance, or because it is about a disaster; but meaning is not given.

From an ontological and epistemological perspective, embracing such a viewpoint in the context of this study unveils the fluid and complex nature of analysing film. Whether defined or labelled as landscape, text, fabric, body or space, engagement with the discourses of film are subjected to multiple interpretations and take on a ‘more than representational dimension’. Embracing the (more) than representation perspective (Lorimer 2005) and moving beyond the notion of film as primarily a visual medium I explore the concept of ‘reel’ (as in reels of film) spaces of tourism exploring the multi-sensory nature of film and filmic landscapes (see Aitken and Zonn 1994; Horton 2003). In terms of our sensory embodiment of the material and visual world, Rodaway (1994:42) argues that “[h]aptic geographies are often overlooked, since the tactile experience is such a continuous and taken-for-granted part of everyday encounter with the environment”. My approach to research in the field recognises the embodiment of film as a multi-sensory and haptic experience and draws on recent conceptualisations about space that recognises the sensual and affective dimensions of space (Thrift 2006).

3.5 Film as a multi-sensory space

Traditions in film analysis have moved through various phases similar to those relating to qualitative research in tourism as discussed earlier in this chapter. The arena of critical inquiry in cinema and film studies has travelled through particular moments such as structural linguistics, to psychoanalysis followed by a pluralistic moment encompassing movements such as feminism (Stam et al 1992). As del Rio (2008:2) most recently posits:

The consideration of the film image as moving materiality/corporeality constitutes a relatively recent development in the field of film and media studies. From the mid-1970s to the mid-1990s, the prevailing critical paradigm revolved around consideration of visual representation and the application of structures of meaning drawn from semiotic models. This paradigm yielded many fruitful investigations into the power relations concerning binaries of race, gender, and other powerful situations. But the representational model proved either unwilling or insufficient to address the way in which the experience of the moving image can at times escape binary determinations and established signifying codes.

This perspective is not new to film studies, in fact the early work of Sobchack (1992), ‘The Address of the Eye: A Phenomenology of Film Experience’ challenged prevailing views on film theory. Drawing on Merleau-Ponty’s existential phenomenology, Sobchack (1992)
highlights the potential scepticism of such approaches amid the notion of scientific rigor. She states, “…“experience” seems a mushy, soft, term – a remainder (and reminder) of the sloppy liberal humanism that retrospectively characterized cinema studies before it was informed by the scientific methods and technically precise vocabularies of structuralism and semiotics” (Sobchack 1992:xvi). Focusing on vision as an embodied experience, as a performance, and as a sense-making practise, Sobchack (1992:9) highlights the importance of reflection and reflexivity in describing experience stating:

…the film experience includes the perceptive and expressive viewer who must interpret and signify the film as experience, doing so through the very same structures and relations of perception and expression that inform the indirect representational address of the film-maker and the direct presentational address of the film.

In her later work, ‘Carnal Thoughts: Embodiment and Moving Image Culture’ Sobchack (2004) further cements the position of the sense-making practises of bodies and the extent to which they play a significant role in making sense of the image-saturated world around us and experience as a multi-sensory phenomenon. Arguably pioneered by the work of Sobchack (see, del Rio 2008), aspects of the body, embodiment and the senses are receiving much attention by scholars and gaining significant momentum in the film studies arena. For example, in her work, ‘The Skin of Film’, Marks (2000) is interested in the relationship between haptic and optic vision defining what she terms ‘haptic visuality’ as “…the way vision itself can be tactile, as though one were touching a film with one’s eyes” (Marks 2000: xi). In terms of the multisensory nature of film, Marks (2000:211) poses the following:

How can audiovisual media of film and video represent non-audio-visual experience? There are no technologies that reproduce the experiences of touch, smell, taste, and movement. There are technologies that attempt to simulate the effects of these experiences, such as virtual reality’s audiovisual synthesis of movement or IMAX movies, whose disorientating audiovisual cues induce vertigo in viewers. But there is no way to mechanically reproduce the smell of the peach, the texture of concrete, or the feeling of falling off a cliff.

In terms of the evocation of the senses, Marks (2000) presents several perspectives including narrative identification, intersensory links and synesthesia. Narrative identification is where the moving image of film and cinema may appeal to viewer’s senses, for example characters may be “…shown eating, making love… and we as viewers identify with their activity. We salivate or become aroused on verbal and visual cue”
Intersensory links encompasses the ways in which the moving image evokes particular sense experiences for example particular sounds may evoke textures or sights may evoke smells. Marks (2000) gives the example of rising steam or smoke and the evocation of a fire burning, incense or cooking. Synesthesia is described by Marks (2000:213) as “…the perception of one sensation by another modality, such as the ability to distinguish colors by feel”.

Drawing on memory in the analysis of films, it is worth noting the links between memory and the senses in terms of the evocations of the senses. As Marks (2000:129) reflects, “…memory may be encoded in touch, sound, perhaps smell, more than vision”. In her later work, Marks (2002:133) states the following:

Haptic images locate vision in the body, they make vision behave like a contact sense, such as touch or smell…haptic images invite a multisensory, intimate, and embodied perception, even when the perceptions to which they appeal are vision and hearing alone.

In terms of embodiment and engaging with the moving image, Barker (2009) in her work on the ‘Tactile Eye’ also theorises the notion of haptic seeing. She refers to what is termed ‘musculature’ which encompasses the physical response to film viewing – “gripping, grasping, holding, clenching, leaning forward in one’s seat or pulling away, and being physically startled by the images” (Barker 2009:21). The issue of emotional response is captured in the concept of the haptic and the sense of touch with the emotional aspects of the body of the film emphasised by Zimmerman (2007:60):

The availability of feature films in the last two generations allows us to scan the world, to catch glimpses of other places and cultures, to note processes of movement, identity, capital and change….Film and television emotionalize space, place, movement, and identity thereby affecting the viewer’s perception. Visual media have also become active agents in globalization in that they spread Western cultural beliefs and attitudes.

The issue of reciprocity is a key aspect associated with the haptic and to the debates unfolding in this chapter in that arguably to touch is to be touched (Rodaway 1994). In the context of film space, I argue in this thesis that what lies beyond the visual consumption of a film’s text, are a range of emotional embodiments at play. As Bruno (2002:7) further asserts, “[c]inematic space moves not only through time and space or narrative development but through inner space. Film moves, and fundamentally “moves” us, with its
ability to render affects and, in turn, to affect. Moreover Rodaway (1994:54) further articulates “…it is possible to identify an imagined touch, that is a haptic experience rooted in the memory and expectation”. He goes on to assert that:

This rich touch imagination permits us to experience an intimacy with people and places which may be a great distance from our present location, in time and/or space, or which we have never actually experienced, such as the evocation of tactile experiences in dreams or when reading (Rodaway 1994:54).

In relation to emotion, considerable debate exists regarding where power resides including questions regarding whether emotions originate from the object and the way in which it provokes feelings, or whether they derive from within the emotional person. Barker (2009:155) draws on the work of Mazis (1993) regarding aspects of emotion, embodiment and power in which it is argued that “…power of emotion emerges and exists precisely in the meeting of perceiver and perceived, or feeling and felt”. It is therefore argued “…emotion is constituted in and by the encounter between subject and object” (Barker 2009:155).

In acknowledging the multisensory dimensions of film questions surface regarding issues of subjectivity, one of the considerations commonly associated with psychoanalysis. In acknowledging the power of cinema, Rose (2007:109) comments on the ability of film to create a world for its audience. Addressing aspects of psychoanalysis, Rose (2007:110) further asserts:

…‘subjectivity’ entails the acknowledgment that individuals are indeed subjective: that we make sense of our selves and our worlds through a whole range of complex and often non-rational ways of understanding. We feel, we dream, we fantasize, we take pleasure and are repulsed, we can be ambivalent and contradictory, panic-stricken and in love; and we react to things in ways that feel beyond words.

As such, whether in the physical or imaginary sense, I acknowledge that the embodiment of film is multifaceted in nature – an experience that draws on the senses, the emotions and aspects of memory. Therefore my study approach does not deny issues of subjectivity and explicitly positions self as integral to the process of interpretation.
3.6 Autoethnography and reflexivity

One of the limitations of the psychoanalysis approach is the lack of acknowledgment of the social practises and institutions, including “…the ways that people watch differently in different places, and how these social practises are disciplined” (Rose 2007:140). This is not to say that psychoanalysis does not acknowledge the spectator, in fact quite the contrary. However as Rose (2007) asserts, much of the interest on the spectator is through formal structures of film and how they position the spectator, with limited attention on the audience, their experience of film and sense making practises. Furthermore one of the criticisms of discourse analysis is the neglect of audience altogether, this is particularly evident in the work of Michel Foucault on discourse. A Foucauldian approach to discourse deals with knowledge from the production perspective and discourse as socially produced. Foucault takes issue with the notion of reflexivity and as Rose (2007:147) points out in his early work rejected issues such as “autobiographical efforts of reflexivity”.

Both psychoanalysis and the Foucauldian perspective to discourse seemingly neglect the audience and the role they play in the production of meaning. As Rose argues, “very little attention is paid…to the ways of seeing brought to particular images by specific audiences” (Rose 2007:141). The Foucauldian approach to discourse will be further discussed in the following chapter, however what I endeavour to highlight here are issues related to the interpretist framework and those of reflexivity. Discussion of the ‘authorial voice’ in accounts of research has existed for some time (see Van Maanen 1988). Recent moves in the social sciences (Sparkes 2000; Anderson 2006; Burnier 2006) and increasingly within the field of tourism have embraced the explicit acknowledgment and positioning of ‘self’ as part of the research process (Westwood et al 2006; Scarles 2009, Rakic and Chambers 2009) in which notions of reflexivity are explicitly acknowledged. Whether described as autoethnographies or ‘narratives of the self’ (Sparks 2000), such an approach embraces the presence of the researcher(s) in their accounts of research in various ways. For example, Rakic and Chambers (2009:256) in terms of visual ethnography argue:

…no [film] footage can be created outside ‘the self’ specific and subjective context of a researcher, who is usually also the person choosing what, where and when to film…it is impossible to create an ‘objective’ visual recording of an external ‘reality’, thus …subjectivity and reflexivity need to play a central role within such projects.
Importantly issues of selection in this research occur in terms of myself as the researcher making choices of which films will be drawn upon for the purposes of pursuing the aim and objectives of the study. Even at this stage it is inevitable that my own work history and knowledge of cruise tourism affects my readings of the various films and the selection process. Indeed before the final selection of the three films that formed my *archive* of data I viewed more than twenty films of varying genres that represented sea travel and cruising. Section 3.7 below discusses in greater detail the rationale for the final selection of three films. Processes of selection continue in the deconstruction of the films and presentation of the discourse analysis. For example in the same way that Rakic and Chambers (2009:256) acknowledge the role of the researcher in the “(re)construction, (re)creation and (re)presentation of a ‘reality’”, it is important to acknowledge that not only is my analysis of the films framed by the discourses of travel and tourism, my own positionality and perceptual world, but also in my selection and ordering of sections of the movies, I am too engaging in processes of (re)construction, (re)creation and (re)presentation of the films.

### 3.7 Film selection

As previously outlined in the introductory chapter, in this study I have purposively selected three popular films to form my *archive* of data: *Carry on Cruising* [1962]; *Ship of Fools* [1965] and James Cameron’s *Titanic* [1997]. I have specifically selected these films because of their relevance to the subject under investigation, in that this research is concerned with what popular films reveal about cruise ships as distinctive socio-cultural spaces of travel and tourism. Whether or not these films convey the notion of cruise tourism and the cruise experience specifically, I argue that all of these films mediate particular notions of sea travel and therefore as discursive constructs contribute to the ways in which cruise travel and the cruise experience is imagined. For example in the case of *Titanic* and *Ship of Fools*, regardless of the fact that these films do not depict a cruise vacation per se, I argue that many of the traditions and rituals that originate from the era of transatlantic travel are evident, such as dress codes and rituals of dining at sea, and as such these films have the propensity to frame tourist perceptions and experiences of cruise travel in today’s contemporary milieu. Conversely *Carry On Cruising* does depict the notion of a vacation at sea, although at the time of its release a cruise holiday was for many people something out of the ordinary and beyond the realms of everyday experiences. As noted by Webber (2008:69), “[e]ven though journeying to far flung corners of the globe
had increased post-war, cruising was still a luxury reserved for the lucky few”. These films all depict sea travel in the 20th century, which arguably was the era that saw the birth and development of sea travel for leisure purposes and ocean cruising as we are familiar with it today (see Cartwright and Harvey 2004; Robins 2008). There are many films that could have been selected to form the archive of data, however of key consideration in the selection process was the extent to which particular films situated a substantive part of their storyline onboard passenger ships, portraying the seemingly routine nature of travel at sea. By means of illustration it is useful to reflect on popular films that did not form part of the archive of data for in depth analysis. For example a cruise-related popular film that arguably mediates a more current portrayal of cruise travel is Speed 2 [1997] and one example that post-dates Titanic [1997] in terms of production and thus viewing audiences is Poseidon [2006]. Despite their popularity and wide exposure to viewing audiences a greater proportion of these films depict atypical ocean voyages, for example Speed 2 is essentially a voyage in crisis amid the pursuit of an aggrieved computer programmer who has plotted to steal a fortune of diamonds and to blow the ship up. Portraying a voyage of crisis of a different nature Poseidon is a remake of The Poseidon Adventure [1972] where much of the film focuses on the survival of a small group of passengers as they seek a way to escape from the capsized vessel stricken by what is described in the film as a ‘rogue wave’.

In addition to the above the selection of films comprise a mix of genres, Carry on Cruising, a comedy and a caricature of cruising; Ship of Fools, a drama with its construction of sea travel based on the parody ‘ship of fools’; and Titanic, a fusion of a fictional romance and a maritime disaster, the later based on historical fact. Although Titanic depicts the sinking of the liner in the Atlantic Ocean, a significant proportion of the film constructs a range of narratives about ship space and communities at sea, prior to the vessel being struck by an iceberg. While Ship of Fools is undoubtedly a more unusual choice of film, in terms of sampling and in the context of this study, this film could be described as an extreme or deviant case. Such sampling is defined as “[l]earning from highly unusual manifestations of the phenomenon of interest” (Kuzel 1992; Patton 1990 cited in Miles and Huberman 1994:28). Ship of Fools is arguably less familiar in terms of current viewing audiences compared to Titanic and Carry on Cruising and in contrast to these two films that have strong British connotations, Ship of Fools is set onboard a
German vessel. One of the purposes of this selection is to explore the extent to which a more unusual case study and the discourses it reveals align with others within the archive.

As cultural artefacts these films represent particular and significant moments in cinematic or filmic history and as such I argue that they afford high status within popular culture. In terms of their importance and popularity these films all have their own set of characteristics that make them so. A film’s status in the cultural system of representation (see Hall 1997) and their popularity can be measured by aspects such as audience ratings, box office takings and nominations for awards (Denzin 1995). For example while Cameron’s Titanic is not the first film to re-enact the story of the fated liner, indeed A Night to Remember [1958] does just that, the film “sold more tickets in its first year of release than any other motion picture in history [and] was the first ever to gross one billion dollars in worldwide sales” (Lubin 1999:1). Costing some 200 million US dollars to produce, the film grossed 1.7 billion (US dollars) at box offices around the globe and won 11 oscars in 1997 (Rampton 2005). Ship of Fools [1965] was nominated for eight awards and won two of these for ‘Best Black and White Cinematography’ and ‘Best Black and White Art Direction and Set Direction’ at the Oscars in 1965. Carry on Cruising is just one of a succession of Carry On films with the first of the series Carry On Sergeant [1958] being among the top three grossing films for that year. This film also started what is claimed to be the longest-running and most successful comedy series of all time (Webber 2008).

Arguably all these films hold a particular fascination in the popular imagination. For example written and directed by James Cameron, Titanic [1997] has been classified both as an historical epic and a disaster movie (Lubin 1999) and famed at the time as being “the most expensive (and most technologically advanced) movie ever made” (Studlar and Sandler 1999: 1). The story of Titanic, the so called ‘unsinkable ship’, resides in maritime history as one of the most tragic of maritime disasters, as Rampton (2005) reminds us:

…the Titanic, the grand liner that was launched in 1911 amid a blizzard of ticker-tape and hype. Less than a year later, at 2.20am on 15th April, 1912, its crew ignored all warnings of impending danger, and the ship struck an iceberg and sank. Of 2,208 people onboard, only 705 – predominantly women and children – survived.

---

1 www.filmsite.org/aa65.html [accessed 21/6/10].
From some perspectives the appropriation of a seafaring tragedy on such a scale as the backdrop to a love saga is perhaps insensitive and certainly during the time of its release generated much contemplation and controversy. Indeed some may frown at the commercialism of tragic events in the form of film-making, parallels which can be seen with tourism attractions such as life size replicas of the Titanic and theme park simulations. Yet in many ways it could be argued that it is this history that is part of the lure of this film. The enduring fascination of the fated liner is immortalised through the continuing attention and activities surrounding the story of Titanic. These include the excavation of the wreckage, sale of artefacts, and the reporting of survivor stories.

During its conception, through its phases of creation, right up to the moments of its release, much attention and speculation was placed on the likely success of the film (Studlar and Sandler 1999). From within sectors of the cruise industry concerns were levied regarding the likely effect of a disaster film on demand for cruise holidays. However, despite these concerns the impact of Titanic was not detrimental in terms of passenger bookings. To the contrary cruise companies benefited from increased bookings, such as Holland America who recorded a rise of 15% in the Spring of 1998. In addition the subsequent three transatlantic voyages aboard the QE2 were fully booked (see Simpson 1999). Whilst it is explicitly acknowledged here that Titanic was an ocean liner and that the film Titanic depicts a transatlantic voyage, the anecdotal evidence alluded to above legitimises the analysis of the film in the context of cruise tourism. The extent to which the film Titanic was directly responsible is hard to establish as this period also saw the explosion of cruise demand in the UK attributed in part to the entry of tour operators and the fly cruise concept.

Given the overwhelming success of Cameron’s Titanic, it comes as no surprise that the film has received much attention, comment and analysis from a variety of arenas including the media, film enthusiasts, and academia. At the time of its release the film was accompanied by a myriad of promotional material, collectables and other paraphernalia including a souvenir publication text dedicated to the production and making of the film, simply titled James Cameron’s Titanic. Other publications include Lubin’s 1999 book, Titanic, published by the British Film Institute and Sandler and Studler’s 1999 edited book titled, Titanic: Anatomy of a Blockbuster. Additionally a more recent publication, by
Bergfelder and Street, 2004, is an edited book, titled *The Titanic in Myth and Memory*, which examines the ways in which the Titanic tragedy has been represented in visual and literary culture and dedicates a whole section to Cameron’s film. Surprisingly, despite industry speculations about the impact of *Titanic* on cruise tourism, there has been little examination of the film from a tourism perspective, although Simpson’s (1999) *Tourism and Titanomania* is worthy of mention here. Simpson’s analysis deals with questions such as ‘What then is the fantasy that is driving honeymooners to the cruise ships?’ (Simpson 1999: 685) and offers several lines of inquiry positing ‘possible explanations for that puzzling popular response to *Titanic*, the desire to go on cruises’ (Simpson 1999: 688).

*Carry on Cruising* [1962] belongs to the whole cultural phenomenon of the *Carry On* films of the 1950s and 1960s. Firmly situated in the public’s psyche as British cinema classics, (Webber 2008) these films continue to have a place in popular culture and thus the popular imagination. As part of the institution of film making in British society, Campbell (2005:10) asserts that “[t]he films go beyond simple cinematic entertainments and into the fabric of our society. They’re as deep-rooted as our national identity, as vital as the air we breath. They’re icons of pop culture…” Describing the *Carry On* films as a naughty institution full of risqué antics, Webber (2008:4) further asserts “…love them or loath them, no one can deny that together they form by far the most successful big-screen comedy series, in terms of longevity and audience appeal, ever produced”. These films described as a cinematic legend continue to entertain millions of viewers decades later (Webber 2008). Campbell (2005:11) also argues that the *Carry On* films “…were (and still are) enjoyed by people of all classes, ages, social backgrounds”. Celebrating fifty years of *Carry On*, Webber (2008:11) states, “[b]ooks and DVDs exploring the canon continue to sell and the films still receive regular airing on terrestrial and satellite television”. Indeed the fiftieth anniversary of the release of the first *Carry On* film resulted in a plethora of commemorative books, souvenirs and DVD collections in 2008.

The cultural significance of *Ship of Fools* [1965] lies both in its success as a film and other cultural scripts that preceded the making of the film. For example the film is based on the Katherine Porter novel ‘Ship of Fools’ which in turn appropriates Sebastian Brant’s poem ‘Ship of Fools’ (circa 1494). In a foreword to the novel ‘Ship of Fools’, Katherine Porter (1985 [1945]) pays tribute to Brant’s work and the influence this had on her book, she writes,
…when I was thinking about my novel, I took for my own this simple almost universal image of a ship of this world on its voyage to eternity. It is by no means new – it was very old and durable and dearly familiar when Brant used it; and suits my purpose exactly. I am a passenger on that ship.

Indeed the connections between Ship of Fools and cruise travel has recently been noted by Lukas (2009:70) in which he states that “[i]t would be an exciting sociological exercise to reinterpret Brant’s work in the framework of the modern cruise industry”.

3.8 Doing discourse analysis

One of the complexities of carrying out discourse analysis lies in its application and how to ‘do’ a discourse analysis. Indeed Rose (2001) refers to the guidance of Potter (1996) who describes discourse analysis as a craft skill, advocating that learning is in the doing. Such observations are also noted by Tonkiss (2004:377), who referencing Potter and Wetherall (1994), draw parallels with “…riding a bike – a process that one picks up by doing, perfects by practising, and which is difficult to describe in a formal way”. Moreover it is argued that the guidance on how to carry out a discourse analysis and methodological considerations “…remain rather imprecise and implicit in most of the literature” (Flick 2009:341). Indeed Tonkiss (2004:378) further asserts that “…[d]iscourse analysis is an interpretive process that relies on close study of specific texts, and therefore does not lend itself to hard-and-fast ‘rules’ of method”. These observations aside, in terms of discourse analysis as method, Tonkiss (2004:376) offers the following stages of the research process:

- selecting and approaching data,
- sorting, coding and analysing data,
- presenting the analysis.

In terms of identifying the sources for the purposes of a study that employs discourse analysis, Rose (2007:148) contends, “[f]or most sorts of research questions, some of the key sources will be immediately obvious, either from your own knowledge or from the work of others”. As previously articulated in this thesis this research is concerned with the mediating power of popular films and consequently, as highlighted in the above section 3.7, three films are purposively selected as the sources forming the archive of data. As will be further presented in chapter 4 of this thesis, I embrace the Foucauldian perspective to discourse and discourse analysis and in doing so I draw on his concepts of archive, discursive regularities, discursive formations and regimes of truth. In this study each of the selected films are taken to be discursive domains in which the film’s text (i.e. language
as defined in terms of written, audio, visual and material) organises and constructs a range of discursive formations or conceptual frameworks that allow some modes of thought and deny others. As I have outlined in the introduction to this thesis, films are part of the mass-mediated environment circulating as powerful vehicles of discourse producing, reproducing and circulating ideologies, which in turn are consumed by global audiences. In terms of extracting some of Foucault’s thinking in relation to discourse and the archive, Kendall and Wickham (1999:25) highlight Foucault’s endeavours to trace the historical lineage of statements and as such they describe archaeology as “…the process of investigating the archives of discourse”. As such I argue that as powerful cultural artifacts the discourses of these films collectively form an archive of data that has the propensity to construct particular dominant ways of knowing, or imagining, cruise ship space and the cruise experience.

I have laid out in section 3.7 my rationale for the selection of the films, however it is acknowledged here that there are many other films that could have been selected and analysed. Additionally acknowledging the point made in the introductory chapter (section 1.2) there exists a plethora of information sources through which films are both experienced and given exposure (Burgin 2000). Consequently the sources that could be brought together to form the archive for the purposes of this study are vast. As part of the selection process, it is important to consider the amount of data that is feasible to draw upon within the scale and scope of the study. Indeed as Rose (2007:149) asserts “…one of the difficulties of the discourse analytic method is knowing where to stop the data collection process” (Rose 2007:149) and that while it is desirable to read everything, what is important “…is the richness of textual detail, rather than the number of texts analysed” (Tonkiss 1998: 253 cited in Rose 2007:150). The three films selected to form the archive for the purposes of this study yields more than 7 hours of film footage, data that is of a qualitative and multi-sensory nature: Carry on Cruising [1962] 1 hour and 26 minutes; Ship of Fools [1965] 2 hours and 23 minutes; and Titanic [1997] 3 hours and 14 minutes.

Familiarity with the materials selected for the study is an important and key stage in conducting a discourse analysis. In the context of working with visual materials, Rose (2007:157) notes the process of reading and looking as a time-consuming endeavour, she states, “[t]ry to immerse yourself in the materials you are dealing with. Read and re-read the texts; look and look again at the images”. Such immersion in film studies include
techniques such as ‘close analysis’, for example Fabe (2004) employs the technique of ‘close analysis’ of single film sequences, which she argues enables a greater appreciation of the richness and complexity of film as an audiovisual medium. While this study does not concern itself with a detailed analysis of the films in the technical sense and the art of film-making per se, I endeavour to get close to my data through immersing myself within the fabric of the films. In a similar vein to the stages of analysis and viewing of film as outlined by Burns and Lester (2005) such immersion in this study includes both multiple viewing of the films in their entirety and deconstructing the films into smaller units for closer inspection and analysis. Figure 3.2 outlines the several stages of viewing undertaken in the analysis of the films for the purposes of this study.

Figure 3.2 Stages of viewing and analysis of films

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Viewing each film in their entirety</td>
<td>Watching the films in their entirety without taking notes facilitated a good level of familiarity with the story line of the films, the rhythm and flows of the various narratives. This phase of viewing also ignited my feelings and emotional responses to the films and triggered a range of personal memories of working and living on ships.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple viewing of each film in entirety and making notes regarding general themes relevant to this study</td>
<td>This process involved watching the films and making detailed notes regarding my observations and the content of the films in relation to both the themes I had previously identified from the literature review and conceptualisation of cruise ship space (see chapter 5) and those that were emergent as a consequence of immersing myself in the films. Multiple viewing enabled me to locate and establish key categories and themes within the narratives of the films. I also sought to note the variations in the different texts of the films and actively read against these to identify absent discourses (see Rose 2007; Tonkiss 2004).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deconstructing each film by extracting still images and moving clips</td>
<td>The nature of this process resulted in even closer inspection of the content of the films and the construction of the discourses. The discourse analysis of the films as presented in chapters 6, 7, 8 &amp; 9 of this thesis was an iterative process involving continued immersion with the filmic data and relevant literature. As such continuous and repeated viewings of the extracted sequences of the films took place throughout this research.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repeated viewing of each film in entirety</td>
<td>During this phase I explored the notions of haptic visuality, haptic touch and the concept of kinethesis as I imagined myself travelling through the films, time and space (see Barker 2009; Bruno 1997; 2002; Marks 2000; 2002; Rodaway 1994). This process involved taking further notes that recorded moments in the films that triggered particular emotional responses and memories of living and working on ships. Additionally I noted particular points in the films when I imagined myself voyaging not just through the films but also on board the ships with their communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revisit each film to view again in their entirety</td>
<td>This phase was one of reflection. Conducting a discourse analysis of the films included the inevitable selection and ordering of sections of the movies resulting in the (re)construction, (re)creation and (re)presentation of the films. Having focused in depth on a set of specific themes and scenes from the films, I revisited the films to view them in their entirety again in a process of situating my analysis in the context of the film as a whole (see Denzin 2004 cited in Flick 2009).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In relation to the process of sorting, coding and analysing data, Tonkiss (2004:377) re-affirms the often experimental nature of carrying out a discourse analysis, arguing that “[d]oing effective discourse analysis has much to do with getting a feel for one’s data, working closely with them, trying out alternatives, and being ready to reject analytic schemes that do not work”. He does however offer further guidance in relation to analysis:

- Identifying key themes and arguments
- Looking for variation in the text
- Paying attention to silences

(Tonkiss 2004:378).

Therefore, as a discourse analyst, I not only seek to identify particular themes, narratives and discursive structures in each individual film and where commonality may occur across the films, but I also endeavour to identify variances within the discursive structures of the films. Additionally I am cognisant of reading against the text seeking to establish the absent discourses as part of my analysis, as Tonkiss (2004:379) asserts:

While I have argued that we cannot force our data to say things that are not there, we can as critical researchers point out those places where the text is silent, to think about what remains “unsaid” in the organization of a discourse. Such a move can help to place the discourse in a wider interpretative context.

The analytical and interpretative process in discourse analysis is not wholly pre-determined by a set of themes or categories, in that as a consequence of engaging in detail with the data other issues, themes and insights reveal themselves and become important to the research. Describing discourse analysis as flexible and in reference to the Foucauldian framework of discourse analysis which may provide a particular approach to materials, Rose (2007:161) argues “…it is also crucial that you let the details of your materials guide your investigations”. Such an approach involves an iterative process of drawing out the themes that necessitates the continuous cycle of engaging with the literature to make sense of and inform the process of analysis. In some ways my discursive and interpretive approach to the analysis of the films aligns with some characteristics of grounded research. As Jordan and Gibson (2004:227) observe, “[g]enerally in grounded theory projects, a literature review is undertaken in parallel with data analysis, and where existing theory is drawn upon, this should be re-examined in relation to the ongoing analysis of data”. The theoretical and conceptual lens through which I carry out my discourse analysis of the selected films is that of space as it applies to tourism and cruise ships. As I reveal in chapter five, my conceptualisations of cruise ships as spaces of travel and tourism draws on Lefevre’s spatial triad as an overarching framework which acknowledges the inter-
relationship that exists between physical space, experiential space and symbolic space (Lefebvre 1991). This analysis falls broadly into three categories 1) the sea as an object of fascination; 2) cruise ships as symbolic and material objects; and 3) cruise ship space as a playground for risk, adventure and play. Drawing primarily on secondary literature these categories and their sub-categories largely inform the subsequent analysis of *Carry on Cruising* [1962], *Ship of Fools* [1965] and *Titanic* [1997].

In addition to framing my analysis by drawing on categories as derived from the theories and concepts of the literature, my own experiences and understandings of cruise tourism also inform the interpretative framework of analysis. As explored above my analysis is highly interpretive, acknowledging the multi-sensory nature of engaging with film. I also recognise the role of memory in the process of interpretation and reveal the emotional aspects of engaging with film as the embodied and reflexive researcher. It is important to articulate here that my research does not directly carry out an analysis of the senses, emotions or memory pertaining to the films but rather I acknowledge that these impact upon and undoubtedly influence the interpretive process. As such in an endeavour to ensure transparency in the research process I explicitly declare my positionality and work history. It is also important to make the distinction here that my approach is not autobiographical and not about my life story specifically. In terms of foregrounding myself as the “situated researcher” (Westwood et al 2006:33) I acknowledge that my experiences of living and working onboard cruise liners inevitably influences the ways in which I interpret the data. Additionally and significantly, my experiences and understanding of cruise ships as unique places of travel and tourism, enriches and brings particular insights to the interpretation of the phenomena being examined. I argue that my memories and emotions pertaining to my experiences onboard cruise liners are such that I cannot position myself as a dis-embodied objective researcher.

This research is highly interpretive and thus raises issues related to quality criteria, an area much debated in qualitative research, particularly in autoethnographic and reflexive research (see Sambrook and Doloriet 2011). Qualitative researchers have sought to substitute concepts of validity and reliability associated with quantitative inquiry with alternative quality criteria. For example in relation to constructivism, Guba and Lincoln (1998) propose the trustworthiness criteria comprising of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability as parallel concepts to those of internal validity, external
validity, reliability and objectivity. Such criteria for articulating the quality of research have and continue to be treated with some caution regarding their appropriateness and alignment with all forms of qualitative inquiry (see Sambrook and Doloriet 2011). For example in the context of this study it would be a challenging pursuit to defend the research findings as being fully transferable in the context of generalisability. Indeed in the context of discourse analysis, Tonkiss (2004:380) reminds us that the aim of the discourse analyst is not “…to offer a ‘true’ or objective account of a given text”, but instead “…aims to provide a persuasive and well supported account, offering an insightful, useful and critical interpretation of a research problem” [original emphasis]. Recently scholars have defended their approaches to qualitative inquiry, for example Bruner (2010:864) describes his approaches to data collection and analysis as being “…scholarly and systematic, bound by high ethical standards”. Recognising the plethora of methods and practises within qualitative inquiry Tracy (2010:837) offers a model for quality which she describes as an “…eight-point conceptualization of qualitative quality that is unique, and perhaps provocative, because it delineates eight universal hallmarks for high quality qualitative methods across paradigms – and differentiates these from mean practices”. Her model comprises of the following: 1) worthy topic, 2) rich rigor, 3) sincerity, 4) credibility, 5) resonance, 6) significant contribution, 7) ethics, and 8) meaningful coherence. In the context of this study Tracy’s (2010) model is useful in framing several considerations of quality. In terms of the worthiness of the topic, collectively preceding chapters [1 and 2] in this thesis have outlined the study’s aims and objectives and have highlighted the importance of this area of inquiry and gaps in the existing literature. In this research, as I have highlighted in this chapter, I have employed a systematic and rigorous approach to my research design drawing on, and immersing myself with, a rich set of data. As stated earlier in this chapter it is not the number of films that necessarily determine the quality of the research, but rather the richness of the data that these films provide.

It is argued that the power of the researcher to control the way in which a piece of research is designed can lead to “…problems of bias in data analysis and selectivity in the research findings” (Jordan and Gibson 2004:219). Echoing the point made by Jordan (2004) that as researchers we have a responsibility to make our process of research visible in the way it is written up (cited in Aitchison 2005) I seek to ensure transparency in the research design and its execution. As the reflexive-voyeur (Denzin 1995) my research approach aligns with Denzin and Lincoln’s (2005) 4th and 5th moments of qualitative research as I consider my
positionality, writing myself into the analysis of the films were appropriate. Such explicit positioning of ‘self’ in the research reveals my own subjectivities and potential biases. Fully aware that my interpretations are highly subjective and autoethnographic in style, my analysis of each film includes a reflexive component. I deliberately avoid drawing on other cultural scripts that offer interpretations of the films to any great extent. This is not to dismiss the value of others’ interpretations, but rather this approach helps to minimise preconceptions about the sources to be analysed (see Rose 2007) and aligns with my epistemological and ontological positioning set out in this thesis regarding individual ways of seeing, performing and interpreting film. I include the moving clips in the film analysis chapters not for aesthetic purposes but rather to be transparent, and to give the reader glimpses of the source data, and thus a better understanding of how I deconstruct the films and arrive at my findings.

The ethical considerations in this study are negligible in comparison to those that encompass direct contact with other people or those that involve the generation of visual materials such as videos, films and photographs. However given the autoethnographic and reflexive style employed in my analysis of the films, I have considered issues of confidentiality and privacy and am mindful to ensure that my research does not reveal or expose details surrounding the companies, ships and people that are part of my work archive. On the occasions where I have, I have sought to do so with sensitivity and prior permission.

3.9 Limitations of the study
This study’s interpretist and reflexive characteristics inevitably raise questions about the research design and issues associated with subjectivity, bias and generalisations. A critical reflection on my inquiry paradigm reveals limitations in this study. First and foremost this research privileges my voice as the researcher and discourse analyst. Secondly it is difficult to draw generalisations from the findings given the nature of the research. Despite William’s (2000:215) debates surrounding interpretivism and generalisation in which he discusses *moderatum* generalisations as “…the generalisations of everyday life”, the limitations that make generalisability problematic are associated with sampling and verification. Indeed without drawing on others’ interpretations of the films, the framework for verification is by default limited.
Limitations also exist regarding the analysis and interpretation of texts out of time and space in terms of when and where they were produced and created. Such methodological issues face researchers when dealing with what might be described as ‘mute’ evidence (Hodder 2003). As Hodder (2003:155) highlights “[s]uch evidence, unlike the spoken word, endures physically and thus can be separated across space and time from its author, producer, or user”. In terms of archaeology, Hodder and Hutson (2003:5) argue that meaning ascribed to an object or artefact can only be determined through knowledge of context, thus “[t]he interpretation of meaning is constrained by the interpretation of context”. In my analysis of the films in the context of this study I offer one set of interpretations viewing these cultural artefacts in a different time and space both in terms of their production and also in relation to the content of the films, i.e. the era of sea travel portrayed in the different films. As such there are inevitable limitations in my interpretations in that my viewings of the films are out of context historically and are affected by my knowledge and beliefs (see Berger 1972). This said employing discourse analysis in this study aligns well with the hermeneutic process of interpretation, which calls for attention to be given to the historical and social context of the text (Collis and Hussey 2003). Embracing both the principles of discourse analysis and the Foucauldian perspectives on discourse, I endeavour to understand various contexts, particularly with regard to the history and development of sea travel. This results in a continuous hermeneutic cycle of interpretation of the films drawing on other contextual evidence as sourced in the literature.

There are many alternative and additional research strategies that could be employed that would enhance and add to the depth of knowledge and understanding of the discourses of popular films and their role in mediating cruise tourism and the cruise experience. These include employing alternative methods or a mixture of methods for analysis such as psychoanalysis, content analysis, semiotic analysis or audience reception work and film-elicitation (see Banks 2001; Pink 2001; Rose 2007; Stam et al 1992). Additionally a larger archive of data could be formed to include not only a greater number of films but also other forms of data that give films particular exposure (see Burgin 2006). Consequently, the analysis of these films does provide a foundation for further inquiry including audience reception work and the investigation of a range of research questions at other stages of the circle of representation. Chapter 10 of this thesis comments further on future research opportunities and avenues of inquiry.
3.10 Chapter summary

I am arguing here that my study approach is not one-dimensional but rather a multifaceted set of variables. First and foremost I am guided by the notion that my approach is the antithesis of positivism and that whist drawing on aspects of interpretism and socio-constructivism I cannot engage with the discourses of film as an objective and dis-embodied researcher. Seeking to embrace both the visual and discursive turns that have developed momentum within tourism studies, it became apparent in the early stages of my inquiry that dealing with the discourses of film was much more than a visual undertaking and that my own life experiences, memories and emotions form part of the sense-making practises when engaging with film. As such my study approach draws on the notion of non-representation (Thrift 1996; Thrift and Dewsbury 2000) or as Lorimer (2005) would prefer to say “more than representational” as I seek to engage with film that moves beyond the notion of seeing per se.

My approach is not anti-representation or anti-visualism, however what I seek to embrace is film as a multi-sensory landscape in which I position myself as an active and subjective participant in the research process, not as a dis-embodied on-looker or observer. So embracing the corporeal turn, I explicitly position my body in the research process. This does not imply that the power of interpretation and the construction of meaning lies with myself as the embodied researcher, rather I adopt the ontological and epistemological positions that the construction of meaning and production of knowledge is a trialectic relationship between, and the point at which, the moments of production, the product and consumption come together. As such the body(s) of those involved in producing films, the body of the film and the body(s) of those viewing a film all play an integral role in the ways in which I approach my analysis of the discourses of popular films.

I have presented the viewpoint that the construction of meaning and the production of knowledge are more nuanced than power simply residing with one agent or another. In many ways power is central to this thesis in terms of the propensity of popular films to construct particular discourses pertaining to particular spaces in which travel and tourism is enacted. The following chapter will further discuss the concept of discourse and explores the work of Michel Foucault, outlining the ways in which various Foucauldian perspectives frames the methodological approach to discourse analysis for the purposes of this study.
Chapter 4  Foucault and discourse

4.1 Introduction
The preceding chapter presented, discussed and articulated the study’s philosophical foundations and ensuing inquiry paradigm. In doing so I presented the overarching approach to the study as socio-constructionist / interpretist advocating a discursive approach in my analysis of popular films. As I briefly highlighted, in recent years, the research milieu in tourism related studies has seen the emergence of a more discursive approach in its analysis of the language of tourism. This general shift reflects the ways in which the study of language, representation and its role in culture is moving from a semiotic approach to that of discourse analysis (see Wang 2000; Jaworski and Pritchard 2005).

Embracing the concept that engaging with film is a multi-sensory embodied experience, for the purposes of this study chapter three also presented the performative aspects in the interpretation of film. In doing so the positionality and presence of myself as the researcher is explicitly acknowledged. The preceding chapter also outlined the complex nature of film space in which I suggest a trialectic relationship in the process of knowledge formation and the construction of meaning. As such the production of film, the film itself and the spectator/s are all acknowledged in the sphere of knowledge production and the construction of meaning. In the context of these methodological considerations, the key aim of this chapter is to further articulate the study’s discursive approach to the analysis and interpretation of popular films. First and foremost the complex and contested nature of the term discourse will be introduced, further outlining the significance and relevance of the concept of discourse to this study. Thereafter the specific approaches to discourse and discourse analysis will be discussed with a focus on the work of Michel Foucault.

Appropriating Foucauldian language, this chapter will reveal how popular films in this thesis are drawn upon as the archive of data for analysis and are referred to as discursive domains in which the fabric of the film’s text (i.e. language as defined in terms of written, audio, visual and material) organises and constructs a range of discursive formations or conceptual frameworks that allow some modes of thought and deny others. Whilst this chapter will make reference to and acknowledge the complex nature of Foucault’s work

---

1 Michel Foucault (1926-1984) Key works include Madness and Civilisation (1961); Birth of the Clinic (1963); The Order of Things (1966); The Archaeology of Knowledge (1972); and Discipline and Punish (1975).
and his approaches to discourse it is not the intention here to provide an in depth analysis and critique of Foucault’s expansive writings, but rather to illuminate aspects of his work relevant to this study. In doing so Foucault’s overarching philosophical perspective pertaining to the production of human subjects (Rose 2007) will be briefly explored. Thereafter drawing on Foucault’s major, and arguably popularised texts, this chapter will highlight a range of ‘Foucauldian’ or ‘Foucaultian’ perspectives (Philo 2004) outlining the interconnectivity of Foucault’s thoughts regarding discourse, knowledge and power and the ways in which these are drawn upon to further frame this study’s methodological approach.

4.2 Discourse and discourse analysis

As has already been commented upon in preceding chapters, this study embraces what is termed the ‘discursive turn’ in the social sciences. Aligning with the socio-constructionist paradigm, it is argued that the term ‘discursive’ refers to “…any approach in which meaning, representation and culture are considered to be constitutive” (Hall 1997:6). Acknowledging the ‘discursive turn’ in the social sciences, Jaworski and Pritchard (2005:5) comment on the prevalence of views across discourse analysis and other fields “…that discourse not only reflects but also shapes social reality”, further stating “…social lives are constructed in and through language/discourse, whether in the moment-to-moment social interchanges of everyday talk or in the beliefs, understandings and principles that structure our lives”. In terms of the constituting nature of discourse, Wang (2000:173) argues the point that unlike ideology the essence of discourse does not concern itself with truth or error per se, but instead, “…it is a discursive formation that embodies collective consciousness”.

Observing the centrality and importance of discourse and communication in studies of tourism, Pritchard and Jaworski (2005:2) note the relatively unexplored nature of these within the sphere of tourism, stating “…the specific links that have been made between language and tourism have for the most part ignored the vast tradition of discourse and communication studies”. Acknowledging the complex and contested nature of discourse, Pritchard and Jaworski (2005:4) further assert that the concept “…is evolving and assuming an increasingly significant role in social science research”. Embracing such a perspective is fraught with particular challenges and complexities including the range, and often conflicting, methodological perspectives that frame particular approaches to
Chapter 4: Foucault and discourse

discourse analysis and the burgeoning ‘discourse about discourse’ in the social sciences, which Howarth (2000:2) argues, “…has resulted in rapid changes to the commonsensical meanings of the word”. Varying disciplinary perspectives and definitions of language itself undoubtedly compounds such complexities, as Howarth (2000:2) asserts:

For some, discourse analysis is a very narrow enterprise that concentrates on a single utterance, or at most a conversation between two people. Others see discourse as synonymous with the entire social system, in which discourses literally constitute the social and political world.

Often approached from a linguistic perspective, Pritchard and Jaworski (2005) highlight that a linguistic and textual approach to discourse is only one of a range of methodological perspectives. As Barthe (1973:119) states:

We shall therefore take language, discourse, speech, etc., to mean any significant unit or synthesis, whether verbal or visual: a photograph will be a kind of speech in the same way as a newspaper article; even objects will become speech if they mean something.

For Deutschlander and Miller (2004:61) the use of discourse is to refer to talk, text (including visual representations), and what they state to be “large-scale cultural rhetorics”. Similarly, in addition to his use of discourse in terms of spoken or written language, Fairclough (1995:54) advocates an extension of the concept to include “…other types of semiotic activity (i.e. activity which produces meaning), such as visual images (photography, film, video, diagrams) and non-verbal communication (e.g. gestures)”. Additionally, Howarth and Stavrakakis (2000:2) assert, “[d]iscourse theory assumes that all objects and actions are meaningful, and that their meaning is conferred by historically specific systems of rules”. Certainly Baudrillard (1996) in his The System of Objects illustrates the significance of objects in terms of “the processes whereby people relate to them and with the systems of human behaviours and relationships that result there from” (Baudrillard 1996:4). Additionally Barthe (1973) in his Mythologies illustrates how objects and their meanings are conceived within social systems and thus how meanings are constituted:

Every object in the world can pass from a closed, silent existence to an oral state, open to appropriation by society, for there is no law, whether natural or not, which forbids talking about things. A tree is a tree. Yes, of course. But a tree as expressed by Minou Drouet is no longer quite a tree, it is a tree which is decorated, adapted to a certain type of consumption, laden with literary self-indulgence, revolt, images, in
short with a type of social usage which is added to pure matter (Barthe 1973:117-118 [original emphasis])

Barthe (1973:118) also reminds us of the important point that meanings of objects and therefore myths within particular systems are not fixed and static, “some objects become the prey of mythical speech for a while, then they disappear, others take their place and attain the status of myths”. The historical shift of meanings is an interesting point here and aligns with Foucault’s work regarding truth and knowledge. Indeed Sawyer’s (2002) investigation into the origin of the term discourse reveals that Foucault’s historically situated perspective towards discourse was an element at the time missing from other theories of discourse. This area will be examined later in this chapter.

The connectivity of objects, signs and symbols with concepts of discourse is illustrated in the ways in which comparisons of discourse analysis as a method have been aligned with other research tools. For example Tonkiss (2004) draws on discourse analysis’ close relationship with semiotics (predominately focused on the visual) and conversational analysis and highlights whilst there are multiple approaches to discourse analysis, commonality is sought in the fact that it is the language that is the object of inquiry. He goes on to say that language is “a domain in which people’s knowledge of the social world is actively shaped” (Tonkiss 2004:373). Alternatively while acknowledging the similarities between semiotic and discursive approaches, Hall (1997:6) postulates that there are some significant differences between the two in the sense that semiotic analysis focuses on “the how of representation, with how language produces meaning – what has been called its ‘poetics’; whereas the discursive approach is more concerned with the effects and consequences of representation – its ‘politics’.”

Significantly it is argued that discourse analysts are interested in the ways in which language and texts operate as knowledge producing sites, where facts about a society are firmly fixed and social identities are formed and shaped (Tonkiss 2004). Moreover the inter-relationship between particular discourses, the production of knowledge and power are also important aspects of consideration for this method of analysis. As Hall (1997:6) points out,

…the discursive approach…examines not only how language and representation produce meaning, but how the knowledge which a particular discourse produces connects with power, regulates conduct, makes up or constructs identities and
subjectivities, and defines the way certain things are represented, thought about, practised and studied.

Additionally Hall (1997:6) argues that there should be a greater emphasis on identifying the functional value of language in society by reflecting on “the broader role of discourse in culture” and therefore defines discourses as:

…ways of referring to or constructing knowledge about a particular topic or practice: a cluster (or formation) of ideas, images and practices, which provide ways of talking about, forms knowledge and conduct associated with, a particular topic, social activity or institutional site in society (Hall 1997:6).

Taking a political and cultural studies perspective discourse is viewed as the “spoken expression of ideologies” with discourse linked to notions of achieving power (Price 1998:72). The idea of discourse within film can be expressed simplistically as “identifiable sets of beliefs / values / attitudes expressed (in film) in a combination of language, image and sound” (Price 1998:291), thus film can be viewed as a specific type of discourse in itself that, as stated earlier, has significant power to construct knowledge and understanding of the social world.

Drawing on Rose (2007:143), this thesis takes the position of visuality as discourse in that “[a] specific visuality will make certain things visible in particular ways, and other things unseeable, for example, and subjects will be produced and act within that field of vision”. Thus a film can be conceptualised as a discursive domain that, as explored earlier in this thesis, can be embodied both imaginatively and in the sensory sense, existing as a constructed world in which subjects and objects are given identities and meanings. In adopting a critical approach to the analysis of the ‘visual’ Rose (2001:3) advocates discourse analysis stating:

By ‘critical’ I mean an approach that thinks about the visual in terms of the cultural significance, social practices and power relations in which it is embedded; and that means thinking about the power relations that produce, are articulated through, and can be challenged by, ways of seeing and imaging.

Indeed Deutschanderl and Miller (2004) highlight actors’ strategic use of language and thus discourse to construct and constitute reality to accomplish purposes in particular settings. Referring to the work of Spector and Kitsuses (1977/1987) they emphasise the point regarding the promotion of a preferred version of the world to the exclusion of alternative accounts. Promotion of a preferred version is particularly relevant to the
discourses within film. Film inevitably contains multiple discourses however it is the discourses that are privileged, the dominant discourses that are favoured in films and the extent to which these manifest themselves across a range of films that is of interest here, this is commonly referred to as the hierarchy of discourses (see Price 1998). So too are the absent discourses of interest adopting the perspective that what is missing says just as much about what is present within a discursive domain.

As can be seen therefore, there are many complexities in defining, understanding and consequently applying theories of discourse and discourse analysis. It is argued by Pritchard and Jaworski (2005:4) that, “discourse is not synonymous with or reducible to language”. They also remind us that this notion is not a new idea and that Foucault “viewed discourse as inclusive of non-verbal elements (‘gesture’) and, more generally, as the way people organise social life, institutions, and so on” (Pritchard and Jaworski 2005:4). Foucault (1989:54) refers to discourses as “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak”. He continues:

Of course, discourses are composed of sign; but what they do is more than use these signs to designate things. It is this more that renders them irreducible to the language (langue) and to speech. It is this ‘more’ that we must reveal and describe (Foucault 1989:54 [original emphasis]).

It is argued that the concept of discourse is central to many parts of Foucault’s work (Howarth 2000), albeit it fraught with ambiguities and for some, contradictions (Sawyer 2002). As Howarth (2000:3) remarks, while discourse “plays a central role in each of the different parts of his work, the concept remains frustratingly unclear”. However in drawing clear distinctions between linguistically-orientated approaches to discourse analysis and what is described as a more abstract approach found in Foucault’s work, Fairclough (1992), articulates several aspects of Foucault’s theories on discourse that merits bringing the two together. These encompass areas such as “…the relationship between discourse and power, the discursive construction of social subjects and knowledge, and the functioning of discourse in social change” (Fairclough, 1992:38). As such the following section will further review Foucault’s perspectives on discourse and its relevance in the context of this study and in doing so the complex, varied and often contested interpretations of Foucault’s work will be revealed.
4.3 Introducing Foucault

Foucault’s writing career from the early 1960s up to his death in 1984 was extensive, presenting interesting and complex ideas (Sawyer 2002). The writings of Foucault are often categorised into particular domains of study and his key and arguably best known works are commonly categorised into his ‘archaeologies’ and his ‘genealogies’ (Davidson 1986; Philo 2004). These groupings are further situated as those with a discursive and non-discursive focus respectively (Philo 2004). Davidson (1986:221) adds ‘ethics’ to these categories and refers to the “three main domains of analysis…found in Michel Foucault’s work as a whole”. These specific forms of analysis, ‘archaeology’, ‘genealogy’, and ‘ethics’ are described respectively as “an analysis of systems of knowledge, of modalities of power, and of one’s relationship to itself” (Davidson 1986:221). Additionally Jay (1986:176), referring to Foucault’s work as “his heterogeneous oeuvre” highlights a range of visual implications of Foucault’s work and the “anti-ocular discourse in which Foucault can be situated”. In terms of the spatial, Said (1986:149) draws attention to Foucault’s “predilection for the analysis of discontinuous, but actual spaces, territories, domains, and sites – libraries, schools, hospitals prisons…”. More recently his interest in the spatial has been explicitly highlighted:

From architectural plans for asylums, hospitals and prisons; to the exclusion of the leper and confinement of victims in the partitioned and quarantined plague town; from spatial distributions of knowledge to the position of geography as a discipline; to his suggestive comments on heterotopias, the spaces of libraries, of art and literature; analyses of town planning and urban health; and a whole host of other geographical issues, Foucault’s work was always filled with implications and insights concerning spatiality (Elden and Crampton, 2007:1).

The multiplicity of ideas and concepts emanating from the work of Foucault is compounded by the evolutionary nature of Foucault’s work. In his review and critique of John Urry’s (1990; 2002) seminal work, The Tourist Gaze, Hollinshead (1999:12) cites Merquior (1985:13) who describes Foucault as “…one of the perplexing and slippery intellects of our time”. Drawing on Eribon (1991), Hollinshead (1999:12) further highlights the multiple perspectives Foucault took to his work and how “…understanding Foucault could thus be said to be like opening an oyster with a damp bus ticket”. Indeed Jay (1986:178) refers to “the labyrinthine, often highly ambiguous corpus of Foucault’s writings”.

82
Criticism has been levied at Anglo-American academics for conflating Foucault’s early ‘archaeologies’ with his later ‘genealogies’. As Sawyer (2002:441) argues, on occasions “discursive concepts from his earlier works – épistémè, discursive formation, archive – have been conflated with non-discursive concepts from his later works: power-knowledge relations, technologies of power, semio-techniques, apparatuses and the ‘politics of the body’”. In many ways it is easy to see how this can happen as Foucault’s earlier work is imbued with notions of power even if not explicitly acknowledged, a later admission by Foucault himself, “[w]hen I think back now, I ask myself what else it was I was talking about, in *Madness and Civilisation* or *The Birth of the Clinic*, but power?” (Foucault, 1977 in Rabinow 1991:57). In the context of this study, bringing together Foucault’s discursive concepts and notions of power is almost an imperative given the socio-constructionist approach and earlier discussions surrounding the significance, and power, of visuality in Western contemporary society. Indeed part of the challenge of dealing with Foucault and articulating the Foucauldian approach for the purposes of this research is the multiplicity and interconnectivity of his ideas.

Challenged by the large body of work attributed to Foucault, much of it still not translated from French, it is further argued by Scheurich and McKenzie (2005) that there exists many readings of Foucault’s work and there is no such thing as a single, true or accurate representation of his work. In fact mindful of their own work as just one interpretation they regard their reading of Foucault as “…messy, ruptured, often erroneous, broken, discontinuous, originless, fabricated, even falsification” (Scheurich and McKenzie 2005:842). Given what is often identified to be the evolutionary nature of Foucault’s concepts and methodologies, Hoy (1986) questions the existence of a single ‘Foucault’. Moreover, Sawyer’s (2002) analysis highlights that the concept of discourse in British social theory in the 1970s can be sourced to a range of Marxist concepts deriving from theorists such as Gramsci and notions of hegemony and resistance; Althusser’s theory of ideology; Barthes and other French Semiologists; and Lacan’s theory that the unconscious was formed by language. Thus the range of intellectual inquiry emanating from Foucault’s *oeuvre* transcends many disciplines and as such contributes to the numerous attempts made to categorise the identity of Foucault. As highlighted by Jay, (1986:175) the initial reference to Foucault as a structuralist or semiotician, soon gave way to a proliferation of alternative ‘labels’ with Foucault being personified as “…a latter-day Nietzschean, a
heterodox Heideggerian, a wayward Western Marxist, a postmodernist and, most frequently, a poststructuralist”.

Foucault himself recognises the shifts in his thinking as he “…continuously reflects on his own development and offers his own interpretations of it, often with honest self-criticisms” (Hoy 1986:2). As such, it is not surprising that many Anglo-American scholars have sought out and appropriated the interpretations of Foucault as presented by other scholars, a concern levied by Sawyer (2002) in that over time such interpretations become less critically appraised, become vulnerable to mutation and are often represented with little reference to the original work of Foucault. Mindful of Sawyer’s (2002) concerns about the propensity for (mis)interpretations and (mis)readings of Foucault, some solace is taken from the above in that those that have extensive knowledge of his work also acknowledge the complexity and fluidity of ideas and concepts contained within his expansive corpus of writings. Given the extent of the literature that examines, analyses and critiques the various works of Foucault, I cannot ignore it and thus in this chapter I inevitably draw on secondary sources and interpretations of Foucault’s work. I make reference to Foucault’s original works where appropriate.

This introduction to Foucault serves only to illustrate the complexity inherent in his work and, in brief, points out the evolving nature of Foucault’s thinking. The work of Foucault provides an interesting set of inter-related ideas and concepts that I draw upon to frame this study and the approach to discourse analysis. The following section will introduce Foucault’s assertion that the human subject is produced not just biologically constituted.

4.4 ‘Producing’ the human subject

Foucault had an inherent interest in the human subject, how human subjects are ‘produced’ and what is deemed to be human and vice versa. As Rose (2007:141) highlights, Foucault “paid close attention to the ways various practises and institutions defined what it was to be human (and therefore also what it was to be sub-human, abnormal, deviant) in very particular ways”. In terms of Foucault’s interest in the ‘production’ of human subjects, Philo (2004:122) asserts that much of Foucault’s work has focused on “how human subjects are ‘produced’: on how their characters, beliefs and conducts are profoundly shaped by the social and institutional setting in which they find themselves, turning them
Foucault’s overarching arguments and perspectives concerning human subjectivity and how it is constructed together with the constituting powers of social and institutional settings has relevance here for tourism in that, the practise of tourism in all its guises is arguably one of the ways in which individuals gain knowledge of and make sense of the world in which they exist. As a ‘knowledge-producing practise’ (Crang 1999) about self and other, the act of tourism could be referred to as a discursive practise. Being a tourist involves engaging with the materiality of space and place (Crouch 1999) and in doing so tourists embody and interpret the fabric and textures of the touristic landscapes that they encounter. As has been previously explored in chapter two, films themselves can be conceptualised as spaces of travel and thus the imaginative embodiment of film can be argued to be both a discursive practise and a practise of tourism.

As I articulated in the introductory chapter it is not the purpose of this thesis to evidence the links between popular film, tourist behaviour and the act of tourism. However the connections between film and particular performative aspects of being a tourist is illustrated in various scenes from the film Titanic [1997] enacted during cruise holidays. As I previously highlighted in this introductory chapter, the success of Titanic and its global reach were capitalised upon and appropriated in marketing and promotional literature pertaining to the cruise experience and is an illustration of the power of media discourses and their influence on the ways in which aspects of popular film maintain a dominant presence in the cultural arena. The powerful nature of such media discourses and the ways in which they frame the imaginative psyche can be seen in the example of the iconic pose of Jack (played by Leonardo DiCaprio) and Rose played by Kate Winslet on the bow of Titanic.
Still image from Titanic [1997]

This iconic pose from the film was also utilised in much of the film’s publicity, souvenir posters and books. It was also part of the dominant imagery of Titanic’s soundtrack music video. So memorable is the image that contemporary cruise passengers have attempted to re-enact the scene from the film themselves. At the time warnings from industry experts advised cruise (and Titanic) enthusiasts not to “be tempted to re-enact the famous scene from Titanic where Leonardo DiCaprio and Kate Winslet perch on the ship’s bow pretending to be figureheads” (Loftus 1998:54). So great were the dangers of recreating scenes from the film, a women reportedly drowned in Swedish waters as she fell off the stern re-enacting the scene of Rose’s suicide attempt. Thereafter the Passenger Vessel Association issued a “Titanic Alert” to its members “recommending the roping-off of bow and stern areas” (Estrin 1998 cited in Simpson 1999:692).

In addition it is important to reiterate here that the lens through which my investigation of the embodied practises of cruise ship space takes place is through that of popular films. While there are many films that do depict the cruise experience and the cruise ship setting in various guises, the power of film in constructing particular notions of cruise travel is not limited to those that have direct and obvious connections with the cruise experience. As I highlighted in the previous chapter and will continue to explore in chapter five, my discursive analysis draws on films that construct narratives about the sea and sea travel in general. I argue that these discourses have the propensity to construct imaginings of what it may be like to live, travel and vacation at sea.
Embedded in the fabric of the film, ‘the ship’ is another illustration of a space, a unique social and institutional setting within which, arguably, human subjects are produced. The uniqueness of cruise ships, whether ‘real’ or ‘imagined’, and their spatial construction, practises, rituals and regulations that produce the human subject as the disciplined citizen will be explored in chapter five. So what is being presented here is the layering of discourses and the interconnectivity of discourses that cumulatively produce the human subject. To further complicate the multiplicity of discourses, my experience and memories of living and working on cruise ships together with researching the subject as an academic provide additional layers of discourse that, when overlain with the discourses of particular popular films, constitute particular bodies of knowledge.

The discursive approach to the analysis of film in this study recognises the constituting power of film to construct particular ways of seeing space, place and people - part of that power attributed to the institutions of film and cinema themselves. The connection between discourse and notions of discipline and power are key aspects underpinning much of Foucault’s thinking. Rose (2007:143) refers to Foucault’s work on discourse and power in which the productive nature of discourse is highlighted:

> Discourse disciplines subjects into certain ways of thinking and acting, but this is not simply repressive; it does not impose rules for thought and behaviour on a pre-existing human agent. Instead human subjects are produced through discourses. Our sense of our self is made through the operation of discourse. So too are objects, relations, places, scenes: discourse produces the world as it understands it.

Through the analysis of popular films, the focus of this inquiry lies in the spatial settings for particular tourism practises. Given the point made in the introductory chapter, that for many people cruise ships themselves are unexplored spaces of tourism, the interest in this thesis is on the ways in which the discourses of popular films contribute to particular concepts of the cruise experience and cruise ships as imagined geographies (see May 1996). Therefore it could be argued that being a ‘tourist’ is a socio-cultural construct with beliefs, expectations and conduct disciplined by the constitution and mediation of particular discourses via popular film.

In terms of film and film analysis, it is perhaps useful here to briefly reflect on the fact that “psychoanalysis has most often been used as an approach to interpreting film” (Rose 2007: 140). Arguably Foucault’s position on the production of human subjects as opposed to
being simply born, aligns with the work of Freud and psychoanalysis (Rose 2007; Game 1991), however clear distinctions exist in their philosophical approaches to the ‘subject’ or ‘individual’. For example Game (1991) asserts that Foucault is concerned in the discursive production of the ‘individual’ while Freud’s interests lie with the particularity of individuals’ psychic processes. In terms of material semiotics and discourse, Game (1991) and Rose (2007) respectively draw attention to the scope for bringing together Foucault and Freud. As highlighted by Rose (2001:136), one of the criticisms of psychoanalysis is that “it does not pay enough attention to the social processes through which a range of subjectivities are constituted” or as she later puts it, “psychoanalysis does not pay enough attention to the social construction of difference” (Rose 2007:141):

This claim is made on two grounds: first, that psychoanalysis has little to say about some forms of social difference, such as ‘race’ and class; and, secondly, that it concentrates on the psychic and visual construction and consequences of difference. Very little attention is paid either to the ways of seeing brought to particular images by specific audiences, or to the social institutions and practices through which images are made and displayed (Rose 2007: 141).

While it is important to articulate here that it is the site of the image itself that is the focus of the analysis of discourses i.e. the individual films, it is also useful to situate the importance of such inquiry in the broader context of the site of production. In other words the analysis of films cannot ignore the significance and power of particular cinema and film institutions such as Hollywood, who play a powerful role in the construction and mediation of particular discourses. Indeed Denzin (1995) drawing on the work of Foucault, highlights Hollywood and the cinematic apparatus as key to the construction of the cinematic gaze. He argues that the cinema has played a powerful role in the manipulation of gender, race and class and regulation of social behaviour in the late twentieth century. Tzanelli’s (2006) research on The Beach also illustrates the power of cinematic institutions, in this case 20th Century Fox. Having identified that Phi Phi Leh island of the Krabi complex may not meet the expectations of the cinematic audience and their idealised imaginings of Thailand’s utopian paradise, the company secured a redevelopment project which included planting large numbers of coconut trees in Maya Bay and landscaping natural dunes. Despite Phi Phi Leh being a natural park and protected by Thai laws, in 1998 the Thai government approved the project “…in the aftermath of rumours that 20th Century Fox was planning to spend US$10 million in Thailand, and in expectation that the film itself would attract international tourists and DiCaprio fans” (Tzanelli 2006:135).
The above reinforces the connectivity between ways of seeing and social institutions. While there is some rationale for bringing together Freud and Foucault in theorising the ‘subject’ and the ‘individual’ and further scope to unite their perspectives in terms of approaches to discourse analysis (Rose 2007) and material semiotics (Game 1991), this research will primarily embrace Foucault’s position that human beings are discursively produced as subjects. It is argued that popular films as discursive domains have a constituting power in producing the subject. In this case it has already been posited that a connection exists between film and the construction of space and place within the tourist’s imagination. In addition to analysing the discourses of popular films that mediate aspects of the cruise experience this research will also focus on cruise ships as discursive spaces embedded in the fabric of the film’s text, spaces that arguably play a role in constituting the ‘subject’.

4.5 Foucault’s ‘archaeologies’ of knowledge

As I highlighted above, Foucault’s popularised and more broadly cited work include what is referred to as his ‘archaeologies’. Also categorised as discursive in their approach, Foucault’s archaeologies depict concerns that primarily relate to ontology and epistemology. Major texts include:

*Histoire de la folie* (1961; translated as *Madness and Civilisation*, 1965)
*Naissance de la clinique* (1963; translated as *The Birth of the Clinic*, 1973)
*Les mots et les choses* (1966; translated as *The Order of Things*, 1970)

Drawing on Foucault’s ‘archaeologies’, Philo (2004) states “the ambition is to excavate for critical inspection the ‘discourses’ (or organized bodies of knowledge) that have emerged within European history as the foundations for both intellectual orthodoxy and practical endeavour”. The first three texts are examples of Foucault’s ‘archaeology’ in practice, whereas *The Archaeology of Knowledge* is Foucault reflecting and discussing ‘archaeology’ as a method (Scheurich & McKenzie 2005). Significantly, Foucault sought to understand the production of knowledge through discourse by researching the use of language during particular periods in time. Drawing on his ‘archaeologies of knowledge’ Macdonell (1986:82) simply states “the ‘archaeologist’ of knowledge is one who asks what has made possible different knowledges”, or as highlighted by Merquior (1985:36) the selection of the word ‘archaeology’ by Foucault was to “denote ‘the history of that which renders necessary a certain form of thought’”. Rather than dealing with the methodological
Chapter 4: Foucault and discourse

question of how knowledge is produced, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, deals with ‘what is knowledge?’ and as highlighted by Philo (2004)

…in doing so examined the conjoint temporality and spatiality of statements, discourses and their ordering of the ‘archive’…Foucault’s quest was not for the deeper truths of discourse, nor for the underlying logic of how they mutate, but merely to ‘map’ their eruption and effects within different phases of European history” (Philo 2004:123).

The complexity of Foucault’s ‘archaeology’ approach to discourse and discourse analysis and its application as a research tool lies in the range of concepts that are encompassed in Foucault’s archaeological method, a challenge further compounded by the absence of a comprehensive text that deals with how to employ and apply the method (Scheurich & McKenzie 2005). Amid a range of these concepts, exists savoir and connaissance, which Scheurich & McKenzie (2005), argue to be two of the most commonly cited concepts associated with Foucault’s ‘archaeology’. Described as types of knowledge, savoir and connaissance are interconnected in that savoir exists as the broad context from which connaissance, or formal knowledge emerges. In short Foucault’s early works illustrate the extent to which formal bodies of knowledge [connaissance] are often irrational constructions derived from savoir “…which includes not just the formal and rational but also the much broader “irrationality” of politics, institutional practises, popular opinions, and so on” (Scheurich & McKenzie 2005:847). Thus Scheurich & McKenzie (2005:847) conclude that Foucault’s archaeology is about the study of savoir that provide the conditions for connaissance to exist.

To appropriate these terms for the purposes of this study, popular films will be drawn upon as the broad context of data, savoir, from which a more formalised way of knowing, connaissance, is constituted. It is also interesting at this point to reflect on the issue of irrationality in terms of popular film and the production of knowledge. Whilst this study draws on a range of popular films that are in essence fictional stories, there is certain irrationality in the ways fictional films either individually or collectively construct discourses, often left uncontested about underpinning aspects of truth. For example the Hollywood film *Captain Corelli’s Mandolin* [2001] on its release was subject to much criticism and generated much controversy among the population of Kefalonia in Greece. It was a love story situated against the historical backdrop of “the Axis Occupation of Greece, the operation of the Greek resistance, and civil strife between the Greek
communist fighters of EAM/ELAS (National Liberation Front/Greek People’s Liberation Army) and anti-communist fighters” (Tzanelli 2007:83) and criticism was levied, among other things, at the absence of much of the socio-political context (Tzanelli 2007). Despite its critics and controversy, the movie has a far-reaching audience and thus it is questionable as to whether the mass viewing audience in entirety would consciously look for absent discourses in the landscape of its production. Thus imaginings of place may be defined by limited pre-existing knowledge of this Greek Island, reinforced by certain absent discourses within the production of the film. Therefore it could be argued that the power of producing place and space in this example lies with the filmmaker and others involved in the production of the movie. This said, Tzanelli (2003:241) also points out that “not everybody is prepared to accept Hollywood’s tiring fixation with stereotyping”. This observation highlights the issue of where power resides.

A key aspect of Foucault’s discursive work and thus his approach to discourse is what he terms a *discursive formation*. Foucault (1989:35) describes how statements, “different in form, and dispersed in time, form a group if they refer to one and the same object”. Defining discourse as “the group of statements that belong to a single system of formation” (Foucault 1989:121), Foucault’s approach is one of describing discursive regularities (Howarth, 2000) to produce a discursive formation,

…whenever one can describe, between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion, whenever, between objects, types of statement, concepts, or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functionings, transformations), we will say, for the sake of convenience, that we are dealing with a discursive formation (Foucault 1989:41)

Foucault was interested in domains of discourse, which included among others, clinical discourse, psychiatric discourse and economic discourse. A frequently cited example of this is drawn from his work *Madness and Civilization* tracing the transformations in the ways in which western society depicted mad female patients in the nineteenth century (Hall 1997). Both *Madness and Civilisation* and *The Birth of the Clinic* deals with the existence of dominant discourses and their constituting power in “understandings of mental ill-health (‘madness’) and physical illness, revealing how these gave rise to the ‘invention’ of both mental hospital (‘asylum’) and the modern hospital” (Philo 2004:123).
Foucault’s approaches to discourse embrace aspects of the spatial, for example spaces in time determined within particular periods in history and in particular institutional settings (Foucault 1989). More specifically Foucault states:

The unity of discourses on madness would not be based upon the existence of the object of ‘madness’, or on the constitution of a single horizon of objectivity: it would be the interplay of the rules that make possible the appearance of objects during a given period of time: objects that are shaped by measures of discrimination and repression, objects that are differentiated in daily practise, in law, in religious casuistry, in medical diagnosis, objects that are circumscribed by medical codes, practices, treatment and care” (Foucault 1989:36).

An excellent example of this Foucauldian approach to examining discursive formations as constructed through visual discourse is seen in the work of Rose (2001). Rose (2001:151) refers to the work of Nead (1988), *Myths of Sexuality: and Representations of Women in Victorian Britain*, as an exemplar of “…how ‘the prostitute’ was discursively constructed through recurring images of bodies and places”. In searching for particular *discursive regularities* in the depiction of the East End of London and ‘the prostitute’, Nead (1988) drew on a broad range of both visual images and written accounts of this figure.

In a similar vein my analysis of popular films will look for the *discursive regularities* in a single film and across more than one film in order to discern the ways in which the cruise experience and cruise ship space is constituted. The construct of film as a *discursive domain* is imbued with objects and myths that frame our readings and construct our knowledge whether real or imagined of space and place. Thus in watching a film the spectator is engaging in a discursive practise, reading the signs and symbols accordingly. As Denzin (1995:1) asserts:

The postmodern is a visual, cinematic age; it knows itself in part through the reflections that flow from the camera’s eye. The voyeur is the iconic, postmodern self. Adrift in a sea of symbols, we find ourselves, voyeurs all, products of the cinematic gaze.

As I have already established, cruise ships themselves can also be considered to be discursive domains, inhabited worlds of meaningful discourses and practises, worlds in which objects cannot be conceived or thought about outside them. Additionally it has been posited that the sea is a vast expanse of space, which is both symbolically potent and inseparable from the very notion of the cruise experience itself and as such this analysis will draw on the discourse of the sea as it exists within the British psyche. I argue that
exploring the discursive nature of films, cruise ships and the sea produces a complex
network of interwoven and layered discourses that impact upon and contribute to our
imaginings of cruise tourism.

4.6 Foucault and ‘regimes of truth’
For Foucault one of the key themes of inquiry was to understand the politics of knowledge
in terms of what can be considered truth. The complexity of truth is embroiled in notions
of what constitutes knowledge of the world and shared understandings of it, as Burr
(1995:4) asserts:

> It is through the daily interactions between people in the course of social life that
our versions of knowledge become fabricated...[t]herefore what we regard as
‘truth’ (which of course varies historically and cross-culturally), i.e. our current
accepted ways of understanding the world, is a product not of objective observation
of the world, but of the social processes and interactions in which people are
constantly engaged with each other...particular forms of knowledge that abound in
any culture are therefore artefacts of it, and we should not assume that our ways of
understandings it are necessarily any better (in terms of being nearer the truth) than
other ways

Referring to what Foucault called *regimes of truth*, Rose (2007:144) reminds us that for
Foucault truth is not a static concept, but rather historically constituted depending on “[t]he
particular grounds on which truth is claimed” during particular periods in history. Ayikoru
and Tribe (2007:283-284) neatly summarise Foucault’s perspective to *regimes of truth* or
‘knowledge’, stating Foucault’s assertion is “…that truth is fundamentally a discursive
construction encapsulating different regimes all of which play a crucial role in delineating
what is true and false”. Ayikoru and Tribe (2007:283-284) continue to point out that
despite the propensity for there to be multiple statements derived from particular discursive
domains, some of these remain absent or are discounted due to “the historical rules of the
discourse in question would occlude these as being meaningful…the result of discursive
rules determining what can be uttered and thus accepted as meaningful and what ought to
be precluded”.

Acknowledging all of these complexities and conditions surrounding knowledge and truth,
what Foucault’s archaeological project sought to uncover was groups of statements
“…taken to be serious claims to truth by particular societies and communities at different
points in time” (Howarth 2000:55 original emphasis). In his archaeological endeavours,
Foucault aimed to “…describe the appearance, types and relations between statements, as
well as their regulated historical transformation” (Howarth 2000:55). At one level Foucault’s approaches to discourse, discursive formations and regimes of truths is embraced in this study to identify the regularity of sets of statements within the texture of popular films. These regularities construct particular discursive formations pertaining to cruise ship space and the cruise experience. I have previously suggested that the cruise experience as mediated through the discursive domain of film encompasses a complex web of interrelated and sometimes competing discourses. Given the example of the sea and its close relationship with the notion of cruising, it is argued here that particular regimes of truth associated with the sea, have existed, shifted and changed throughout different historical periods. As such the development of attitudes to the sea and its place within the British psyche is important to acknowledge. Thus it is argued that in terms of regimes of truth, it is the dominance of particular discourses or discursive formations that exist and what is believed to be true that “…lies at the heart of the intersection of power/knowledge” (Rose 2007:144). The power/knowledge nexus will be further discussed in the following section.

4.7 Foucault and power

As discussed earlier in this chapter, how knowledge is produced and constructed through discourse and notions of power is central to the work of Foucault. It is argued that it is not language that produces knowledge and meaning but that knowledge is powerfully constructed through discourse (Hall, 1997). One of the key distinctions made between discourse and other methods such as semiotic approaches focuses on the politics versus poetics of discourse. Foucault’s work on discourse can be aligned to the politics of representation encompassing issues of power. Argued to be less about “discourse or knowledge and more the mechanics of power” Philo (2004:123) presents the following four texts as Foucault’s genealogies:

Surveiller et punir (1975; translated as Discipline and Punish, 1976)
The History of Sexuality Volume One: An Introduction (1978)
The History of Sexuality Volume Two: The Uses of Pleasure (1985)
The History of Sexuality Volume Three: The Care of the Self (1986)

Despite the observation made earlier in this chapter about the blurring of the boundaries in Foucault’s writings and his interest in power, (an issue acknowledged by Foucault himself), one of the distinctions commonly made between Foucault’s ‘archaeologies’ and his later genealogies is the issue of power. Highlighting explicitly the issue of power,
Storey (2001:78) refers to the dialectical relationship that exists between power and knowledge and how these operate within the discursive formations. Storey (2001:77-78) draws on Foucault’s ‘geneological’ analysis which:

...is concerned with the relationship between power and knowledge and how this relationship operates within what he calls discursive formations, the conceptual frameworks which allow some modes of thought and deny others. A discursive formation consists of a body of unwritten rules, and shared assumptions, which attempt to regulate what can be written, thought and acted upon in a particular field.

The constitutive powers of knowledge within particular discursive domains are illustrated in Foucault’s later work on sexuality. His work was not about sexuality per se, but how discourses such as medicine, demography, psychiatry, pedagogy and social work actually control the way in which sexuality is represented (Storey 2001).

One of the significant aspects regarding notions of power for Foucault is that power was not hierarchal, but rather that discourse and thus power is omnipresent (Rose 2007). However in emphasising the point that language has an historical specificity, Hall (1997:42) reminds us that “in certain historical moments, some people had more power to speak about some subjects than others”, therefore it could be argued that the representation of madness in female women in the late nineteenth century was symptomatic of the powerful social status of male doctors and the discourse of madness constructed by them during this time (Hall 1997). For Foucault the dominance and power of particular discourses is not just as a consequence of their origin in terms of socially powerful institutions, state regulation and the law, but because particular discourses claimed absolute truth. In relation to the regulatory power of the state, Foucault (1977: 64) asserts:

I don’t want to say that the state isn’t important; what I want to say is that relations of power, and hence the analysis that must be made of them, necessarily extend beyond the limits of the state...the state, for all the omnipotence of its apparatuses, is far from being able to occupy the whole field of actual power relations...the state can only operate on the basis of other, already existing power relations. The state is superstructural in relation to a whole series of power networks that invest in the body, sexuality, the family, kinship, knowledge, technology, and so forth.

The seminal work of Urry (1990; 2002) and his concept of the ‘tourist gaze’ is illustrative of the enactment of tourism as a discursive practise regarding the visual appropriation and reading of particular landscapes of tourism. Urry’s (1990; 2002) work is directly underpinned by Foucauldian concepts of institution and power in that tourism as an
institution plays a powerful role in controlling and influencing the practise of tourism, particularly in terms of the ritualistic nature of sight-seeing. Urry’s work highlights the power of visual discourses to direct the tourist gaze, as too does the work of Wang (2000) who explores the connectivity between the power of visual discourse and tourists’ ‘ways of seeing’. Wang (2000) argues that the reading and visual appropriation of spaces and places of tourism are often apoliticized, decontextualized, simplified, ahistorized and romanticized. As previously explored in chapter two, the institutions of film play a powerful role in directing the tourist gaze and particular ways of seeing.

Discourses are expressed through an eclectic range of visual and verbal images and texts, therefore it is important to acknowledge that meanings of particular images or texts may be constructed by and depend on the meanings that are attached to other images and texts (Rose 2001). In relation to television and film, intertextuality may be purposively produced to create references that the audience may recognise (Price 1998). Arguably, whether intentionally placed as part of a film’s construct or not, particular statements and images take on cultural significance purely through the process of replication and continued visibility. For example the discourse of ships as opportunities for romantic encounters are evident in popular films such as *An Affair to Remember* [1957]. In the case of this film, recall of the story is facilitated with popular films such as *Sleepless in Seattle* [1993], which to some extent repeats the story of the ‘lovers meeting’ at the top of the Empire State Building in New York. So too have the romantic discourses of *Titanic* [1997] maintained their place in popular film with movies such as *Love Actually* [2003] and *Adrift* [2006] in which the famous love scene between Kate Winslet (Rose) and Leonardo DiCaprio (Jack) is appropriated on the bow of the ship. Thus such discourses continuously circulate within particular cultural milieu contributing to the longevity and continued dominance of such concepts associated with the cruise experience.

Scholars interested in mediated discourse through television have appropriated issues of power, in the Foucauldian sense. For example Seiter (1992: 62) highlights the use of discourse in the “Michel Foucault’s sense to refer to a set of complex, multilayered texts that determine and limit what can be said or known about certain subjects and therefore serve particular interest in the power structures of society”. Furthermore in the context of television and feminist criticism, Kaplan (1992) states:
Chapter 4: Foucault and discourse

Foucault’s theories – first, of how objects of knowledge are constituted in the very processes of their articulation, and second, of how knowledge is organized discursively – have changed the face of television criticism. According to Foucault, discourse is power, or rather, power operates in culture through discourse (Kaplan 1992: 262).

Reflecting on the propensity and power of discourses to constitute social experience and the human subject, Burr (1995) reminds us of Foucault’s position on rational behaviour in the sense that discourses manifest themselves and operate in a way that are not always explicitly visible. Burr (1995:71) cites Foucault (1976:86) who states “[p]ower is tolerable only on the condition that it mask a substantial part of itself. Its success is proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms”.

4.8 Chapter summary

Although what is being dealt with here is a Foucauldian perspective to discourse and discourse theory it is important to acknowledge that such terminology is fraught with ambiguities and contested meanings, compounded in part by varying disciplinary approaches to definition and application. Providing a clear definition of discourse analysis can be challenging and articulating stringent guidelines for utilising discourse analysis as a research tool is not easy. The ambiguities that exist in its application as an analytical tool compound the clarity of definition further. As already posited, Foucault’s perspectives on discourse, knowledge and power all hold particular resonance for thinking about the institutional settings within which tourism practises unfold. As in the case of this research the focus is on the institutional settings and spaces of the cruise ship and cruise experience as portrayed and constructed through popular films.

The following chapter (five) will further explore cruise ships and the cruise experience as discursively produced entities. Thereafter chapters six, seven and eight will present my discourse analysis of the films Titanic [1997], Ship of Fools [1965] and Carry on Cruising [1962] respectively. Situating these films as sites of knowledge production I will present my interpretations, my experiences and understanding of the films. In doing so I will reflect on the discourses that appear to me as both apparent and clearly defined in the films and those that are not so evident or indeed absent.
Chapter 5  The cruise ship: real and imagined

5.1 Introduction

Chapters two, three and four have outlined the various approaches that I embrace in this study in my analysis of cruise ship space and cruise ship tourism through the medium of popular film. What I have endeavoured to do so far, is to deconstruct the complex nature of knowledge construction and the ways in which the world is represented, experienced and understood, through a range of discursive and embodied practices. In doing so the relationship between popular films and the imagined spaces of travel and tourism have been conceptualised. The uniqueness and complexity of space in the context of film and the ways in which films can be conceived as both constructs of particular spaces, as well as spaces of travel themselves, has been presented.

The key aim of this chapter is to further explore notions of space in an examination of cruise ships as significant, but under-explored spaces of postmodern travel and tourism. In doing so I seek to unveil the multifaceted nature of cruise ships and the ways in which they are spatially constructed, organised and embodied. As such the analysis presented in this chapter will embrace notions of performance (Goffman 1975; Turner 1988), liminality (Turner 1974), heterotopia (Foucault 1986), and play (Turner 1982). In doing so I explore cruise ships as carnivalesque play spaces (Bahktin 1984), drawing on concepts of ‘social anti-structure’ (Turner 1974) advancing Berger’s (2004) assertion that many aspects of the cruise experience echo the characteristics of medieval carnivals. In doing so I seek to embrace debates that particular tourism and leisure spaces are liminal in nature (see Moore 1980; Shaw and Williams 2004; Pritchard and Morgan 2005; Jaimangal-Jones et al 2010), contributing to the growth in tourism studies that conceptualise many tourist practices as a type of performance (see Adler 1989; Chaney 2008; Edensor 1998; 2000; 2001; Bærenholdt et al 2004).

First and foremost this chapter will introduce and briefly reflect upon varying approaches to the concept of space. Thereafter the ways in which cruise ships are spatially constructed, organised and embodied will be explored. Acknowledging the inter-relationship that exists between physical space, experiential space and symbolic space (Lefebvre 1991), this analysis is divided into three sections: 1) the sea as an object of fascination; 2) cruise ships as symbolic and material objects; and 3) cruise ship space as a playground for risk, adventure and play. Advancing the interest in the mediatization and experience of place
and space through popular film, this analysis will also draw upon examples of popular films where appropriate.

5.2 Space

Notions of ‘space’ are multifarious with broad ranging definitions and conceptualisations dependent upon particular disciplinary perspectives. Hubbard et al (2004) in their collection of Key Thinkers on Space embrace the concept of space as a way of understanding social and cultural phenomena, making links between how space is conceptualised and analytically employed to make sense of the world. In doing so they reveal the plethora of disciplinary perspectives on space. Such disciplinary viewpoints derive from geography, sociology, cultural studies, anthropology, architecture and design. Consequently, understanding and defining the term ‘space’ is a matter of perspective and subject to continual flux, with the constant shifting of ideas and modes of thought.

The field is further complicated by the inter-play between and usage of the terms ‘space’ and ‘place’ (Tuan 1977) and the way in which “…space and place are often regarded as synonymous with terms including region, area and landscape” (Hubbard et al 2004:3). Acknowledging the familiarity of these designations, Tuan (1977:3) simply states that both are “…basic components of the lived world”. Tuan (1977:6) goes on to argue that their meanings often merge, but also highlights the more abstract nature of space compared to place, stating:

What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value. Architects talk about the spatial qualities of place; they can equally well speak of the locational (place) qualities of space. The ideas of “space” and “place” require each other for definition. From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom, and threat of space, and vice versa.

Recognising the multi-disciplinary approaches to the analysis and study of space, Meethan (2001) highlights the social aspects of space and the consensus that analysis of society necessitates some consideration of the spatial. Additionally, Pellow (2003:160) states that “[b]oth culture and social system are grounded in space. That is to say, people interact within physically defined areas that carry meaning and they do so in particular ways…”. She likens the social construction of space to that of language and drawing on the example of the physical, material architecture of a house quotes Weisemann (1992:2) in saying “…like the syntax of language, the spatial arrangements of our buildings and communities...
Chapter 5: The cruise ship: real and imagined

reflect and reinforce the nature of gender, race, and class relations in society” (cited in Pellow 2003:160). Moreover in the context of tourism, Wearing et al (2010:8) draw on the work of Stevenson (2003) in highlighting the multi-dimensional nature of space as “constructed through visual consumption, imagination and experience”.

Indeed concepts of space and embodied practises are subjects of growing attention in tourism studies (see Shields 1991; Crouch 1999; Shaw and Williams 2004, Cartier and Lew 2005). In the same way that I have embraced concepts such as liminality and the notion of Lefebvre’s (1991) ‘spatial triad’ in the context of film space, I argue here that cruise ships are also unique liminal spaces of travel and tourism, constructed through a complex relationship between ‘representations of space’; ‘representational space’; and ‘spatial practise’ (Lefebvre 1991). As objects of technical and industrial prowess, cruise ships are conceived through feats of architectural engineering and continued advancements in design. As spaces permeated with ideology, power and knowledge, it is argued that cruise ships are objects of materiality and as such are sign systems in themselves (see Berger 2006). Part of their uniqueness as spaces of travel and tourism lie in the fusion of technical architecture and functional attributes with a cruise ship’s material and aesthetic qualities. Embodied by a cruise ship society or community, it is argued that architectural space plays a fundamental role in the social structure and cohesion of such communities (Tuan 1977).

Referred to as tourist enclaves (Wood 2000; Lester and Weeden 2004) or a type of tourist bubble (Jaakson 2004a) a cruise ship can be described as a floating hotel with cruising characterised as a temporary activity, taking place within a defined timeframe. Unlike themes parks (Moore 1980), the beach (Shaw and Williams 2004), hotel spaces (Pritchard and Morgan 2005) and event spaces (Jaimangal-Jones et al 2010), cruise ships are unique betwixt and between spaces with the cruise experience framed by the medium upon which it exists, the sea. When at sea cruise liners are not only transient and mobile, but are also physically isolated with their inner spaces inhabited by a community of passengers and a ship’s workforce, coexisting for purposes of both work and leisure. As such it could be argued that the liminal characteristics of such a space are amplified by these conditions.

Derived from the Latin word ‘limen’, meaning threshold (Moore 1980), the concept of liminality is often bound up with notions of separation and detachment from established
norms, transcending boundaries into spaces of transition and transgression to re-enter society often at a higher status (Turner 1974). As such the work of Van Gennep (1960) on ‘rites de passage’ and Turner (1974) on ritual and symbolism have been drawn upon in tourism studies to frame the transient and betwixt characteristics of particular spaces of tourism in which the restraints of one’s social norms and moral codes are often discarded and replaced with a sense of freedom and liberation (see Burns 1999; Franklin 2003; Nash and Smith 1991). Within tourism, such transitory spaces have been categorised in many ways including those that are spatial, temporal, mental, sensory and sensual (Selänniemi 2003). In the case of the sensual and sexual aspects associated with some tourism experiences, Selänniemi (2003:27) states:

Understanding tourism…as a transition/transgression of both personal and social boundaries, which on one hand liberates the tourist from certain norms and on the other hand accentuates the awareness of senses may help us in understanding the multifaceted and complicated relation between tourism, romance, and sex.

Synonymous with the concept of liminality are notions of ludic or playful space (Turner 1982). The ideas of both liminal and play space can be linked to concepts such as the carnivalesque. The construct of the carnivalesque is most notably associated with the work of Bakhtin (1984) and his work on how medieval carnivals created spaces of play and laughter, thus facilitating periods of release from the dominant structures and the established order of the time. Given the temporal nature of carnivals and thus their liminality Bakhtin’s construct of the carnivalesque has been appropriated in tourism and leisure studies to examine particular liminal spaces. Such analyses include the beach (Webb 2005; Ryan and Gu 2007) and festivals (Ravenscroft and Matteucci 2003). Moreover, the concept of ‘heterotopia’ (Foucault 1986) has also been embraced to examine particular liminal and bounded leisure spaces. These include those of festivals (see Ravenscroft and Matteucci 2003), theme parks (see Philips 1999) and the beach (see Andriotis 2010).

Whether physical, symbolic or imagined, the concepts of boundaries are key to defining and understanding space. In the context of this study, boundaries whether naturally occurring, built, or socially constituted are synonymous with the notion of liminality and spaces of transgression. Issues such as finite and infinite space can also be articulated by the concept of boundaries. Drawing upon these notions and in reiterating the issues of space as a matter of perspective, the following scene [see clip 1] from the final sections of
the film, *The Legend of 1900* [1998], is a powerful illustration of ‘space’ as it exists in the psyche of one person. Directed by the Italian filmmaker Giuseppe Tornatore, this film centres around the story of a man who was born and raised on a ship. Living for his formative years in the labyrinth of the lower decks and later becoming the acclaimed pianist onboard the ship, ‘Danny Boodmann TD Lemon 1900’, (as he was named) is captured in this moving scene as he explains to his friend and fellow musician that he is unable to leave the ship. The vessel, once a glamorous and opulent liner, was re-commissioned and served as a hospital ship during the 2nd world war. Revealing the scars of war-time conflict, the *Virginian* is due to be scuttled offshore. Facing death for 1900 (abbreviated name) is the only prospect for this man who fears the unknown spaces beyond the boundaries of the ship in which he grew up.

What is interesting about this small excerpt from the film, *The Legend of 1900* [1998], is the concept of ships as particular spatial constructs that are defined both by their interior and exterior conditions. In this case the city, a spatial construct that exists only in the imagination of a man who has never transcended the physical threshold of the ship onto land. The closest he came to this was stepping on to the ship’s gangway, but only walking halfway towards land he retreated to the safe confines of the ship. Of course the example here is amplified, as this man having been born and lived all his life within the physical confines of this ship has no comprehension of the world beyond its boundaries. However in the context of tourism it is perhaps interesting to pause for a moment to contemplate the notion of the cruise experience as akin to that found within tourist enclaves. A cruise ship provides an organised, structured space – a safe haven from which to explore particular parts of the world.

The purpose of this brief preamble on space is to highlight the complex and varying approaches to the concept of space. Additionally I argue that a ship and a ship’s interior space is perhaps even more defined not just by its liminal characteristics and physical and symbolic boundaries but also by its exteriority (see McCarthy 2005), in this case the sea –
whether real or imagined. In the same way that it is argued that ships and the spaces onboard ships “…shape the ways that cultures imagine and represent the sea” (Ryan 2006:580), it is argued here that there exists an inevitable duality between the sea and the concept of cruising. The sea as a vast expanse of space is both a natural phenomenon and a discursively constituted cultural artefact. Whether embodied in the corporeal sense or as an imagined construct it is argued that cruise ship space and the cruise ship experience is synonymous with the sea. As such the following section will analyse the cultural significance of the sea, as it exists in the British psyche. In doing so this chapter presents the sea as a physical, symbolic and mythical space, highlighting a variety of ways in which the discourses of the sea underpin this analysis of cruise ship space and the cruise experience.

5.3 The sea as an object of fascination

It is argued here that for many, part of a cruise ship’s attraction (and thus escapism) emanates from the sea, a geography that is not only physical but also imagined. Influenced by religion, myths, exploration and travel the sea symbolises and communicates different things to different people. However for many it is the sheer vastness, distant horizons and unexplored depths of the world’s oceans that engender wonder and contemplation, as Carson (1964:19) states:

Eventually man, too, found his way back to the sea. Standing on its shores, he must have looked out upon it with wonder and curiosity, compounded with an unconscious recognition of his lineage. He could not physically re-enter the ocean as the seals and whales had done. But over the centuries, with all the skill and ingenuity and reasoning powers of his mind, he has sought to explore and investigate even its most remote parts, so that he might re-enter it mentally and imaginatively.

The different philosophies that exist in relation to the cosmology of the earth and its seas, whether created or evolved, continue to be debated and speculated upon, perhaps due in part to the point made by Carson (1964:9) “…that no one was there to see”. Certainly it is contended that for some the continued pre-occupation with the sea is grounded in the very origins of life itself (Carson 1964; Corbin 1994). Metaphorically the link between the sea and the creation of life is reinforced by referring to the ocean as “mother sea” (Carson 1964:20) or a “primordial womb” (Corbin 1994: 110). Indeed emphasising the life-giving properties of the sea, Suzuki (1997: 64) draws parallels between childbirth and the
breaking waters of the womb with the suggested role that the sea plays in the origins of life and the creation of earth.

Both as a physical and symbolic entity, water is central to the concept of life and is revered in much human ritual (Suzuki 1997). However part of life is death and therefore not only does the sea challenge our philosophical views on the genesis of life and of man’s lineage, it also invites contemplation about our own mortality. Carson (1964:20) reminds us of man’s “brief tenancy on earth” with his place in nature often forgotten amidst man-created architectures and urban environments. The sea as a part of nature reminds people of their humanity, that it will outlive them and in doing invites people to contemplate their own place in life. It is therefore argued that the sea functions as a key marker of the symbolic and physical boundaries between life and death and that this notion itself contributes to the lure of the sea. In addition the unpredictable and unexplained physical characteristics of the sea and human inability to exercise control over the powerful forces of nature, further illuminates our fragile existence on earth. Yet despite the apparent dangers associated with the world’s oceans, its hidden depths and feral life forms, Carson (1964) highlights man’s continual efforts to connect with and explore the sea, first by boat on the ocean’s surface and later through technological advances within its inner space.

Intrigue of the ocean’s inner space and its magnetic pull is illustrated in the film The Big Blue [1988], not just a visually spectacular film of the inner space of the sea, but a story about one man’s love of the sea and his addiction to dive ever deeper into the unexplored depths of the ocean. Indeed the technological advancements in underwater breathing apparatus and ways of living in the water world of the ocean were a common theme as far back as the 1800s for writers and cartoonists, due in part to the influence of the writings of Jules Verne and his book Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea (Proujan 1971). Other such stories that keep alive the fantasies, mysteries and intrigue of the unexplored depths of the ocean include the unexplained disappearance of ships and vessels at particular localities, such as in the Bermuda Triangle.

Saturating more than two thirds of the earth’s surface, the often hostile environment of the sea continues to be a landscape for adventure and exploration, perhaps due in part to the point made by Proujan (1971:11) that although “man has climbed to the peaks of the loftiest mountains, and crossed the frozen wastes of the poles, the depths of the sea remain unconquered”. Certainly the more recent experiences of the solo sailor Ellen MacArthur,
who voyaged non-stop around the world in 94 days, and the rowing duo James Cracknell and Ben Fogle who rowed across the Atlantic, while ultimately successful in their objectives, remind us of the cruelty and uncompromising nature of the sea (see MacArthur 2003; Cracknell and Fogle 2006). Challenges to further unveil mysteries of the ocean can be illustrated by searches for legendary cities such as The Lost City of Atlantis and endeavours to detect, explore and sometimes exhume sunken ships such as the Mary Rose. The obsession with reaching the sea depths to explore the Titanic and the ongoing projects, documentaries, films and even conspiracy theories (see Gardiner 2001) surrounding the wreckage reinforce speculation and fascination regarding the power of nature. The Titanic disaster exemplifies the confidence but also the naivety of man about the power of technology against the forces of nature. Disaster movies that draw on the factual events such as A Night to Remember [1958] and James Cameron’s later version, Titanic [1997] or fictional stories such as The Poseidon Adventure [1972] and its sequel Beyond the Poseidon Adventure [1979] continue to circulate within the cultural system of representation. Such discourses serve as reminders of the fragility of technology amid the cruel and unforgiving ocean. Additionally replicating the story of Poseidon in the remake, Poseidon [2006], reinforces the longevity of such stories and highlights the fascination with disaster movies of this kind.

Reflecting on the proposition that the sea constitutes a physical and symbolic boundary between life and death and recognising the plethora of stories that illustrate the dangers of nature, it could be argued that the sea is conceived as a space of risk and fear, that arguably for some, contributes to the lure of the sea. In the same way that motivations for engaging in adventurous and risky leisure activities, such as bungy jumping and white water canoeing is attributed to fear and thrill (Cater 2006), engaging in a variety of adventurous activities associated with the sea such as sailing, surfing, diving and swimming are often imbued with excitement, delight, exhilaration, risk and fear. For some the intrigue and excitement of being at sea or close to nature can be explained by the very thrill of danger itself and associated activities such as those highlighted above. In particular being outdoors is claimed to affect the state of body and mind, and Macnaghten and Urry (2000) highlight the refreshing and rejuvenating attributes of being exposed to the fresh air in all conditions whether hot or cold, wet or dry. They state, “[s]uch fresh air drives the body to do things or go to extremes that singularly contrast with some aspects of everyday life” (Macnaghten & Urry 2000: 2).
Arguably many films set on a cruise ship utilise the landscape of the sea merely as a backdrop in which to frame the concept of a ship at sea. This said Roman Polanski’s film, *Bitter Moon* [1992], situates the surrounding ocean as a prominent feature of the cruise experience. The motion of the ship as it navigates the rough weather and stormy waters, with displaced rolling objects and the ominous creaking of the vessel, is captured throughout the film. During the New Year’s party a wave hits the ship with such velocity that a chaotic scene unfolds with ‘ambient pollution’ (Kwortnik 2008) permeating the ship’s sense-scape. Almost feeling the damp cold air amid the stench of vomit and the stale smell of tobacco and alcohol, the disenchantment of being at sea (see Kwortnik 2008; Chin 2008) is further captured through the ship’s labyrinth of corridors, low ceilings and unnatural lighting, many reaching a dead-end, almost catacomb in character. The difficulties of accessibility for wheelchair bound passengers are evident through the negotiation of awkward doorways and bulk heads. Throughout the film, the leading character Nigel (played by Huge Grant), regardless of weather conditions, constantly seeks escape from the confines of the inner spaces of the ship by going out onto the open deck to breath the sea air.

For some it may be the peace that follows rough seas that holds particular resonance in terms of the lure of the ocean, as Kendall (2005: intro) writes:

> The romance of sailing is undeniable. Gliding through the water, the wind in your hair and the sun on your face is as good as it gets – though it isn’t always so blissful. When there’s a gale blowing and your crewmates are bent over the side, bidding farewell to their lunch, things may not seem so rosy. But that’s the beauty of going to sea – you never know quite what to expect. There is always a new lesson to be learnt or a new delight to be experienced.

Of course our connections with and experiences of the sea in leisure pursuits such as visiting the seaside or by means of a cruise vacation, minimise the dangers associated with the sea. Nonetheless our continual obsessions with the ocean may explain in part the particular desires to be close to and/or sail at sea. Perhaps the sea stimulates our imaginations about the ways in which the world was explored and discovered and in gazing upon the ocean from the shore, the promenade, the pier, or the decks of a cruise ship, we are not only reminded of our place in the world order but we are able to experience the danger of the ocean from a position of relative safety.
The propensity to gaze out to sea from such positions of perceived safety can be illustrated in the social construction of particular sea/land boundaries. For example across the seafronts of Britain, the banal activity of gazing out across the ocean is often facilitated with the selective positioning of seats and benches facing seaward. In addition cafes and restaurants often accommodate views across the sea with the location and design of their facilities. Promenades and headlands both encourage and to some extent control the surveillance of the ocean and the ways in which it is visually consumed with the provision and construction of look out points and telescopes. In fact one of the earliest examples of a mechanical invention specifically designed to capture views of landscapes can be illustrated by the camera obscura (Osborne 2000), one of which still remains as a tourist attraction on the pier on the seafront of the UK seaside town of Eastbourne.

An American traveller, Paul Theroux (1984), observed the apparent immortality of the British seaside icon, the deck chair, and the ubiquitous nature of the seaward gaze as he toured the coast of Britain. He noted, that while the beach often lacked the presence of people, walkers and swimmers there was however the common occurrence of older people sitting in their cars and staring out to sea, remarking, “[i]t was early in my trip but already I was curious about English people in their cars staring seawards, and elderly people in deck chairs all over the south coast watching the waves” (Theroux 1984:92). Describing further the elderly looking out to sea, Theroux (1984:93) also draws parallels between the sea gaze and mortality, referring to,

…sad captains fixing their attention upon the waves. The sea murmured back to them. The sea was a solace. It contained all life, of course, but it was also the way out of England – and it was the way to the grave, seawards, out there, for this peculiar nation it was not only a comfort, representing rigor and strength. It was an end too. Those people were looking in the direction of death.

The above is a rather morbid explanation for the seaward gaze, conversely it could be argued that visual consumption of the sea’s geographies and the propensity to gaze out across the ocean is inspired by a terrain that is characterised by shifts in movement, colour and depth. As Carson (1964:33) states:

The face of the sea is always changing. Crossed by colours, lights and moving shadows, sparkling in the sun, mysterious in the twilight, its aspects and its moods vary hour by hour. The surface waters move with the tides, stir to the breath of the winds, and rise and fall to the endless, hurrying forms of the waves.
The phenomenon of the gaze serves to illustrate the hypnotic powers of the sea and its ability to mesmerise its audience, perhaps attributed in part to the ebb and flow of its tides, as Suzuki (1997:64) describes:

The ocean – shifting, changeable, mysterious – has powerful influence on human life and grips the human imagination. Rising and falling around Earth’s shores, it moves to more than terrestrial rhythms. Pulled three ways, by Earth, the moon and the sun, the tides wax and wane day by day, month by month, season by season, beating out the dance of planet, satellite and star.

Arguably, the ways in which the geographies of the sea are mediated is highly visual. Given the intrigue of a landscape that is constantly changing, it is not difficult to comprehend why the seascape has and continues to be a popular subject of the artist’s canvas. The social construction of nature and associated notions of romance contributes to the ways in which we conceive particular landscapes. Taking a British perspective much of the romantic connotations in respect of the sea can be traced back to the Romantic movement of the eighteen and early nineteenth century with literature, music and art all contributing to the representation of the sea as a romantic construct. For example the origins of marine painting can be traced to the eighteenth century and the work of J.M.W. Turner (Ackroyd 2004). Described as “…the great master of the English Sea” (Ackroyd 2004:264), Turner is further spoken about as an artist that connected with the romance of the sea:

He was the painter of storms, effortlessly able to convey the huge movements of waters; he was the poet of rain-clouds and winds, tracing on canvas the gusts of turbulent light. Once he had himself lashed to a mast so that his own breath and the breath of the sea might be mingled and surely here, if anywhere, there is some native or atavistic spirit at work; it is as if this Cockney boy, who felt the romance of the ocean, was becoming once more the seafarer of the Anglo-Saxon lament (Ackroyd 2004:264).

Artist representations of the sea reinforce much of the symbolic potency associated with the ocean from its cruelty and danger, life and death to its solitude and romance, and thereby contributing to some extent to its magnetic pull.

Our interactions with and experiences of such landscapes be they naturally or socially constructed have been facilitated and enhanced with key technological developments (Macnaghten & Urry 2000). For example the propensity to gaze upon, to visually appropriate and (re)present elements of the natural world was facilitated specifically by key inventions such as photography in the early part of the nineteenth century alongside
developments in transportation technologies (Crawshaw and Urry 1997). In the case of the sea, close synergies can be drawn between the rise in the popularity of the seaside and the evolution of rail travel in the UK (Walvin 1978). The invention of piers and waterborne vessels provided particular ways of connecting with the sea both physically and sensuously. Of course the pier itself was and remains an architecture of the seaside that facilitates walking on water, as Gray (2006:201) asserts:

Walking on to a pier was to be transported ever closer to raw, untamed nature, heightening both the sense of admiration of nature and the accomplishment of the individual making the visit. Moreover, sea air was surely more beneficial over the sea than when breathed on land. And there was the camaraderie to be enjoyed by being with like-minded people. There were new panoramas of the coast to view, storms and sunsets to marvel at, and horizons to contemplate. The pier, as a platform from which to view the horizon, allowed people to reflect on themselves, other places and other times. Although of course it was an illusion, the pier was remarkable in seeming to enable people to journey a little closer to the unobtainable.

It could be argued that sailing at sea, including for leisure purposes, offer the opportunities to experience the sea in such ways that enhance sensory experiences such as the visual. In particular the very nature and art of sailing demands visual surveillance of the ocean’s surface to aid safe passage. In the case of leisure cruising it is argued that advances in shipbuilding and design to some extent both physically and socially construct and control certain embodied experiences at sea. Passengers have time to visually engage with the sea and in doing so the designs of ships facilitate this embodiment of nature. Ships are often carefully designed with open decks and long promenades that encircle the vessel that actively encourage passengers to walk around the ship, in the open space both by day and by night, surrounded by the sea. As Nicholson (2009:58) describes it:

Women and men, of different ages, take part, usually in pairs or small mixed groups. Heads inclined, as if in conversation, suggests that talking is as important as observing although contact with passing officers and seated passengers hints at a mobilised gaze that contrasts with the more sedentary viewing from deck chairs.

As Berger (2004:33) notes, the decks of a ship are “generally quite beautiful and being able to walk around them and watch the sea is one of the great pleasures of cruising”. Despite space constraints the seaward positioning of chairs and sun-beds are common to many vessels. Even windows and portholes encourage the act of looking out to sea. These observations aside, amid the era of mega-ships, the extent to which connections with nature and the sea occur is of interest. Historically, to some extent, the interior design of
ocean liners has always been important in creating diversions for first class travellers away from the unsavoury conditions of sailing at sea and as Kwornik (2008:292) has most recently highlighted, “[m]odern cruise ships simultaneously direct attention to and away from the sea”. He explores the spatial design and architecture of mega ships and certain paradoxes at play, for example the many balconied cabins that enhance the experience of being at sea competes with the resort style facilities that divert passengers’ attention to the inner spaces of the vessels. These observations aside, Kwornik’s (2008) research unveils the significance that some cruise passengers continue to place on connecting with the sea and the surrounding natural environment.

Despite the obvious visual consumption of the sea, our encounters with it are not just of a visual nature, indeed descriptions of the sea invariably allude to other senses such as sound, smell, feel and taste, all of which serve to emphasise the sensory nature of the ways in which the sea is imagined and embodied. Crouch (2000:63) highlights the concept of embodiment as “the ways in which the individual grasps the world around her/him and makes sense of it in ways that engage both mind and body”. He goes on to state that “[i]t is evident that the world is not only ‘out there’ at a distance but surrounds the individual. It is touched and smelt and so on with all the senses working together” (Crouch 2000:68).

Interesting Macnaghten and Urry (1998) highlight the significance of the sense of smell in inducing particular memories of places and refer to the work of Lefebvre (1991) in which it is argued that olfaction in particular is related to the production of space. To further support this view, Macnaghten and Urry (1998:128) cite Rodaway (1994:68) who states:

…the perception of an odour in or across a given space, perhaps with varying intensities, which will linger for a while and then fade, and a differentiation of one smell from other and the association of odours with particular things, organisms, situations and emotions which all contribute to a sense of space and the character to places.

Interestingly, Herzfeld (2001) comments on the link between sensory perceptions and social relations and the fact that the senses, for example smell, are culturally defined in terms of whether they are considered ‘good’ or ‘bad’. Thus smell creates social boundaries. Macnaghten & Urry (1998) contend the embodiment of nature is controlled to some extent by certain practises and conventions pertaining to particular social settings. Indeed the development of the seaside as an attraction and the consumptive practises associated with the beach are very much culturally and socially defined. It is argued that one of the key contributing factors for the emergent popularity of the British seaside in the nineteenth
century was the recognition of the healthy properties associated with the sea and surrounding landscapes, such as the pursuit of fresh, clean ‘smelling’ air in contrast to the ‘bad’ smells of the city (Macnaghten and Urry 1998), or the disease curing properties associated with drinking and bathing in sea waters (Inglis 2000).

Analyses of the history of the sea and seaside (see Walton 2000, Corbin 1994, Howell 1974) highlight the role of society and its power and influence in constructing and often changing accepted practises associated with such places or spaces of consumption. Certainly in Western societies the act of bathing and immersing the body into the sea was not always viewed as a leisure activity or a healthy pastime. It wasn’t until the early eighteenth century that sea bathing began to be popularised, pioneered in part due to the work of medical practitioners such as Doctor Russell, who emphasised the healthy properties of being in or close to the sea. Until then the “classically ruling classes seem to have associated bathing with the orgies of ancient Rome, and perhaps they have expected wanton, tempting nymphs to rise up out of the water” (Howell 1974:7). In particular attitudes to dress and naked display of the body have varied throughout particular periods in time. While Howell (1974:21) highlights pictorial evidence of both male and female nude bathing during the eighteenth century, she goes on to state:

The occasional glimpse of watery nudity may have been permissible in the late eighteenth century, but it became inconceivable for ladies and gentlemen – and on the whole they were the only people who bathed – to walk down naked to the beach. After 1750 a bathing-machine became an absolutely essential part of taking a dip.

The nature of beach spaces and attitudes to body, dress, bathing and promiscuity have long been associated with its liminal characteristics in which accepted socially constituted boundaries and modesty were and continue to be transcended (see Franklin 2003). Indeed Obrador-Pons (2007:123) points out that in terms of the embodiment of the beach, “[t]here are few other public places in western societies in which nakedness is so accepted”.

It has been posited so far that while the sea exists as a physical and natural entity, that as a social and cultural construct it is imbued with much symbolic potency. What is also of importance here are the ways in which the sea functions in defining and characterising a range of symbolic and physical spaces, for example of play, performance, fear, fantasy, and adventure. The notion of boundaries in the context of the sea and ocean cruising is multi-dimensional, for example consideration is given to the ways in which boundaries
both physically and symbolically define and construct spaces of meaning. For example, despite the fact that the world’s oceans appear as vast expanses of water, Chaundy (2000:43) proposes that sea as a natural space can be clearly defined and articulated by land forms, he states, “[t]he sea appears to be a continuous water space, lacking any visible boundaries or spatial sub-divisions. However, its apparent continuity is, of course, ‘interrupted’ by islands and continental land masses. Simplistically then, land forms a boundary to the sea”. Connecting these islands and land masses and enabling mobility between them are the various architectures of the sea including those for leisure purposes such as cruise liners. In the context of the sea as a culturally and socially defined space, the point made by Chaundy (2000) that a mobile society or community exists at sea, formed by the population of those that sail at sea is of particular interest here. He posits that despite the diverse range of waterborne vessels to be encountered at sea, their populations share similar experiences. It is argued here that the sea has a discourse of its own understood by its community and that language is a key boundary that distinguishes between who belongs and who does not belong to this mobile society or community. For example Chaundy (2000: 2) highlights the particular language used by those at sea, “[t]he most basic ‘left’ becomes ‘port’; ‘right’ becomes ‘starboard’; and speeds are measured in ‘knots’.”

Another language associated with the sea and understood by much of its seafaring community is that of mythology. The sea can also be described as a mythical landscape permeated with numerous seafarers’ superstitions and myths, many of which underpin particular representations of the sea in art, literature and poetry (see Raban 2001; De Selincourt, 2002) thus further reinforcing certain imaginations of the sea. Contributing to an array of stories and seafarers’ superstitions associated with the sea, mythology, folklore and tradition are still depicted in certain rituals and behaviour within particular shipping communities. For example, historically, figureheads on the bow of ships were an integral element of their architecture, positioned to guide a ship’s safe path and considered to bring good luck and fortune. Indeed Cordingly (2001:155) contemplates the popularity of female figureheads that reveal one or both breasts highlighting the “…belief that the naked female body could calm storms”. Depicted in much art of Mediterranean people, dolphins are a symbol of maritime power, luck and good fortune (Hall 1994), consequently seafarers are always happy to see them swimming alongside the vessel. The Gods of mythology were also considered to influence the fate of journeys, indeed the temperament of Poseidon, the Greek God of the Sea, was said to determine the sea conditions with his good mood and
calm seas relied upon by sailors for a safe journey. Claimed to be living on the seabed, Poseidon is depicted driving a horse drawn chariot. Symbols associated with the god include dolphins and tridents (Graves 1973). Personified as a man who exerted power over women, it can also be asserted that Poseidon’s dominance controls the feminine sea.

The influence of the less popular Roman god of the sea, Neptune, is illustrated in a ritual carried out at sea when crossing the equator. The “Order of Neptune” as it is named is said to have existed in Western seafaring communities for over four hundred years. The ritual functions to initiate those who have never crossed the equator, named Polliwogs, by those seafarers who have previously crossed the line, known as Shellbacks (Richardson 1977). Contrasting views exist to explain the nature and function of this ritual, for example it is argued that the “Order of Neptune” serves to initiate sailors into the hardship of Naval life at sea life but also to “prove that they have the courage and strength of character to gracefully accept the rowdy humor encountered in daily shipboard life” (Lydenberg 1957 cited in Richardson 1977). Alternatively the ritual is said to have originated in response to “…appeasing the natural forces which had been viewed as monsters or supernatural phenomena in the past” (Richardson 1977). What is interesting here is that this ritual has been appropriated as a passenger activity common to some cruise ships when crossing the equator, thus highlighting the performative aspects of cruise tourism. Perhaps just as Richardson (1977) likened the ritual in sailors’ terms to a rite of passage, for cruise passengers the ritual could be associated with a first time experience or could be in response to upholding superstitions about warding off sea monsters or unfavourable natural forces. Alternatively, such enactments could be due to the structure of the community, communitas and an activity to develop social bonds with fellow passengers and crew. Nonetheless the symbolic significance of the sea here clearly has an influence on the activities and social order for particular cruise ship communities.

It has been argued above that sea itself is an object of fascination. As a discursively produced entity it could be argued that such allure has influence, albeit often at a subliminal level, upon the status of the cruise ship within the cultural system of objects. The following section will explore the notion of cruise ships as symbolic and material objects.
5.4 The cruise ship as symbolic and material objects

Ships as described by Woodman (2005:ix) are “…among the most powerful artefacts produced by the hand of man” with the outer form and architecture of a ship being an ordinary and familiar feature of Britain’s surrounding waters. It is also argued that from an external perspective the physical presence of a cruise ship is banal yet awesome. The excerpt below highlights the way that a ship has the ability to command the curious, enquiring or approving gaze of others:

A ship is an island inhabited yet mysteriously unexplored, self-centred, secretive, wonderful, unique. Silhouetted against a sunset horizon or towering white-topped above a quayside, ablaze with lights or gay with flags, it seems cut off in time as well as space – a presence whose scale is impossible to grasp, and whose indifference to admiration is as maddening as a cat’s (Casson 1969:399).

From a British perspective, as both functional and symbolic objects, ships afford high status in the cultural system of objects. Whether motivated by the search and subsequent colonisation of undiscovered lands or terrains, or to undertake ventures of sport and competition, or for the necessities of trade and battle, as an island state Britain has always had a close affinity with the sea. Britain’s maritime history is rich in stories and narratives of the endeavours of famous mariners, explorers and adventurers such as Sir Francis Drake 1540-1596, Captain Cook 1728-1779, Sir Ernest Shackleton 1874-1922, and Sir Francis Chichester 1901-1972, to mention just a few of the many (see McKenna 2003 [2001]; Ferguson 2003; Lawrence 2004; Rodger 2004 [2005]). As an island state, historical accounts of a nation’s endeavours to defend its land and surrounding waters further enrich Britain’s association with the sea and the symbolic significance of the ship. The sea and thus ships are clearly at the core of its patriotism and sense of national pride. The origin of the song Rule Britannia can be traced back to the celebrations of the “glories of Queen Elizabeth’s reign” (Rodger 2004[2005]). Composed by Thomas Augustine Arne (around 1740) and based on a poem written in the early part of the eighteenth century by James Thomson¹, the song stirs nostalgic and patriotic togetherness as its familiar tunes and words resonate with audiences during many British festivals and music concerts and is always sung to conclude at the annual Prom celebrations: ‘Rule, Britannia! Britannia, rule the waves, Britons never will be slaves’. As such it could be argued that even the sight of a ship out to sea ignites contemplation about self and other, particularly in the case of island

¹ www.britannia.com/rulebrit.html [accessed 26/02/06].
nations such as Britain, in which the sea and its role in the creation of national identity is argued to be highly symbolic (Aslet 1997).

In terms of the connections between national identity and sea travel, Wealleans (2006:2) highlights how a nation’s technical prowess and national rivalry have often been the focus of attention in framing ocean liners as “symbols of modernity”. It is however with the demise of the ocean liner as a dominant form of transportation for long distances, giving way to the advancements in air travel, that Wealleans (2006) refers to as ‘the cult of nostalgia’ surrounding the ocean liner. Arguably such nostalgic reverie associated with a bygone era of sea travel continues to pervade the consciousness regarding cruising today. This is despite the differences between ocean liner and cruise ship travel, as Wealleans (2006:2), argues:

The cult of nostalgia continues to hold sway when considering the history of the liner, and informs the dominant discourse of contemporary cruising, a very different type of activity to travelling by liner. The liner offered transport by sea on various lines, between different ports, for a variety of passengers, whether business travellers or immigrants. Cruising is travel by ship for leisure purposes…

In terms of the UK cruise market, cruise companies have drawn upon their heritage and traditions of sea travel in the branding of their products, particularly drawing on aspects of nostalgia and patriotism (see Morgan and Pritchard 1998; Douglas and Douglas 2001; Douglas and Douglas 2004). Indeed Douglas and Douglas (2004:169) have previously noted that “[a]lthough many cruise lines engage in pseudo-historical rhetoric from time to time, P&O and Cunard are masters of the ‘Golden-Age’ marketing genre, both regularly contesting an imaginary ‘Best of British’ title”. Indeed previous observations regarding the explicit references to the nationality of seafarers in cruise-line’s promotional literature (see Morgan and Pritchard 1998; Wood 2000; Douglas and Douglas 2004) continue to maintain a presence in current promotional material. For example, the discourse of Britishness remains prevalent in the marketing activities of P&O in which the company’s British roots are explicitly emphasised, as evidenced in one of their recent cruise brochures:

Despite our adventurous spirit, we don’t shy away from our British roots. Being British is what makes us unique. We have British officers and serve afternoon tea. Our prices are in Sterling, our ships sail from Southampton and we have celebrated British chefs and popular children’s characters, Noddy and Mr Bump from the Mr Men Show. No matter where in the world you are sailing, you will always feel at home on board Britain’s favourite cruise line (P&O’s brochure 2010/11:5).
In the case of Cunard, the liner’s British heritage is reaffirmed through their reference to ‘voyages’ rather than ‘cruises’. Traditions and touches of nostalgia are ignited through particular rituals such as port ‘sail-aways’ accompanied by music and serving of afternoon tea (Ward 2010). Indeed a recent brochure refers to ‘elegant afternoon tea impeccably served by white-gloved waiters’ (Cunard brochure 2010/11:5).

Whilst some companies have reinforced their British connections in their promotional activities, the reality of fulfilling claims indefinitely is an increasingly challenging endeavour. This is particularly the case in the face of continued globalisation of the industry with an increasingly multi-national work force. Indeed Robins (2008:153) notes the potential demise of the Red Ensign and UK-registered ships amid Britain’s challenge in producing “…enough navigation officers to satisfy demand”. The 2010 launch of Cunard’s new ship, Queen Elizabeth, prompted commentary regarding the difficulties the company faces in fulfilling its requirements concerning British service staff (Ward 2010). The rapid expansion of the industry has resulted in cruise ships becoming increasingly multi-national in terms of their onboard seafaring communities (Wood 2000) with some cruise brands representing more than 50 nationalities (Wood 2000; Gibson 2008). However, a hierarchy of positions based on nationality remains within many areas of the contemporary cruise market, with seafarers from North America, Western Europe and Australia often occupying the higher-ranking positions (Wood 2000; Weaver 2005a; Gibson 2008).

In some cases, the ritualistic naming of ships contribute to the their status as symbols of national pride. Grandeur is connoted in names such as the White Star Lines, Majestic and Titanic (Douglas and Douglas 2004). Cunard illustrates the regal naming of their cruise ships with Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth in the first instance and later QE2 and QM2 continuing this tradition. In the case of QM2, the new ship commanded its presence when on the 26th December 2003 the ship claimed its status as the world’s biggest cruise liner sailing into the UK port of Southampton. Flanked by a flotilla of boats Cunard’s new vessel serenaded onlookers with Land of Hope and Glory and Rule Brittania as she sailed into her home port. The Queen officially named the ship on January 8th 2004, prior to her maiden voyage across the Atlantic to Fort Lauderdale, Florida (Hamilton 2003). The affections that particular vessels receive are often bound up with their own life histories, for example during the Falklands war in 1982, ships well known for leisure purposes, such as P&O’s SS Canberra and the QE2, were re-commissioned as serving wartime vessels.
Post-war they were both returned to servicing the cruise industry with *SS Canberra* withdrawn and sold for scrap in 1997 and more recently the *QE2* being taken out of service to be moored off the coast of Dubai as a luxury hotel.

From a British perspective, the ship has a long and rich heritage of significance and as such exists as a technological invention of considerable importance within the cultural system of objects. Stories of adventure, exploration, wartime endeavours and the like are relentlessly mediated through literature, film and art that recount the awe inspiring tales of human endurance and bravery often amid the perils of the sea. In terms of popular film, there exists a myriad of films that narrate such stories, keeping alive the significance of Britain’s close affinity with the sea and its maritime history. The several iterations of the story of the *Bounty* [*Mutiny on the Bounty* 1935; *Mutiny on the Bounty* 1962; and *The Bounty* 1984] highlight the continued fascination and thus popularity surrounding factual (although often contested) accounts of particular maritime events. These films all construct the story of the mutiny aboard the British Naval vessel, the *Bounty*, during its voyage to Tahiti in 1789. Having reached its destination, amid fears of the return journey under the command of what was reported to be the cruel and callous treatment of Captain William Bligh, the crew take over the ship, setting Captain Bligh adrift in a small boat. The various accounts of the story of the ‘Mutiny on the Bounty’, not only mediate the harsh realities of sailing and living at sea during this particular period of naval history, but also bring together notions of paradise connected to the pacific; romantic and promiscuous adventure; and rebellion against shipboard law and order.

Other stories, both real and fictitious, which are prevalent in British popular culture relate to piracy. Characters such as ‘Long John Silver’ and places such as ‘Treasure Island’ are both familiar in British literature, live performance and film culture. The more recent *Pirates of The Caribbean* [2003; 2006; 2007] trilogy is an excellent example of the continued theme of piracy that exists within popular film. While the notion of piracy is not uppermost in the psyche of modern day cruising there are examples within films that embrace the theme, such as *Adrift* [1993], albeit set onboard a luxury yacht rather than a cruise liner. Examples of shipboard heists include *Speed 2* and *After the Sunset*, both of which involve stealing diamonds onboard cruise ships. *Speed 2* [1997] entails the pursuit of an aggrieved computer programmer who has plotted to steal a fortune of diamonds and to blow the ship up, whereas *After the Sunset* [2004] involves two ex-thieves who are lured
into one final job stealing a famous diamond from a large cruise liner. Arguably in these examples cruise ships not only provide the backdrop against which the stories unfold, but reaffirm the associations of exclusivity and wealth with these architectures of travel and leisure.

Whilst concepts of mutiny and piracy tend to be associated with a bygone era of deviance and lawlessness at sea and therefore not perceived to be commonplace in the contemporary world of cruising, the attack against the *Seabourn Spirit* by Somali pirates in November 2005 is a stark reminder that cruise ships do exist as signifiers of wealth in today’s cultural system of objects and thus are prone to attack. The 10,000 ton luxury cruise ship, *Seabourn Spirit*, was pursued by pirates in 25ft speedboats armed with machineguns and grenade launchers as it navigated the Horn of Africa. Fortunately the particular technologies of modern day ship design enabled the vessel to outrun the pirates thereby evading their aggressive attack. The vessel was also equipped with a sonic blaster, which attacks its assailants with high-powered air vibrations\(^2\).

The cruise industry is segmented in many different ways. Whilst the smaller luxury end of the market is a significant sector of the business, there is a large part of the market that trades on the size, scale and amenities of its vessels. Historically there existed clear demarcations of ownership of shipping companies premised on nation, and consequently ships would have been considered very much symbols of national pride. However in today’s globalised industry (as a result of acquisitions and mergers) the size of a ship is no longer so much about national pride but rather the endeavours of cruise companies to maintain both a prestigious and strong position in the highly competitive market place. Therefore the cruise ship remains a signifying object of industrial supremacy with size being a key indicator of such technical and architectural prowess. It is not surprising therefore to see the constant competition between companies for the title of the biggest vessel (see figure 5.1).

---

Chapter 5: The cruise ship: real and imagined

Figure 5.1 Leading cruise lines: largest ships of their fleet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Ship</th>
<th>Year built</th>
<th>Gross registered tonnage</th>
<th>Number of passengers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Royal Caribbean Int.</td>
<td>Allure of the Sea</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>220 900</td>
<td>5 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwegian Cruise Line</td>
<td>Norwegian Epic</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>153 000</td>
<td>4 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cunard Line</td>
<td>Queen Mary 2</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>148 528</td>
<td>2 620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSC Cruises</td>
<td>MSC Fantasia</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>133 500</td>
<td>3 274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carnival Cruise Lines</td>
<td>Carnival Dream</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>130 000</td>
<td>3 646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celebrity Cruises</td>
<td>Celebrity Eclipse</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>122 000</td>
<td>2 852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P&amp;O Cruises</td>
<td>Azura</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>116 000</td>
<td>3 092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Princess Cruises</td>
<td>Diamond Princess</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>115 875</td>
<td>2 674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Cruises</td>
<td>Costa Serena</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>114 147</td>
<td>3 000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ward 2010

Cunard Line’s Queen Elizabeth at 83,673 tons held the title for the largest ever passenger liner until 1996. This was despite it making its final crossing in November 1968 (Ward 2010:12). The Grand Princess, launched in 1998, superseded this ship in size and thereafter the speed of developments in relation to size has continued over a relatively small time period. The rhetoric surrounding the building of the Grand Princess in 1998, the then largest passenger ship entering the cruise market, confirms the ongoing obsession with size. Arguably even the building of Queen Mary 2 launched in 2004 placed design over the ability to navigate through the Panama Canal. Technological advances in ergonomics and speed have enabled QM2 to be a viable option for a transatlantic crossing, even though its size requires it to navigate its way around the coast of Cape Horn. This said, Cunard’s newest addition to its fleet, the Queen Elizabeth, at 92 000 tons and carrying 2092 passengers is a modest size by comparison reminiscent perhaps of the company’s seafaring heritage.

Given various cruise companies continued activity in competing for the largest, most technologically advanced vessels (Dickinson and Vladimir 2008), it could be argued that the attraction of vacationing on the largest vessel is no longer connected to speed of travel, but rather with aspects of comfort, luxury and facilities. Perhaps in the same way that continued advancement in technologies and design facilitate a constant reshuffling between claims of the biggest and the tallest attractions that adorn the map of must see sights for travel and tourism, sailing on the biggest vessel is just another must do aspect of tourism consumption. Despite what Ritzer and Stillman (2001:95) would term “the allure of the large”, criticism surrounds large passenger ships and limited connections with the sea (Kwornik 2008; Adams 2009). Indeed as Foulke (2002:17-18) remarks, “[a]s cruise
ships grow larger and more luxurious to meet a booming demand, they remove passengers even farther from any perception of the realities of seafaring and distract them with constant entertaining”.

Despite technological advancement and ongoing investments in the size and scale of cruise ships their outer appearances continue to be characterised and dominated by functional attributes. These include windows, swimming pools, smokestacks, portholes, and the like, which contribute to their “industrial aesthetic” (Berger 2004:23). Descriptions of their external ambience range from demure and bland, but with reassuring elegance (Quatermaine and Peter 2006) to streamlined, elegant, handsome, beautiful and interesting (Berger 2004). In addition Berger (2004:23) suggests that “[t]he physical beauty of cruise ships functions as a signifier for people of the wonderful experiences they can expect on the ship when they are passengers, and of the escape from life on the land and its many routines”. Such physical floating objects are designed by professional and technical experts and as such encompass spatial areas in which the technical and service functions of cruising operate alongside a plethora of passenger spaces for hospitality and entertainment. Arguably the size, scale and facilities of the larger vessels, means that cruise ships are taking the form of floating resorts or destinations at sea. As such whether up close or from a distance, the physical outer form of a ship captures the gaze of both the intentional onlooker and the casual passer-by. The juxtaposition of a ship towering above its surroundings, silhouetted against a sunset, illuminated by the moon, or as a far away place out to sea are all familiar images continuously perpetuated through a variety of discourses including those of advertising, popular culture and mass media. In many ways such depictions reinforce the notion of technical supremacy, along with the cultural construction of cruise ships as beautiful architectural objects.

The point highlighted by Berger (2004) regarding the beauty of a cruise ship is interesting in terms of the cultural status of a ship in the ‘system of objects’ (see Baudrillard 1996). At its functional level it could be stated that smaller ships simply provide accommodation and seaborne transportation whilst larger vessels offer these plus a host of facilities akin to those of a land-based resort or destination. Beyond this, whatever the category of cruise ship, it is interesting to consider the culturally defined status of a cruise ship as a beautiful object. In many ways, whilst the functional and technical attributes of modern cruise liners are remarkable themselves, what is of interest are the ways in which “…people relate to
Chapter 5: The cruise ship: real and imagined

them and with the systems of human behaviour and relationships that result therefrom” (Baudrillard 1996:4). Baudrillard further asserts:

> Each of our practical objects is related to one or more structural elements, but at the same time they are all in perpetual flight from technical structure towards their secondary meanings, from the technical system towards a cultural system (Baudrillard 1996:8)

Therefore it is argued here that cruise ships as beautiful objects are culturally defined as such. Drawing on what Baudrillard terms as ‘essential’ and ‘inessential’ aspects of objects, what is of interest is not the concretely objective, structural and technical aspects of the cruise but rather their more culturally defined aspects, thus in this example their beautification (Wang 2000). In terms of beauty, Berger (2004:23) argues that it is because ships are attractive objects that they are “…traditionally personified as feminine”. Certainly historically, as gendered objects, ships for centuries have been regarded and spoken about in feminine terms (Cordingly 2001; Berger 2004). They can also be viewed as objects to be dominated and controlled by the masculine seafarer. The notion of working at sea as a male dominated occupation is deeply embedded in maritime history. Despite significant shifts in the gendered landscape of cruise ship employees into the 21st century, a ship’s workforce remains male dominated both in the ratio of women to male seafarers and in the hierarchy of positions favouring male seafarers (see Thomas 2003; Chin 2008). Although the industry is starting to see the appointment of female Captains the continued use and references to the Captain of a ship as a ‘master’ or ‘commander’ reaffirm the masculine and authoritarian nature of this position. Such discourses contribute to the notion of ships as masculine dominated workspaces. The feminisation of a ship may also align with historical beliefs surrounding women and their “…mystical powers over the oceans” (Cordingly 2001:xv). This is despite particular superstitions regarding women on ships and bad luck, as Cordingly (2001:157) further asserts:

> There have been numerous explanations put forward as to why a ship should be regarded as feminine, some more convincing than others. Some will say it is because the ship is beautiful, or capricious, or full of curves; some will point out the anatomical similarities – that a ship has a head, cheeks, ribs, a waist, a belly, a bottom, and knees; some will say a ship is like a mother and offers womblike protection to those on board; it has also been suggested that sailors think of ships as feminine because there is often a female figurehead.

3 Royal Caribbean International reported the appointment of its first female Captain of a major cruise ship in May 2007 with both P&O and Cunard appointing their first female Captains in 2010
However as Cordingly (2001:157) also points out, it was only the nineteenth century that saw the popularisation of female figureheads, with those from earlier centuries depicting “…male subjects, animals, birds, or monsters”.

As such, part of a ship’s beauty lies in its history. The ways in which ships are personified with a gendered identity serves as a powerful illustration of the historical discourses, fact or fiction, which contributes to the production of these objects as cultural artefacts. Regarding ships as objects and their inessential aspects, Wealleans (2006:6) argues that “[t]he dominant discourse of ocean liner travel is one of luxury and glamour”. Indeed the glamour of cruising can be traced back to the historical development of sea travel amid the era of ‘Edwardian Grandeur’, in which even then big was defined as beautiful (see Robins 2008). Moreover, in terms of romance, Douglas and Douglas (2004:156) highlights the long established notion of romance and the sea in early fictional literature and the ways in which these “…were rapidly reduced to clichés and incorporated into cruise promotion”. Such notions continue to circulate in our cultural milieu through promotion and marketing of cruise holidays (see Berger 2004; Douglas and Douglas 2004; Weeden and Lester 2006). Such concepts are undoubtedly perpetuated through the landscape of popular films (see Atterbury 2009; Douglas and Douglas 2004; Dickinson and Vladimir 2008; Votolato 2007). For example movies such as Romance on the High Seas [1948]; Gentlemen Prefer Blondes [1953]; Doctor at Sea [1955]; An Affair to Remember [1957]; Carry on Cruising [1962]; Ship of Fools [1965]; Out to Sea [1997]; and Titanic [1997] all reveal ship born romances, thus perpetuating the notion of cruise ships as spaces for romantic encounter and promiscuous adventure.

As objects of technical and industrial prowess alongside ‘essential’ and ‘inessential’ (Baudrillard 1996) attributes, it is also argued here that cruise ships are socially defined spatial settings and are far from ordinary places. Also referred to as “floating utopias” (Berger, 2004:65), “heterotopias par excellence (Foucault 1986), or “hedonistic floating pleasure palaces” (Jaakson 2004b:177) cruise ships can be conceived as liminal spaces. Regardless of those who have worked, sailed or spent vacations on ships, it has been previously argued in this thesis that for many people the inner spaces of cruise ships exist little more than as imagined places. When at sea, a cruise ship is not only transient and mobile, but is physically isolated with its inner spaces inhabited by a community of passengers and a ship’s workforce. It could be argued that cruise ships are specific enclave
spaces at sea with their own sub-cultures, articulated through aspects of body, language and image, for example through dress, ritual, and objects. The following section will focus on cruise ships as unique but under explored spaces of postmodern tourism outlining the inherent complexities regarding the production of cruise ship space.

5.5 Cruise ship space as a playground for risk, adventure and play

Lefebvre’s (1991) conceptualisation of the production of space by what he terms a ‘spatial triad’ encapsulates a dialectical relationship between what he refers to as ‘representations of space’, ‘representational space’, and ‘spatial practise’. Representations of space are concepts of space conceived by professionals such as architects and urban designers and those with technical expertise. These spaces are permeated with ideology, power and knowledge. Representational space involves signs and symbols and considers objects and their symbolic meanings and spatial practise involves the embodiment of space. Essentially for Lefebvre space is constructed through the “three-way dialectic of perceived, conceived and lived space” (Hubbard et al. 2004:5 cited in Pritchard and Morgan 2005: 5). Drawing on Lefebvre’s ‘representational spaces’, Meethan (2001:37) describes these spaces as those that are “…partly imagined, and which can provide the focus for identity. In terms of tourism space this would encompass sets of values and meanings, the symbolic element that is derived from the experiences of tourists as much as the inhabitants”. Such a viewpoint is particularly pertinent in the context of cruise ship space, in which tourists and seafarers coexist in lived space of work and leisure.

Whether for work or leisure, cruise ships are unique spaces of living in which various sub-sectors of the cruise ship community coexist. The complexity of ‘cruise ship space’ is illustrated by the particular spaces set aside for various sub-sectors of the onboard community, often accessible dependent on purpose of being onboard and/or status. For example within the seafaring community, there are sub-divisions of officers, staff and crew with permissions to occupy specific spaces commonly dictated by status, position and ethnicity. For example in the context of the eating areas for a ship’s workforce, Thompson (2002:332) describes how “…membership in the officer’s, staff or general crew mess is a symbolic marker of status, from high to low, respectively. Membership in the officer’s mess…brings the highest privileges”.
Regarding the notion of societies at sea, the concept of ships as floating cities can be traced back as far as the early 20th century. For example the memoirs of Captain E.G. Diggle, (Senior Captain of the Cunard Steam Ship Company and Commander Aquitania), first published circa 1930, refers to “…a population of happy travellers who are staying for a brief period in this liner which is the most luxurious and efficient floating holiday resort and city in the world” (Diggle 1989 [1930]:139). The captain is labelled as the ‘lord mayor’ of the city, his ship’s officers described as “…tried and trusted city councillors” (Diggle 1989 [1930]:140). The roles of these councillors are outlined in the following way:

…the staff captain who acts as deputy lord major, and who in addition to being responsible for the running of the city, apart from navigation, also deputises for the captain at many of the social functions which take place during the voyage…the chief engineer who is the engineer of the city, looking after all water, heating and lighting arrangements, the doctor who is medical officer of health for the city, the purser who is town clerk, head of the municipal offices and the official “M.C.” for the city, and the chief steward, who is a councillor peculiar to our city. He is in control of the vast catering arrangements. The daily duties of the captain and his band of officer councillors takes them personally along the main thoroughfares and to public buildings to make sure that everything is in perfect order. In no other city or holiday resort in the world does such a daily inspection take place (Diggle 1989 [1930]:140)

In terms of ‘lived in’ space what is of interest here is the relationship between the architectural design of cruise ships, cruise ship space and such communities. Kuper (1972) highlights the work of the anthropologist Radcliffe-Brown (1940) in which it is clearly posited that all human societies are constituted by some sort of territorial structure and thus it is interesting in terms of cruise ships to explore the defined spaces that are occupied and embodied by the sub-sectors of the onboard communities. Tuan (1977) refers to the term ‘architectural space’ highlighting the role of the built environment in clarifying social roles and relations, “[p]eople know better who they are and how they ought to behave when the arena is humanly designed rather than nature’s raw stage” (Tuan 1977:102). In relation to a ship’s workforce it could be argued that the architectural structures of cruise ships are no different to many work spaces that exist in the Western world in that “[m]any buildings have clearly demarcated front and back regions. People may work in the same building and yet experience different worlds because their unequal status propels them into different circulatory routes and work areas” (Tuan 1977:41). One example of this is where maintenance men and janitors enter buildings via service doors and “move along the “guts” of the building”, whereas executives and secretaries use front entrances and “move through the spacious lobby and well-lit passageways to their brightly furnished offices” (Tuan
Clear synergies can be made here with a ship’s crew in the first example and staff and officers in the second.

Rules and regulations regarding access to particular spaces of a ship are not just confined to a ship’s workforce. Beyond the aesthetics of the immediate passenger spaces a ship encompasses a labyrinth of engineering genius that, from a safety perspective alone, denies passenger access and exploration. Reflecting on the point made earlier by Casson (1969) that ships are inhabited spaces that remain unexplored, secretive and mysterious, even for the experienced cruise tourist there exists a multitude of backstage areas that remain beyond the gaze of the passenger. Such visual inspection of working spaces such as the galley, engine rooms or the bridge is one that is carefully constructed and controlled and usually only permissible through prior invitation and guidance. Quatermaine and Peter (2006:101) remind us of such complexity in the infrastructure of ships and states that such spaces usually operate out of sight for passengers, “unless they opt for a conducted galley tour to see the technology required for producing daily some 3,000 gourmet breakfasts, lunches and dinners”.

Therefore, there exist many back-stages within the working and living world of cruise ships that passengers are unable to access. Coupled with the point made earlier that a large proportion of the population have yet to experience the inner milieu of cruise ships, popular film represents a significant medium through which these spaces are both constituted and revealed to the film spectator. However these spaces are constructed through the powerful editing of the filmmakers and production teams. Thus particular spaces that exist in the mind’s eye are only partial and in some cases fictitious constructs.

The absent discourses surrounding the harsh realities and working conditions for crew onboard ships have a long history both in publicity material and then reinforced through film. As Atterbury (2009) reminds us the boiler room for example, was one of the toughest workplaces that the modern industrial society had brought into existence, yet caught up in discourses of liners as national symbols and patriotism there was a lack of critical reports and evidence surrounding these working conditions in the social democratic press.

Rituals and aspects of behaviour within the confines of the cruise ship present some interesting areas of enquiry. Many of these traditions and expectations of behaviour that remain prevalent within today’s cruise industry have origins that can be traced back to the
Chapter 5: The cruise ship: real and imagined

colonial period and the years of the British Empire. For example Farrell (2004) recounts his experiences as a university student sailing back and forth between Britain and the then colonised Indian empire. During this time the best accommodation onboard was the privilege of the upper classes and, in terms of dress, Farrell would imitate the appearance of Second World War Naval officers affording him particular luxuries when sailing at sea. The notion of officer status clearly signalled a position and status, as he recounts, “…the posh people were those whose cabins were ‘port out and starboard home’. Thereby avoiding the most oppressive effects of the sun on both stages of the journey” (Farrell 2004:12).

Passenger hierarchies and the notion of social status are also well documented in relation to ships such as the *Queen Mary* and *Titanic*, for example, first class passengers would frequent prominent public areas whereas the lower class passengers, particularly those referred to as ‘steerage’, would generally be prevented from entering such spaces. Indeed Casson (1969:400) points out the adoption of particular design considerations in ship building of the time and gives the example of one particular cruise line in which the provision of windows “ for the third class passengers were [to] prevent their being seen by, or at least brought to the attention of, their wealthier fellows”. To some extent it could be argued that shifts within the industry to move away from class-rated ships conflicts with the nostalgic reverie associated with the origins of this type of travel and vacationing. Only a few vessels have maintained distinctions of class through grades of accommodation and subsequent dining arrangements (Cartwright and Harvey 2004), one of which was Cunard’s *Queen Elizabeth 2*, however as mentioned earlier the QE2 has now been taken out of service.

In terms of seeing cruise ships as representations of space, Berger (2006:127) posits that ships are sign systems in themselves, “full of signs designed to convey certain meanings and feelings to passengers”. For example the interior design features that play to the sensory experience of space include the use of original art and paintings to adorn the interiors of many ships and the presence of string trios and quartets. Particular ‘tastes’ in art, entertainment, fine wining and dining all contribute to and signify ‘class’, and elite status. In his work *Distinction*, Bourdieu (1984) examines the inter-relationship between materiality, taste and social status stating, “that value judgments about ‘good’ and ‘bad’ taste are deeply entwined with social divisions of class, wealth and power” (cited in Painter
Chapter 5: The cruise ship: real and imagined

2000:240). One such signifier of ‘taste’ within cruising may be conceived through codes of conduct pertaining to dress. From a passenger perspective the cruise industry has a long tradition of expected dress codes, particularly for dining, occasions such as Captain’s Cocktail and access to particular public spaces in the evening. During the inter war period shipping companies and major department stores, such as Messrs. Lewis of Manchester, worked together to create elaborate window displays to promote cruising as a leisure activity (Coons and Varias 2003) and thus its dress codes entered the public psyche.

Amid the connections between Hollywood and the glamour of leisure cruising (Votolato 2009), many popular films have and continue to perpetuate particular discourses connected with appropriate dress codes. Whether a musical (Gentlemen Prefer Blondes [1953]); romance (Romance on the High Seas [1948]), comedy (Out to Sea [1997]), drama (After the Sunset [2004]), tragedy (Poseidon [2006]) or horror, (Ghost Ship [2002]) the depiction of cocktail dresses, ball gowns, suits and black tie contributes to the ongoing associations of particular dress with cruising. Romance On The High Seas [1948] explicitly highlights the rules and rituals surrounding dress and codes of conduct, although in this case what is captured is the inappropriateness of wearing ones’ finest attire during the first evening of sailing. Despite the growth of the industry and resultant product diversification, such codes of conduct surrounding dress etiquette remain eminent in many areas of today’s cruise market. While it has been noted that in terms of the modern cruise experience, the formalities associated with dress are a fast declining requirement (Ward 2010), a cursory review of information provided by cruise companies to consumers in relation to dress underlies the significance of ‘rituals of dress’. Such rituals serve as key markers of identity contributing to aspects of social acceptance, social bonding and social ordering, as Entwistle (2000:327) outlines:

> Dress lies at the margins of the body and marks the boundary between self and other, individual and society. This boundary is intimate and personal, since our dress forms the visible envelope of the self…it is also social, since our dress is structured by social forces and subject to social and moral pressures.

Although considered a dated concept, it is argued that class-based systems are still inherent within many sectors of the modern cruise industry. Certainly the idea of possessing and demonstrating cultural capital remain current within Western contemporary societies and

---

4 See P&O’s guidelines on dress codes on their website in a section labeled ‘new-to-cruising’ [www.pocruises.com]
the very fact that the cruise industry is segmented into luxury, premium, contemporary and budget products (WTO 2010) demonstrates the conspicuous consumption patterns synonymous with this type of holiday experience, predominately based on affordability. Arguably the continued success of the industry has been in its ability to adapt to its broadening consumer profile and in some sectors “…avoiding the rigidities imposed by the social conventions of the classic transatlantic voyages” (WTO 2010:1). Despite the relaxation of dress codes and the suspension of class-based ships, the rituals of dress and events such as the Captain’s cocktail and formal evenings have demonstrated some resilience in this changing environment. It is perhaps interesting to note that P&O’s Ocean Village brand has now been disbanded, with its two ships re-assigned to P&O Cruises (Australia) fleet in 2010 (Ward 2010). Ocean Village was branded on the relaxed and more informal nature of cruising with its slogan: ‘the cruise for people who don’t do cruises’.

Regardless of choice of cruise, the cruise experience is often considered to be a luxurious affair, as Jaakson (2004b:177) claims “[c]ruise ships are hedonistic floating pleasure palaces where the well-to-do from developed countries enjoy themselves in pampered luxury”. Certainly, the industry with continued advancements in the technologies of shipbuilding and design continue to sell the cruise experience as one of “luxury, elegance, refinement and pleasure…freedom and escape” (Berger 2004:24). Berger (2004) outlines various aspects of the cruise experience that remain evident within the contemporary milieu of cruising, these include: types of cabins; the dining areas and menus; aspects of high culture captured in the architecture of a ship including the galleries of art; dress codes; class; and destinations that make up the itinerary. Cumulatively, these aspects continue to signify the opulence and luxury that dominates people’s perceptions of cruising. In terms of space, Berger (2004:31) highlights the cultural phenomenon between space and wealth, stating that,

…popular culture teaches us that a relationship or association exists between space and wealth…the wealthy generally live in large homes with a great deal of space…[t]hus on cruise ships, generally speaking, the more the space you have, the more you’ve paid for your cruise.

While Berger (2004) makes his comments from the United States perspective, his thinking aligns very much with the British perspective. Britain has a rich maritime history steeped in aspects associated with wealth and opulence that undoubtedly has impacted upon dominant ideologies associated with modern day cruising. In addition, it could be argued
that much of the concept of modern day cruising is infiltrated with American style opulence in terms of the size and scale.

There is little doubt that as the cruise sector develops and expands it continues to trade on the opulent and luxurious nature of the experience. In contrast to the continued romanticization (Wang 2000) of cruising, there exists much significant debate and criticism surrounding the negative aspects of the cruise industry and its human resource policies (see Wood 2000; Klein 2002; Mather 2002; Zhao 2002). Observations are made both about the number of nationalities that make up a ship’s workforce and the origin of employees (see Wood 2000). For some, the subservient nature of the encounter between employees and passengers raises concerns, for example Jaakson (2004b:178) describes cruising as the “ultimate example of neocolonialist tourism in a Champagne Glass World”, highlighting the strong presence of service related staff from the developing world. The extensive range of nationalities working on cruise ships together with high service-level expectations present challenges for cruise operators in terms of managing a diverse group of frontline ‘service’ staff (Lee-Ross 2006). Indeed, Weaver (2006) who draws on the work of Ritzer and Liska (1997) and their concept of cruise ships as McDisneyized holiday environments states, “[t]hese McDisneyized ships contain fantasy-oriented realms that exemplify the core principles that characterize McDonaldization: efficiency, predictability, calculability and control” (Weaver 2006:395). Importantly beyond this immediate realm of what can be described as themed and simulated environments (Weaver 2006), it is not just the expected levels of service excellence that foster the requirement for high degrees of onboard operational control. There is a more serious side that necessitates high levels of seafaring expertise and experience to ensure safe sailing. Consequently clear chains of command, regulation of behaviour and a sense of order would be integral to ensuring safety aspects of cruising and to meeting high expectations of the service delivery.

The existence of a cohesive society rather than that of a disparate collection of individuals may be determined not just by physical boundaries but also by what Chaney (1993:13) refers to as “predictability of order”. He notes that order and cohesion within societies evolve in many ways, both formally though the laws and regulations within societies and informally through what are perceived to be normal, morally correct or expected modes of behaviour. A ship’s workforce have clearly defined roles to play with a hierarchy based on position and status identified by uniforms and governed by stringent rules and regulations
Chapter 5: The cruise ship: real and imagined

(Lee-Ross 2006). Additionally as briefly highlighted above, passengers also have their particular roles to play and to some extent are also governed by rules, regulations and expected norms of behaviour. The references to ‘role’ and ‘play’ position cruise ships as spaces of performance, therefore one of the interesting areas of inquiry here, is how the concept of performance can be applied to cruise tourism and as such how particular performances contribute to establishing order and regulating behaviour.

A variety of discourses have drawn on the metaphor of performance to conceptualise and analyse tourist practices (see Adler 1989; MacCannell 1999; Chaney 2008; Edensor 1998, 2000, 2001). From a sociological perspective, Chaney (2008:195) notes that the dramaturgical metaphor derives from the viewpoint that “…social life is best understood as a form of dramatic performance”, and thus the social context which the practice of tourism occupies can also figuratively be described in terms of staging, performance, actors and roles. Thus what is interesting is how some of the rituals of cruise-based tourism both from the production and consumption perspectives can be related to theatre and the performance metaphor. As previously noted, modern cruise ships are specifically created tourist attractions, their built architecture creating a series of carefully designed spaces. Metaphorically the ship is the setting containing designated front and back stages (see MacCannell 1999) and a variety of spaces for performance. The metaphors of role, actor, audience, spectator and performer are all useful in the analysis of not just the ways in which “audiences consume or appropriate a tourist site” (Chaney 2008:196) but in terms of cruise ships and the ways in which such spaces are embodied by its community.

Between the technical seafaring operations of the ship and its hotel operations (Cartwright and Baird 1999; Douglas and Douglas 2004) the work of employees servicing the hotel operations are perhaps more visible. The enclosed and isolated structure of cruise ships create a confined working environment in which service orientated employees are subject to both intimate and frequent contact with passengers, all of which contribute to the notion that they perform ‘emotional labour’ (see Weaver 2005c; 2006). Drawing on theories of theatre acting techniques, Hochchild’s (1983) concept of emotional labour investigates the importance of emotions particularly in service-related environments and focuses on how people deal with and control their emotions and how such emotions can be commercialised (Zhao 2002). Certainly in cruise tourism where the service encounter is an intimate one the smile is significant, employees are expected to create and maintain a favourable mood
during their interaction with the passengers. Weaver (2005c; 2006) articulates the importance of such social interaction between tourists and front stage employees on board cruise ships such as restaurant and bar waiters, cabin stewards, cruise directors and assistant cruise directors, however the extent of this interaction is carefully controlled in that their performance in these passengers spaces are for finite periods of time. Certainly in the case of restaurant and bar staff and cabin stewards when off duty they must retreat and remain in crew-only areas (Mather 2002 cited in Weaver 2006). Status dictates the levels of freedom and the areas of the ship that certain employees have access to, for example those employed to host and entertain passengers and those with officer status have less restrictions placed on them and are able to frequent passenger spaces to a much greater extent. Nonetheless their presence is expected to enhance ambience of the ship’s environments and issues of emotional labour are just as significant despite greater degrees of access or freedom.

From the passenger perspective they too can be considered actors taking on defined roles and performing rituals. As has been previously stated, dress defines position and enables certain roles to be carried out effectively and what is interesting here is how the defined spaces and architectures of ships enables and facilitates particular performances. Arguably the ceremonial ‘dressing up’ for occasions such as the Captain’s Cocktail and Dinner is still synonymous with the concept of modern cruising. Despite the point made earlier in relation to the relaxation of formal dress codes within some sectors of the industry, in many cases the opportunity to dress for such dinner occasions is still a cherished ritual embraced by many passengers. The architectural and spatial design of cruise ships provide an abundance of opportunities for surveillance and gazing both in public and private / external and internal areas of the ship, some of which include the tiered decks, balconies, the bridge, portholes and windows, the internal galleries and cascading staircases. In the context of the cruise experience to ‘look’ or to be ‘looked’ at, to ‘desire’ or to be ‘desired’ (see Sturken & Cartwright 2001), encompasses performative displays of opulence and wealth. Davis (1990) draws on the relationship between Foucault’s concept of the gaze and surveillance and applies it to the spatial form of shopping malls and what is termed by Davis (1990) as ‘the mall-as-panoptican-prison’ (cited in Aitchison et al 2000). In the context of cruise tourism, it can be argued that dress is associated with social divisions of class, wealth and power. As such parallels can easily be drawn with the flanuer-like
Chapter 5: The cruise ship: real and imagined

consumption (Bauman 1996) of cruise ship space as passengers stroll the decks displaying and performing “their social and cultural identities” (Aitchison et al 2000:21).

So what is emerging here is that the production of space is both multi-faceted and complex. These explorations into the concept of cruise ship space reveal that amidst the physical shell of a ship, there exists a plethora of spatial areas in which a diverse but relatively ‘ordered’ society comes into being. The points already made with respect to the confined and detached nature of such floating hotels coupled with the high degrees of regulation raise some interesting questions regarding spaces that facilitate liberation from the rigors of such structures. What is interesting then is to consider the ripples of behaviour that exist beneath the levels of formality and what this may reveal about the nature of cruise ship spaces that are not immediately apparent amidst the highly regulated spaces. In doing so it is useful to briefly reflect upon what Turner (1974) refers to as ‘social anti-structure’.

Turner (1974:24) adopts a cautionary approach in using words such as ‘community’ and ‘society’ in that such concepts are invariably conceived as static. He reminds us of the difference in the conception of the natural world and the social world, stating, “[t]he social world is a world in becoming, not a world in being…” One of the key arguments that Turner (1974:47) puts forward is the notion that “[s]tructure is all that holds people apart, defines their differences, and constrains their actions…” In the context of cruise ships the word ‘structure’ can be aligned with thinking about systems of organisation, predictability of order and a sense of community, all of which has been argued so far to contribute to factors such as safety and service quality within cruise operations. However the point about social structure and its propensity to restrict behaviour is interesting given the fact that cruise ships are highly regulated and structured spatial environments. The enclave and detached nature of cruising provides limited opportunities to escape beyond the physical boundaries of the ship. Even when doing so the nature of cruising often entails limited periods of time in port and thus even onshore experiences become highly controlled for passengers and employees alike (Weeden and Lester 2006). Therefore questions surface regarding the existence of cruise ship communities and the extent to which social anti-structure exists and/or whether it is required to counterbalance established order. To a large extent the issue of counterbalance has long been embraced as a justification for going on holiday. Synonymous with the notion of escapism, being a tourist is all about leaving
behind the social structures and formalities encountered in the home and work environment, in that by going away to another place there exists a temporary release from these. The liberating nature of being a tourist is neatly expressed by Best (2003:239) when he states, “[h]ome may offer security, but it has the numbing boredom of a prison”. Despite the points being made about cruise ships as highly structured and controlled environments, from the passenger perspective the cruise experience has been conceptualised as a ‘carnivalesque’ experience (Berger 2004).

The concept of the ‘carnivalesque’ is most notably associated with the work of Bakhtin and his analysis of popular humor and folk culture in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Of particular interest to Bakhtin was how medieval carnivals created spaces of play and laughter and thus facilitated periods of release from the dominant social structures and established order of the time. Bakhtin (1984:10) states “…carnival celebrated temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order: it marked the suspension of all hierarchal rank, privileges, norms and prohibitions. Carnival was the true feast of time, the feast of becoming, change and renewal”. As pointed out by Webb (2005:121), for historians and sociologists “…utility of the concept of carnival lies in its capacity to illuminate potentially transgressive elements within popular and social practises”. Moreover as Chaney (1993:30) states, “[c]arnival is a zone, of both space and time, within which excess is licensed and the spectacle consists in a parodic transgression of the presuppositions of conventional order”.

Embracing the concept of the carnivalesque, Berger (2004) states that “[c]ruises are a modern attempt, somewhat modified from medieval forms of carnival, to introduce to contemporary life the sense of liberation and joy that took place during carnival time” (see figure 5.2).
Figure 5.2 Cruise and the carnivalesque

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Carnival period</th>
<th>Cruising</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>particular time period</td>
<td>length of cruise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suspension of class differences</td>
<td>diminution of class differences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joyfulness and laughter</td>
<td>joyfulness and laughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>freedom</td>
<td>freedom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>satires and other theatrical events</td>
<td>shows, spectacles, comedians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feasts</td>
<td>eight-course meals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>games</td>
<td>bingo, gambling, other games</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abundance</td>
<td>twenty-four-hour dining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saturnalia</td>
<td>captain’s champagne party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sense of community</td>
<td>escape from alienation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Berger (2004:47)

At one level Berger’s (2004) deconstruction of the contemporary cruise experience as a form of carnivalesque works well, although it does not explicitly recognise the significant product segmentation that now exists in the sector. For example, as highlighted earlier in this chapter, I have argued that class-based systems do remain evident in many areas of the cruise industry, although these may be enacted in different ways today than those historically associated with society based class divides. It does illustrate the transient and temporary nature of cruising in which, as Berger (2004) claims, there develops notions of community, freedom, equality and a sense of abundance. Berger’s analysis clearly positions the carnivalesque within the realm of the consumer in that, not uncommon to many other forms of tourism, the hedonistic nature of the cruise experience offers escape and respite from the exertions of ordinary life. Clearly one of the dominant themes in Bakhtin’s analysis of medieval carnivals, a characteristic embraced by Berger (2004) in his analysis of contemporary cruising, is the notion that the suspension of daily formalities and social order manifested itself during carnival periods in the spectacle and laughter. However, looking beyond the immediate facade of cruise ship space there exists another set of realities that are more uncomfortable to focus on. Therefore it could be suggested that the carnivalesque is the mask beneath which certain realities are hidden, it protects passengers from thinking about issues such as control and order, dangers of the sea and being explicitly exposed to disconcerting human resource policies such as long hours, low wages and restrictive living conditions (see Wood 2000; Klein 2002; Mather 2002; Zhao
Instead the ship is the theatre and the employees are the props, for example without the presence of the Captain on the formal evenings there would be little point in inviting selected guests to dine at his table.

In a similar vein, many parallels can be drawn between cruise ships and Foucault’s (1986) heterotopias. In relation to the ways in which cruises are narrated as safe, self contained and relaxed spaces, Wealleans (2006:3) asserts “…the notion of heterotopia … underpins the popular perception of cruise”. Certainly, in the context of this study, it could be argued that cruise ships as imagined spaces of travel and tourism are ‘heterotopias par excellence’ (Foucault 1986). Foucault (1986:27) describes the ship as “…the heterotopia par excellence…a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea”. In contrast to utopias that “…are fundamentally unreal places” (Foucault 1986:27) ships do exist as waterborne architectural structures, but at the same time for some they exist as “enacted utopias” (Foucault 1986:27). However in the context of cruise ships, Foucault’s heterotopias of space necessitate some thought regarding the heterogeneous nature of ship space. As I have explored throughout this chapter, cruise ships are complex, multifaceted architectures with their spaces embodied and experienced by different sectors of the cruise community in different ways. As Foucault (1986: 25) asserts, “[t]he heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible”. Furthermore, such heterogeneity is premised on the notion of accessibility and inaccessibility, where “[e]ither the entry is compulsory, as in the case of entering a barracks or a prison, or else the individual has to submit to rites and purifications. To get in one must have a certain permission and make certain gestures” (Foucault 1986:26). In the context of cruising such notions align not only with formal rules and regulations surrounding who is permitted to occupy certain defined spaces premised upon purpose of travel and identity, but also in relation to certain traditions and rituals of cruising as aforementioned in this chapter. In terms of the heterogeneous nature of cruise ship space, the disparate realms that exist between spaces of consumption and production are argued to be interrelated, rather than visibly disconnected, and thus Weaver (2005a:174) argues that “…cruise ships are, in certain ways, inconsistent with Foucault’s definition of heterotopias”. However I would argue that even given some insight, awareness and visibility into the production side of cruise ships, for many people cruiseships are imagined worlds of excess, indulgence and escape.
It is easier to align our thinking about the carnivalesque and heterotopias to the consumptive elements of cruising. However, for those employed on cruise ships their existence is very different. Given the size of the industry and the number of vessels servicing cruise tourism, relatively little is known and overtly documented about the living spaces of cruise ship employees. Where we are invited into the working world of cruise ships a confusing and partial picture emerges transcending between on the one hand glamorous portrayals of living and working at sea and on the other hardships and poor working conditions associated with such employment. Therefore other than first hand experience, to some extent it is left to us to imagine how those working and living in highly regimented spaces counterbalance the constraints placed upon them. For some their job role entails interaction with passengers and as previously stated are privileged with greater access to public spaces on the ship. However even these seemingly ‘privileged’ employees embody such spaces aware of their position and the panoptic style surveillance (Foucault 1991) that overseas and monitors their activities. In the face of tough working regimes, long working hours and the intensities of performance due to lengthy periods of contact with passengers, it is interesting to contemplate the extent to which employees can really escape from the hierarchal structures of command. It is not the conjecture here that the carnivalesque can be contextualised in terms of employees, nor is it the intension to speculate that the architectures of ships do not provide havens for crew, staff and officers to party, cavort and generally ‘let off steam’. For example staff/crew bars and deck parties are not uncommon to ship life, nonetheless such activities are arguably still formally sanctioned and as such are controlled forms of ‘social anti-structure’ and thus remain imbued with notions of power.

The complexity of such liminal spaces and how they are conceived and experienced in different ways by various sectors of a community is illustrated in Pritchard and Morgan’s (2005) analysis of hotels. They highlight the concept of liminality as both complex and problematic in that transcending an imagined boundary or threshold leads to escapism and freedom for some, but for others such spaces maybe also threatening and dangerous. They state,

…we need to appreciate that the concept of liminality should be problematised to recognise context and to acknowledge that no territory or place can offer equal freedom from restraint to all nor can it be uniformly experienced since spaces are hybrid, mutable and protean. (Pritchard and Morgan 2005:4).
They describe entering a hotel as crossing “…an imagined threshold into a liminal place, which is strange, yet familiar, which offers freedom for some, but constraint, risk and unease for others” (Pritchard and Morgan 2005:8-9). In contrast to much of the theorising about tourism as liminal spaces in which the tourist has often been the focus of the enquiry, Pritchard and Morgan’s (2005) analysis encompasses liminality as experienced by hotel employees. It is suggested that sexual predators in terms of seeking and/ or inviting promiscuous encounters often embody liminal spaces. However in the context of hotel space, Pritchard and Morgan (2005) contend that not all such advances are appreciated highlighting situations in which staff have been subjected to unwelcome advances from customers.

Such a viewpoint holds particular resonance when applied to cruise ships as floating hotels due to the confined nature of working and living at sea. Certainly as expressed earlier, a set of dominant discourses surrounding the cruise experience continue to mediate such holidays as romanticised adventures. Because of the isolated nature of cruise ships that function both as a place to work and live for employees illicit behaviour and sexual harassment are genuine concerns. The asymmetric power relations that emerge within the work force created through hierarchal roles, positions and ethnicity perpetuate concerns over the potential for licentious sexual advances (see Mather 2002). Indeed sustained inquiry conducted by the Seafarers’ International Research Centre (Cardiff University), has exposed many of the realities of life at sea. Their research looks at all seafarers but nonetheless raise important questions about communities working and living at sea, systems of governance and human resource policies, all of which can be contextualised within the cruise industry (see Zhao 2002). Certainly the industry has received greater attention in recent years in terms of the need to be regulated to ensure employees are protected against discrimination and poor working conditions. However as illustrated in the early sections of this thesis, the cruise industry is continuing to grow and the architectures of cruise ships are reaching another dimension in terms of size and scale, all of which contribute to the complexity of cruise ship space and the societies that live within them.
5.6 Chapter summary

This chapter has illustrated how built architectures, natural landscapes, and mediated discourses can all be conceived as unique spaces that collectively frame and constitute the practice of cruise tourism. Drawing on particular aspects of maritime history, the technologies that have enabled particular ways of physically connecting with and exploring the sea and the evolution of attitudes that exist in relation to the sea and the seaside itself, this chapter has offered some insights into the cultural significance of ships and how these spaces of travel and tourism may exist as real and imagined constructs.

Utilising Lefebvre’s (1991) ‘spatial triad’ as an overarching concept that recognises the relationship between physical space, experiential space and symbolic space, this chapter has sought to explore the complex and multifaceted nature of cruise ships and their embodied practices. In doing so I have argued that the sea, as a physical, symbolic and mythical space, is inextricably linked with the concept of cruising. With all its symbolic potency the sea is a socially constituted construct contributing to the ways in which ocean travel and cruising is represented, imagined and experienced. This is not just in relation to the symbiotic relationship between the sea and ship, but also through the symbolic and cultural significance of ships. I have drawn on various spatial concepts including Tuan’s (1977) notion of ‘architectural space’, Foucault’s (1986) ‘heterotopia’ and Bahktin’s (1984) ‘carnivalesque’ in its conceptual framing of the relationships between built environments, spatial boundaries and the functioning of temporary and transient societies at sea. Importantly what I have highlighted is the ways in which such spaces can be conceived and experienced in various ways by different people, communities and their sub-sectors.

What I endeavour to do in the following three chapters is to unveil my experiences of the films *Carry on Cruising* [1962], *Ship of Fools* [1965], and *Titanic* [1997]. What is of primary concern is how these films, as cultural artefacts, mediate particular discourses surrounding sea travel and how the discourses of these popular films contribute to *regimes of truth* (Foucault 1989) surrounding the concept of cruise ship space and the cruise experience.
Chapter 6  Carry on Cruising

6.1 Introduction
The first of the Carry On movies to be filmed in colour, Carry On Cruising [1962], mediates the promiscuity so commonly associated with taking vacations at sea. This is not surprising given the seaside postcard ‘naughty but nice’ style humour (Campbell 2005) that arguably transcends the twenty-nine films of the series produced between 1958 and 1980 (Richards, 1997). Reputed to be “the same film made twenty-nine times”, Richards (1997:165) goes on to describe the formulaic nature of the Carry On series as:

[deploying] a talented cast of farceurs repeating in a variety of settings a familiar repertoire of sketches, jokes and characterizations derived from music-hall skits and routines and from the saucy seaside postcard world of Donald McGill, a world of fat ladies, and overflowing bosoms, nervous honeymoon couples and randy jack-the-lads, chamber pots and bedpans.

In many ways the 1962 production could be interpreted as a farcical comedy with the ship setting merely serving as an alternative backdrop in which to situate a similar set of escapades involving a familiar mix of characters that became so synonymous with the genre of the Carry On films. Yet en-route to Spain, Italy and North Africa, life onboard SS Happy Wanderer reveals many aspects of holidaying at sea that I associate with the contemporary cruise experience.

As I enter the liminal zone of Carry on Cruising both in terms of entering and embodying the landscape of the film and that of the passenger liner, SS Happy Wanderer, I initially allow myself to be led by the film-maker through a narrative that in many places I find amusing. I smile at the deliberate avoidance of using the correct nautical terms and chuckle, at the same time as recollect my own seafaring experiences, when the ship’s chef consistently suffers from sea-sickness when out of sight of the ocean. A cursory surveillance of the landscape around me makes visible connotations of romance and promiscuity associated with the temporal consumption of such spaces of transgression. As I move through Carry on Cruising I find myself in a complex multi-faceted, multi-layered space imbued with contradictions and incomplete texts. As I travel through the body of the film I will present my analysis and interpretation of the discourses I encounter drawing on key themes such as ship society; performance and play; surveillance and power; and romance.
As I visually survey the inner spaces of the ship I encounter the simplicity of its aesthetic landscape. Filmed entirely at Pinewood Studios in the UK, a full-scale replica of the ship was created which encompassed “…a games deck, a bar, cabins and a swimming pool” (Webber 2008:66). In addition to capturing various coastlines, film shots also included a cruise liner in Southampton Dock (Snelgrove 2009) and those of a ship entering and leaving port, which was probably filmed in Gibraltar (Webber 2008:66). The film’s credits acknowledge the assistance of ‘P&O Orient Lines’ in the making of the film and as such it can be assumed that this cruise company influenced the construction of the full size replica and particular ship scenes. Seemingly Carry on Cruising in terms of ship design is representative of an era that saw the abandonment of interior grandeur in place of simple design. Indeed Sir Colin Anderson (a Director of The P. & O. Steam Navigation Company) in an address to the Royal Society of Arts in 1966 polemically challenged the need for dramatic interiors in ships stating “…is drama necessary in the ship interior? Is the sea not dramatic enough? Should not calm, elegance and comfort be a more important element in the design of a passenger ship than drama?” (Anderson 1966:481). Indeed the interior design of the SS Happy Wanderer demonstrates the rather austere features common to British shipbuilding and cruise liners of the time (Cartwright and Harvey 2004). It is the antithesis to the architectural grandeur so commonly associated with cruising from a bygone era (Casson 1969) and the concept of cruising in today’s contemporary cruise market (Quartermaine and Peter 2006). However life onboard is far from calm. During the opening credits of the film I am invited to explore the inner spaces of SS Happy Wanderer as a single porthole entices me to gaze beyond its outer façade to enter the world of the ship. In doing so I find myself in a place in which the drama is not directly connected to the sea or to the ship’s interior architecture, to the contrary I have entered a “[s]pace, an element that is unpredictable and volatile as the sea itself” (Casson 1969:407).

6.2 The seafaring community: hierarchy and gender

The inner spaces of the vessel into which I am invited is a partial representation of the complex architecture of a ship, its genius of engineering and the full complement of the seafaring community that enables such vessels to function and safely negotiate their voyage. Within this space the characters I am introduced to and interact with throughout the film are, in the main, those serving as higher-ranking staff and officers together with the passengers. With immediate effect, I encounter a gendered landscape as Captain
Crowther greets his personnel who are waiting on deck for him with a casual and simple, ‘well gentlemen’ [see clip 1].

Such a greeting conflicts with the detailing of the ship’s personnel as itemised on Captain Crowther’s staffing rosta. A closer examination of the list of employees aboard the SS Happy Wanderer reveals the existence of a female purser’s clerk and a female children’s host. The requirement of a female purser’s clerk by association would connote the existence of female staff. However throughout the film I encounter no female personnel and ironically no children. Various gendered discourses, as mediated through Carry on Cruising, privilege a masculine landscape of employees. These continue to be reinforced by the male dominated leading roles described by Captain Wellington Crowther as the ‘newcomers’. An extract from the promotional material for Carry on Cruising (cited in Webber 2008:66) states the following:

The SS Happy Wanderer, commanded by the intrepid mariner Captain Crowther (Sidney James) is due to cast off on a Mediterranean cruise, when he discovers that his regular key personnel of officers have, for one reason or another been replaced by a bunch of raw but well-intentioned strangers.

All these key personnel are male: First Officer, Learnd Marjoribanks; the Ship’s Doctor/Surgeon, Arthur Binn; the Ship’s Cook, Wilfred Haines; Head Barman, Sam Turner; and the Captain’s Steward, Tom Tree.

The way in which Captain Crowther ridicules the first officer by pronouncing his name as that of a female, serves to explicitly highlight the masculine landscape endemic in the world of seafaring during this period in time. The Captain’s reference to the Wrens is a reminder not just of the connections between Britain’s Naval history and the island’s
maritime identity, but also of the traditions of Britain’s naval industry at the time, which in the main, would have excluded women from going to sea to work. Indeed the Royal Navy has a heritage of gender inequality in which ordinarily female personnel were not permitted to serve at sea\(^1\). Such discourse is a reminder of the historical positioning of sea travel as a masculine pursuit and the gendered identity of ships, which traditionally personified and referred to as feminine (Cordingly 2001; Berger 2004), were controlled and dominated by the masculine seafarer.

The absence of female personnel throughout the voyage, serves to further highlight that life on onboard *SS Happy Wanderer* is no working place for women and an unsuitable leisure space for children. Such discourse reflects the social conditions and norms inherent in 1960s British society in which arguably a woman’s role was keeping the home and looking after children (Oakley 1985). Alternatively the 1960s was a decade in British society when particular social norms such as class based systems and gender roles were being challenged and as such this part of the film’s narrative may be the film-makers’ way of acknowledging these shifting boundaries at the time. Indeed later in the voyage, a reference to the ‘modern girl’ made by the ship’s gym instructor to one of the female passengers, Flo, reinforces the shifts of gender roles in society during this period in time. Such shifts, whilst slow to evolve, are evident within today’s cruise industry with significant advancements in female employment at sea (Chin 2008). In terms of suitable leisure spaces for children, the development of the cruise product and ships over the past decade has encompassed particular design features and facilities targeted specifically at the family market, catering for children of all ages.

This opening scene also depicts the disciplined and hierarchal nature of working at sea emphasising the commanding stature of the Captain. The significance of appropriate use of titles is illustrated as the ship’s first officer, Marjoribanks, prompts the ship’s doctor to address the Captain as ‘Sir’. Doctor Binn is a first time seafarer who is perhaps unaware and unfamiliar with particular codes of conduct and expected forms of address. Throughout the film the Captain is addressed as ‘Sir’ by the ship’s personnel or ‘Captain’ by both personnel and passengers alike. As this scene continues, such rituals surrounding position and status are reinforced as seen when the ship’s cook encounters the Captain as he continues to address his key personnel. Also new to both working at sea and the ‘Happy

\(^1\) The Association of Wrens: www.wrens.org.uk/history.php [accessed 19 Sep 2010].
Chapter 6: Carry on Cruising

Wanderer’, the ship’s cook is disorientated by the fabric of the ship’s architecture. Despite the fact that Wilfred Haines knows that he is speaking to the Captain and his apparent nautical family connections (he refers to himself as the son of a sea cook and going to sea in the wake of his father) he interrupts Captain Crowther by tapping him on his shoulder to gain his attention. Given the culture of working at sea with the endemic hierarchal structures built on status, power and command, such familiarity and displays of physical contact from any employee new or otherwise is unusual. It is often the unspoken rules and seaborne traditions that manifest themselves in particular rituals and modes of behaviour. As such I physically wince at the new employee’s nonchalant approach as I, for a brief moment, reflect on my own experiences of working on ships. Yet, despite the seemingly inappropriateness of the cook’s manner, Captain Crowther continues to address his personnel.

It becomes evident that Captain Crowther is agitated and displeased with the prospect of sailing this cruise with new staff and officers. The Captain hints at the McDisneyized character of cruise ships as holiday spaces (see Ritzer and Liska 1997; Weaver 2006) as he refers to a sense of togetherness and familiarity of working with the same crew. This familiarity is measured by the duration of working with one another. Singling out the key attributes of efficiency, reputation and knowledge, Captain Crowther reiterates the point that ten years of knowing each other and working together creates mutual knowledge which in return creates a reputation built on efficiency. In many ways this scene unveils the sense of bonding, communitas and trust that evolves from living in confined and often isolated spaces with one another (Gibbon 2008). It appears that Captain Crowther’s position and reputation as commander of this passenger vessel is defined by those around him, in this case his complement of trusted and loyal employees. Such is Captain’s Crowther’s nervousness about the ‘newcomers’ and their impact on the efficient operation of the cruise, these officers and staff are made acutely aware that their actions and performances will be under close surveillance, as the Captain makes no secret that he will be watching them with his ‘beady eye’.

In addition to the hierarchal and gendered employment structures, the employee landscape of SS Happy Wanderer that I encounter is essentially British. This is despite the fact that British cruising has a long history of employing lower ranking crewmembers from economically lesser-developed countries (Nicholson 2009). However as previously
highlighted cruise ships have clearly demarcated spaces for passengers, officers, staff and crew with particular spaces embodied by a ship’s workforce dependent upon identity, role and rank. Accessibility to passenger areas is tightly controlled with only particular members of the ship’s seafaring community permitted to occupy these areas. The absence of crew in passenger areas serves as a reminder of the restrictions imposed on the freedom of movement within ship space. The spatial areas that I encounter throughout the film essentially encompass passenger areas and backstage areas set aside for higher-ranking officers and staff.

6.3 The sea

In complete contrast to the animation style opening credits of the film and comical introductory scenes in which Captain Crowther greets his crew, I feel a sense of realism, and a touch of personal nostalgic reverie, as the ship embarks on its voyage from the UK port in Southampton. As the ship’s funnel proudly and loudly commands attention, a red and white flag signalling that the port’s pilot is onboard is securely fastened as the departure flag is lowered. Despite the sea breeze, evidenced by the movement of the flags, the ship appears to be motionless. The mobility of the vessel is determined primarily by the exterior sea space surrounding the ship, visible and present by means of cabin portholes. As if looking through the expanse of glass from the commanding height of the bridge, for a brief moment I experience the enormity of the ship as it carefully turns and pulls out of port, the bow of the ship dwarfing the dockside beneath it. The precision executed in this manoeuvre and the seeming ease with which the ship is navigated out of port is emphasised by the fact that for some passengers it is not until they glance seaward through portholes that the motion of the ship is detected. For example two female travelling companions, Gladys Trimble (Glad) and Florence Castle (Flo), in realising the ship is sailing and in a flurry of excitement, leave their unpacking to join the ritual of being out on open deck during the departure from port. The sense of anticipation and excitement is evident among the passengers as they hurriedly make their way onto the open decks to wave goodbye to the shoreline. The departure from the dockside is a reminder of the transient and mobile nature of a ship, which explicitly invokes notions of exploration, adventure and travel. Additionally the sail away from the embarkation port is symbolic of leaving behind one’s usual social and cultural context and one’s home with the very nature of departure igniting thoughts about self, belonging and homecoming. The significance of
departure is captured during this ritual, often termed the ‘sail away’, and waving farewell to *terra firma*.

As the ‘Happy Wander’ passengers rush around the maze of corridors, disorientated in their urgent pursuit to secure the best viewing position out on deck, the ship makes its departure. Looking on, I am reminded of this period of disorientation that often occurs in the first stages of a cruise holiday and in doing so I almost imagine myself amidst this activity as I also reflect upon the chaos usually played out during the mandatory safety or muster drills that take place at the beginning of each voyage. The time it takes for passengers to familiarise themselves with the unique architectural structure of a ship adds to the often chaotic nature of this activity. This necessary performance usually encompasses the wearing of lifejackets by the passengers and seafarers alike. Even though this activity is not played out in this film, I can’t help but envisage the confused and often comical landscape of passengers, some battling with the unwieldy lifejackets as they endeavour to locate their muster station. Perhaps the absence of this activity in the film is to avoid any hint of the safety issues synonymous with being at sea reinforcing the notion of cruise ships as fantasy play spaces.

This said on one occasion during the voyage I am reminded of the ocean and the Captain’s ultimate responsibility of ensuring ‘safety of life at sea’ (SOLAS) for all who travel on this vessel under his command. First Officer, Marjoribanks and Doctor Binn in a mistaken encounter with Captain Crowther, believe him to be drunk and no longer fit to be in command of *SS Happy Wanderer*. In fact the situation observed by the two officers is nothing more than Captain Crowther mixing drinks as he endeavours to discover the recipe of his favourite beverage, the ‘Aberdeen Angus’. To the irritation of the Captain the ‘newcomer’, Head Barman Sam Turner, does not know the recipe. In this scene [see clip 2] the two officers recount the seriousness of their discovery concluding that the Captain needs to be relieved of his duties as he is contravening maritime safety protocols by being intoxicated whilst in charge of a vessel. This is a rare example throughout my journey with *Carry on Cruising* in which an aspect of safety is explicitly evident. Igniting popular memories of stories of mutiny and the dangers of serving at sea, the drama unfolding is also a reminder that no matter your status, command and the power that you exert on a ship, everyone is answerable to maritime laws and legislation (IMO 2001). This scene is also a brief encounter with ship space ordinarily beyond the gaze of the passenger. I
Chapter 6: Carry on Cruising

I presume it is part of the officers’ quarters as these tend to be situated in the higher levels of a ship, in this case clearly evidenced by the larger porthole windows, which are open.

As already noted, the landscape of the sea is implicitly present throughout the film, so calm are the waters upon which the SS Happy Wanderer exists it would be easy to forget the presence of the surrounding ocean. However existing as a physical and natural entity the sea is imbued with much symbolic potency and I am quickly reminded that both the sea and ships have a discourse of their own, that is socially and culturally constructed. For example even the deliberate avoidance of nautical terms in the early stages of the film not only enhances the comical terrain of the film’s landscape but actually serves to highlight there exists a specific nautical language used and understood by a global seafaring community (Chaundy 2000). The SS Happy Wanderer is referred to by the ship’s cook as a ‘boat’ and not a ‘ship’ that has ‘sharp’ or ‘blunt’ ends rather than a ‘bow’ and ‘ stern’. Despite these observations as I move through the space of Carry on Cruising, I do so with little fear or concern regarding the architectural design and technical competencies of SS Happy Wanderer. This is perhaps due to my own seafaring experiences and the confidence I have in the technologies and safety standards employed in today’s shipping industry.

Despite docking at various Mediterranean ports of call, the passengers’ experiences beyond the confines of the ship are not portrayed throughout the film. The only aspects of destinations depicted consist of brief glimpses of shorelines or ports as the ship nears its destinations. On each occasion when SS Happy Wanderer approaches a new port of call, I find myself caught up in the familiar and comical enactment of passengers rushing onto the outer decks of the vessel as the boundaries of land come into sight. Certainly the regular
injection of a Mediterranean port of call throughout the film helps to create the sense of journey and the passage of time; the temporal nature of inhabiting cruise space; and the transient nature of cruise ship travel. The explicit reference to the various ports throughout the film also serves as a reminder that cruising in the Mediterranean is such that land is never far away with the cruise ship as the key intermediary that connects the space between land and sea. Additionally, the inclusion of the itinerary is a reminder of the significance of destinations and ports of call in the decision-making process when purchasing a cruise holiday in today’s contemporary cruise market (Mancini 2004).

As previously highlighted, generally throughout the film there is little detection of the ship at sea, with few visual signs of ship movement. The following scene [see clip 3] moves into the interior and backstage space of the galley kitchens. The ship’s cook is clearly feeling unwell due to the motion of the ship, a condition perhaps accelerated by the interior nature of the galley space, the smells concocted through a range of food products and the heat from the mechanics of cooking. As I bring to mind the pungent aroma of raw meat being chopped I sympathise with both the suddenness of feeling sick and the cook’s frantic exit from the enclosed galley area in pursuit of open space and sight of the horizon. As the cook makes his way to the doctor’s surgery, it becomes evident that location onboard is important to a sense of wellbeing. In this particular case the ship’s cook feels much better within sight of the sea, and if this does not provide the cure, then Doctor Binn is on hand to administer some medication. The cook’s continued struggle with seasickness throughout the film is an explicit reminder of the issue of being at sea, motion sickness and the varying spaces within the architecture of a ship. Aspects associated with wellbeing and the cruise experience are compromised by the notion of seasickness, an identified constraint for some in the decision whether to choose a cruise as their holiday choice or not (Park and Petrick 2009).

Conversely for some passengers the mere sight of the sea triggers feelings of being unwell, as is the case for one male passenger who spends much of the duration of the cruise in the
bar. For this passenger, it is not clear whether it is just the visual presence of the sea that makes him feel unwell or the thought of going ashore alone. For him, the exteriority of the ship literally forms a barrier to leaving the space of this ship, as he remains confined in the cruise ship bubble throughout the voyage. As SS Happy Wander tenders at a port of call in Spain, passengers are taken ashore in what I presume are the lifeboats from the vessel. Although not an uncommon activity in cruise ship operations depending on the port and numbers of vessels docking at the same time, this mode of disembarkation can prove difficult for some passengers. Persistently unwell at the thought of going ashore, the lone man finds companionship as Head Barman, Sam Turner, keeps him company by remaining on duty during this and subsequent occasions when the ship is in port. As a result this passenger is inebriated for much of the voyage.

Throughout the film I am periodically guided by the power of the camera lens to gaze seaward through portholes and windows, outward from the open decks of the ship. As I visualise myself seated in one of the carefully situated deck chairs facing seaward I momentarily rest my eyes as I position myself facing up across the horizon as I breathe in the ocean air. In doing so a sense of wellbeing engulfs me as I imagine the warmth of the sun, the touch and smell of the sea breeze. My experience is more than visual; it is one that draws on a range of senses (Rodaway 1994) igniting my memories of the romanticization of sailing at sea (Douglas and Douglas 2004). My “[r]omantic appreciation of nature” (Facos 2002:105) lasts momentarily as I turn my attention to the ways in which the outer deck spaces of the SS Happy Wander are being utilised by those onboard.

A ship’s outside space provides a safe area betwixt and between the inner confines of the ship and the unknown expanse of ocean enabling a connection with the healthy properties associated with the sea in contemporary western society (Macbeth 2000). Unlike the modern cruise experience, in which Quatermiane and Peter (2006:69) state “[t]he ship itself is designed as an ongoing show, with each destination an interval”, those sailing on the SS Happy Wander have fewer entertainment and leisure facilities at their disposal. As such deck space is appropriated for traditional recreational and leisure activities such as promenading, deck games and the positioning of a small swimming pool. The vessel also encompasses a small gymnasium. This provision and utilisation of deck space for recreation is an aspect of cruising that provides a range of activities helping to offset the boredom of being at sea in limited spaces for periods of time (see Foster 1986). As I find
myself on what I guess to be the promenade deck of SS Happy Wanderer, I join others in the common flâneur circumnavigation of the ship’s perimeter (Nicholson 2009). As I do so I observe Flo and her travel companion Gladys playing deck quoits, while other passengers are promenading or simply gazing upon the surrounding panorama.

6.4 Ships as panoptic spaces of surveillance

My initial encounters with life on board the SS Happy Wanderer reveal a picture of play at sea, although as previously indicated I have little exposure to the hidden discourses of life beyond those I am permitted to access. Voyaging with Carry on Cruising permits me to embody and gaze upon the ship’s front stages, or rather passenger areas. In the cases where I am able to access any of the back-stages of the working world of the vessel, these are those occupied by hospitality staff and higher status employees, for example the working quarters of the Captain and First Officer, the doctor’s surgery, and the galley kitchens. The backstage spaces that I do encounter tend to be in the upper parts of the ship, with the lower decks remaining absent and thus inaccessible to me throughout my journey. This said, a closer examination of the discourses pertaining to life for front stage staff and crew hint at some of the hardships of working and living in confined environments or indeed what has been referred to as ‘emotional labour’ (Tracy 2000; Zhao 2002). I find myself being drawn into a unique world within which I detect some of the difficulties, even if only subtly played out, of living and working at sea. Beyond the immediate façade of the carnival there exists a community living and vacationing at sea in an ocularcentric space governed by particular rules, regulations and structures and particular environmental conditions from which there is little escape for members of the cruise ship society. Indeed the panoptican (Foucault 1991) characteristics of the spatial constructs of the ship provide limited escape and freedom from the surveillance gaze of others.

Conscious of Captain Crowther’s disquiet about having to sail with new crew members and having been made acutely aware of the surveillance nature of cruise ship space and the ever-present scrutiny of staff behaviour and their performances, the ‘new-comers’ seek to impress the Captain and allay his fears. Although arguably in privileged positions compared to many other seafarers who may not have the opportunity to frequent passenger spaces in a hosting capacity, the ‘newcomers’ know that they are under close scrutiny in all that they do. They understand that Captain Crowther will be keeping a constant and watchful eye on them in his endeavour to monitor all their actions and detect any mistakes.
Sensitised to the authoritarian gaze of the Captain, which is facilitated by the panoptican architecture of ship space, First Officer, Marjoribanks (taking the initiative and lead as an older brother might do), calls a meeting with the ‘newcomers’ to agree a protocol of behaviour. United by their status of being new members of the ship’s workforce, they are bonded by the camaraderie that often arises between employees, particularly when unable to escape the hardships and intense working practises, such as those encountered while working on ships (see Tanner 1994).

Observing more closely the behaviours and daily lives of those employees that do frequent passenger space, I am reminded that issues of surveillance also occur between seafarers and passengers. As such it is interesting to reflect on the interplay between the different sectors of the ship’s society in these particular spaces. Unlike land-based hotels a cruise ship encompasses spatial constraints not just for passengers, but also for members of the seafaring community. As such some employee activities and aspects of their leisure time are difficult to undertake without subjecting oneself to the gaze of others. Arguably within some of these spaces there is a blurring of the boundaries between work and leisure for members of the seafaring community that have the freedoms of access to passenger spaces. This peculiarity of working and living on a passenger ship is likely to be more prevalent on a vessel such at the SS Happy Wander given its size, with the inevitable limitations of private leisure space for the seafaring community.

As an illustration of this I encounter Doctor Binn as he utilises the outer decks of the ship as a space for exercise. As the Doctor engages in his exercise routine, he is able to survey the landscape, and in doing so pauses to take rest when he encounters Gladys and Flo also taking exercise on the outer decks. In contrast to the formality of the Doctor’s usual officers’ uniform, he is dressed in white shorts and a white vest. Pausing to engage in a brief exchange with the female passengers, the Doctor, as if embarrassed makes a flustered retreat, perhaps suddenly self-conscious and feeling disarmed without the armour of his formal uniform. In this brief encounter I am exposed to the uniqueness of a space in which certain aspects of seafarers’ lives are played out in close proximity to the gaze of passengers. The boundaries between passengers and particular members of the seafaring community merge particularly in the context of leisure and entertainment. Akin to the rituals associated with the space of the beach in which the body and body image are
Chapter 6: Carry on Cruising

integral to the embodiment and consumption of such spaces (Franklin 2003), so too is there conscious display (and on occasions self-consciousness) of ones’ identity and physical self.

6.5 The sexualized body and the gendered gaze

As I further explore life aboard SS Happy Wander, it becomes apparent that the body and body image is a dominant discourse. Certain aspects of holidaying at sea could be characterised akin to particular practises common to beach holidays and similar leisure pursuits. One such characteristic is the conspicuous display, and consumption, of the body, which is arguably further intensified by the ocularcentric nature of ship space facilitating observing and being observed. Moreover in the context of cruise holidays some observe that “[p]ublic performance confers acceptability on levels of physical proximity and bodily contact between sexes and particularly between younger female passengers and crew members between deck games that cut across conventional norms of social identity and class relations” (Hughes 1998: 22-23 cited in Nicholson 2009). This particular scene [see clip 4] depicts the ship’s fitness instructor leading a class of female passengers. The explicit gendered landscape of female participants is emphasised in the reference to the group as ‘girls’ as the instructor dismisses them at the end of the class. In a similar vein to the visual consumption of the body in the context of the beach, for example that of a life guard, the body and in this case that of the male fitness instructor, becomes the subject of the romanticizing and somewhat predatory gaze of the two female passengers, Gladys and Flo. In contrast to the earlier depiction of Doctor Binn taking his exercise around the decks of the ship, the reference to the male instructor as ‘Hercules’ emphasises body image with well defined physical and muscular form. In this scenario, the freedom of movement and access of passenger areas provides an advantageous viewing platform for Gladys and Flo as they look down upon the activities of the gymnasium.

The unfolding story reveals that Gladys has promised her friend Flo that she will help her to find a husband on this voyage (see Quartermaine and Peter 2006). However the fitness instructor has attracted the attention of both and a dispute between the friends is imminent.
As this scene unfolds, what is of interest, are the different motivations each has for their cruise. Whereas Flo is actively seeking a romantic encounter, Gladys had perceived the voyage as an escape from her usual social setting wishing to take a break from men during this vacation. Despite being reminded of this fact by her friend and travel companion, Gladys has clearly changed her mind. In an attempt to divert her friend’s gaze away from the fitness instructor, Gladys reminds Flo of earlier encounters with the ship’s doctor, in which it is clear that Flo has attracted the attention of Doctor Binn. This reminder is issued by Gladys as an attempt to clear the path so that she can continue to pursue the fitness instructor. In many ways such behaviour is reminiscent of adolescence and the playground behaviour of two friends competing for the attention of the same boy. Clearly the male instructor is, or pretends to be, unaware that he has become the subject of the female gaze and the ensuing battle between the female companions.

The theme of the body and heterosexual attraction continues as Flo, in a later scene, once again pursues the ship’s fitness instructor. The space of the gym, part of the architecture and design of *SS Happy Wanderer*, is the antithesis of any of the leisure and exercise facilities that are integral to the design of modern liners in today’s current cruise environment. The aesthetics, design and facilities such as climbing ropes, wall bars and the vaulting horse reminds me of a school gymnasium, reinforced by Flo’s childish persona and her interactions with, and subsequent behaviour towards, the gym instructor. Within the relative safe confines of this social space, Flo watches on, waiting for the gym session to be over so she can talk to the instructor. In many ways Flo’s behaviour is akin to that of a school-girl ‘crush’ with the instructor behaving like the innocent unaware school-boy, seemingly oblivious of his male attraction.

What is also played out in this scene is the governing of particular spaces onboard the vessel. The authoritarian nature of controlling space is evident here as the instructor dismisses the class. Particular spaces become mini-territories, or empires, governed by position and status. This scene juxtaposes with that of the space of the doctor’s surgery. Having fainted in the arms of the fitness instructor, Flo is taken to the Doctor’s surgery. In another illustration of power and command over particular spaces, Doctor Binn asks the fitness instructor to leave. Of course in reality, the Captain has overall power and command of all work-spaces with unrestricted access to all parts of the ship (arguably with the exception of passenger cabins when occupied). During the Captain’s routine inspection
of areas of the ship, including the surgery, this scene culminates with Captain Crowther and First Officer, Majoribanks, interrupting Flo and Doctor Binn as they lay entangled on the floor of the surgery in a compromising position. Such escapades hint at the notion of cruise ships as spaces of play, risk and adventure.

6.6 Play
If in any doubt about the discourse of a cruise vacation as a playground (or battleground) for promiscuous adventure the following scene, prior to the Captain’s Cocktail, captures Gladys and Florence grooming themselves in preparation for the evening’s events [see clip 5]. Invited into the privacy of cabin space I am immediately drawn to the detail of the Captain’s cocktail party invitations, placed carefully amid makeup and hairdressing accessories on the dressing table in the cabin of the two single female travellers, the invitations address, Miss Florence Castle and Miss Gladys Trimble. In many ways Flo and Gladys could be perceived as single, and possible lonely women, yearning for romantic encounters. However I see them as active and empowered women who, to some extent through the pursuit of travel, have broken free from societal boundaries that privilege dominant discourses surrounding passive and subordinate positioning of women at this time (Harris and Wilson 2007). Such invitations remind me of the ritual and tradition of the Captain’s cocktail party in the sense that most cruise holidays will still encompass a Captain’s occasion whether it be one or all of cocktails, party, dinner and the like. However the same formalities of personalised invitations would not always be common practise in today’s market. These invitations also serve to further frame the concept of the unmarried female traveller, possibly in the pursuit of finding her husband at sea. The fantasy for the western single woman of finding love at sea could be linked to connotations of romance connected to nature, the sea or fantasies of the heroic seafaring adventurer.

During this scene the exposure of undergarments and stockings hint at the notion of shipboard ‘naughtiness’. The contrasting colours of black and white set the two friends
apart and coupled with their back to back positioning emphasises the dispute brewing between them over a mutual desire that has emerged for the fitness instructor. Despite the intimacy and social bonding between two friends travelling together, the unfolding story is one of the developing disquiet between the two stereotypically blond young single women, who by demonstrating their affection for the same male find themselves in competition with each other for his affections. I smile with amusement at the childish behaviour unfolding between the two, ordinarily, close friends. This scene captures Gladys and Flo struggling to zip up their own cocktail dresses and is juxtaposed with that of another older single female passenger also struggling with the zip of her dress. This contrast reminds me of the foolish immaturity of two friends vying for the attention of the same man akin to teenage quarrels taking place in the school playground.

There are many nuances and complexities associated with relationships, issues of emotional attachment and intimacy that evolve within the liminality of travel spaces. Moreover we are reminded that “…varying degrees of intimacy exist between, for example, lovers, friends and companions, between those bound by deep bonds and other by moments of chance” (Trauer and Ryan 2005:482). It could be argued that cruise ships are particular types of sense-scapes that heighten emotions leading to varying degrees of intimacy that in turn foster a variety of relationships. Given this intensity and speed to which emotional attachment can develop in spaces characterised by their liminal qualities, questions arise regarding the longevity of these types of relationships beyond the confines of the cruise ship bubble. Indeed whilst the liminal characteristics of cruise ship space encourages ship born romances, much scepticism exists surrounding the extent to which these would exist in the same way beyond the confines of the ship having returning home. This said throughout *Carry on Cruising*, Flo’s endeavour to find a husband at sea remains a dominant theme, her resolve never dwindling.

### 6.7 Performance

As the Captain’s cocktail deck party gets underway [see clip 6] I find myself also gazing, visually surveying the social landscape of passengers and select members of the ship’s personnel. The use of outdoor space to host a gathering of this size is a reflection of the limitations of space and technological advancements, such as air-conditioning, within ship design of this era (Quatermaine, and Peter 2006). The intimate hospitality and perhaps size of the vessel is also emphasised as the Captain greets his passengers by name. On one
level I feel the romance of being at sea, out on the open decks, I almost hear the music and imagine myself there too, drinking champagne and engaging in polite conversation with people I have neither met previously and whom I know nothing about. However on closer inspection I recognise the familiar ocularcentric space and the carnival style lighting and coloured bunting. Amid the ritual of the Captain greeting his guests, the flâneur-like consumption of passenger space and the conspicuous display of identity are at its best. Officers are distinguished by their dress uniform, the attire of passengers is of a formal nature with men in jackets and bow ties and women in cocktail dresses.

Within this ocularcentric space, those gazing are also the subjects of the gaze. The social aspects and duties of the ship’s officers are highlighted in this scene as they circulate among passengers as part of the social occasion. For some officers, such as the Captain (due to his status) and the fitness instructor (due to his attractiveness, previously referred to by Flo as Hercules), there is no need to circulate, in their cases passengers come to them. The rituals of dress and personal grooming in preparation for the social event can be likened to the preening and courtship rituals of a peacock. Various signals of attraction are emblematic in the clothing and uniform of passengers and employees, for example the ship’s officers stripes (and the number of them) denote status, which often attracts attention. I find myself in a space privileging both flâneur and flâneuse activity (Massey 1994). Perhaps the liminal characteristics of travel and cruise travel in particular provide a space in which women feel liberated and also safe to engage in predatory behaviour. Indeed to fraternize with senior officers and a ship’s Captain has long been associated with passenger behaviour and cruise activity (Nicholson 2009). The architectural design of the public spaces and the subsequent social activities that unfold in these spaces facilitate a powerful collective gaze and in this case, the male gym instructor clearly becomes the
subject of the collective female gaze, although arguably in the end it is the women who eventually succumb to the power of the male gaze.

Throughout my voyage aboard the ‘Happy Wanderer’ I find myself in the midst of many performative aspects of being a tourist and site-seeing explicitly enacted through rituals of souvenir acquisition and dressing in local costumes. These associated rituals of travel are not unexpected. For example after leaving the shores of Spain, ‘Happy Wanderer’ passengers, Flo and Gladys return to the ship wearing sombrero style hats, drinking from porrón traditional wine pitchers. On another occasion the ceremonial act of dressing up in local costume is captured with Flo and Gladys dressed as belly dancers taking a photograph of themselves, immortalising a moment in time and providing a visual trigger of their trip onshore in a North African port of call. The elderly lone female traveller is captured wielding a rather large knife, presumably a souvenir, as if ready to go into combat. Such aspects of performance and play are not reserved exclusively for passengers alone, as revealed by the antics of First Officer, Marjoribanks and Doctor Binn, who also dress in local costume as they re-enact their imaginings (or memories) of a scene from a Spanish bullfight. Perhaps forgetting their position and stature as serving officers for a brief moment, they take on the personas of children in the playground, as they perform their particular renditions of the bullfight. A brief glimpse inside the cabin of the ship’s cook reveals Wilfred Hains lounging on his bed in local costume smoking his souvenir pipe. Such play among the workforce is a reminder of the privileges and time that some of the ship’s personnel have that enable them to go ashore in port. It is also perhaps indicative of the tedium of the daily routines of shipboard life (Nicholson 2009) culminating in play (Turner 1974). It is perhaps not surprising amid the confined aspects of ship space and the controlled, McDisneyized (see Weaver 2006) spaces, that elements of social anti-structure (Turner 1974) manifest themselves in aspects of play.

6.8 Carnivalesque

In many ways my exposure to the embodied space of SS Happy Wanderer and the activities of various members of the onboard community, can be aligned with aspects of the carnival experience. Although there is a sense of time and duration of the voyage governed by the itinerary of destinations and other time-bound activities such as meals, Carry On Cruising is a journey that creates spaces of play in which some members of the onboard community engage in utopian excess; hierarchal and status norms diminish;
aspects such as the individual self are replaced by joining a collective community; and there are periods of release from the dominant structures and the established order of the time (Bakhtin 1984). As Berger (2004:47) states, “[c]ruises are a modern attempt, somewhat modified from medieval forms of carnival, to introduce to contemporary life the sense of liberation and joy that took place during carnival time”.

Throughout my journey I encounter various escapades and enactments involving the excessive consumption of alcohol on *SS Happy Wander*. The ship’s bar becomes the focal point for staff and passengers alike, permanently manned by Head Barman, Sam Turner, and as previously highlighted often frequented by a lone male passenger. Seemingly a magnet for both passengers and staff who are looking for solace and companionship, I sense the despondence and loneliness of the ship’s doctor during the Captain’s cocktail party as he make his way to the bar to join the male passenger who is already firmly in situ, again on his own. The discourse of love surfaces as Doctor Binn and the lone male traveller drown their sorrows in alcohol during Captain’s Cocktail. The all-inclusive nature of cruising is hinted at here as the male passenger makes reference to the drinks being free. The exclusivity of this type of holiday experience is signified in the conspicuous consumption of champagne. On another occasion discourses surrounding the excessive consumption of alcohol are again played out in a scene in which Flo and the lone elderly female passenger find themselves at the bar consuming copious amounts of alcohol. Again the lone male passenger is in his favourite situ, sat at the bar watching on. As Gladys and Flo arrive at the bar, Flo orders champagne, perhaps an expression of the celebratory mood of being on holiday. Flo and the elderly female passenger swiftly consume a large and varied concoction of drinks. The Head Barman looks on with concern; conversely the lone male passenger looks bemused while Gladys keeps voicing her disapproval, to little avail.

Re-emphasising the fact that ships are highly organised, structured and regulated environments with a set of reoccurring routines, towards the end of the cruise Doctor Binn submits his medical report for the voyage to First Officer, Majoribanks, logging a nil return. Agitated and restless Doctor Binn talks about having nothing to do onboard – he describes his disposition as ‘too tense…can’t relax…too restless… can’t concentrate’. Eventually he confides his affections for Miss Castle (Flo) to First Officer, Marjoribanks. This scene emphasises the confined nature of cruise ship space in which levels of introspection and thus emotions can be amplified. In this case there is an intensity and
focus on the life within this space, with little acknowledgement of the world beyond SS Happy Wanderer. In this unique liminal space Doctor Binn is advised to pursue his desires by openly declaring his affections for Miss Castle (Flo), he is advised that ‘now is the time, think only of now’ and to ‘live for the moment’. What is also evident throughout my journey with those onboard SS Happy Wanderer, are the ways in which particular members of the ship’s community have other roles to play beyond those assigned to them as an employee. For example, First officer Marjoribanks, takes on the role as counsellor offering advice and helping to resolve particular situations for his fellow comrades including those of the Captain.

6.9 Community / Family
As highlighted previously the ‘newcomers’ clearly understand that all their performances will be under close scrutiny and are aware of the rewards of proving themselves as able seamen and the prospects of serving on a new vessel alongside Captain Crowther. As such their attempts to gain the Captain’s approval and exceed service expectations becomes evident. Brought together through the commonality of being new to this ship, a sense of bonding and camaraderie (see Gibson 2008) among these officers and staff develops throughout the voyage. Amid the formalities and hierarchal structures, these informal relationships parallel those of a family (see Harper 2008). The concept of family and family ethic is evidenced through the way in which there is common agreement and a sense of ‘pulling together’ in the groups’ endeavours to please Captain Crowther.

The behaviour of the ‘new-comers’ throughout this voyage juxtaposes between wanting to please at the same time as taking on the personas of errant children, playing and pushing boundaries to determine what are acceptable limits of behaviour. When realising particular boundaries may have been transgressed, and with the awareness of knowing that the Captain will have detected such actions and behaviour, there is a sense of reflection and regrouping to make amends. As the relationship unfolds between the Captain and his staff, comparisons can be made to the construct and social bonding of family. In many ways Captain Crowther is conceived as the patriarch marshalling errant children who in their mischievous escapades often push the boundaries and on occasions challenge authority. As Berger (2004:77) illustrates, “…the ship’s captain, the source of all authority on the ship, is the all-powerful (literally and psychoanalytically speaking) father figure”. Other aspects of the family ethic may be grounded in the traditions of family working at sea, as previously
highlighted in terms of the ship’s new chef, Wilfred Haines. It is perhaps not surprising then, as my voyage onboard SS Happy Wander progresses, that the relationship between the Captain and his staff, and relationships between particular staff members, can be likened to that of a family.

Having worked hard to gain the trust and approval of Captain Crowther, the following scene once again emphasises the surveillance nature of ship space and in this case the ‘watchful’ and ‘beady’ eye of the Captain. However on this occasion the Captain commends the ‘newcomers’ for their work [see clip 7]. He praises First Officer Majoribanks for taking the time to play table-tennis with the lone older female traveller and his display of concern regarding the passenger’s happiness; Head Barman, Sam Turner is commended for sacrificing time ashore to serve drinks and keep the lone male traveller company; he extols Doctor Binn for his general conduct; and the Ship’s Cook, Wilfred Haines, is applauded for preparing a special diet and cooking the meals himself for a passenger with particular dietary requirements. This scene not only highlights the high levels of expected service onboard a passenger ship, but the intensity of passenger and employee interaction and aspects of emotional labour. Even the Captain himself recognises the confined (and imprisoned) nature of a cruise ship compared to a land-based hotel (see Stanley 2008)

6.10 Romance

Amid the carnival, with all its dramas and performances, the discourse of romance prevails. Throughout the film a range of signifiers ensure that I do not forget the romantic essence of this journey. The romance of the sea is captured as couples stroll the open decks at night, some kissing, with the moonlight in the distance. Such romantic intimacy juxtaposes with travel companions, Gladys and Flo as they sit out on the open decks of the vessel. However, the allure of the Mediterranean and the various ports of call contribute to the romantic essence of their journey. As SS Happy Wanderer continues to cruise the Mediterranean, I continue to observe Flo’s search for her future husband. As the cruise
makes its various dockings in the different ports of call, the urgency of this quest gains momentum as the timeframe in which this can be achieved is diminishing quickly. The speed and intensity of Flo’s pursuit to achieve her goal of finding a husband at sea, aligns with the end of the voyage drawing closer. In her endeavour, almost compulsively and somewhat irrationally, Flo turns her attention to the Captain. Sharing her newfound affection for Captain Crowther with her exceptionally patient travelling companion, Flo reveals that her attraction for the Captain is constructed through a set of imaginings about the role of a Captain based on dominance, status and command. As the drama further unfolds in a subsequent and accidental encounter with the Captain out on deck, Flo once again behaves like a love-struck schoolgirl, with Gladys describing her friend as causing a spectacle. The intensity of the pursuit continues in subsequent scenes including an encounter in the Captain’s quarters where an inversion of male dominated advances unfolds as Flo declares her affections for the Captain. Through a sequence of events, misunderstandings, and incidental encounters with one another, Captain Crowther finds himself being actively pursued by Flo [see clip 8] with boundaries and thresholds clearly transgressed in a variety of ways.

Yet in the end all is well as passengers and seafarers work together to ensure that Flo finds her husband at sea. Gladys conjures up a plot to encourage the doctor to approach Flo. She pretends that she is attracted to the doctor and lures him into a compromising position of discomfort as she makes her advances. She maintains that her endeavours are to ensure the doctor overcomes his shyness so that he will be able to subsequently approach Flo. Eventually Doctor Binn does, declaring his love and requesting her hand in marriage [see clip 9].
6.11 Celebration

The culmination of the voyage is captured in a celebration arranged by the ‘newcomers’ [clip 10]. Like excited children, a surprise gathering has been organised and arranged for the Captain in celebration of his ten years of service as a ship’s Captain. The chef has made a special celebratory cake and finally Head Barman, Sam Turner, has located the recipe of the Captain’s special cocktail, the ‘Aberdeen Angus’. As Captain Crowther experiences the unusual ingredients of the cake, I feel almost nauseated myself as I imagine such a concoction of tastes and textures amid the sweetness that one would ordinarily associate with celebratory cakes. The Captain’s future ambitions of taking charge of another vessel, amid fears of the new crew he has encountered on this voyage, are laid to rest as the announcement is made that he no longer wishes to accept the position on another ship. In many ways this underlines the significance of people and the strong bonds that can be established within working communities at sea. Perhaps the request for the Captain to marry Dr. Binn and Flo is more than a signalling of the traditions and legalities that enables a ship’s Captain to perform such ceremonies in particular circumstances, but rather Flo is seeking Captain Crowther’s approval and permission to become a permanent member of the family at sea.

6.12 A reflexive journey

Carry on Cruising captures many of my experiences of working on cruise ships to great effect. Looking beyond the immediate capers and mishaps, such as Captain Crowther being knocked unconscious at his cocktail party and falling into the buffet of food, I am reminded of the uniqueness of cruise ship space and some of the rituals of such sea travel. For example the traditions of Captain’s cocktail, romance and promiscuous endeavour, a hierarchal workforce, the finite and often intimate space of the ship, sea sickness, aspects of working at sea such as the necessity for team work, camaraderie and hints of loneliness. I am also reminded that on a small ship such as the SS Happy Wanderer many of these issues are amplified.
It is perhaps the mischievousness frivolity of *Carry on Cruising*, together with the performative and playful aspects of living and working at sea, that ignites my memories of working on ships and is why I find this film so endearing. In the same way that working on *SS Happy Wanderer* illustrates the camaraderie that can develop among members of the seafaring community, my experiences of working at sea also encompassed the often quick and strong bonding with those I worked alongside. Indeed the hardships of working at sea for long periods of time often engendered shared understandings and empathy with one another. In particular I recall working on one smaller vessel in which many of us were ‘newcomers’ including myself. I found myself onboard a ship amid a relentless milieu of unresolved operational challenges. Akin to the ‘newcomers’ of *SS Happy Wanderer*, I also was part of a team whom experienced copious amount of camaraderie as we worked together, helping each other to resolve the issues. Perhaps the size of the vessel engendered a sense of drama amplifying our circumstances as on this particular vessel, amid the many mishaps, I often referred (quietly) to our working environment as ‘Fawlty Towers at Sea’.

Although I was probably not explicitly conscious of it at the time, a strategy for dealing with the continuing unresolved operational deficiencies was to appropriate characters from well-known British comedies and sitcoms. As such, ‘sweetie’, ‘darling’ and ‘champagne’ and the appropriation of characters from the British comedy series *Absolutely Fabulous* became part of the daily discourse among the team as we haphazardly dealt with the many situations as they arose. Not only did these performances provide some light relief, but they also brought together individual members of the team. On another ship in which the accommodation was less than desirable, we labelled our corridor of cabins ‘Coronation Street’. Assigned particular roles and characters from this long running British soap opera the ‘street’ became our social space as we sat, talked, gossiped and socialised with one another.

*Carry on Cruising* triggers my memories of my experiences of working and living on relatively small vessels and how sectors of the ship’s society have a closer relationship with one another than perhaps they may do on larger vessels. For example on smaller vessels in my position that entailed passenger contact I would get to know more of the passengers in relatively short periods of time. In many ways the informalities are perhaps

---

2 *Fawlty Towers* is a British comedy series first screened on television in 1975. *Fawlty Towers* was a fictional seaside hotel located in British seaside town of Torquay
indicative of notions of familiarity and intimacy engendered by the finite space of a vessel of this size as it creates friendliness and higher levels of interaction than perhaps on some of the larger vessels that I have worked on. However it must be noted that my career working on ships was more than a decade ago, before the advent of the mega cruise liners and the huge developments in global communication networks. Whilst today these spaces of travel and tourism are still physically detached and isolated whilst at sea, the advancements in information and communications technologies mitigate, to a certain degree, the sense of physical isolation. Many ships have access to the Internet and emailing facilities as well as mobile communication systems. Even when docked Internet facilities and mobile technologies facilitate efficient and quicker means of communicating with family and friends back home. So for me working at sea was really a detached and isolated experience, the inner spaces of the ship was the bubble in which we all existed and so on reflection it is not surprising that we created our own fantasy spaces and pockets of entertainment.

6.13 Chapter summary

*Carry on Cruising* depicts vacations at sea prior to the huge expansion of the industry and the era of the ‘mega-ship’ or the ‘very large cruise vessel’ (WTO 2010). Certainly the size of the vessel draws attention to the intimacy of friendships and companionships that seem to unfold among members of the onboard community whether within the passenger sector, between seafarers or between passengers and seafarers. Throughout my voyage with *Carry on Cruising* I am exposed to the notion of ships as masculine dominated spaces of travel and leisure, although on occasions I encounter particular situations in which the gendered positioning of women resist such social hierarchies. The discourses of romance, promiscuity and play pervade the story of those sailing on *SS Happy Wanderer*, but amid these prominent discourses there exist some, all be they perhaps more subtly played out, discourses that hint at the hardships of working and living on cruise ships. My voyage with *Carry on Cruising* reveals some of the highly structured, service-orientated and hierarchal characteristics of cruise ships alongside the camaraderie and sense of communitas that such spaces engender among members of its onboard community.

As I leave behind *Carry on Cruising*, the following chapter will present my explorations of Stanley Kramer’s 1965 film production *Ship of Fools*. I invite you to voyage with me onboard the German vessel, the *Vera*, during the depression of the 1930s.
Chapter 7  Ship of Fools

7.1 Introduction
My analysis of Ship of Fools [1965] focuses on the embodied nature of ship space. Whether as a consequence of work, travel or pleasure, this film depicts a community of people living and travelling in a transitory, in between place, that is neither land nor sea. Located against the backdrop of the great depression of the 1930s and the imminent political unrest in Germany, Ship of Fools presents a microcosm of the world within a particular period in time. Crossing the Atlantic from Mexico to Europe, docking briefly in Tenerife, a community of passengers and seafarers physically embody the finite space of a ship for a period of twenty-six days. What producer and director, Stanley Kramer, constructs is a fascinating portrayal of the inner spaces of a ship and its community of people, both passengers and seafarers, all of whom coexist in close proximity for the duration of the voyage.

Set in 1933 Ship of Fools unfolds onboard the German liner Vera whose primary function was transportation rather than pleasure cruising per se. Despite these initial observations I argue here that within the film’s various texts and sub-texts there exists some intriguing characteristics associated with this form of social mobility at this time. Arguably some of these remain familiar and have associations, whether real or imagined, with the current concept of cruise travel. It has been argued throughout this thesis that despite the growth and development of the cruise industry on a global scale and the accompanying diversification and differentiation of cruise products, there remains a set of dominant images and rituals associated with the concept of cruising. Many of these have a heritage that can be traced back to an era of sea travel that pre-dates the concept of cruise travel as we understand it today.

As already alluded to, Ship of Fools can be conceptualised as a liminal space, a transitory in between place. The film is based on the Katherine Ann Porter novel of the same name. On one level reference to the term ‘ship of fools’ is a play on words that can be traced back to a variety of sources including the work of Sebastian Brandt. Published in 1494, Sebastian Brandt’s poem, Ship of Fools, revolves around a ship of 110 people all bound for ‘fool’s paradise’ with each of the 112 chapters of the poem devoted to different satires and human follies of the time. Arguably the term ‘fool’ is synonymous with the concept of the carnivalesque (Bahktin 1984) and associated notions such as liminal space, spectacle and
transgressive behaviour. As such it could be contended that this film embraces the liminal and transient characteristics of ship space in which to situate a series of performances. The ship is the theatre, a unique stage setting that is embodied by an onboard community who all at different times take on the roles of performer and spectator. Amid the various stage sets the individual members of the onboard community, and the ways in which their characters, behaviours and stories are constructed, unveils a set of social dramas (Turner 1982).

Embracing Turner’s (1982:27) assertion that “[l]iminality may involve a complex sequence of episodes in sacred space-time, and may also include subversive and ludic (or playful) events”, this analysis seeks to explore Vera as a liminal carnivalesque space of work, leisure and play. To my mind Ship of Fools provides a fascinating insight into ship life whether for purposes of employment or for travel and pleasure. The concept of ship space is both complex and multifaceted and there exists numerous ways in which the inner spaces of a ship can be conceived. What I endeavour to illustrate in this chapter is that despite the primary function of the ship, the film’s historical setting and its focus on issues of nationality, Ship of Fools contributes to particular regimes of truth (Foucault 1989) surrounding the concept of cruise ship space and the cruise experience. As I journey through Ship of Fools I will present my analysis and interpretation of the discourses I encounter, drawing on key themes including: the interiority and exteriority (McCarthy 2005) of ship space; the concept of ship society (Foster 1986); ships as panoptic spaces of surveillance (Foucault 1991); the carnivalesque (Bahktin 1984); and aspects of performance and play (Turner 1982).

7.2 My Journey with Ship of Fools

Within the opening credits and first minutes of the film, I am left with little doubt that as I journey onboard the Vera I do so with an onboard community diverse in terms of gender, age, nationality and their own purpose of being on this ship. Following the opening scene, which briefly depicts a ship off the shores of Mexico, I find myself on the open decks of the Vera on the periphery of a busy and noisy landscape of people. Feeling like an onlooker, I allow the movement of the camera to control all that I look at. I see young people, old people, couples, people on their own, children running, and a man in a wheelchair being pushed along by another man. Moving from the open side decks of the ship to the aft open deck, the diversity of this ship’s community continues, my gaze
momentarily rests on a woman walking a dog. Certainly these opening scenes, whilst projecting a busy landscape of people also convey the flâneur-like nonchalant strolling, gazing at and observing one another, a common activity associated with the leisure spaces of cruise ships, described by Nicholson (2009) as promenading.

As I continue following the natural flow of passengers strolling the decks, I pause as I encounter a dwarf male passenger [see clip 1]. As if almost sensing my gaze upon him, the man looks out above the deck railings, seaward, as if he has only just realised that he is being looked at. As we make eye contact he introduces himself as Karl Glocken and the ship as a ‘ship of fools’:

In the same way that a narrator of a play would invite his or her audience to temporarily enter the world on the stage, I find myself being enticed to enter both the liminal space of the film and that of the ship. I am invited to become part of the onboard community and to travel with the passengers and crew in a more intimate way than that of a casual onlooker. Accepting the invitation to enter Ship of Fools and sail with the Vera, I imagine myself as part of this community afforded the privilege of being able to move between passenger and crew areas.

In this time-bound space particular social dramas are constructed, unveiled and articulated through the particular characteristics and peculiarities of space, and revealed through what Turner (1982:9) refers to as “the “taxonomic” relations among actors (their kinship ties, structural positions, social class, political status, and so forth), and their personal network ties, and informal relationships”. As I embark on my voyage through Ship of Fools I find myself among a society at sea characterised by a group of people, many of whom are
strangers to one another. It becomes quickly apparent to me that a disparate and multinational community represented by working seafarers, paying passengers and deportees, embodies the Vera. In addition to Karl Glocken, the dwarf male travelling on his own, some of the other passengers I meet on this voyage include several German passengers, Mrs Treadwell (an American divorcée travelling alone), American artists David and his lover Jenny, and a Texas baseball player, Tenny. A Spanish dance troupe sail onboard Vera, as does a Spanish political activist and deportee La Condesa.

7.3 Architectures of the sea

A first encounter with Ship of Fools reveals a fairly ordinarily and rather banal depiction of a ship as an architectural structure. However of its time the Vera would have been very much a symbol of national pride and industrial prowess. In fact Ship of Fools captures a moment in time that “[t]he privileged enjoyed luxurious ocean travel throughout the Depression of the early 1930s, a period now cast as the ‘golden age’ of cruising” (Quartermaine and Peter 2006:40). In comparison to the interiors of ships in today’s contemporary cruise environment the interior design of the Vera is fairly unadorned. However, as an ‘architecture’ of the sea, the Vera captures the advancements in the aesthetics of sea travel during the interwar years with Germany leading the way in interior design and décor. As Quartermaine and Peter (2006:39) observe “[t]he German liners Bremen (1929) and Europa (1930) were among the first large ships in a deliberately modern style, with sleek exterior profiles and rational interior design”.

Throughout Ship of Fools I experience the various ways in which the external spatial areas of the ship facilitate both the presence and sensory embodiment of the sea. In doing so I am reminded of how such objects on the sea, together with their unique features of design, make possible particular sensory connections with the surrounding natural environment (Berger 2004). The outer deck spaces of the vessel are frequently appropriated by passengers, and at times by members of the ship’s personnel, engaging in a variety of activities. As I imagine myself on what I assume to be the promenade deck that enables passengers to circumnavigate the vessel, I observe many people strolling, talking, gossiping, gazing seaward and generally embracing the sea air (Nicholson 2009). Additionally on occasions the aft area of this open deck is utilised as a social space for first class passengers as they engage in after diner socializing, drinking and dancing. Appropriation of the outer deck spaces of the Vera provides an almost seamless extension
to the inner dining activities. It is perhaps not surprising that the use of the outer deck area is maximised given the finite and perhaps claustrophobic inner space that would have been typical of passenger ships during this era of sea travel. The description by one passenger that the boat smells of cabbage is a reminder of the disenchantment of ship space (Kwortnik 2008) and the significance of outer areas of the vessel that enables escape from some of the less enchanting aspects of closed in spaces and the function of connecting with the natural surrounding environment.

Despite the fact that the Vera is crossing the vast expanse of the Atlantic Ocean, as a natural phenomenon, the sea is a relatively understated discourse throughout the film. Indeed Vera’s crossing is presented as a relatively smooth affair in terms of weather, wind and sea currents. The seemingly underplayed dynamics of the ocean voyage in terms of these natural marine and climatic conditions is perhaps even more remarkable given the duration of journey, the relatively small size of ship and the limited stabilising technologies that would have been in use during this era of sea travel. Amid its calm persona, I am on occasions reminded of the motion of the ocean as I listen to the sound of the sea breeze. On other occasions I notice the gentle ripples of air passing through the hair and clothing of passengers. The flickering flames of candles that illuminate tables on the exterior deck during the evening create a sense of social occasion amid the romanticised and safe portrayal of sea travel. In the main the seascape serves as a backdrop upon which particular shipboard activities, escapades and stories are enacted. The surrounding ocean also serves to reinforce the isolated and detached nature of the ship and its onboard community. There is one occasion during the voyage where myself and other passengers are reminded of the cruelty of the sea when we learn of the death of a Spanish deportee having jumped into the ocean in an attempt to save a passenger’s dog, thrown overboard by errant children.

7.4 Ship Society
What makes Ship of Fools such a fascinating construct of travel at sea is the notion of being at sea and the ways in which the sea frames the concept of ship society. Conceived as a space of containment (Weaver 2005b) embodied by what Foster (1986:217) refers to as “a short-lived society”, this voyage of twenty-six days is characterised by its external environment - the infinite expanse of surrounding ocean. With the ship visiting only a couple of ports of call between its departure from Veracruz in Mexico and arrival in the
European destination of Bremerhaven, the confined nature of ship space is amplified by the presence of the sea forming a physical boundary between the ship and land. Defining the concept of ‘interiority’, McCarthy (2005:112) comments, “[c]ontainment, confinement, enclosure, imprisonments, privacy, protection, security, shelter…are words to which understandings of interiority adhere”. Taking the perspective that interiority is bound up with the notion that “…interiors are controlled, and potentially controlling, environments” (McCarthy 2005:113), *Ship of Fools* is illustrative of the structured, disciplined and confined nature of ship space. The length of journey exacerbates these concepts with ship life defined and bounded (and undoubtedly amplified) by its exteriority (see McCarthy 2005), in this case the surrounding expanse of ocean.

*Ship of Fools* is a voyage in which I am invited to experience the complex and multifaceted nature of the ship’s interior space. As I am drawn into the space of the film and that of the ship, I feel a sense of connection beyond that of simply looking. I feel that I have been invited into the world of the *Vera*, and as a consequence into the intimate lives of others. As I continue to survey the diverse landscape of people, I find myself travelling through a gendered space perhaps initially made most prominent by the ship’s personnel, which is exclusively male. The concept of a ship as a predominantly masculine workspace is deeply embedded in maritime history when living and working at sea was commonly accepted as an appropriate course for men, but not usually women (Thomas 2003). It is interesting to note however that the presence of women at sea, either officially or unofficially, can be traced as far back as the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in British Naval history. Indeed Rodger (2005:506) reveals that while “[t]he majority of women at sea lived openly as women…there were a few women disguised as men and serving as seamen”. This said, I am not surprised that I encounter only male personnel onboard *Vera*, accepting this as a social construct of its time and one that was slow to change in the twentieth century. Indeed, although there has been some significant shifts in the gendered landscape of cruise ship employees into the 21st century, a ship’s workforce remains male dominated both in the ratio of women to male seafarers and in the hierarchy of positions favouring male seafarers (see Thomas 2003; Chin 2008). So too am I reminded of the hierarchal structures endemic in the seafaring industry as the Captain and the ship’s doctor play central roles throughout the film.
Chapter 7: Ship of Fools

Notions of power, control and command are hinted at as I am introduced to the Captain’s quarters in which the ship’s doctor and the Captain discuss the passengers [see clip 2]. The ocularcentric nature of ship space and surveillance of people is revealed in the way in which the ship’s doctor has scrutinised the passengers sailing onboard Vera. Making a mental note of several passengers, Doctor Schumann recalls the dwarf man, a couple of American painters, and a Jewish salesman with ‘an infectious sense of humour’. The Captain enquires further by asking about women. In response to the Captain’s seemingly routine and possibly anticipated enquiry, Doctor Schumann demonstrates his powers of observation and recall as he talks of ‘a rather attractive middle-aged American woman…a Spanish dancing troupe…and the usual assortment of our countrywomen’.

The motivations for Captain Thiele asking about female passengers are not clear, although such discourse arguably positions women onboard Vera as subjects of the predatory male gaze of the Captain. Additionally, as previously noted, this particular historical period in seafaring history privileged a male workforce at sea and as such it can be assumed that any female company would be sought out from within the passenger community. As such it is not surprising that passengers were encouraged at times to “…fraternize with senior crew members and the master of the ship through dining at the captain’s table and visiting the bridge” (Nicholson 2009:52). Indeed the fact that Ship of Fools represents a voyage at sea for a lengthy period of time, the Vera spending many days at sea without the opportunity to dock, enhances notions of incarceration, intensity, power relations and gender positioning.

What this scene also conveys is a Captain who appears fatigued with a working life at sea and the social roles he is expected to perform as Captain of a passenger ship. On this occasion he makes it clear that he does not wish to interact with the passengers and instead asks Doctor Schumann to dine with them in his place and to offer his excuses. There are numerous occasions throughout my voyage through Ship of Fools where I am reminded of the uniqueness of ship space, an interiority of space characterised by aspects of confinement and closed boundaries that engender and in some cases enforce closeness and
intimacy (McCarthy 2005). To me Captain Thiele emanates a sense of personal loneliness, which is captured in the way in which he appears genuinely disappointed that the ship’s doctor plans to disembark when they reach Bremerhaven in Germany. In this case, what I observe is not just the Captain’s affection for Doctor Schumann, but also the intensity of this relationship, played out in the disappointment that Captain Thiele expresses regarding the doctor’s impending departure from the ship. For Doctor Schumann this voyage will be his third but he feels that ship life is not for him. The Captain fears that his only companion will no longer be around to play chess and hold conversation with. Despite the relatively short time they have been acquainted Captain Thiele has clearly developed affection for the doctor, stating: ‘I’ve become fonder of you than of most people in my life’. Throughout the voyage the Captain’s accommodation is a space that does not command any hierarchy in the relationship between the Captain and the ship’s doctor. To the contrary within these spatial confines the informal and close nature of their companionship is clear. The relationship between Captain Thiele and Doctor Schumann remains prevalent throughout my voyage with Ship of Fools, echoing the masculine bond and intensity of relationships that develop among fellow officers in such isolated spaces of confinement.

In this small section of the film, producer and director Stanley Kramer constructs a poignant sub text about the realities of working at sea. It is not just the propensity for physical fatigue to occur when dealing with the harsh realities of seafaring (Coons and Varias 2003), but also the emotional fatigue, sense of detachment, imprisonment and ensuing loneliness that can be endemic among a ship’s workforce when confined in both time and space by particular spatial boundaries (Tracy 2000; Zhao 2002). It can be reasonably assumed that given the size and scale of ships during this period, those working and living at sea would have a fairly meagre existence in terms of living space. Moreover the presence of the Captain and senior officers in passenger spaces, which is explicitly evident throughout the film, underlies the segregation of spatial areas set aside for different sectors of the seafaring community. Indeed the hardships of working at sea for seafarers of lower rankings are an absent discourse of the film, many of which are arguably still prevalent in the industry today (Tracy 2000; Weaver 2006; Zhao 2002).

Despite the current advancements in the architecture, size and technologies of ship building, such realities associated with living and working in confined spaces are still prevalent in the industry today. For example, issues associated with fatigue are not
uncommon, with crew spending long periods of time in these types of workspaces with little escape. The concept of ‘burnout’ is described by Tracy (2000:95) as “…a general wearing out or alienation from the pressures of work”, a condition closely connected to emotional labour. The highly structured formalities of ship life, coupled with restricted spatial boundaries and being part of a seafaring community that exist in close proximity to one another, all contribute to some of the difficult conditions of working and living at sea. Not only is living space and in many cases cabin space (particularly for the lower ranks) shared with fellow seafarers but those working and living at sea are subjected to emotional labour (Zhao 2002). Emotional labour illustrates both the performative nature of service-orientated employees and the notions of control and commercialisation of emotions in tourist spaces (Weaver 2006). In terms of the seafarers’ community, the extent to which freedom exists to embody particular spatial areas of the ship is almost certainly determined by role, rank and ethnicity (Gibson 2008). Thus for some, accessibility to most parts of the ship and in particular to passenger spaces may be seen as a privilege and one that permits the opportunity to socially interact with passengers in, arguably, a more relaxed space. Similarly position, rank and status would dictate the extent of release beyond the confines of the ship when in port. However despite greater levels of access and status permitting physical movement between staff and front-stages with relative ease, it remains impossible to escape the physical proximity of people.

In addition to the relationships that emerge among members of the ship’s personnel, temporary and transient relationships also manifest themselves among members of the passenger community, with some of these chance encounters playing out at a surprisingly intimate level. As I promenade the open decks of the vessel I observe the ways in which this space is utilised for recreation, relaxation and socialising. Embodied by different members of the onboard community the range of activities include deck games, promenading, gazing out to sea, relaxing in the sea air on deck chairs, reading, drinking tea (or stronger concoctions) and gossiping. Perhaps the social acts of talking, gossiping and speculating on life, that culminate in exchanges of life stories, is a natural consequence of the ennui of being at sea for long periods of time and the sense of distance and detachment from the realities beyond the confines of the ship. As such throughout my voyage I observe the emergence of numerous social encounters and casual acquaintances that develop within a relatively short space of time. This level of familiarity that such liminal spaces engender is captured in several encounters when personal accounts of relationships
that would ordinarily be kept to oneself, or reserved for the ears of close confidants, are exchanged. Such behaviour is captured in a conversation between Jenny Brown and fellow passenger, Mrs Treadwell. So too I come across David and Karl Glocken also engaged in a seemingly benign and casual encounter in which Karl asks David about his relationship with Jenny and whether they intend to marry. The apparent intimacy and enquiry of a personal nature perhaps illustrates the sense of detachment from one’s ordinary and familiar surroundings creating artificial familiarity, resulting in the transgression of personal boundaries in a relatively short period of time.

I also observe that onboard Vera the most unlikely partnerships and companionships develop. For example Karl Glocken and the brash American Baseball player, Tenny, indulge in a late night drinking session in the ship’s bar. What is also highlighted in this encounter is how being at sea creates time and space for reflection and review of one’s life stories. Karl Glocken, the dwarf man, reveals the fact that his parents finance his trips on a regular basis preferring him not to be around. It would seem that in this case the isolated and mobile characteristics of the Vera become a space for social banishment.

7.5 Boundaries

In a variety of ways, Ship of Fools, provides a fascinating insight into the complex spatial arrangements of a passenger ship. As already noted earlier the Vera is a floating, transient and isolated space, cut off from the familiarity of one’s home and/or usual working environment. This sense of detachment is intensified by the lengthy journey as the ship crosses the Atlantic from Mexico to Europe. As I journey further through the liminal space of the film it becomes even more apparent that ship space is defined by particular boundaries. The diversity of people sharing ship space is made explicit by the physical boundaries and the segregation of particular spaces, whether in terms of passenger and employee spaces, public and private spaces, deck space and on occasions material space. A further, and unexpected invasion of the finite physical space of the ship, occurs when the Vera embarks hundreds of Spanish labourers presumably being deported by the Cuban government amid the turmoil of rising sugar prices and the burning of plantations.

The Spanish labourers find themselves confined to the lower open decks of the ship [see clip 3]. As Doctor Schumann moves around the deck it is clear that he is concerned about living conditions, particularly in relation to hygiene. The doctor surveys the landscape of
deportees and in doing so pauses for a moment to offer reassurance to a pregnant woman. The woman finds little comfort on the hard decks of the ship while she awaits the imminent birth of her child. The basic conditions that the deportees find themselves in onboard ship is amplified by their displays of celebration and jubilation when subjected to the ship’s water hoses as the only way to clean themselves, or be cleaned. These conditions of hygiene and comfort are the antithesis to the needs and demands displayed by those travelling in first class accommodation and the conspicuous display of class-based systems played out in the dining restaurant.

*Ship of Fools* reveals many examples of the intimacy of shared space whether intentional and sought after or not. In stark contrast to the basic needs of the Spanish labourers, one particular scene reveals the intimate, but by contrast, relatively luxurious space of cabin accommodation [see clip 4]. Having no option, two male passengers find themselves sharing a cabin, a situation they are not pleased with. They talk of being imprisoned on the ship for the duration of the voyage, thus the prospect of having to share a cabin for this length of time is not welcomed. The sense of confinement and the inability to escape the finite space of the ship is captured in the metaphoric use of the word prison to define the powerless situation they find themselves in (see Stanley 2008). Realising the reality that neither have an alternative (although one of the passengers remarks that he has requested a cabin change) there is talk of tolerance and the need to understand the needs and habits of one another. I feel the tension between these passengers as a clear demarcation of cabin space takes place. A brief and somewhat abrupt discussion ensues as the two men settle over which bed they will occupy and which side of the sink they will use. The way in which the two men clearly negotiate small pieces of space, for example which area of the sink they can place their toiletries on, illustrates the importance of identifying (or claiming) seemingly insignificant pieces of physical space. The placement of their personal items is one way in which the two passengers create boundaries and thus a sense of personal space.
Another example that reveals the intimacy of shared personal space is highlighted in the sleeping arrangements of three male passengers, the American artist David, Karl Glocken the dwarf and Tenny, the baseball player from Texas. All sharing the same cabin, this situation highlights the co-existence of strangers sharing cabins, but also one which reveals the limitations in the size of the vessel and the necessity to maximise passenger accommodation, inevitably for business and economic motivations. Such observations concerning the limitations of space for sleeping explicitly illustrate both the confined and finite nature of such travel spaces. Curtains providing a small level of privacy for those sleeping in close quarters with one another and other idiosyncrasies, seemingly insignificant, such as the ritual of placing one’s shoes outside cabins in the corridors all contribute to the discourses surrounding the finite space of the ship and the intimate co-existence of passengers, many of whom are strangers to one another. The placement of shoes outside cabins may be for hygiene purposes but also mirror rituals of hotel space where shoes are left outside hotel rooms for polishing, hinting at the relative exclusivity of these travel spaces for some of its occupants.

In contrast to the above examples of male passengers sharing cabins, I find myself somewhat perplexed as I observe several occurrences in which it appears evident that female passengers are allocated their cabin accommodation on a sole-occupancy basis. For example, as highlighted above, David who is travelling with his female companion Jenny does not share a cabin with her. However on another occasion, in which Jenny and David engage in a lover’s quarrel, it would appear that Jenny resides in her cabin as the sole occupant. This situation appears to be the same for Mrs Treadwell and the Spanish countess, La Condesa – although the latter’s status as a political prisoner being deported
from Veracruz may explain the nature of this cabin allocation. Whilst sole-occupancy may provide privacy and possibly a sense of safety and security, in reality the sleeping arrangements for these women position them as subjects of the male predatory gaze and arguably they become exposed to levels of personal risk. Such vulnerability is made acutely apparent when Mrs Treadwell, although a victim of mistaken identity, finds herself alone in her cabin subjected to the sexual advances of Tenny the American baseball player.

Passenger space is clearly demarcated for particular groups of passengers identified by status and wealth. For example, despite the fact that the Spanish countess, La Condesa, is a political prisoner, her accommodation and freedom of access to various spaces of the ship appears to be the same as that of a first class passenger. This includes dining at Captain’s table. It is also interesting to observe that first class passengers are permitted to occupy the space of the Spanish deportees, perhaps indicative of how higher social groupings are able to infiltrate the space of others. Such transgression of class-based boundaries is hierarchal and power-laden as the labourers remain firmly contained in physically bounded space under strict surveillance by the ship’s officers and crew. During a later scene in the film a Spanish labourer, who is a wood carver, has his knife confiscated amid security and safety concerns, providing another illustration of the socially defined differences, and thus treatment, of different passenger groups.

7.6 Panoptic spaces of surveillance

It is argued in this thesis that ship space legitimises many modes of behaviour and the social space of the ship in many ways is contrived and not always within the control of those who occupy it. In terms of public spaces, a ship’s architecture lends itself to the act of looking and being looked at. Capturing the essence of the social microcosm at sea, Ship of Fools reveals how the first class passenger dining areas operate as significant spaces for social encounters. Embracing the rituals of dining these spatial areas construct and enforce a social hierarchy, based primarily around class and ethnicity (see Ryan 2006). Drawing on aspects of performance and the metaphor of play to further understand the ways in which passengers interact with each other in the finite space of the ship, the social dining space could be metaphorically described as a playground, a space that facilitates both positive and negative interactions among passengers (see Huang and Hsu 2009). Throughout the duration of my voyage with Ship of Fools the space for passenger dining onboard Vera,
including the extension onto the open deck area, exists as the focal platform upon which the social dramas continue to be played out in full view of others – akin to watching a play.

As I imagine myself moving through this space, I am in many ways reminded of the significance of the social aspects of dining and it is within this space that I am able to acquaint myself with many of the passengers who are travelling in first class and in relative luxury compared to the Spanish deportees. My initial cursory glance notes a pleasant and socially interactive space in which seemingly civilised (or controlled) bodies encounter and interact with one another. However on closer inspection and on listening to the range of conversations I find myself amid a disparate community of passengers who have little in common with one another with the exception that they occupy the same physical space of a ship destined for the same destination. Yet curiously they interact and appear on the surface as a cohesive group of passengers. Referring to the work of Simmel (1858-1918), Berger (2004:50) talks about the “banality of ordinary table conversation…as a product of our need to socialize yet maintain a certain distance and decorum to avoid conflicts”. On occasions what is illustrated by Ship of Fools are the ways in which the performative aspects of socialising come into play, as Nicholson (2009) highlights, ‘social masks’ enable socially diverse communities at sea to co-exist in close proximity with one another whilst at the same time maintaining some distance.

As social constructs the significance and power of the dining spaces is revealed through its regulating function. Polite conversation emphasises the socialization aspects of dining as do other social practises and rituals, all of which have an ordering function in their potential to manipulate and control behaviour. In fact it is argued that meals in themselves play a role in controlling time in social settings, thus playing a powerful role in the regulation of behaviour (see Nicholson 2009). As such I argue that the dining space as mediated throughout Ship of Fools is one of the key stages upon which various encounters are played out. I find myself amid a kaleidoscope of performances and a set of unfolding social dramas enacted by various members of the onboard community. It could be argued that the dining space onboard Ship of Fools is positioned as centre stage, providing a focal point for the enactment of the many rituals and social dramas.

The power of the gaze in this ocularcentric, panoptic space also contributes to the regulation of behaviour and the relationship the occupants have with this space and each
other. The regulating power of social space is illustrated in the ways in which particular boundaries either unite or segregate people, groups and communities. My experience of the ship’s first class dining room is that of a bounded space, the consumption of which is premised primarily upon wealth and social status. As such the dining room enables passengers to conspicuously display their wealth, taste and social status. The notion of civilised behaviour is created through particular rituals of dining and other expected codes of behaviour such as the formalities of dressing for dinner. Such rituals of dress, etiquette of dining and expectations of behaviour are historically situated within the early period of travelling at sea (Coons and Varias 2003) many of which, perhaps in varying forms continue to exist within the current cruise industry.

Scenes of passengers dining resembles much of what is expected of today’s contemporary dining. This space is organised with tables of varying sizes, at which are seated a community of people. Some passengers have travel companions and others find themselves seated with strangers and people whom they know little about. On the periphery of this playground there are situated smaller tables for two and four persons. The ocularcentric characteristics of this social space operate as a regulating mechanism. For example although the American lone female traveller, Mary Treadwell is directed to the table of a lone male traveller, it is clear that she prefers to dine on her own. Yet informed by the waiter that there is no room for single tables and perhaps conscious of the watchful eyes of others, Mrs Treadwell complies. On vessels of this size, social space would be limited and consequently such discourses reinforces the unavoidable and often enforced social integration that such spaces of travel and tourism engender.

Of most interest in Ship of Fools is the nature of the segregation that takes place within this space. For example Karl Glocken, the dwarf passenger is shown to a table large enough to accommodate four people where a man is already dining alone [see clip 5]. It quickly becomes apparent that these passengers are marginalised, in the case of Karl Glocken by his physical form and by nationality in the case of Julius Lowenthal, a Jewish passenger. Julius remarks that normally Jewish passengers would dine alone on a passenger ship of this nature. This reveals that although the space of a ship seemingly brings together a diverse mix of people, in this case it is not always in an indiscriminate way. This scene is another indication of the ways in which social encounters occur in such controlled spaces, either forced, accidental or intentional. Also what is being played out here is the
conspicuous display of mobility in and through particular spaces and how these can be predicated on the basis of ethnicity. In this case the liminal space of the dining room is regulated by status characteristics such as nationality and associated prejudices, policed by the presence and gaze of ‘others’. As such certain boundaries exist that cannot be transgressed and in contrast to aspects of enforced social cohesion, this scene demonstrates that there are passengers onboard that are marginalised because of their social cultural personas. Although less prominent in the contemporary cruise environment, there still remain perceptions pertaining to class-based distinctions and what Berger (2004:35) terms ‘status anxiety’.

One example of the spatial areas set aside for high status seafarers and the socially elite is the deck space used for evening entertainments. In a seemingly seamless transition from the inner dining space of the ship onto the aft deck, tables and chairs are arranged with space set aside for dancing. In the same way that the dining room has a table allocated for the Captain and selected guests, so too on the aft of the ship the Captain, Doctor Schumann and their guests also occupy the head table. Throughout, the only other person from the ship’s compliment of officers to host Captain’s table has been Doctor Schumann, perhaps indicative both of his status but also of the close companionship he and the Captain have. Thus the power of the Captain is implicit but made visible throughout the film, for instance his dress uniform signifies the formal nature of the evening.

Arguably particular shipboard rituals enhance the staged and performance aspects of such spaces. For example formalities such as Captain’s table are deeply embedded in maritime history (see Nicholson, 2009), however what I find particularly interesting as I voyage through Ship of Fools is the extent to which a film about sea travel in the 1930s, and made in the 1960s, appears to place so much significance on the concept of Captain’s table. The film’s historical context depicting sea travel on a German liner during the interwar period contributes further to my intrigue regarding this ritual. Whether an accurate portrayal or not of sea travel of its time, such emphasis on this activity throughout the film arguably
contributes to our imaginings of the rituals and social norms that continue to be associated with this type of holiday experience in the current milieu of cruise travel. Certainly throughout my voyage on the *Vera*, Captain’s table is a dominant discourse shaping the social codes of conduct. The symbolic significance of dining at Captain’s table remains throughout *Ship of Fools* and as I continue to move through the film I observe many social dramas and rituals associated with dining.

On numerous occasions Captain’s table, whether directly or indirectly, becomes the nucleus of the dining space, bringing into focus particular stories and performances as members of the ship’s society enact them. Captain Thiele has made it clear from the outset that he doesn’t wish to socialise with the passengers and at various times throughout the film I observe that the Captain is either absent from this performance or indeed makes a hasty retreat. *Ship of Fools* constructs the ritual of Captain’s dinner as nothing short of an irritation for the Captain whilst for some passengers dining at Captain’s table is a clear signal of their identity and social prestige. What is perhaps illuminated by the discourse surrounding Captain’s table is the expectations and pressure placed on a Captain in command of a passenger ship to practice more than his technical seafaring skills and competencies, but also to engage in expected social activities such as dining with passengers.

The Captain’s table hosts a mix of passengers and a dog, capturing the idiosyncratic nature of a liminal space in which almost ‘anything goes’ and perhaps reaffirms the tedium for the Captain and his Officers regarding the expected polite interaction with passengers. Although it is clear that a dog dining at a table is not an accepted norm, nearly all other passengers politely accept the situation, which serves to emphasise the absurdity of a dog being permitted to sit at the table, when fellow German passengers are precluded from doing so. Accepting the presence of a dog in preference to a Jewish or dwarf passenger highlights the extent to which social exclusion is played out in this scenario. Whilst the political landscape of the Nazi regime and persecution of the Jews is a dominant discourse of this film, my analysis does not focus on it in detail as it is not directly relevant to the overarching aim of the thesis. However what the following scenes do illustrate is how the spatial characteristics of ships and their embodied practises can play a significant role in engendering social cohesion, or not.
The following scene demonstrates how explicit exclusion takes place whereby a fellow passenger, Herr Freytag, is no longer permitted to dine at Captain’s table because of his Jewish connections [see clip 6]. The symbolic significance, in terms of status, of dining at the Captain’s table is amplified in a scene by the very issue of social segregation and exclusion as illustrated in this instance. Having ascertained that his wife (later to be further clarified as ex-wife) is Jewish, Herr Freytag is re-situated, seated instead at the table with the Jewish man, Julius Lowenthal, and Karl Glocken, the dwarf man. This scene highlights a hierarchy of status symbols, and in this case it would appear that ethnicity is given greater credence than a passenger’s economic means to travel first class. We are also reminded of how conversations and gossip quickly circulate among a ship’s community as it is revealed how fellow passenger Mrs Treadwell is responsible for telling others about Herr Freytag’s Jewish connections. Again this scene highlights how some of the public spaces onboard ships lend themselves particularly well to the ocularcentric and panoptic nature of looking and being looked at and Foucault’s notion of self-surveillance (see Jordan 2008). If the ritual of dining involves comfort in dining with others (Berger 2004) then this scene explicitly conveys the notions of discomfort and social exclusion that can arise in these situations (see Jordan 2008) as well as the ways in which control and power can be exerted through the apparent ease in which a fellow passenger can be ostracised and banished to another table.

7.7 Space for romantic encounter, ludic behaviour and promiscuous adventure

Against this landscape of hospitality and entertainment, a range of mini social dramas and sub-stories emerge revealing many examples of transgressive behaviour among the occupying seafaring community. For example I enter the intimate world of Jenny and David [see clip 7]. For them this voyage is an adventure and one of escapism in that as an unmarried couple they are able to openly display their affections for one another in the safe space of the ship. However whilst this scene appears to portray the escapism of an unmarried couple in love and who have clearly embarked on this voyage together, they will ‘officially’ be residing in different cabins. As Jenny remarks, ‘26 days in separate
Chapter 7: Ship of Fools

*beds*. Their sexual relationship is explicitly articulated as she continues by saying ‘*we’ll find out whether we have anything going for us besides sex*’. Here we see the inversion of masculine and feminine roles emerge with Jenny financing this trip. For her the ship is a travel space that enables release from the “…passive and subordinate positions in life…resisting the dominant gendered ideologies of what is it to be feminine or a woman” (Harris and Wilson 2007:239).

Another display of intimacy is revealed through the development of a brief love affair between the political deportee La Condesa and Doctor Schumann. Reliant on medication and thus requiring the ship’s doctor to visit her cabin, the Doctor is permitted to enter the intimate space of the passenger’s cabin. The act of the male doctor visiting a lone female passenger in her cabin is legitimised by the status of a medical practitioner socially constructed through notions of power and trust. As I move through *Ship of Fools*, I observe the development of the ship born romance between Doctor Schumann and La Condesa. On one occasion Doctor Schumann, clearly fatigued and having fallen asleep in a deckchair on the open outer decks of the vessel, awakes to discover that he has a blanket covering him with La Condesa sitting by his side. A flirtatious exchange unfolds as La Condesa extends an invitation to the doctor to the fiesta that evening. With a blossoming romance between the two becoming more evident, the speed at which this relationship develops illustrates the intensity of mobile and transient relationships, perhaps a consequence of the bounded and isolated space of the *Vera*.

In the following scene [clip 8] I find myself again amid the developing shipboard romance between Doctor Schumann and La Condesa. The growing intimacy between doctor and patient continues with their conversation including exchanges of personal information
regarding their respective marital statuses. In contrast to the doctor who is married with two sons, La Condesa has been married three times, seemingly unable to secure a life-long partner. Yet despite their marital positions, this scene portrays two individuals who find themselves in similar states of being, they are both alone. What is captured in this scene are the ways in which loneliness can bring together two strangers. Arguably the liminal characteristic of ship space intensifies the sense of detachment from an individual’s life and social structures beyond the boundaries of the ship. Such detachment may be liberating, but also may engender loneliness for particular individuals and in this scene we see an unfolding story in which the unique characteristic of ship space brings together these two strangers, who for different reasons find themselves alone. A closeness and intimacy between these two members of the ship’s society evolves and as I look on I observe their intimacy and the way they find themselves talking like inseparable friends or lovers. Not only are the socially constituted boundaries of marital status crossed as the doctor leans forward to kiss La Condesa, but also those regarding the doctor/patient relationship. Dr Schuman transgresses particular boundaries associated with his profession and trusted position in society, those associated with the Hippocratic oath (i.e. taking advantage of the vulnerability of the patient). The discourses of romance, marriage and particular journeys to discovering love (or not) continue as a dominant theme throughout my voyage with Ship of Fools.

Fiesta evening on board the Vera [see clip 9] is the embodiment of the carnivalesque in which first class passenger space becomes centre stage for a range of performances, many of which involve the abandonment of particular social constraints amid a plethora of excessive and indulgent behaviour. Displays of hedonistic consumption, amoral conduct, flirtatious endeavour, sexual tensions and promiscuous adventure are variously enacted amid the carnival. Prostitution is an overt discourse in the film, made visible through the appropriation of the dining room by the Spanish troupe as their playground to entertain passengers and intentionally search out companions for commercial gain [see clip 9]. Exploitive in their endeavours, the Spanish dance troupe seeks out their prey amid the
masquerade of music and dance. Johann, the nephew and travelling companion of a religious philosopher (his elderly uncle who is confined to a wheelchair), has attracted the attention of one of the female Spanish dancers. Having noticed the glances he has been giving her she asks him to dance. Taking advantage of Johann’s nervous and self-conscious disposition, the Spanish dancer dominates the sequence of events as she leads him to the dance floor and instructs him to dance. Her provocative, suggestive and sensual advances clearly make him more nervous. The dancer’s intentions are made even more transparent when she asks Johann to buy her champagne. It becomes abundantly clear that there is a clear commercial operation onboard the ship, sex being the commodity being sold. Upon realising that his access to money is limited and thus he is unable to pay for drinks, the Spanish dancer quickly moves on to more reliable and lucrative prey - members of the ship’s personnel. In his naivety and inexperience Johann has misunderstood the scenario and issues of payment. When the realisation sets in, as revealed later in the voyage, Johann resorts to stealing money from his elderly uncle to satisfy his growing sexual tensions.

What the fiesta also reveals are the expectations of the officers to perform particular hosting roles and duties. In particular it is evident that it is part of a senior officer’s duties to entertain female passengers. This is no more apparent than in the example of Mrs Treadwell, the American lone passenger, dancing with one of the ship’s officers. While the officer attempts to establish an intimacy with Mrs Treadwell by making eye contact as they dance, Mrs Treadwell is composed and appears positively disinterested in her dancing partner assuming the position of a marionette with glass-like eyes, averting her gaze. In an attempt to almost rebut the hospitality extended to her by the ship’s officer, she challenges him on his motivations for asking her to dance, and in doing so construes his actions as merely obligation. What is unravelling here is a story of a lonely female passenger, who despite the compliments and attention she receives from the officer, is unhappy about her age and single status. She states it is her 46th birthday and that she does not welcome it. Clearly conscious of her age and body she talks about her fear and loneliness, which offers some insight into her travel motivations. Perhaps she finds some comfort in the relative
and perceived safety of the confines of ship space, although such a space also ignites reflection and contemplation about one’s being and place in the world.

In sharp contrast to Mrs Treadwell’s cynicism and discontent over the loss of her former youth, Elsa a young girl travelling with her parents challenges her boundaries between childhood and adulthood. Only sixteen, she yearns to be asked to dance by a man other than her father. Here the carnivalesque space makes visible the overt observation of others and as such self-reflection surfaces as passengers compare themselves with those around them. This scene also reveals the Captain’s explicit references to, and inferences about, passengers dancing in that such activities signify happiness and enjoyment. Indeed if you are not performing you are not enjoying yourself. Self and other are again explicitly highlighted with reference to the steerage passengers as dialogue takes place between the Captain and travel companions, Jenny and David. Rejecting David’s passionate plea to return a confiscated knife to the woodcarver, one of the Spanish deportees, the Captain makes no apology for his attempts to ensure the safety of his passengers, crew and ship. The discontent and tensions in David and Jenny’s relationship is made even more visible by the seemingly celebratory atmosphere enveloping the troubled couple. Jenny’s acceptance of an offer to dance with one of the ship’s senior personnel is perhaps a visual display of defiance in the midst of discontent that David will not dance with her.

Discourses of sexual promiscuity continue to dominate travel on the Vera. The following reveals a couple of scenes [see clip 10] that further expose prostitution as an onboard commercial enterprise at the same time as revealing the predatory gaze of one of Vera’s passengers. Reinforcing the economic motivations associated with such endeavours, Tenny, the American baseball player seeks sexual gratification from one of the Spanish dancers but greets her demand for money with hostility. Tenny subsequently becomes a victim of trickery and ends up in Mrs Treadwell’s cabin by mistake.
The intimate exchange of life stories continues throughout *Ship of Fools* with discourses of lost or missed love. Out on deck I encounter Mrs Treadwell and fellow passenger, Herr Freytag. Mrs Treadwell reflects on her single status attributing her monetary wealth to her misfortunes in love, a reason why she can afford to travel in the way that she does thereby finding herself on the *Vera*. I imagine myself out on deck also leaning out across the railings of the ship’s deck, consumed for some moments by the romance of nature. I notice the ways in which the moonlight reflects off the surface of the surrounding ocean at the same time as feeling the gentle movement of the sea breeze. I join these passengers in reflections about where you are, what could have been, where you are going. Such a space engenders contemplations regarding the trajectory of one’s life story [see clip 11]. Again Mrs Treadwell compares self with other, as she recounts the misfortunes of her marriage with Herr Freytag, assuming that his life story is more successful than hers.

### 7.8 Spectacle

There is little doubt that sea travel, particularly that which involve many days without docking and being out of sight of land, has a distancing effect from the realities and circumstances of one’s life back home. Such detachments would be even greater in a time when technologies enabling communication to and from the ship were limited. Yet despite this, whether wished for or not, worlds cannot be left behind entirely as aspects of a person’s identity travel with them. So despite the fantasy and fabricated nature of life onboard the *Vera*, the world beyond the confines of the ship can only be forgotten or left-behind temporarily. Throughout my voyage with *Ship of Fools* I encounter such discourse when on one occasion, seemingly irritated by the ship-born romance between Doctor Schumman and La Condesa, Captain Thiele urges his friend to remember his life beyond the boundaries of the ship and not to forget his wife and children back home. Not only had the doctor been seen leaving La Condesa’s cabin out of respectable visiting hours, but also this had been quickly reported back to the Captain. As such in this case the perceived freedom and liberation from the constraints of life back home occur only within the limitations and constraints of the panoptic ship space.
Throughout my journey I continue to observe the developing intimacy between La Condesa and Doctor Schumann. During after dinner festivities taking place on the outer decks of the vessels, La Condesa is seated between the Captain and Doctor Shumann, her demeanour somewhat sad and depressed. Captain Thiele excuses himself from the proceedings, perhaps an expression of his disapproval regarding the affections that have developed between his friend, Dr Schumann and La Condesa. In an attempt to cheer her up, Dr Schumann asks her to dance with him, which she declines. The intimacy between the couple is evident as their bodies are turned towards each other and the growth in fondness towards La Condesa is returned as she takes the doctor’s hand in her own. Conscious of such a public display of affection Dr Schumann looks around him to see who may have noticed. However, reassured that nobody is observing their interactions, the doctor relaxes and accepts an invitation to come to her cabin later that evening. Taking advantage of the relative safe haven of the ship and its public areas, Jenny takes centre stage as the focus of attention dancing with members of the Spanish dance troupe [see clip 12]. Such actions are in response to the troubled relationship unfolding between the couple and when David intervenes, angry at both the spectacle Jenny is making of herself and the advantage that the Spanish dancers are taking of the situation, the evening’s festivities come to a sudden conclusion.

As the evening’s festivities end Mrs Treadwell once again encounters one of the ship’s officers. The following scene reveals shipboard promiscuity between passengers and officers, however in this case Mrs Treadwell rejects the advances of the ship’s officer [see clip 13]. Intoxicated, Mrs Treadwell makes her way onto the ship’s outer decks, perhaps to escape the intense public gaze of others. Boundaries between the ship’s personnel and
passengers are crossed as Mrs Treadwell engages in a brief flirtatious encounter with the officer who has been paying her much attention throughout the voyage. Offended by her teasing, the officer rather cruelly exposes the routine nature of such encounters with passengers like Mrs Treadwell.

Mrs Treadwell having rebuffed the advances of the ship’s officer makes her way to her cabin. Before she makes her final exit for the evening this scene [see clip 14] captures Mrs Treadwell dancing to music reminiscent of the “…creation of the “new woman” of the 1920s – the androgynous flapper who ventured into bars and cabarets once thought taboo for “proper” women” (Coons and Varias 3002:106). She seems to be missing the good times, the glamour, the time in which young women were liberated and yearning for her youth.

The discourse of fantasy space and the dominant discourse of romance prevails [see clip 15]. Captain Thiele and Doctor Schumann continue to argue about the Doctor’s affection
for La Condesa. The cynicism that the Captain displays regarding the longevity of this
ship-born romance is perhaps due to the fact that he will have seen so many similar
encounters through his years of living and serving at sea. The explicit reference to
‘shipboard romances’ and the ‘myth of true love’ contributes to the notion that ship space
is not reality, but simply a space that is occupied for a temporary and transient period in
time. Consequently such spaces engender relationships that are subject to continual flux
with their longevity often questionable.

7.9 A reflexive journey
From the very first time I watched Ship of Fools I was completely seduced by the film.
Although not depicting a cruise holiday per se, this film powerfully evokes particular
memories surrounding my own experiences of living and working within a finite and
bounded holiday space at sea. Being employed on different vessels I was accustomed to
moving from being a member of one ship’s community to take up residence with another
group of people onboard a different ship. Such short-lived encounters not only occurred
with fellow seafarers but also with passengers due to the cyclical nature of cruise holidays
- in my experience one or two weeks in duration. As such I understand well, and have
become accustomed to, the transient and temporary nature of a ship’s society and therefore
onboard Vera, I quickly orientate myself and feel at relative ease in this space. As I move
through Ship of Fools I interact with, study and observe the various characters and sub-
groups of the ship’s society. As I do so I am reminded of the intensity of such spaces in
terms of the continual social interactions between members of the ship’s community.
A cursory examination of the activities that I am permitted to see onboard *Vera* hint at the leisurely and glamorous associations of such sea voyages. Yet throughout my voyage with *Ship of Fools* there are several instances when I am reminded of the emotional hardships and loneliness within the ship’s workforce regardless of status and position. As such, as I have previously highlighted, I feel empathy with Captain Thiele and his apparent fatigue as I recall one of my own situations that involved a nine-month assignment at sea. Having finally returned home, it was only a few weeks later that I was requested to return to continue my placement on the same ship. Whilst arguably I held a privileged position with many pleasurable aspects to my job role, working and living at sea every day of the week for several months, with limited time and personal space to recoup my energies, eventually resulted in high levels of fatigue.

Possibly one of the most surprising discourses that I encounter throughout my voyage with *Ship of Fools* is the way in which the film encapsulates some of the traditions still commonly associated with the contemporary cruise experience. For example, from the outset the concept of Captain’s table is revealed as a key aspect of life onboard *Vera*. This is despite the fact that the *Vera* is a German vessel and on a cross-Atlantic voyage during the 1930s. Although my own experiences of the cruise industry are set primarily within the British socio-cultural context, *Ship of Fools* in many ways has broadened my thinking regarding the origins of cruise holidays and the heritage of rituals such as Captain’s table. The omnipresence of Captain’s table, as played out during *Ship of Fools*, illuminates the significance of this ritual and one that clearly has elements of social status attached to it. Of course in the case of holidays at sea, being invited to dine at Captain’s table encompasses different criteria. In my own experiences of both organising Captain’s table and often being part of the hosting party, I briefly bring to mind the challenge of deciding which particular passengers to invite to dine with the Captain on one of the two formal evenings, my task made much easier if we had passengers sailing on a particular voyage celebrating some special occasion such as a significant birthday, or a wedding anniversary for example.

My own experiences of working and living on cruise ships provide me with an understanding of the boundaries of space, the sharing of space and the need to have tolerance of others. Space on any ship is a premium with much of it allocated to the necessary functional attributes of the voyage, passenger cabins and the hospitality and
entertainment aspects so integral to the cruise experience. *Ship of Fools* almost exclusively focuses on the public passenger spaces, with limited attention paid to the working or living space of the ship’s personnel - the exception being the Captain’s living space, which is spacious and above sea level with large windows. It is assumed that this space is in the upper parts of the vessel near the bridge. Nonetheless the enforced co-existence of passengers and their cabin arrangements, as revealed in *Ship of Fools*, bring to mind the many and varied situations I encountered regarding my allocated living and sleeping accommodation. Depending on the vessel, I was allocated a cabin either on a single or shared occupancy basis. Sometimes the cabin was in the passenger section of the ship and on other occasions situated within the crew areas. In all situations, in their varying degrees, I am reminded of the significance of creating personal space and when on the occasions I had to share accommodation, how I used material ‘things’ and personal possessions to visually create and identify a small piece of personal territory.

Arguably the liminal and transgressive characteristics of ship space encourages and fosters a variety of encounters, which contribute to the discourses of romance and promiscuity as constructed in *Ship of Fools*. In terms of promiscuity and romantic endeavours the activities of the *Vera* as depicted throughout the film do not surprise me. Certainly it is my experience that the bounded and detached characteristics of ships engender high levels of communitas among the workforce, often fostering intimate and intense relationships with varying outcomes. Whether due to loneliness or as a symptom of the ennui of being at sea, characterised by the finite space of the ship and the replication of itineraries on a weekly or two weekly basis, I have seen many ship-born friendships and romantic encounters develop.

This said I also recognise and can identify with the cynicism that Captain Thiele displays with regard to Doctor Schumann’s romance with La Condesa. In fact I met my partner of 12 years working onboard ships and was subjected to the same levels of scepticism as displayed in *Ship of Fools*. In addition to my own experiences I have observed the formation of many other partnerships and relationships during my relatively short seafaring career. Some of these were brief encounters and some I saw flourish with couples taking up their positions on different vessels together. However I have also witnessed the difficulties when relationships break down and given the intensity of the work and living space on ships, I have known people to resign from their positions and disembark to escape
the fall out from a broken relationship. Yet it is interesting that *Ship of Fools* highlight the Captain’s concerns about the longevity of Doctor Schumann’s and La Condesa’s love affair, illustrating that beyond the fantasy world of the ship, the survival of ship-born relationships are doubtful.

### 7.10 Chapter summary

*Ship of Fools* provides an interesting insight into the isolated and detached nature of ships as spaces of work and leisure. Transported back to sea travel during the interwar period, my journey onboard the *Vera* reveals, albeit only partially, a disparate community of people living in close proximity to one another for a period of 28 days. Although *Ship of Fools* depicts transatlantic travel onboard a German liner, I argue that various discourses throughout the film contribute to particular concepts associated with cruise tourism and the cruise experience within today’s contemporary milieu. These include particular rituals still associated, even if they are not always practised, with the cruise experience such as the social significance of onboard dining, Captain’s table and rituals of dress. *Vera*’s voyage across the Atlantic for a period of 26 days emphasises the finite and confined nature of this type of travel space revealing some of the complex functioning of a ship’s onboard society. In terms of ship space, *Ship of Fools* provides a partial insight into the spatial organisation of ships and their embodied practises many of which are dictated by particular social hierarchies. Amid the structured and disciplined nature of ship life, such spaces foster intimacy and companionship among members of its society at the same time as creating segregation among others. For some sailing onboard the *Vera*, is one of indulgence, promiscuous adventure and play, for others such spaces engender hardship, loneliness and vulnerability. Arguably the discourses that reveal the hardships synonymous with working and living at sea are subtly embedded in the discursive structure of this film. Leaving behind this voyage with *Ship of Fools*, in the following chapter I step further back into the history of sea travel to an era that celebrated the technological achievements of a nation, as I journey with the acclaimed unsinkable ship, Titanic through Cameron’s *Titanic*. 
Chapter 8  Titanic

8.1 Introduction

In essence James Cameron appropriates the story of the R.M.S. Titanic, a maritime disaster that has been continuously documented as the greatest and most tragic of them all, and uses it as a landscape in which to situate a ‘ship-born’ love story. The film Titanic [1998] constructs a ‘class-torn’ romance between Jack Dawson, a steerage passenger (played by Leonardo DiCaprio) and Rose DeWitt Bukater, a first class passenger (played by Kate Winslet). Jack has just won his ticket to travel on Titanic during a poker game on the dockside minutes before the ship sails. He is depicted as a ‘happy go lucky’ individual with few material possessions and nothing to lose by embarking on an unexpected and chancy adventure sailing across the Atlantic. In stark contrast Rose is portrayed as a distraught and unhappy young women who is travelling onboard the ship with her future husband, Caledon Hockley (Cal), and mother, Ruth DeWitt Bukater, whom are all destined to make a new life in America. Rose’s father had passed away leaving a legacy of bad debt and a future of poverty for her and her mother. Consequently the planned marriage with Rose’s fiancé, Cal, is non-negotiable as such a partnership will ensure a future of financial stability for Rose and her mother. Clearly, although Rose has everything to gain materially from the relationship, she feels far from liberated as she boards the vessel destined for New York.

Sailing out of the UK port of Southampton on her maiden voyage, commanded by Captain E.J. Smith, the fate of Titanic is sealed when being struck by an iceberg the vessel sinks in the Atlantic Ocean. Arguably the tragic story of Titanic exists only as a backdrop against which to situate the dominant discourse of the film, that of the shipboard romance. Reconstructing the architecture of Titanic, a space betwixt and between land and sea, the ship becomes the stage on which an unlikely love story unfolds. Arguably, the liminal characteristics of a ship together with common associations with the concept of cruising, such as love, romance and promiscuity, enables producer and director James Cameron to effectively bring together the story of Titanic and a shipboard romance, no matter how seemingly far fetched.

The story of Titanic is narrated through the memories of Rose who having survived the ship sinking is now an elderly woman, 100 years old. Some eighty-four years since the sinking of Titanic, a deep-sea exploration team is searching the wreckage on the seabed in
the belief that they will locate a safe containing a valuable diamond known as ‘The Heart of the Ocean’. When Rose sees news reports surrounding their endeavours she makes contact with Brock Lovett, the leader of the expedition. Rose identifies herself as the subject of a drawing retrieved from the wreckage of the ship and by doing so she is invited to join him and his team aboard their vessel located in the Atlantic in the area of *Titanic*’s wreckage. Now known as Rose Calvert, she is asked to recount her story and in doing so recalls the fateful event of *Titanic* and her romantic adventure with Jack Dawson.

The story played out by Jack and Rose is one of infidelity, deceit, passion and fantasy. Not only does the liminal space of the ship facilitate the seemingly accidental encounter between Rose and Jack, but also the era in which *Titanic* existed enables Cameron to construct a romantic encounter embroiled in discourses of identity, social class and gender. Conceived as carnivalesque spaces, ships facilitate the uniting of some unlikely relationships and certainly the romantic adventure between Jack and Rose engenders a level of scepticism regarding its plausibility. Yet rather than dwelling on whether or not the love story would survive the realities of the ‘real’ world once the ship had reached its destination, the fate of *Titanic* is known, and thus I am invited to enter a landscape of fantasy to embrace the dreams of the two lovers.

*Titanic* was an ocean liner and not a cruise ship per se, however many traditions and rituals associated with modern cruising originated from the Edwardian era of transatlantic voyaging. I argue that, certainly in part, there exists a proportion of film spectators that clearly associate the contemporary cruise experience with a bygone era of ocean travel in which ships such as *Titanic* were referred to as “Floating Palaces” (Roussel 2010:24). Therefore what is of interest here is the ship *Titanic* as an architectural construct with its onboard community and particular shipboard practises. Moreover given the inexorable links between *Titanic* and the sea, established through the duality of ships and the sea, Britain’s rich maritime history and the tragic demise of *Titanic*, I am particularly interested in the ways in which the landscape of the sea is framed throughout the film. As I voyage through and with *Titanic* I will present my analysis and interpretation of the discourses as they reveal themselves.
8.2 The sea

It has been previously posited that part of the attraction of sea travel and thus the cruise experience is conceived through the fascination and lure of the sea (Berger 2004; Corbin 1994). It is of little surprise that the sea plays such a significant role in Cameron’s Titanic, firstly because the romantic narrative is framed by the story of ‘Titanic’ and secondly because Cameron himself holds a particular fascination for the sea; as Rampton (2005:42) states, “[t]he director James Cameron would be the first to admit that he is obsessed by the ocean”. As expected the power and symbolic potency of the ocean is a prominent discourse throughout the film. Just as the world’s oceans are characterised by shifts in movement, colour and depth (Carson 1964) as I journey with Titanic, I experience a sea that is variously depicted as particular seascapes. These include those of life and death; exploration and fear; endurance and bravery; love and romance; and fantasy and myth-making.

During the opening scenes of the film [see clip 1] I am taken on a deep-sea diving expedition to explore the inner depths of the ocean and the wreckage of Titanic. As the underwater camera meanders through its surviving structure and debris, recognisable parts of the ship’s architecture are captured: the roof of the officer’s quarters; the first class gangway door, D deck, a reception room, a bedroom. Surviving artefacts that are miraculously preserved on the ocean’s floor include items of clothing, a pair of reading glasses, a porcelain doll’s face, a chandelier, a decorative fireplace, a piano, a bed frame, a bath and toilet. Such captions of the past are presented in stark contrast to the modern day submersible that makes possible the deep-sea diving team to locate and physically reach the wreckage of the sunken ship resting on the seabed.

Such film footage is both compelling and melancholy, evoking a mixture of sadness and intrigue. As I am afforded this brief opportunity to search the depths of the ocean bed for the remains of Titanic, I am reminded of the obsessive nature and enduring searches for lost treasures and wreckage of ships, R.M.S. Titanic being among the most famous. The
futuristic depiction of the diving vessel used to explore the skeletal remains of the vessel evocatively triggers my intrigue about the technologies that have enabled exploration of parts of our world that for many of us exist only as imagined spaces. Once a symbol of technical supremacy images of the sunken ship, half buried on the seabed, are also a poignant reminder of the confidence, but also naivety of mankind, of the power and powerlessness of technology when facing the forces of nature. As the search through the remains of Titanic continues I almost feel the bitter cold of the ocean and imagine the darkness were it not for the lights of the search equipment meandering its way through artefacts that were once lost but now re-discovered. This exploration, enabled by modern technologies, immortalises our continued fascination with the sea and the creatures that live in it.

These underwater scenes of the search for and exploration of the wreckage of Titanic are presented in stark contrast to the sepia style film footage utilised at the beginning of the film, which narrate scenes of celebration, excitement and jubilation as the ship sails out of the port of Southampton. Leaving behind the eerie depths of the ocean, instantly forgetting any sense of danger associated with the cruelties of nature to engulf life, I find myself caught up in the excitement and activity of Titanic setting sail. On her maiden voyage scenes of people laughing, smiling and waving off the ship on its first journey across the Atlantic trigger nostalgic reminders of a bygone era when the ruling British Empire was at its height. Such juxtapositions serve as a reminder of the passage of time, the continuing technical supremacy of modernity and the ongoing endeavours of humanity to control and tame nature.

As Titanic leaves the port of Southampton I am reminded of the gruelling technologies of sea travel and harsh working conditions (see Coons and Varias 2003) as I am afforded a brief glimpse into the depths of the ship and the space of the engine room. I peruse this workspace for only a fleeting moment, as indeed it is the lure of the sea that continues to command my attention. As such I find myself with passengers Jack Dawson and his travel companion Fabrizio De Rossi as they embark on their adventure sailing on Titanic. I find myself caught up in Jack and Fabrizio’s excitement as they connect with the ocean as a seascape of exploration and discovery across which there exists imagined places [see clip 2]. Jack and Fabrizio climb the railings of the bow of the ship in a state of euphoric excitement. In the early stages of the film, Titanic is described as ‘the ship of dreams’ and
as Jack and Fabrizio are standing on the bow of the vessel looking out across the ocean, they imagine what lies ahead and visualise their arrival and what they will see when they near the coast of America. Of course the concept of America as a land of promise in terms of opportunity and wealth was a reality in the early part of the 20th century with many migrants from Europe leaving behind their homelands in pursuit of a more prosperous life in America (Coons and Varias 2003).

The seduction of nature, to feel, touch and be touched by the sea is captured in this scene. Jack and Fabrizio precariously hang over the bow of the ship and in doing so they sight dolphins playfully following the path of Titanic. Depicted in much art of Mediterranean people, dolphins are a symbol of maritime power, luck and good fortune (Hall 1994). As such seafarers are always happy to see them swimming alongside the vessel, thus dolphins in this scene complement the narrative of excitement and for many such voyages as ones of optimism amid the pursuit of a new life across the ocean. This scene demonstrates the magnetism of the sea and the propensity to gaze out across the ocean, which is so commonly associated with the lure of sailing and cruising (Macbeth 2000).

The foremost point of a ship’s bow is ordinarily out of bounds to passengers and is the domain of seafarers in a working capacity. In their state of euphoria, Jack and Fabrizio have crossed the boundaries from passenger space into what is arguably forbidden territory. The precarious play between the safety of the ship and the cruel depths of the sea, the boundaries between life and death together with their elevated vantage point signifies adventure, exploration, ultimate freedom and life. Symbolic of leaving the past behind, like figure heads, Jack and Fabrizio only look forward into the future. As they stand elevated
on the bow of the liner as it cuts its path across the Atlantic ocean, the romance of sailing (Kendall 2005) is conveyed. While arguably the cruise experience privileges the visual gaze such embodiment of nature is only part of the sensory experience. I imagine myself with Jack and Fabrizio feeling the wind in my hair, the sun on my face, tasting and smelling the salt from the sea spray. Such embodiment is synonymous with the notion of sailing and cruising at sea, all of which are claimed to have positive effects on the state of mind and body (see Macnaghten and Urry 1998). The allure of the sea is not just preserved for the inexperienced sailor, but also for those that have undoubtedly spent a lifetime working at sea. Watching on from the advantageous viewing position of the bridge, the Captain and one of his officers, Mr Murdoch, survey the vastness of the ocean surrounding them. I sense the Captain’s admiration of both Titanic as a feat of human architecture and engineering, and the natural phenomenon of the infinite expanse of ocean. As such I also connect with the sea’s magnetic power, as it captivates my gaze.

Arguably being at sea for lengthy periods of time creates an environment that promotes reflection for seafarers and passengers alike (Osborn 1977; Foulke 2002). Being at sea enables one to contemplate the expanse of the universe in all its unexplored and unexplained guises and for many the preoccupation of the sea is grounded in the origins of life (Carson 1964, Corbin 1994).

Out on the ship’s open decks during the evening I encounter Jack, who lying out in the open on a bench, appears to be engaged in solitary reflection, possibly on his place and purpose in the universe. In stark contrast, a sobbing Rose interrupts Jack’s peaceful contemplation, as she runs past him towards the aft of the ship [see clip 3]. In her growing state of distress regarding her future marriage to Cal, and seemingly distraught about her place in life, Rose in a moment of irrational despair crosses the ships railings, as she considers taking her own life. As I imagine myself next to Rose, I notice the way in which the sky and sea form an infinite expanse of jet-black space. I fear the precarious way in which Rose hangs onto the ship’s railings contemplating her existence in the world, the ship forms not only the symbolic boundary between life and death, but is on this occasion literally the difference between living or not. In endeavouring to calm Rose, and to deter
her from taking her own life, Jack describes the perils of the ocean and in doing so presents it not only as a landscape of life and death but also one of fear and pain. Rose takes Jack’s hand as he encourages her to climb back over the ship’s railings to safety. In doing so social boundaries are transgressed as Rose accepts the help from a steerage passenger.

Despite points throughout the film where I am clearly reminded of the dangers of the sea and the life threatening potential of the natural elements, there are many instances in which I am continuously reminded of the romantic attributes of nature. Even when Titanic makes its fateful collision with the iceberg in the early hours of the morning, the surrounding waters are still and tranquil. Passengers stroll the decks, seemingly relaxed and apparently unaware of any pending danger. Such discourses serve to reaffirm attitudes at the time in terms of faith in technological prowess and the ability to control the forces of nature. However this said, the accompanying silence causes me to feel uneasy, indeed I feel apprehensive and can hear the silence as I sense the pending danger.

8.3 Architectural grandeur

Ships often connote notions of opulence, luxury and high culture with concepts of power and superiority communicated in their architecture and size (Quartermaine and Peter 2006; Wealleans 2006; Kwornik 2008). As architectural structures and material objects these seaborne vessels have a life and a social history. Reminding us of how the ship was before it met its unexpected fate, Cameron reconstructs the splendour of sea travel in the early 20th century. To recreate a landscape of grandeur and opulence on the scale conceived when Titanic embarked on its maiden voyage in 1912, the film company in 1996 purchased forty acres of waterfront property south of Rosarito in Baja California, Mexico (Marsh 1998). Such an acquisition of land enabled Twentieth Century Fox to construct the “first full-service motion picture studio seen on the West Coast in thirty years” (Marsh 1998:27). The setting included two water tanks, one a seventeen million gallon tank which would house the exterior ship set and the other a five million gallon enclosed tank to accommodate the inner ship sets (Marsh 1998).

Given the fact that the film set for Titanic was so carefully crafted, created on such a large scale and cost so much money to achieve, it is clear that Cameron wanted to replicate not just the grandeur of the ship but also its sheer size and scale. Despite the fact that today’s modern passenger liners far supersede the size and speed of Titanic, there is no doubt that
in the early part of the 20th century this vessel was testament to a nation’s technical supremacy in terms of design, engineering and shipbuilding. Indeed, the notion that Titanic was an unsinkable ship became an accepted ‘fact’ very quickly. As Rose, the elderly survivor, recalls her memories of Titanic she visualises her embarkation and the first time she gazed upon the ocean liner as it prepared to set sail from Southampton. She reminisces about the newness of the ship and refers to Titanic at the time as being an imagined world, one most people only dreamt about [see clip 4]. The distinction between the use of the words ‘boat’ and ‘ship’ defines Titanic as no ordinary seaborne vessel. In these early stages of the film, I imagine myself on the dockside amid the urgency of activity and excitement of a crowded port area, not just with people embarking the liner, but with friends and relatives saying goodbye and others there merely gazing up at the ship, to witness for themselves the splendour of Titanic.

As Titanic prepares to set sail she is presented as the largest object floating on the surface of the ocean, yet as Rose, Ruth (Rose's Mother) and Cal (Rose’s fiancé) arrive on the dockside ready to board Titanic, the ship is met with defiant nonchalance by Rose who displays an aura of disinterest in the prospect of her pending journey. Comparisons with her sister ship Mauretania mirror today’s pre-occupations with being able to lay claim to building the biggest and most modern of ships predicated on economic wealth of companies alongside new innovations and design in ship building. For example describing the mass-ification of pleasure cruising, Chin (2008:55) highlights how “…the Mauretania and other oceanic trophies of national pride have been replaced with large ships such as those belonging to the cruise line Royal Caribbean International”. The ‘unsinkable’ discourse and rhetoric associated with Titanic is also clearly displayed in this scene, perhaps a symptom of man’s confidence and perhaps naivety or arrogance in the face of the natural forces of nature. This scene from the film also highlights the varying treatment of passengers according to class. In contrast with the ease of embarkation and warm welcome extended to first class passengers, those travelling third class have to take their place in line to go through a health inspection before being permitted to board the ship.
Discourses surrounding class divides and boundaries are echoed throughout the film, a theme that will be revisited in the following section.

In addition to visual depictions, the film is replete with references to the size and scale of *Titanic*. Indeed the word ‘Titanic’, by its very definition, signifies the immensity of its achievement and existence (Douglas and Douglas 2004). The building of *Titanic* in 1911 was testament to a nation’s technical supremacy and viewed as a symbol of national identity. Claimed to be the “biggest, most expensive, and most technologically advanced ship ever built” (Studlar and Sandler 1999:1), *Titanic* has been described as “…a twentieth-century icon of human fallibility” (Davis and Womack 2001). As I voyage through the film *Titanic*, the interplay between human invention and nature reveals itself through my encounters with a vessel that oscillates between exerting power and control over the sea and conversely being conquered by the sea. At times I find myself gazing down upon *Titanic*, engulfed by the vast ocean and somewhat exposed as it surrenders to the infinity of the sea. This plays on the vulnerability of man’s confidence in technology amidst the uncontrolled forces of nature. On other occasions I find myself gazing up at the ship appreciating its scale and magnitude both of which remind me of human invention and the ability to triumph over the sea.

I encounter many occasions in which I am reminded of this obsession with *R.M.S. Titanic* being the largest and grandest of them all. For example the importance of the vessel’s size and name is a topic of conversation during a dinner scene in which Rose, Cal, Rose’s mother and Molly Brown (a fellow passenger) dine with Mr Ismay, *Titanic*’s conceiver and Mr Andrews, *Titanic*’s master shipbuilder. Such discourses surface once again during idle conversation over afternoon tea. Mr Ismay is talking to the Captain about maximising *Titanic*’s speed amid his obsession with proving to the rest of the world that *Titanic* is the biggest and fastest passenger vessel of its time. Although *Titanic* represents an era of transatlantic travel that sought to appeal to those who wished to travel in luxurious and opulent surroundings (Roussel 2010), this period of sea travel also saw nations compete for the Blue Ribband awarded to the fastest vessel to cross the Atlantic. A poignant reminder of this need to ensure that the ship headlined the news occurs towards the end of the film when *Titanic* is sinking and the Captain reminds us that the liner will now definitely make the headlines. Indeed it was Cunard’s *Mauretania*, launched in 1906, which retained the Blue Ribband until 1929 (Dickinson and Vladimir 2008). An infant by comparison, *Titanic*
was much smaller than many modern passenger ships currently carrying cruise enthusiasts. Indeed Titanic at 46,328 GRT was less than half the size of Grand Princess launched just after the film’s release in 1998. Yet, the focus throughout Titanic on the size of the vessel echoes the “allure of the large” (Ritzer and Stillman 2001:95) still prominent in the contemporary cruise industry and the postmodern era of cruise ship design.

A ship’s grandeur is also communicated through aspects of interior design and taste (see Wealleans 2006). For example references to works of art and famous artists such as Picasso and Daga occur as first class passenger Cal and his companions decorate their suite for the duration of the voyage. These are not just symbolic of high culture and social prestige but also reaffirm particular social class divides. Indeed the focus on the luxurious space and the opulent interior design throughout the film signifies the endeavours of White Star Line (the Olympic, the Titanic and the Britannic) to prioritise the comfort of sea travel over speed (Wealleans 2006). What is also interesting is the reference to monetary wealth, even ‘new money’, which can buy you status. Indeed first class passenger Molly Brown is described as ‘new money’ having earned wealth through doing well in business. Such a concept parallels with ‘being’ a tourist in that travel choices are symbols of cultural capital often based on affordability. Indeed as the cruise market has developed to offer more affordable holidays at sea, companies have segmented their portfolio, for example, into contemporary, premium, speciality and luxury products (Dickinson and Vladimir 2008).

8.4 Identity

Still prominent within popular memory, Titanic is a symbol of Britain’s industrial prowess and as such Cameron’s version of the events of 1912 and his making of the film only serve to stimulate and reinforce notions of identity, self and other. Given Britain’s strong seafaring heritage and natural affinity with the sea, the film Titanic evokes much nostalgic reverie bound up with notions of national identity. For Britain, the symbolic potency of the world’s oceans lie in its ability to protect national boundaries and to connect landmasses, providing a medium of travel between nations. For Britain, ships performed a significant role in enacting notions of power and empire. Indeed the ongoing preoccupation with size and national identity can be traced in shipping lines publicity material from the early 20th century:

‘The Olympic and Titanic are not only the largest vessels in the World; they represent the highest attainments in Naval Architecture and Marine Engineering;
they stand for the pre-eminence of the Anglo-Saxon race on the Ocean; for the “Command of the Seas”…(White Star 1911 cited in Wealleans 2006:60)

My own cultural positioning undoubtedly influences my detection and appreciation of particular discursive structures. For example it is only by paying close attention to the conversations among Irish emigrants throughout my journey with Titanic that I am reminded that the ship was built in Belfast, Ireland. Yet despite the fact that Titanic was built in an Irish shipyard by Irish ship builders, the film Titanic takes me back in time to the era of the British Empire through symbols of Englishness and a sense of patriotism associated with the rich terrain of Britain’s maritime history as a symbol of national pride. For example I observe the ritual of tea, long associated with the English gentry, on many occasions throughout the voyage: served in a china cup and saucer to the Captain on the Bridge; poured from silver pots served to passengers as they promenade the decks taking in the sea air; and as part of the daily routine enabling ‘ladies’ to congregate in the first class passengers lounges and engage in polite conversation or the daily ritual of gossip (see Ferry, 2003). Such evocations are still captured in the ‘Golden-Age’ marketing genre produced by companies such as Cunard and P&O (Douglas and Douglas 2004).

As previously highlighted the ways in which cinema and film as an institution play a role in the construction of identity is of interest here, as Richards (1997:4) asserts, characteristics of the British, framed by popular culture often present, “the traditional image of the phlegmatic, stiff-upper-lipped English gentleman”. Such displays of character captured in the film when passengers are being prepared for and amidst the disaster unfolding on Titanic. For example even when the ship is sinking and the crew are finding it difficult to convey the necessity of wearing a life jacket to those passengers who don’t seem to have comprehended the seriousness of the situation. Rose’s fiancé, Cal, is irritated by a crewmember that insists he wears a life jacket, saying, ‘trust the British to do it by the book’. Indeed many of the survivors’ accounts of the sinking of Titanic enshrine notions of Britishness, for example reportedly, so polite were the gentry of the Edwardian class it is claimed that proportionately more British passengers died in the Titanic disaster as they politely queued for lifeboats1. Certainly the heroics of British passengers and seaman are portrayed throughout Titanic, particularly in putting the lives of others before themselves.

---

My voyage with *Titanic* exposes me to a plethora of references to and symbols of national identity and the fact that references to English and British are often used interchangeably. Not only do ships and the spaces onboard ships “…shape the ways that cultures imagine and represent the sea” (Ryan 2006:580) but they also shape our notions of self and other. In terms of social identity, the segregation of passengers by social class and status is a dominant discourse throughout *Titanic*, made visible in a variety of ways throughout the film. As I voyage with *Titanic* it is impossible not to notice the clear divides that exists within the passenger community premised on social class. I become ever more aware of the finite space of the ship with clear boundaries that demarcate who can occupy particular spaces and for what purpose. Despite the largest passenger vessel of its time, space onboard *Titanic* was nonetheless a premium with clear demarcation of particular spaces set aside for the various class of passengers. Such spatial arrangements were an integral consideration at the design stage of shipbuilding, as Wealleans (2006:1) states:

> The ship interior offered a clear-cut representation of social distinctions and national identities, which lulled the passenger like the gentle motion of the waves, rocking you to sleep in a cosy bunk. The vagaries of etiquette and the threat of the ‘other’ were safely contained on board the ocean-going liner. The risk of the chance encounter with elements of society which were not like you were minimized within the confines of the ship, where steerage was kept below deck, women and men had their own space and non-white crew were kept out of sight.

Although *Titanic*, in all its architectural splendour, is said to have designed accommodation for second and third class passengers which was almost as good as that of first class on other vessels (see Roussel 2010), the film reveals the contrasts between different accommodations. As I journey with *Titanic* I am invited to survey both the accommodation set aside for third class passengers and the accommodation occupied by the higher echelons of society. Such insights align with Coons and Varias (2003:9) assertion that “[t]he contrast between first-class luxurious quarters and steerage class reflected the divisions of the highest and lowest echelons of the European social structure”.

The sequencing of two scenes captures the extremity of the disparity that existed between the accommodation and privacy set aside for first class passengers and the basic accommodation for steerage passengers [see clip 5]. Basic third class accommodation is juxtaposed with the opulence and grandeur that were the symbols of cultural superiority and status of the first class accommodation. Capturing the encounter between Jack and his companion Fabrizio with two other steerage passengers who will be sharing the cabin with them, I notice the small size of the cabin lit only by the glimpse of daylight shining...
through the round porthole window. The sleeping arrangements are modest with four sharing the cabin with bunk beds to sleep on.

Juxtaposed with the above and in complete contrast, I find myself amid first class accommodation. The sleeping arrangements are not apparent, perhaps as the comfort and privacy of these arrangements for first class passengers are taken for granted. Instead what I experience is a space of colonial style opulence. The private area is spacious and illuminated by natural light assisted by the design of large windows. The deck is adorned with palms and lounging chairs emulating the exoticness of a paradise get away and the presence of champagne clearly signifying 'the good life' (Uzzell 1984).

What is also notable here is that this private deck and first class accommodation is on the higher levels of the vessel. This is despite the fact that during bad sea conditions the more stable areas of a ship are mid-ship and lower down. Nonetheless, symbolically the word 'high' connotes status, as Tuan (1977) reminds us of the term 'high' and 'low' when referring to social status rather than using the words 'great' and 'small'. In addition we are reminded that in religion the home of God is heaven and in architecture the elevation of buildings, statues and monuments signifies their importance as well as the technical supremacy in their accomplishment. Even the concept of 'high table', physically raised and reserved for distinguished people, has resonance with the notion of Captain’s table, symbolically elevated and set aside to host notable guests.

My voyage with Titanic also reveals particular social divides premised upon power relations depicted through gender. For example the very fact that Rose feels she has to marry a man she does not love as a means of securing a future of financial security illustrates the acquiescence of women during the Edwardian period. Gender divides are also apparent amid social rituals such as male passengers travelling in first class retiring after diner to a ‘gentleman’s smoking room’, while on other occasions we see women congregating for tea engaging in polite conversation. Gendered discourses play out in other
guises including the ways in which the evacuation considers saving the lives of women and children first. The gendered landscapes throughout the film manifest themselves in a multitude of ways. In addition to Titanic’s identity of grandeur, this vessel is explicitly feminised. For example when surveying the journey ahead from the vantage point of the bridge, the Captain commands ‘take her to sea, Mr Murdoch, let’s stretch her legs’. The feminine reference to Titanic is continued in the engine room when the response to the order is, ‘all right, let’s stoke her right up, we go full ahead’. Aligning with expected seafaring traditions of the time, all personnel are male and as such notions of masculine power and control further emphasise the feminizing of the ship. Even the reference to the ship’s beauty alludes to feminine characteristics (Berger 2004).

Masculine dominance is captured through the occasional depictions of the engine room of the vessel. Arguably portrayals of the working mechanics of Titanic offer only a hint of the arduous nature of work for some sectors of the seafarers’ community endemic to seafaring during this period (Coons and Varias 2003). Instead the focus rests on a space that reveals the sheer scale of technical attributes of the engine room, again emphasising the technical supremacy in ship building and engineering of the time. Metaphorically, the ship’s ‘heart’, is represented large in scale, emphasising its grandeur and power. All mechanical workings are pristine in their condition and precise in their workings. In his observations and analysis of Cameron’s Titanic, Lubin (1999:32) describes the space of the engine room and its technologies in that, “[t]he gleaming pipes, pulleys and pistons mesh together in a synchronized rhythm suggesting the well-oiled muscularity of a thoroughbred”.

8.5 Performed identities and rituals of dress
As I move through Titanic I continue to encounter formalities, rituals and bounded spaces. The architectural and spatial design of the ship provides an abundance of opportunities for surveillance and gazing at others (Foucault 1991). For example the tiered decks, the bridge, the internal atrium and cascading staircase, and other public spaces such as the dining room all provide opportunities for looking or being looked at. I find myself observing the ways in which the outer decks become spaces for leisurely flanuer-like promenading (Nicholson 2009) in which for some provide an opportunity to display and perform particular social and cultural identities (Aitchison et al 2000).
Deck space is an escape from the inner confines and cramped conditions whilst travelling at sea, as well as providing a connection to the sea. With an endless horizon and days before reaching its destination, passengers engage in a variety of deck activities to pass away the time, for example playing games and drawing. It is also the opportunity to engage in casual encounters and meet fellow passengers. Through the drama of meeting Rose, Jack is befriended by the first class passenger and thus by association he is permitted to promenade the deck of the upper part of this ship within the community of first class passengers. The detachment and confined nature of ship space engenders levels of intimacy between two people that hardly know each other. This is demonstrated by the sharing of personal accounts of particular life stories. Aware that boundaries are being transgressed and suddenly conscious of the personal nature of their exchanges with one another, a small argument develops between them and as Rose decides to walk away from Jack she is minded to remember that actually Jack is in first class passenger space and therefore he should leave.

The ways in which dress is associated with social divisions of class, wealth and power reveals itself in various ways as I travel with Titanic. Performing such spaces encompasses the ritual of dress and uniform as a means to signal physical location, create identity and belonging (Farrell 2004). For example Jack’s inappropriate encounter with Rose on the outer decks reserved for first class passengers is met with a disapproving look from a first class passenger, as clearly Jack’s status is made obvious by the way he is dressed. What is illustrated in the following clip [6] is that regardless of your origin in terms of social status, dress can be used as a type of subterfuge, a disguise to achieve acceptance within a particular social context. In this case Jack, having supposedly rescued Rose from ‘falling overboard’, is invited to dine with the family in the first class restaurant. This scene demonstrates the importance of the ritual of dress onboard Titanic if one is to be accepted into, and to feel comfortable within particular social circles. In response to the invitation extended to Jack to attend dinner with Rose’s family and fiancé, Molly Brown, a sympathetic first class passenger, foresees the ridicule that Jack will endure by accepting such an unimaginable invitation and thus endeavours to assist Jack by helping him dress the part. Jack is ‘costumed’ in the appropriate attire fit for such an occasion. The fact that he is welcomed into the first class public areas and proceeds to transcend the cascading stairs of the ship’s atrium without even a side glance or quizzical look is testament to the power of dress and the ability of such performance to mask one’s identity.
Not accompanied by anyone and recognising no one to talk to, Jack looks rather uncomfortable as he folds his arms and leans against a pillar. I find myself looking upon a rather amusing performance in which Jack starts to mimic the mannerisms of those around him, such as the way he stands with one arm resting gently behind his back, and the way in which he bows his head to acknowledge those that pass him by. Unlike on the deck when he was dressed in his usual attire and was looked at as though he were out of place, his dress now commands acknowledgement in terms of a nod of polite greeting. Waiting for Rose to arrive, Jack continues to practice what he is observing around him. Such a scene highlights the links between power and hierarchy communicated through bodies, often depicted by clothing, adornments and ‘robes of power’ (Winchester et al 2003).

Prior to Rose’s appearance for dinner, Cal had sauntered past Jack giving him a nonchalant glance of polite acknowledgement. Rose interrupts Cal’s advance towards the dining room to introduce Jack. Having clearly not recognised him and somewhat surprised, Cal, uncharitably remarks: ‘Dawson, well its amazing, you could almost pass for a gentleman’. As if to highlight the role of dress as merely a costume to symbolise one’s status and place in society and consequently the legitimisation to embody particular spaces, Rose breaks down the façade of dress by revealing the truth about particular first class passengers. Talking to Jack, Rose observes the room around her, gossips and reveals the ‘truths’ about those permitted to embody first class dining space [see clip 7]. In doing so their aura of social status is diminished.
Thus the materiality and ritual of dress throughout the film clearly depicts a bygone era in which class divides were more established and identifiable. *Titanic* perpetuates concepts associated with cruising as a holiday experience based on exclusivity, affordability and explicit displays of opulence, such as depicted through one’s dress. Even if dress has become less of a signifier of status and wealth, factors such as the size, position and aesthetics of one’s accommodation on board cruise ships remain in existence. Indeed such associations between space and wealth are highlighted by Berger (2004:31), who points out the connection between the conspicuous display of wealth throughout consumption patterns in that, “…on cruise ships, generally speaking, the more space you have, the more you’ve paid for it”. Indeed the availability of penthouse suites on some cruise ships is certainly a signifier of wealth and exclusivity.

### 8.6 Spaces of play and promiscuous adventure

It has been previously argued that for some cruise ships are liminal play spaces (Turner 1974; Turner 1982), transgressive in nature with spaces that encourage carnivalesque style behaviour (Bahktin 1984; Berger 2004). Facilitated by their structural architecture and physical boundaries, ships provide spaces of containment but also spaces of freedom. As the relationship between Rose and Jack unfolds I am taken on a journey into other passenger spaces lower down in the vessel. Wanting to expose Rose to a different social scene where interaction between people is not bound by status constructed through economic wealth, Jack invites Rose to a party. Unleashed from the constraints of expected behaviour within her usual social setting, this playful space of the ship enables Rose to
escape the disapproving gaze of others. She embraces the opportunity to experience the spectacle, which encompasses copious amounts of dancing, drinking and laughing [see clip 8].

The ludic nature of this encounter continues as Rose and Jack try to escape capture by Cal’s aide, Mr Lovejoy. Indeed perhaps to put back some plausibility into the notion of promiscuity and mis-adventure associated with the liminal space of ship travel, the ensuing attempt to escape from Mr Lovejoy illuminates the labyrinth of spaces, decks and corridors that exist both within the front and back stages of the ship. Thus the architecture and space of Titanic offers a playground for play, risk and promiscuous adventures. Amid the panoptic, ocularcentric and surveillance nature of ship space, Rose and Jack search out the hidden and less-accessible areas in which to pursue their adulterous affair. Their sexual desires unfold within the dark and unoccupied cargo space of the vessel. It is perhaps the prohibited nature of this space, in terms of accessibility for passengers and many seafarers, which contributes to the risk and promiscuous nature of their encounter. The fact that their presence in the cargo space is finally detected, albeit it too late, serves to remind me of the finite and inescapable nature of ship space.

The landscape of risk continues as I move through Titanic, in this case the risk of forbidden romantic encounter. As the affections between Rose and Jack develop I contemplate the plausibility of such a relationship. First and foremost the space of the ship is limited and given the ocularcentric nature of the embodiment of ship space such displays of affection would be unlikely to go undetected. In fact the bridge would have an excellent vantage point to watch over the point in the film where Rose meets Jack in a declaration of
love, this being the bow. As the scene on the bow of the ship unfolds [see clip 9] it is perhaps the far-fetched nature of this encounter that enhances the romance being played out. Despite the obvious safety implications, the poses taken up by Rose and Jack at the foremost edge of the vessel are unrealistic given the fact that such spaces are ordinarily restricted for passengers and many seafarers. In many ways ‘ship space’ is a playground in which games of love and survival are played out. As such I find myself drawn into the utopian space of Titanic in which dreams and fantasies are enacted.

There are many scenes in the film that remind us that Cameron’s film is ‘reel’ not ‘real’ (see Horton 2003). Not only does the character of Rose as an assertive and defiant young woman defy stereotyping of her social class and associated expectations of the ways in which a ‘lady’ would have conducted herself in the Edwardian era, the scene in which Rose is chased by her villain husband’s aid, Mr Lovejoy, is almost comical and certainly provides a brief moment in which the audience is reminded they are watching a film when Rose extends a crude gesture to Mr Lovejoy as he chases her around the ship. The scenes in which Rose tries frantically to free Jack from his shackles as the water rises around him during the sinking of the ship is also comical. Rose musters the strength to locate and use a massive axe and remarkably releases Jack first time managing not to injure him or chop his hands off in the process. If this escape from the prospect of drowning isn’t enough, having surfaced from the water filled cavities of the lower decks of the ship, Rose and Jack having been sighted by Cal, (the jealous fiancé), are then subjected to another run for their lives. Waist high in freezing water, Rose and Jack stumble through areas of the sinking ship as Cal in his jealous rage pursues the two lovers shooting at them with his pistol. As in a Tom and Jerry style comical chase of cat and mouse, despite being wet, cold and exhausted,
Rose and Jack manage to avoid each bullet until Cal no longer has any ammunition left in his pistol. Noting the way in which Jack remarkably evades death during such scenes, Simpson (1999:686) describes Jack as having:

the resilience of a cartoon character, an energy that will not be put down, to the point that it causes real problems for the death scene that has to happen at the end (his sinking is a fade-out shot, a transition or metamorphosis by art, not a “realist” image)

Perhaps the fact that in the end Jack doesn’t survive the perils of the sea is Cameron’s way of reminding the viewers of every person’s eventual mortality and perhaps more significantly that the story of Titanic is one of tragedy based on historical fact.

8.7 Titanic’s demise

In stark contrast to the notions of play and the carnivalesque, the use of ship space onboard Titanic reveal more serious issues such as the aesthetic qualities taking precedence over safety imperatives (safety boats were sacrificed for aesthetics). I find myself on a rollercoaster of emotions as I voyage through the film. The euphoria played out by Rose and Jack during their romantic encounter juxtaposes with the disaster of Titanic striking an iceberg and the realisation that the vessel will sink. On the bridge the Captain is discussing the event with Mr Andrews, the ship’s architect, in which it becomes apparent that the ship has sustained serious structural damage. Yet the defiance of man’s confidence in conquering the natural forces of the world’s oceans is highlighted once again as Mr Ismay, Titanic’s conceive, is irritated about the inevitable delays in reaching New York. There is no apparent contemplation that the incident of hitting the iceberg could be fatal for both ship and passengers.

This discourse surrounding humankinds’ power over nature continues as the first class passengers congregate in public spaces wearing lifejackets, but although they are aware of the incident they seem relatively unconcerned. To the contrary for fear of panic and with the knowledge that there are not enough lifeboat spaces, information about Titanic’s pending doom is kept from the passengers. As such the drinks continue to be served and the music plays on. So amid the party, especially within the upper first class space of the ship, many passengers and crew alike are oblivious to the imminent danger and certainty to the inevitable loss of life [see clip 10].
I find the remainder of Cameron’s *Titanic* traumatic and very sad. Perhaps my emotional responses are heightened because of my own experiences of living and working at sea. I imagine both the ice cold of the Atlantic air and the chaos surrounding the endeavours of the officers and crew to muster passengers on the boat deck making decisions about life and death based on age, gender, and social status. The Captain appears overwhelmed and defeated as his officers look to him to take command.

What Cameron’s *Titanic* conveys about seafaring life in the early years of the 20th century is also of interest here. Certainly seafaring life is represented as a male dominated endeavour with the formality and hierarchal structures of a ships’ workforce evident throughout the film. Perhaps one of the most compelling discourses in the film surrounds the duty and honour of seafarers as played out during the scenes of the evacuation and the sinking of the ship. Cameron presents a story of heroic determination in which officers and crew standby their duties until moments before the vessel sinks. The point at which the Captain feels that he can do no more, he slowly makes his way to the bridge, already half submerged in water; he knows that his time is nigh [see clip 11]. One of the most poignant moments in the film is one in which, having done their best to maintain shipboard lighting, members of the crew can do no more and the lights of *Titanic* go out - the stricken ocean liner is left in a landscape of darkness and fear.
A prominent discourse throughout the film is the ways in which third class and steerage passengers are treated during the emergency evacuation. Ironically scenes in the film where passengers are not distinguished by social class are those that surround the milieu of death. Cameron frames this in two scenes; the first being after Titanic has sunk and there are attempts to save any passengers from the perils of the freezing Atlantic water. A solitary lifeboat returns to the position where ship has sunk. Picking its way carefully and respectfully through the sea of floating, frozen dead bodies, the lifeboat crew desperately search for any sign of life, regardless of age, class or gender. Secondly, towards the end of the film, survivor Rose dreams that in death she returns to the ship and is greeted by all the souls that died that fateful night, regardless of gender, age, and social status.

Of course such social divides no longer exist in the era of modern cruising and as stated earlier international safety laws do not value a life according to hierarchy of any form. However such depictions are reminiscent of the origins of cruising in which wealth and status were associated with the grandeur and luxury of such travel. Perhaps knowing that the disaster of Titanic is from a bygone era, in which safety standards and accompanying technologies were far inferior in comparison to those in today’s shipping industry, leaves the space for most of us to indulge in the romance and the fantasy of this film.

8.8 A reflexive journey
From the outset in this thesis I have declared my interest in Titanic and the ways in which this particular film stimulated my thoughts on the connections between popular films and particular places and spaces of travel. Engaging with the film space of Titanic has always been and continues to be emotional, ignited by my memories of living and working at sea when I was exposed to some of the cruelties and dangers of the ocean. What is still difficult for me to comprehend when watching the film is the naivety of the early 20th century shipping industry regarding nature and the perils of the sea, and the fact that lifesaving vessels onboard Titanic were given such a low priority. My discursive analysis of Titanic concludes rather abruptly as I protect myself as the embodied researcher from having to repeatedly experience a landscape of death and suffering.

I take some comfort from the fact that the Titanic tragedy was a catalyst for the development of international seafaring laws. For example with the implementation of the Safety Of Life At Sea (SOLAS) legislation, basic safety standards such as enough places in
lifesaving vessels for passengers and crew were identified. Indeed within the cruise industry such confidence in survival amidst disaster at sea is illustrated when the ill-fated cruise ship, *Sun Vista*, sank off the coast of Malaysia in 1999. Passengers were reported to be singing the theme song, Celine Dion’s ‘My Heart Will go On’, from the film *Titanic* as the ship sank, a far cry from the orchestra of *R.M.S. Titanic* who apparently played “Nearer, My God, to Thee” as the ship sank (Dolliver 1999). Acknowledging increased safety standards within sea travel to a certain extent enables me to look beyond the tragedy as re-enacted in *Titanic* (see Stateman 1998), yet this knowledge does not fully allay my upset and emotional responses to the film.

*Titanic* evokes many of my memories of volatile sea conditions and my experiences of a working space that necessitated the adherence to many safety rules and regulations. I am reminded of my role in facilitating many passenger muster drills in which I endeavoured to instil the importance of such a rehearsal at the same time as balancing the fact that people are on holiday. I do recall adhering to the traditions of women and children first when enacting these drills, although on reflection I now surmise that this was probably part of the performance and may not have been implemented had we actually had to abandon ship in life threatening circumstances. I also recall the aura of seriousness when the routine safety drills were carried out for crew and a small sense of excitement on the occasions that this activity culminated in the lifeboats being placed into the surrounding waters. Such fond memories juxtapose with my agitation, frustration and anguish amid the chaotic scenes in *Titanic* surrounding the lowering of the lifeboats and evacuation of passengers. I want to help, but I am not really there…I just imagine myself being there.

From my own work experiences on different vessels I am reminded of the affections that can develop for particular ships, all of which take on different characters and life forms. In terms of identity, *Titanic* as a moving object takes on many roles throughout the film. Of course primarily it was conceived as a mode of transportation, however in addition to being given a name and a gender, a ship has a persona, a character and constitutes different things to different people. As a mode of transportation *Titanic* had a physical life - it was built, sailed and sank. Throughout the film the nature and form of the ship shifts between a floating seaborne vessel; a ship; a human invention; a symbol of national identity; a play space; a grave on the bottom of the seabed. *Titanic* exists as something that can be destructive or be destroyed, it is a vessel that offers freedom or imprisonment, facilitates
dreams or destroys them. Throughout *Titanic*, the ship takes on a life of its own, changing character and changing mood. Depicted as invincible and unsinkable, the vessel is also seen as vulnerable, in danger and sometimes seemingly insignificant amidst the vastness of the world’s oceans, and finally it is also portrayed as a relic of the past with its fate used to highlight the technical supremacy and achievements of the late 20th century at the same time as being a reminder of the vulnerability of these advancements.

For me there is no doubt that one of the attractions of working at sea was both the transitory and transitional nature of my existence. The sense of detachment and almost timeless existence cruising from destination to destination was an element of living and working at sea that was very appealing. Despite the scheduling of each voyage, which created some sense of time, sea-borne travel is the embodiment of the new and the different. With limited time to contemplate what has been left behind there was always an anticipation of what lies ahead. For me this was part of the uniqueness and the lure of being part of a ship’s society living and working at sea. In many different guises *Titanic* frames my imaginings of the sea as a symbolic, physical and metaphorical landscape and despite *Titanic*’s tragic demise, the film serves as a poignant reminder of another reason I enjoyed working and living at sea for so long - the physical connections with the sea and being close to the romance of nature.

Scenes of a crowded dockside in Southampton and the farewell to *Titanic* on her maiden voyage as screened in the early *Titanic* scenes ignite nostalgic memories of homecoming as I recall the first time I sailed into Southampton. On return from a lengthy assignment cruising the Mediterranean, tired and weary we sailed back to the UK. Our homecoming seemed to be taking an eternity as we passed through the Solent and up Southampton Water. I do remember that myself and others were so excited that we spent much of the approach hanging out of an open door in the side of the vessel just following the contours of the coastline. Of course this would not have been permitted and would most definitely have contravened sensible safety conduct, but if anybody was watching us they didn’t say anything.

There is no doubt in my mind that *Titanic* exudes the opulence and luxury that, although perhaps conveyed differently, is still prevalent in many areas of the contemporary cruise market. For example the grandeur and opulence of *Titanic*, as portrayed on many occasions
throughout the film, frames contemporary imaginings of the extravagance and exclusivity associated with the cruise experience. This is despite the fact that when considering the size of ships servicing the current cruise market, *Titanic* was a small ship by comparison. Despite the size of vessel, *Titanic* re-creates the ship’s luxurious interiors set aside for the higher echelons of society in contrast to portrayals of the basic conditions set aside for passengers not travelling first class. I certainly recall with affection the niceties of dressing for onboard occasions such as Captain’s Gala Dinner, along with the discomfort in having to remind some passengers of expected codes of dress. Yet conversely amid the confined nature of ship space, embodied by a surveillance society as variously depicted throughout *Titanic*, I am also reminded of the labyrinth architecture of a ship which creates opportunities to escape the hierarchal structures and formalities of working on ships. I recognise the complex architecture of ships with particular spaces set aside for different purposes and utilised by different sectors of the ship’s onboard community, with the access to embody particular spaces premised upon role, status, class, ethnicity and gender. Indeed the scene in *Titanic* of Jack and Rose dancing and drinking with steerage passengers in the lowers spaces of the ship brings back fond memories of my time on one particular vessel where social gatherings, or mini parties, were routinely held in the working spaces of the ship below deck. To get to this space, I do recall negotiating small corridors and industrial ladder-style steps. Different members of the seafaring community always frequented these social gatherings and were purely an opportunity to relax, listen to music and to drink a beer.

### 8.9 Chapter summary

As I have voyaged with *Titanic* I have encountered many discourses that are arguably to be expected. Given the film’s historical positioning and the fact that the story of *Titanic* is so well known, many of the narratives such as class-based structures are familiar. Indeed much has been said and continues to be documented regarding the story of *Titanic* as well as other widely-known films that have previously mediated this maritime disaster, such as *A Night to Remember* [1958]. As I have already commented upon even the fact that the sea plays such a prominent role throughout the film aligns with James Cameron’s interest in the sea, a subject that is evident in many of his previous productions. However situating some of these discourses in the context of cruise tourism provides some fascinating insights into the potential for films to construct particular imaginings of cruise ships and their embodied practises. Despite the reality of transatlantic travel during the early part of
the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, in many cases being far from luxurious, \textit{Titanic} contributes to the many films that have historically glamorised sea travel (Votolato 2009). As I have previously asserted \textit{Titanic} perpetuates concepts associated with cruising as a holiday experience based on exclusivity, affordability and explicit displays of opulence. Acknowledging Cameron’s powerful re-creation of the tragic demise of \textit{Titanic}, it can be argued that romance prevails as the dominant discourse of the film with the enduring love story of two passengers existing beyond \textit{Titanic}’s maiden voyage and the ill-fated events of 1912. Consequently \textit{Titanic} contributes to the continued associations of romance surrounding these types of holiday spaces.

The following chapter will draw together the findings from my voyages with \textit{Carry on Cruising} [1962], \textit{Ship of Fools} [1965] and \textit{Titanic} [1997] to present an ‘archaeology’ of sea travel and ocean cruising. In doing so I will draw together the discourses across the \textit{archive} of data explored so far, to reveal \textit{discursive regularities} and particular \textit{discursive formations} as constructed and mediated through these popular films.
Chapter 9  An ‘archaeology’ of sea travel and ocean cruising

9.1  Introduction

The three preceding chapters have presented a discursive analysis of three films, all of which narrate stories of travel at sea. Recognising the power of popular films to construct ways of seeing space, place and people, I have positioned these films as particular sites of knowledge production. Drawing on the point made by Casarino (2002:11) that ships are the “most ancient and most modern of spaces”, the three films constituting the archive of data for the purposes of this study reveal a range of discourses pertaining to the sea and the concept of sea travel. As such I argue that these films provide various insights, whether real or ‘reel’ into the development of sea travel and the concept of ocean cruising. In this chapter I will draw together the findings from this archive of data to illustrate how these films discursively construct our engagements with the sea and sea travel. In doing so I will look for the discursive regularities and discursive formations across the three films and how these contribute to our imaginings of cruise ship space and the cruise experience whether for purposes of work, travel or leisure.

9.2  An ‘architecture’ of sea and ship space

As I have previously argued, and continue to do so here, whether drawing on its physical, symbolic or metaphorical characteristics, the sea frames the concept of ocean travel. Ships are inextricably linked to the sea in that the very existence of the ocean enables the physical mobility of such vessels to circumnavigate coastlines and travel between various landmasses. As a naturally occurring phenomenon and physical entity, the sea also forms a boundary between the ship and land and as such the notion of ships as enclosed and isolated spaces for purposes of work, travel or leisure is amplified by their physical proximity - existing amid the space of the sea. The visual presence of the ocean across the three films is framed in different ways and in varying degrees and forms. However I argue that in their portrayal of sea voyages, these films collectively not only construct notions of journey, time and distance in the context of ocean travel, but they also map out particular societal attitudes to the sea within various historical eras.

It is perhaps not surprising that the sea exists as a dominant discourse throughout Titanic. First and foremost the ocean is synonymous with the tragic story of the ship Titanic. Additionally, as previously highlighted it is well documented that producer and director James Cameron has a specific interest in the sea with many of his films having the ocean
as the focus. Indeed his career as a film director commenced with *Piranha Part Two: The Spawning* in 1981, followed some years later with the deep ocean fantasy *The Abyss* [1989]. His other marine documentaries: *Ghosts of the Abyss, Expedition Bismarck, Volcanoes of the Deep Sea*, and *Aliens of the Deep* further highlight Cameron’s obsession with the ocean (Rampton 2005). Moreover, the enactment of the sea as an explicit and dramatic discourse in *Titanic* undoubtedly benefits from modern technologies of film production and the sizable budget to make the film.

Throughout *Titanic* the drama of the sea is variously depicted, its changing dynamics mirroring the relationship the ship *Titanic* has with the sea. Taking on various identities, the sea exists as a boundary between life and death; a landscape of fear, exploration and discovery; and a space that separates yet unites global landmasses, in this case the continents of Europe and North America. Essentially the sea symbolises mobility, freedom, escape, and the lure of foreign lands and promises of prosperity. For some the allure of the sea is in its consuming power and the possibility of death. *Titanic* is illustrative of an era of ocean travel in which a nation’s relationship with the sea engendered aspects of identity and national pride represented in the size and speed of its seafaring vessels. Capturing the essence of a nation’s industrial prowess, discourses surrounding *Titanic*’s size, grandeur and genius of engineering weave throughout the film. In today’s contemporary milieu of cruising such battles to ‘rule the waves’ maintain a presence, albeit between global companies rather than between nations. Such endeavours are evident in the continuing competition between the major cruise companies to build larger and more technologically advanced passenger vessels (Kwortnik 2008; Chin 2008). This said, not all companies trade solely on such endeavours, for example despite operating under and being part of the global conglomerate, Carnival Corporation & Plc, Cunard with its latest ship *Queen Elizabeth*, continue to draw on ideas of nationhood attained through packaging the company’s British seafaring heritage.

Such discourses juxtapose with the occasional depiction of *Titanic* as a small, vulnerable and seemingly insignificant vessel, engulfed by an infinite expanse of sea and sky. This interplay is a reminder of human attempts to control the forces of nature. The seeming naivety of humankind surrounding the perils of the sea is emphasised by references throughout the film to the ‘unsinkable ship’ and the focus on aesthetic design taking priority over safety with the limited number of lifeboats. The concept of the ‘unsinkable
ship’ references an era in which there existed beliefs that technologies and human invention could defeat anything. Indeed the need to master nature was embedded in that era’s dominant ways of knowing the world premised upon positivism and scientific objectivity in which, to draw on Bacon’s *The Masculine Birth of Time* c. 1602, man sought to exert power and dominance over the mysterious feminine natural world (see Farrington 1964; Iliffe 2000). The deep-sea diving footage to locate and explore the wreckage of *Titanic* in the early sections of the film serve to highlight the technologies that have and continue to enable travel at sea and exploration of the ocean’s hidden depths and also serves as a reminder of the perils associated with such adventures.

In contrast the sea as a physical entity is more subtly present throughout *Ship of Fools* and *Carry on Cruising*. Arguably, and certainly in comparison to *Titanic*, visual depictions of the sea in these films are relatively banal and benign in nature. Yet this aside, I would argue that the discourse of the sea plays a central role throughout both films. For example *Ship of Fools* draws upon the physical characteristics of the sea to frame the notion of the bounded and isolated nature of the ship. Embodied by a disparate community of people for a period of 26 days, the *Vera* voyages across the Atlantic Ocean. This reference to duration is made on several occasions throughout the film. *Ship of Fools* represents sea travel during the interwar years and at a functional level the ocean exists as the medium that literally enables waterborne travel across immense expanses of sea predominately for purposes of trade and business. For example it is assumed that the transportation of the Spanish deportees back to Europe by the ship, is not merely a humanitarian endeavour, but rather a business transaction. Indeed economic viability of sea travel would have been a priority during the Great Depression of the 1930s. Additionally *Ship of Fools* introduces the notion of travel at sea for purposes of leisure hinting at the glamour associated with the ‘golden age’ of ocean voyages. As Coons and Varias (2003:ix) point out “[t]he strict immigration laws of the early 1920s forced steamship companies, which had benefited from the booming steerage trade, to rethink their strategy for luring passengers”. Arguably this coupled with the relative global political stability between the first and second world wars, places this period in history as significant in the birth of mass transatlantic tourism and ocean cruising (Coons and Varias 2003).

In *Carry on Cruising* the sea exists primarily as a backdrop to frame and encase the concept of a vacation at sea, providing the envelope in which to situate the holiday space
of the ship. This interplay between the sea and ship space affirms the concept of a vacation at sea. The sea also enables the connections between various landmasses with a sense of voyage created through the periodic inclusion of particular ports of call. Such constructs serve as both a reminder of the temporal nature of such travel holidays and the nature of travelling at sea. The sea is not only appropriated as the means to travel between various landmasses, but also the lure of the Mediterranean Sea and its various ports of call contribute to the notion of a cruise as a romantic escape. This period in time also saw the beginnings of affordable holidays to the Mediterranean and other distant coasts for the British tourist (see Gray 2009). Utilisation of the outer spaces of the ship for leisure purposes, such as swimming and sunbathing, reflect societal attitudes during this time surrounding the sea and its wellbeing properties (see Howell 1974; Corbin 1994; Walton 2000). Indeed the association with the ‘sea voyage’ and health are commented upon by the ship’s doctor as a reason for taking up his position on board ship. In terms of leisure space, modes of dress hint at the transgressive naughtiness of the seaside and its liminal characteristics (Shields 1991; Shaw and Williams 2004). In western societies, such embodiments of these leisure spaces transcend socially constituted boundaries relating to the body and dress (see Howell 1974; Franklin 2003; Obrador-Pons 2007; Ryan and Gu 2007; Pritchard and Morgan 2010). As such this film illustrates the ways in which ship space in some ways parallels that of beach space with particular attitudes to body and dress. Yet what is interesting, to a greater extent than the liminal spaces of the beach, ships are ‘social cocoons’ (see Papathanassis and Beckmann 2011) characterised by their bounded, isolated and inaccessible spaces. Consequently whilst such carnivalesque spaces (Bakhtin 1984) engender freedom, there also exist levels of social control and consequently the transgression of socially constituted boundaries are permissible to an excepted level, often unfolding under the watchful eye of others.

Arguably, the absence of the dynamics and changing nature of the sea is more evident in *Ship of Fools* given the fact that this voyage crosses the Atlantic for many days. However both *Ship of Fools* and *Carry on Cruising* on occasions capture the motion and shipboard symptoms of being at sea with several references to seasickness amongst the ships’ onboard communities. Arguably negative connotations surrounding the physical embodiment of an ocean vessel or discourses surrounding the dangers of travelling or vacationing at sea are either absent, hidden or obscured by the romanticization of nature. Even in *Titanic* when the ship hits an iceberg, the pending danger in the immediate
Chapter 9: An ‘archaeology’ of sea travel and ocean cruising

aftermath of the accident is masked by the continued drama of Rose and Jack’s love saga. The surrounding tranquil sea, the pristine white icebergs silhouetted against a starlit curtain of sky, creates a further distraction from the discourses of danger, loss and death. At the same time such tranquillity and stillness hints at the silence of death.

It could be argued that these films play a role in the taming of nature and again echo positivist ways of knowing (see Crotty 2003). Contributing to the romantic consumption of nature (Corbin 1994; Facos 2002), ships not only facilitate the visual appropriation of nature (Urry 1992; 1995) but also the immersed body. Across all films the utilisation and embodiment of a ship’s outer deck space enacted through promenading and associated activities (see Nicholson 2009) serves as an explicit reminder of the sea’s presence as the surrounding natural terrain. The ships are enveloped by an infinite expanse of ocean and sky, which contributes to the multi-sensory consumption of sea travel. Whether experienced through the subtleties of feeling the gentle brush of the ocean breeze as seen in Ship of Fools, or being mesmerised by the spectacle of the sunset as depicted in Titanic, in various and often subtle ways these films highlight the uniqueness of ships and their outer deck spaces enabling close connections with the surrounding natural landscape. Conversely the thrill of the ocean and the desire to physically connect with it is enacted in Titanic as Jack and Fabrizio precariously hang over the bow of the ship. They reach out in an endeavour to make physical contact with the sea, even if only to be touched by the occasional spray from the waters’ surface as the bow of the ship cuts through the waves.

Such connections with nature enshrine the concept of ocean cruising and its associations with wellbeing (see Osborn 1977). Referencing the depiction of the ocean in art during the Romantic era, Osborn (1977:357) states:

Men came to find in the ocean a large scale, concrete projection of what they felt in grandeur moments to be their own depth, immensity, mystery, and permanence. So they could identify with the sea, and especially when society on the land seemed bleak and barren, many of them would take to the sea, either literally or imaginatively, to establish their identification. For such persons, the sea came to represent freedom, an opportunity for self-realization which had been denied on shore.

The infinite expanse of the sea has long been seen as a space in which to escape the social structures of home. For some members of the onboard community the temporary detachment from land-based life engenders relaxation and a slower pace of shipboard
living. It is perhaps a combination of these conditions that constructs, for some, a space for contemplation and reflection about self and others (Osborn 1977; Foulke 2002). Surrounded by distant horizons, the vastness and unexplored depths of the world’s oceans, people are reminded of their brief and transient humanity, and are therefore invited to consider their own place in life (Carson 1964). Such musings are captured for brief moments in these films, for example in Titanic, Jack is found out on deck at night lying on a bench gazing up to the stars whilst in Ship of Fools Mrs Treadwell recounts her story of lost love as she gazes seaward out across the ship’s deck railings towards the ocean. Certainly in the case of Titanic, the sea is a conduit to a new life, freed from the boundaries of the old, for certain members of the onboard community they are moving towards something new as well as escaping something else.

A ship, as Foucault (1986:27) has once asserted “…is a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea”. What these films demonstrate is that floating spaces and the notion of sea travel means different things to those who sail at sea depending upon particular dispositions of ‘being’ at sea. Both as functional and symbolic objects, ships and thus sea travel, are for some synonymous with notions of freedom, liberation, opportunity and prosperity. Conversely, for others, ships and sea travel can also encompass hardship, confinement, the reinforcement of social strictures and structures and elements of danger. In the case of Titanic, we see how technological advancements in shipbuilding enables the journey, and as such provided a path to other geographical places pre-air travel. Despite the vessel being described as a ‘ship of dreams’, the journey signifies different things for different members of the onboard community. For example brief encounters with workspaces ordinarily beyond the realm of passenger consumption, such as the engine rooms, captures the engineering supremacy of a nation in its accomplishments in building a ship of this kind. Fleeting glimpses of these working spaces also serve as a reminder of the harsh seafaring conditions for some sectors of the ship’s community. Amid all their technological genius, these feats of engineering were heavily reliant on arduous physical manpower (see Atterbury 2009). For steerage passengers Jack and his travel companion Fabrizio, the sea exists as the path to a land of dreams. As they embark on a journey of discovery, seeking a new and better future they are liberated from the social constraints of the life they are leaving behind. By contrast for first class passenger Rose, unhappy about her pending marriage to the wealthy Cal, the journey across the Atlantic Ocean is
conceived as a form of incarceration. Such emotional dispositions are heightened by the fact that for a period of time, the ship’s community cannot disembark the vessel whilst at sea. As Stanley (2008:447) describes, “…ships are prisons…cabins are cells…the ship’s hull the jail walls, outside of which is the no-person’s land which fleeing inmates cannot traverse: the ocean”.

Symbolically the physical boundaries of the ship are appropriated to construct particular perspectives of ‘self’ in the world. In the case of Jack and Fabrizio, in their endeavour to discover the ‘promised land’, the bow of the ship becomes a point from which to connect with the sea. Their gazes search beyond the horizon where sea meets sky, as they make visible their dreams of new lives with all the freedoms and opportunities that America promises. Adding to the romance of such voyages, this most forward point of the ship is a position also occupied during a later scene in the film when Jack and Rose embrace each other, the sunset as the backdrop to their romantic encounter. This boundary is perhaps symbolic of being at the verge of dreams being realized, representing the illusory and ephemeral nature of dreams, just out of reach and beyond our grasp. In stark contrast the polarising of such a position is illustrated in the attempted suicide scene in which Rose in her distressed state, seeing no escape to her commitment to marrying someone she doesn’t love, climbs over the railings at the aft point of the ship, as she contemplates death as her only escape.

In terms of ship space, *Ship of Fools* highlights some of the limitations of mobility and uncomfortable conditions within such spaces of confinement echoing the notion of ‘human cargo’. For example the Spanish deportees occupy the overcrowded and basic conditions of the open decks for the duration of the Atlantic crossing. This ship is also the vehicle of transportation of the political prisoner, La Condesa, which also reinforces the isolated nature and physical detachment of ships from land. This passenger’s confinement is maintained by the very nature of being escorted onto the ship and being at sea surrounded by the expanse of ocean. As such, once at sea, La Condesa is able to enjoy some sense of liberation as she is permitted to move freely around many of the inner spatial areas of the vessel throughout the duration of the voyage. These passengers are banished and unwanted members of land-based societies. However such notions are not confined to deportees but also to passengers travelling in relative luxury, for example the ship as a space for
banishment for those rejected by society is also highlighted in the case of the dwarf male passenger, Karl Glocken.

In contrast, ship space depicted by *Carry on Cruising* is clearly set aside for purposes of leisure and for the entertainment and hospitality aspects associated with cruise holidays. Given the availability of alternative forms of transportation including air travel during this era, it is assumed that generally for passengers to embark on a voyage of this nature is a matter of choice. In many ways this leisure space is portrayed as an extension to the ‘naughtiness’ and ‘playfulness’ of the British seaside and its margins so commonly represented in cultural artefacts such as the post war seaside postcard (see Gray 2006). A heightened sense of adventure, or misadventure, is perhaps created by the isolated and detached nature of being on a ship out at sea. From a seafaring perspective, such a holiday space is likened to a holiday camp, although importantly the Captain reminds us that the difference is in the ability to escape, the only option being to jump overboard. Amid the mischievous antics among members of the onboard community, there are some subtle hints at the motivations of particular passengers to take a vacation at sea, and as such the ways in which the liminal transient space of the ship is conceived. For example the two single female passengers Flo and Gladys have differing attitudes regarding the purpose of the trip - one to find a husband and one to escape men. Indeed the isolated and transient space of the ship, coupled with perceptions of glamour and wealth, has long been associated with the pursuit of encountering, and in some cases escaping from, suitable acquaintances. As Quatermaine and Peter (2006:81) assert,

…unofficially it was known that on an extended sea voyage (chaperoned by her ever-watchful mother), a young lady might well find a suitably well-heeled match – whether ‘lounging’ or on deck. The longer the voyage, the better the chances, and vessels such as those on the Australia run were termed ‘the marriage fleet’.

In the case of Flo, it is her friend Gladys who takes on the role of keeping a watchful eye over her as she endeavours to find a future husband onboard the *SS Happy Wanderer*. The portrayal of the cruise vacation in this film does, to a large extent, focus upon the experiences of single passengers and as such it is interesting to contemplate the motivations of single passengers to participate in this type of vacation. Arguably, for some the space of the ship provides a safe, social and inclusive holiday space.
9.3 Transient and mobile communities

As I have outlined in the above, all these films in their varying ways, embrace the sea to define the unique liminal characteristics of ship space. The sea is the medium that literally takes or transports people away from the familiarity of land-based living with their particular social and cultural norms. These known spaces of habitation are replaced with temporary, transitory, lived spaces with the unfamiliar amplified by a ship’s isolated proximity – away from land. As Foulke (2002:8) reminds us:

> Once committed to the open sea, human beings are enclosed irrevocably by the minute world of the vessel in a vast surround. That world reverses many physical and social realities. Ashore, healthy human beings desire bodily movement and gain a sense of freedom and power through it; at sea, motion is imposed upon them, with temporary but debilitating effects...many individuals ashore can join and leave groups at will, but at sea all are compressed within a single, unchanged society, and one traditionally marked by a rigid hierarchy. It is often possible to choose a solitary life ashore, or at least regulate contact with others, but at sea the absolute isolation of the ship makes adapting to the fixed society on board unavoidable.

I have argued throughout this thesis that cruise ships are unique lived in spaces of work or leisure in which various sub-sectors of a ship’s society or community coexist often in close proximity to one another, not necessarily occupying the same spatial areas. The most obvious juxtapositions of a community at sea exists between those who work and live at sea and those who make the journey for a range of other purposes such as migration, trade, business, leisure, or tourism. However, recognising the complexity of space “as the product of interrelations; as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny” (Massey 2005:7), I also argue that a ship’s community is a complex web of interactions not only defined by purpose of travel but also by the bounded space of a ship and its unique spatial arrangements. These films illustrate the unique spatial aspects of ship space and in doing so how particular interactions with and embodiments of these spaces reveal various ‘hierarchies of power’ constructed through aspects of identity (see Winchester et al 2003). Specifically these films reveal an insight into social relations among various onboard communities constructed through notions of authority, status and class. Indeed all these films in different ways illustrate the demarcation of space premised upon status, position and purpose of travel among members of a ship’s society. These are often articulated and revealed through aspects of identity such as gender, sexuality and ethnicity. Such observations support Stanley’s (2008:445) reference to a ship as a “[t]ravelling container-full of socially unequal voyagers”.

227
All three of these films construct ships as masculine dominated environments. Indeed the sea and ocean travel as essentially male domains have a long history, with sea-travel traditionally considered as being a male pursuit (Cordingly 2001; Coons and Varias 2003; Berger 2004). Across all the films the seafaring community is essentially male, despite the fact that women did work at sea, albeit it in relatively small numbers with the interwar period seeing a small shift in the gendered landscape of work at sea (Coons and Varias 2003). The discourses surrounding male orientated workspace as constructed through these films aligns with the continued endeavours of women to establish their place and status within the working world of the maritime and cruise industry. As such the absence of female seafarers in these films contributes to entrenched historicizing of ships as “masculinised and misogynistic places” (Stanley 2008: 445), reinforcing that women at sea were, “…part of a historically disparaged and long-mythologised minority” (Stanley 2008: 445). This is perhaps not surprising as these depictions of sea travel are all pre-1970s and as Coons and Varias (2003:132) further highlight, “[t]he world of women seafarers was still very much a closed one in the mid-1970s”. The 1980s saw a change in recruitment practises with the active hiring of women for shipboard work (Chin 2008) and by 2000 amid the continuing expansion of the industry is was estimated that globally the cruise sector employed 20% of female seafarers (Thomas 2003). Yet even today the sea remains a largely masculine presence although women are more visible, particularly in positions that echo traditionally gendered roles and responsibilities. As Chin (2008:21) highlights:

[t]he overwhelming majority of seafarers in the global shipping sector in general, and cruise tourism in particular, continue to be men…[s]imilar to their land-based counterparts in service industries, women seafarers are concentrated in the hotel division of cruise ships mostly responsible for taking care of passengers (e.g., entertaining, baby-sitting, cleaning cabins and so forth).

Arguably particular gendered connotations associated with the sea and sea travels have their origin in range of social and cultural constructions. As I have illustrated previously in this thesis, sea travel is infused with stories and narratives surrounding the male mariner, explorer and adventurer (see Lawrence 2004; Rodger 2004 [2005]) with the sea often presented as a space of freedom for men (see Osborn 1977). As such it is perhaps interesting to contemplate the extent to which the literature on and about the sea has been historically male in orientation (see De Selincourt 2002; Raban 2001). Arguably such constructs contribute to the discourses surrounding the sea as a gendered landscape and the
feminisation of ships as objects, both to be conquered and controlled by men. Indeed in Titanic, the feminization of the ship Titanic, embodied by a patriarchal society at sea, is one illustration of the gender discourses that continue to pervade our consciousness regarding the masculine and feminine characteristics of these spaces of travel and tourism.

The extent to which members of the ship’s society have the freedoms and access to move around the vessel is dependent on various factors. In Titanic, demarcations of space are based on class with steerage passengers clearly segregated from the higher echelons of society. In the case of Titanic, at one level it could be argued that class is premised on monetary wealth as highlighted in the reference to one passenger, Molly Brown, as having ‘new money’. However the reference to ‘new’ also suggests that there remains a hierarchy among the wealthy, with passengers such as Molly Brown not quite as posh as those with ‘old money’. Signifiers of wealth are visibly communicated through dress and as Winchester et al (2003) point out, power and hierarchy is communicated through bodies often depicted by clothing, adornments and what they term ‘robes of power’. These films highlight the relationship between modes of dress, the body and identity and the acceptance into or rejection from particular communities and spatial areas onboard ships. Whether uniforms among the seafaring community or rituals of dress among the passengers, these films explicitly articulate the relationship between dress, class, status and hierarchies of power. Such positions of power are most notably visible in the access and freedoms afforded to some members of the shipboard society to move between the various spatial areas of the ship. Titanic illustrates how steerage passenger Jack is transformed through the act of wearing ‘robes of power’, in this case evening dress, which secure him access to previously denied spaces of privilege and position. It is interesting to note that in Carry on Cruising the formalities of Captain’s Cocktail are reinforced by passenger modes of dress and the more formal evening attire worn by members of the ship’s personnel on these occasions. In the case of the ship’s personnel, such dress codes also communicate the power of position in terms of who is permitted to circulate and socialise in these passenger spaces. In some sectors of the contemporary cruise industry codes of conduct surrounding the formalities of dress are diminishing for passengers and as Ward (2010) points out evening dress code for ships’ officers is also a tradition that has almost disappeared within the modern era of cruising. Despite these observations I would argue that dress exists as a dominant discourse across this archive of data contributing to the glamour that continues to be associated with the cruise experience. Other rituals such as food and dining remain
significant to the cruise experience. As is made visible across this archive of data a ship’s
dining schedule defines particular relationships between the sub-sectors of the onboard
community. From a passengers’ perspective, both Ship of Fools and Titanic in their various
ways highlight the performative nature of dining, unveiling the connections between such
practises of consumption and social inclusiveness and exclusion. Such spaces also
facilitate the conspicuous display and articulation of one’s identity (see Valentine 1999). In
both these films passengers’ dining spaces clearly differentiate who and who doesn’t
belong premised on class and status.

Among the workforce, the restriction or freedom to access particular spaces of the ship are
also commonly dictated by status, position and ethnicity. Despite the mixed nationalities
serving at sea (Wood 2000; Chin 2008), these films focus primarily on white western
seafarers who have the position and thus status to embody the front stage spatial areas of
the seafaring operations, thus the passenger areas. Consequently, across all three films the
focus predominately rests on passenger space, with little portrayal of the working world of
seafaring life beyond the gaze of the passengers. When evident in these films, the
backstage working and living world of the seafarer is often highly selective and sanitised.
Ship of Fools reveals the living space of the Captain, as does Carry on Cruising.
Representations of the working and living world of lower ranking crew are virtually non-
existent across all these films. Although eating arrangements among a ship’s workforce
continues to be highly segmented, such a discourse remains absent across this archive of
data. In the context of spatial areas for eating among cruise ship workers, Thompson and
College (2004:15) describe how “…management cultivates difference among cruise
workers on one ship…by creating a convergent role structure where race, status and
occupation converge”. Consequently these films contribute to the glamorization of ship
space in which the negative aspects of the shipping industry, harsh working conditions and
its human resource policies remain largely hidden (see Tracy 2000; Wood 2000; Klein
2002; Mather 2002; Zhao 2002; Chin 2008).

Across the archive of data, although subtler in visibility, there exist discourses surrounding
loneliness, fatigue and aspects of emotional labour. For example despite the privilege of
being permitted to occupy passenger public spaces for higher-ranking members of a ship’s
workforce, ships’ officers are expected to perform a range of social duties. Carry on
Cruising and Ship of Fools, although very different in genre, both highlight the
expectations of the staff and officers to socially interact with passengers. In *Carry on Cruising* explicit reference is made to the role of a Captain as that of a friend to everyone on such voyages. In fact so entrenched is this notion that Captain Crowther becomes concerned on an occasion when he feels that he may have failed in this duty. Conversely *Ship of Fools* highlights a Captain’s inertia and explicit disinterest that he has for the passengers, hinting at the fatigue of being at sea for such long periods of time in such a finite space and in close proximity to passengers. Captain Thiele’s demeanour holds some resonance with the problems identified in today’s shipping industry when seafarers spend long periods of time at sea and suffer from “…loneliness, homesickness and ‘burn-out’ syndrome” (Thomas et al 2003:59). In both these films the tedium and ennui of being at sea among the seafaring community surfaces in various ways, one of these being the different relationships that form among members of the ships’ communities. The intensity of these transient and temporary relationships is seen in levels of communitas and the camaraderie that develops (see Gibson 2008) among members of the ship’s personnel in *Carry on Cruising*. In *Ship of Fools* the friendship between Captain Thiele and Dr. Schumann also highlights the strong bonds that can quickly develop within such travel spaces.

In both films, in different ways, we see the ships’ doctors develop romantic relationships with female passengers. Such relationships between employees and passengers are actively discouraged in the current cruise sector (see Thomas 2003), but as explicit discourses in these films they serve to capture the detached, isolated and enclosed nature of such workspaces and how the hardships, boredom and loneliness of working at sea manifests in such endeavours. Indeed currently in the industry, whether formally permitted or not, many shipboard relationships do occur between members of the seafaring community and in some cases these are seen to provide emotional and social support amid the harsh working space of the ship (Thomas 2003). However given the historical periods in which these films represent sea travel, the opportunities for heterosexual encounters within the seafaring communities would be limited. Consequently it is likely that seafarers’ heterosexual romantic or sexual pursuits would have encompassed levels of passenger interaction.

In terms of class and ethnicity, *Ship of Fools* highlights the segregation of sectors of the ship’s community with an identified spatial area set aside for the Spanish labourers, that of
the open space on the lower decks. Such segregation is not confined to these deportees, for example within first-class passenger space the seating arrangements for dinner confirm the centrality of some and the marginality of other travellers. It reminds us that wealth and conforming to particular codes of dress does not guarantee entrance into elite spaces of class and privilege. *Ship of Fools* highlights the explicit discrimination for those passengers categorised as being from the margins of society and in doing so illustrates the significance of and role that dining plays in social cohesion and a sense of belonging (Franklin, 2003; Berger 2004; Nicholson, 2009). Although class-based segmentation among passengers is diminishing to a large degree within many sectors of the current cruise market, the routines surrounding dining arrangements onboard ships remain central to the cruise experience.

In terms of the notion of ‘place-less-ness’, Casey (1993:3) discusses the concept of being lost at sea, stating, “[t]hink of what it would be like to be lost at sea, not only not knowing the way but also not knowing one’s present place, where one is”. From a seafaring perspective, notions of disorientation and a sense of ‘place-less-ness’ amid the boundless vast ocean space have been resolved through the measurement of time and distance in terms of longitudinal measurements. In a similar vein, for ships and their onboard societies, this sense of place is developed through the notion of ‘belonging’ of which identity, as illustrated in the above, plays a part. It is also argued that a sense of place and ‘belonging’ is governed by time and in the case of ships, through the highly organised schedules and activities. Entering these unique spatially bound worlds and faced with the unfamiliar can result in feelings of disorientation and a sense of being ‘out of place’. As such, in addition to the spatially defined interactions among members and groups of shipboard communities, these films illustrate aspects of orientation and disorientation and the relationship between community and identity. Despite the concept of a journey having a beginning, middle and end, at sea there is a sense of timelessness (Casey 1993) and so rituals and routines of shipboard life become significant markers of how to spend time. Therefore the rituals of dining, dress, Captain’s cocktail, promenading and such like take on significance beyond their consumptive and social make-up; they all contribute to the notion of ships as highly regulated spaces. In terms of the notion of ships as McDonaldized and McDisneyized spaces at sea (see Weaver 2006) all of these films exemplify the ordinary, routine and scheduled activities amid the extraordinary space of the ship.
It has been argued that ships are panoptic, ocularcentric spaces (Foucault 1991) in which there is limited escape from the observation of others. Many of these relationships are power laden and underpinned by aspects of identity. Not only do these films illustrate the notion of observing others, but they also reveal that members of the shipboard communities are acutely aware that they are subjects of the surveillance gaze. For example in *Carry on Cruising*, the ‘new-comers’ make several references to the Captain’s ‘beady eye’ whereby they are subjected to constant scrutiny as they carry out their duties; in *Titanic*, Rose and Jack become acutely aware that they are being followed and spied upon by Cal’s aid, Mr Lovejoy; and in *Ship of Fools*, Dr Schumman’s and La Condesa’s romance develops under the watchful eye of others. Indeed it becomes explicitly evident that their encounters are being regularly reported to the ship’s Captain. In addition to the regulatory power of the gaze these films also illustrate the power of storytelling to regulate behaviour. Indeed such is the intensity of ship space, that conversation and gossip defines it as a “…micro-political and micro-cultural system as well as a way of focusing attention on the circulation of people, things and ideas” (Cresswell 2006:204). For example in *Ship of Fools*, Mrs Treadwell’s casual conversation regarding the personal circumstances of fellow passenger Herr Freytag, does not only illustrate the speed in which gossip circulates among a ship’s community but also of the potentially detrimental consequences. In this case, once Herr Freytag’s Jewish connections had been exposed, he was denied his usual place at the table he had been allocated for dinner and re-assigned a table for the remainder of the voyage.

Yet what is interesting is that even within an overtly ocularcentric environment, these films reveal ships as unique spaces of travel that engender aspects of social-anti-structure (Turner 1974). Arguably where there is structure there is social anti-structure (Turner 1974) and thus these films also reveal the ways in which boundaries are challenged, transgressed and there is non-compliance with the rules, regulations and structures in place. Indeed the sea and ships have a long history in the popular imagination as spaces of freedom and liberation (see Osborn 1977) and in many ways these films contribute to the continuing notions surrounding sea travel as romantic, promiscuous and deviant adventures. They are, as Foucault would describe them “heterotopias of deviation” (Foucault 1986:25). Such deviance manifests itself in extraordinary encounters and the development of unique relationships. These spaces also become ones of sexual endeavour, romance and infidelity, many of which unfold amid the panoptic ocularcentric ship space.
under the watchful eyes of others. Perhaps transgressive behaviour in such closed and gazed upon spaces serves as an indication of the heterotopic qualities of ship space or connections to the purity of the sea and notions of redemption at sea. Indeed drawing on the work of Auden (1950) and romantic poetry, Osborn (1977:351) highlights, “[t]he sea is where the decisive events, the moments of eternal choice, of temptation, fall, and redemption occur. The shore life is always trivial.”

9.4 Spaces of transgression and performed identities: romance, promiscuity and play

As unique and highly regulated ‘away’ spaces, ships can be conceptualised as performative, playful and deviant travel spaces, the location of performed and shifting identities. Deviance and transgressive behaviour manifests itself in different ways throughout these films. Drawing on Foucault’s (1986) notion of ships as ‘heterotopias par excellence’ and Bakhtin’s (1984) concept of the ‘carnivalesque’, these films mediate the unique spatially bound worlds in which social norms are temporarily discarded and replaced with displays of promiscuous adventure and hedonistic pursuit. As spaces of transgression the very notion of being physically separated from one’s normal societal rules, which govern particular modes of behaviour, permits transitional identities. Ordinarily people do not live at sea for leisure purposes and as such expected norms of behaviour and conduct associated with one’s usual home environment may be discarded for a limited period of time as people may feel liberated to change their usual conduct, take on different personas and participate in particular activities that they would ordinarily not engage in back home. In many ways ships can be conceived as fantasy, heterotopic spaces in which a person can become someone else.

The discourses of romance and ludic encounters across the archive of data draws on the fantasies of such transitional spaces of travel and the transgressive behaviour so commonly associated with taking these types of holidays. For example the class-torn romance between first class passenger Rose and steerage passenger Jack is central to the story in Titanic. So too the blossoming romance between the ship’s doctor, Dr. Shumann, and the political prisoner, La Condesa, is one of the explicit social dramas that unfolds throughout the film Ship of Fools. Similarly Carry on Cruising constructs the dominant discourse of romance throughout the film, which is explicitly evident in Flo’s motivations for taking a holiday at sea – to find a husband. Central to the film’s story is her continued and never
waver... pursuit to discover love. So obsessed is she with this goal that her desires shift and turn as she pursues in the first instance the ship’s gym instructor, then lured by his position, status and maturity turns her attentions to Captain Clowther. Finally she is united with the ship’s doctor, Dr Binn, in the last scenes of the film and the notion of romance at sea is amplified, as they are to be married at sea. What is perhaps interesting to contemplate here is the extent to which these films perpetuate myths or exaggerate the romantic characteristics of the cruise experience.

In all three films these ship-born romances and love affairs are not only an illustration of the continued associations of sea travel with romance (Dickinson and Vladimir 2008; Douglas and Douglas 2004; Weeden and Lester 2006; Quartermaine and Peter 2006) but they also highlight the transgressive nature of such pursuits. Rose and Jack’s love affair in Titanic crosses social and class boundaries. In a similar vein, Dr Schumann and La Condesa’s romance in Ship of Fools exploits doctor/patient relationships and also seafarer/passenger boundaries of social engagement; in addition Dr Schumann is also married and so the boundary of trust is also crossed. The encounter between Mrs Treadwell and one of the senior personnel also illustrates the transgression of passenger and crew boundaries. Similarly in Carry on Cruising, Flo’s pursuit of a husband at sea arguably also challenges excepted norms of social engagement between ship personnel and passengers.

In Titanic, Rose’s behaviour is on many occasions explicitly deviant as she rebuts particular social norms and expected patterns of behaviour. Her resistance of patriarchal structures and her gendered positioning hints at the playful and carnivalesque space of a ship. She smokes, spits and indulges in the company of a steerage passenger, all of which results in the transgression of socially accepted boundaries of conduct. Such social dramas also encompass aspects of crossing physically bounded spatial areas onboard Titanic. For example, Rose with Jack join the steerage passengers in the lower decks of the vessel to drink and dance. Transcending these boundaries offers them a space where they can temporarily forget their social divides (see Bakhtin 1984) and one in which they seek refuge, in their attempt to escape the governing gaze of others. In a similar vein in Ship of Fools, La Condesa and Dr Schumann occupy each others’ cabins on occasions, an activity that the ship’s Captain is both aware of and unhappy about when he is informed that Dr Schumann was seen leaving La Condesa’s cabin at a socially unacceptable hour. Although it can be argued that ships provide spaces for freedom, emotional release and play, these
examples illustrate the extent to which activities are still subjected to the governing powers and structures endemic within a ship’s community. Indeed in terms of liminal spaces of the hotel, Pritchard and Morgan (2005:4) have previously asserted:

…we need to appreciate that the concept of liminality should be problematised to recognise context and to acknowledge that no territory or place can offer equal freedom from restraint to all nor can it be uniformly experienced since spaces are hybrid, mutable and protean.

In many way these films not only construct ships as hedonistic and heterosexual spaces (see Morgan and Pritchard 1998), but also contribute to the notion that these types of holidays encompass sex either in “…the framework of a romantic (heterosexual) getaway for two or the chance of a similar encounter with a fellow tourist or local” (Pritchard and Morgan 2000:891). Of course in the context of the ship, the local would be a member of the ship’s working personnel, but in contrast to land-based spaces such liaisons often unfold in close proximity to others. Additionally ships are regulated spaces with clear rules about what is and what is not accepted regarding interactions between personnel and passengers. Despite the point made by Nicholson (2009) regarding the socialization aspects of sea travel in the interwar years in which there were expectations surrounding passengers and fraternization with senior crew members and a ship’s captain, within the cruise industry currently there are strict regulations in place pertaining to this type of activity.

The extent to which these are adhered to or not within sectors of the industry is difficult to discern. For example Thomas (2003:297) points out, “[m]any companies and policies prohibiting sexual relationships between crew and passengers and, with the penalty of immediate dismissal and repatriation, these regulations [are] taken very seriously by crewmembers”. However, this said, an informal survey carried out through the online website CruiseCritic identifies that relationships developed at sea do in fact occur between passengers and seafarers (Chin 2008). In fact a key theme identified in posts online was that of safe spaces beyond the surveillance of close circuit television where such encounters could occur was, for example as one posting revealed:

“‘I’ve heard of it happening in crew quarters, passenger rooms, elevators, hot tubs, and pools at 3am, even in the disco after hours. [CruiseCriticPoster38’s] right, when they’re desperate enough, they’ll find a place’ [CruiseCriticPoster39” (Chin 2008:99)
Certainly in terms of these films, such discourses contribute to imaginings regarding ship space embodied by permissive societies living, travelling, vacationing and working at sea. In addition to love affairs and the discourses of romance, episodes of promiscuous adventure also contribute to the construction of these travel spaces as highly sexualised. In *Ship of Fools* the Spanish dance troupe openly operate a commercial enterprise predicated on selling sex. The predatory nature of sexual gratification is also unveiled in this film, exposing the risk and dangers associated with such activities on board ships. Although not always immediately obvious, *Ship of Fools* reveals illicit behaviour and precarious encounters that can occur even in what has been argued to be a fairly ocularcentric space, perhaps aided by the labyrinthine nature of a ship’s architectural structure and its hidden spaces. Arguably amid the architecture of these waterborne vessels, there exist spaces within spaces. Some of these remain invisible or inaccessible to some members of a ship’s society, for others they provide heterotopic spaces in which to shelter and keep hidden promiscuous or forbidden behaviour (see Foucault 1986).

Across all films, women are variously positioned as objects of desire with rituals of dress, undress and in the case of *Titanic* nudity, all of which contribute to the positioning of women as sexual objects and to the construction of ships as sexualized and sensuous spaces. From the outset in *Ship of Fools* and *Carry on Cruising* it is clear that female passengers quickly become subjects of the male predatory ‘seafarers’ gaze. These observations aside, these films are also revealing the ways in which members of the ship’s personnel become subjects and/or are subjected to the female gaze. Inversion of the male predatory gaze is evident, again hinting at the deviant, and possibly secure nature of these spaces in which conventional gender relations that privilege the male gaze are challenged, and where in fact there is a risk that men may become the subjects of sexual exploitation.

This observation aside, as sexualised spaces, these films discursively privilege heterosexual encounters, contributing to the heteronormativity of society, as Winchester et al (2003:87) point out “[i]n most societies, there is a heterosexual norm to which all people are expected to conform. Gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgender people are portrayed as deviant from the norm, as the ‘Other’”. While it can be argued that the spaces of ships are extraordinary and deviant spaces, these films convey such notions only for those conforming to heterosexual norms and behaviours. As such these sexualised discourses as represented across the *archive*, played out within the transient space of the
Chapter 9: An ‘archaeology’ of sea travel and ocean cruising

ship, serve as an example of how such spaces of travel and tourism “…naturalize heterosexuality” (Hubbard 2002:367).

9.5 Chapter summary

Revisiting the point made at the outset in this thesis that for many people ships are imagined spaces, I have endeavoured to illustrate in this chapter how these films widen the lens to reveal the unique world of the ship. Constructing particular versions of shipboard life and opening a series of windows into these particular mobile and transient enigmas at sea, these films enable brief encounters with these microcosmic worlds. In doing so these films provide a snapshot of particular lived worlds within particular periods of time. The ways in which these spaces are mediated through popular films hold particular resonance in the context of this study, which from the outset has argued that ships exist as both real and imagined spaces of travel and tourism.

As I have argued from the outset, the sea as a physical entity literally frames the concept of sea travel and ship space. In varying ways these films allude to the seductive power of the sea and sea travel and in doing so various relationships and connections with the ocean are made visible. Given the temporal, transient and isolated nature of sea travel, it could be argued that ship life is merely a set of social dramas with particular performances enacted within particular spatial constructs. Metaphorically it could be posited that life onboard ships mirror the dynamics of the sea in that set against the backdrop of the ocean, ship life is a reflection of the drama and performance of the sea. With its changing faces, shifting identities, unpredictable motions, the ebb and flow of tidal movements, the sea in turn mirrors the embodied nature and dramas of shipboard life. To a greater or lesser extent these films all communicate particular connections with the ocean, both through the corporeal embodiment of the sea and also through a range of sensory and imaginary engagements. In doing so these films highlight the intertwining of nature and architecture which ultimately play a powerful role in structuring particular embodied experiences of ships by their onboard societies at sea.

Cumulatively discourses surrounding ship space across the films provide an interesting insight into the spatial architecture and organisation of ships. However the archive of data drawn on in this study reveals a partial and incomplete portrayal of these particular transient worlds at sea. Arguably they provide a fleeting glimpse into the complex and
multifarious lived space of the ship. This said, what these films do provide is a fascinating insight into how such seafaring vessels are socially constructed, organised and embodied by the shipboard community. They illustrate not just the transient and temporary nature of relationships but also the ways in which people negotiate space and themselves as part of that space. The portrayal of the spatial arrangements of the finite inner spaces of the vessels, as made visible across the archive of data, frame particular aspects of identity revealing ‘hierarchies of power’ (Winchester et al 2003) expressed through gender, class and ethnic relations. As such what is highlighted is the process of re-negotiation of space, the re-positioning of ‘self’ and ‘other’, culminating in shifting identities, performed identities and identities in continual flux. Aspects of belonging, and thus identity, also encompass partially revealed and masked identities. These films have revealed some of the structured and ritualised elements of sea travel and the extent to which these amid the spatial organisation of a ship can unite, or in some cases, divide members of the onboard community.

As I have highlighted earlier in this chapter, these films differ in genre, each portraying sea travel in contrasting ways. The ocean voyages depicted all vary according to their historical positioning, purpose of travel and in the case of Ship of Fools, by nationality. Yet despite this, all these films construct ships as heterosexualised and promiscuous spaces of travel utilising the isolated and bounded space of the ship in which to situate similar stories surrounding love, romance and ship-born relationships. Arguably the dominance of these discourses across the archive, to some extent masks other less glamorous aspects of sea travel. These include, for example, the dangers of nature; the harsh realities for some of sailing at sea; aspects of confinement; and the predatory nature of ‘Others’.

This chapter has outlined some of the ways in which the concepts of liminality, the carnivalesque and heterotopias frame our understandings of such travel spaces as mediated through these popular films. Regarding the carnivalesque and heterotopic characteristics of ships, these films in a variety of ways illustrate the multifaceted and inert nature of space. They also highlight that such lived spaces are not homogeneous (Foucault 1986), but rather they are defined by the activities they contain and the experiences of those that embody them. Indeed the same spaces can take on different meanings and can be differentially experienced depending on a person’s identity and sense of place within these seemingly regulated and highly structured spaces. A ship’s liminal characteristics are amplified given
their isolated and bounded characteristics. Out at sea these vessels are detached from usual social settings with the ocean placing them at a greater distance from this familiarity than other ‘in-between’ places such as the beach, the theme park, the hotel room or the airport terminal. I argue that these films reveal ships as dichotomous spaces in that whilst it can, and often is, argued that such distanced spaces of travel and tourism engender freedom and suspension of the constraints of peoples’ usual structured and ordered social settings, these films also reveal how in the case of ships, there is limited escape from both the confines of the ship and their spatial and regulated ordering. Arguably amid these unique socio-cultural spaces of travel and tourism, there exists a ship’s community living, working, travelling or vacationing in a panoptic, surveillance society bound by particular power structures. As such ships, and their spaces within, function simultaneously as transient spaces of freedom, containment, safety and risk.
Chapter 10  Voyage

10.1  Introduction

Taking the position that the word voyage can be “used to describe any trip” (Foulke 2002: xiii), it seems particularly appropriate to label this chapter as such. Synonymous with the notion of travel and exploration, voyage frames many aspects of my inquiry. Essentially the endeavours of my research have been to interpret and critically explore the discourses of popular films and what these reveal about cruise ships as distinctive socio-cultural spaces of travel and tourism. The term liminal is synonymous with the notion of journey, crossing thresholds and traversing boundaries. In this research I have utilised the concepts of liminality and embodiment not only to define the betwixt and between mobile spaces of cruise vessels, but also in positioning films as unique bounded constructs through which the voy(ag)eur travels (see Bruno 1997). In this thesis I have positioned both cruise ships and popular films as architectures of travel in which the voyager or voy(ag)eur journeys through time and space. I have argued that such travel experiences are a complex array of embodings that occur not just in the corporeal sense but also in and through the imagination, emotion and memory.

If as Foulke (2002:10) articulates “[w]e embark on a voyage not only to get somewhere but also to accomplish something”, then in terms of direction and purpose, this research is also a voyage. In this chapter I reflect on my ‘voyage’ in terms of my journey and exploration of the research questions. In doing so I revisit the navigational map (see fig. 10.1) that frames the research inquiry; reflect upon the methodological approaches I employed and my process of exploration; and present the key findings and contributions of the research. In the same way that voyages can be articulated and understood by a sense of time with their “…beginnings and endings, departures and landfalls, starting and stopping points” (Foulke 2002:8), so too can any research project. I purposefully avoid using the term conclusion in this chapter, because I would rather see this stage along the journey of research as not the end of the voyage per se, but rather a pause in the journey. Therefore in this chapter I will also reflect upon and acknowledge the limitations and gaps in this research. I contemplate questions unanswered, further routes to explore and sites yet to excavate and to offer an itinerary of future avenues of inquiry.
10.2 Charting the navigational map of inquiry

In its orientation this research brings together a set of inter-related themes and concepts. In mapping my journey I have drawn from and been influenced by a range of disciplinary domains and fields of study including: tourism studies, film studies, cultural studies, social anthropology and human geography. Figure 10.1. illustrates how this research has brought together several broad but inter-related themes, their inter-connectivity and how these have collectively provided me with the conceptual lens through which I have been able to position the aim and objectives of my study.

Fig. 10.1 Rhythm and flows of the research inquiry: a kaleidoscope of merging and overlapping themes and concepts
Of primary interest to my research are the imagined spaces within which travel and tourism unfolds. Embracing the philosophical premise that human subjects are produced as opposed to being simply born (Game 1991) and that the human ‘individual’ is discursively constituted (Foucault 1989) I have framed my study by notions of power amid the assertion that the embodied practises of travel and tourism are discursively formed. As I have previously set out in the introduction to this thesis, my study is situated in a broader conceptual framework that highlights the relationship between the mediatization of tourism at a societal level, and the enactment of tourism at an individual level.

As I have argued from the outset, ships are unique but underexplored socio-cultural spaces of travel and tourism, their spatial distinctiveness defined by their bounded, mobile and transient status. Ships have been variously described as ‘anomalous settings’ (Thompson 2002); the ‘heterotopia par excellence’ (Foucault 1986); ‘floating utopias’ (Berger 2004); ‘environmental bubbles’ or ‘spaces of containment’ (Weaver 2005b); ‘total institutions’ (Aubert and Arner 1958; Weaver 2005b); ‘tourist enclaves’ (Wood 2000; Lester and Weeden 2004); a ‘tourist bubble’ or ‘hedonistic floating pleasure palaces’ (Jaakson 2004b); a ‘floating resort’ or ‘marine resort’ (WTO 2010). Yet, surprisingly, such spaces of travel and tourism have received limited attention within the academic milieu. Despite the fact that cruise travel has experienced continued expansion over the past two decades prospering from an average annual growth rate of around eight percent (WTO 2010), cruise tourism in general remains largely unexplored in comparison to land-based tourism (see Chin 2008).

As I have previously outlined in this thesis, ships afford high cultural status defined by their historical, political, economic and social significance and as such it is not surprising that ships and sea travel have a long history in the popular imagination. Indeed Foucault (1986:27) has described the ship as “…the great instrument of economic development… simultaneously the greatest reserve of the imagination”. In the context of tourism, ships continue to be powerful architectures of the sea even if only measured from an economic perspective. From the outset, in terms of this journey’s navigational trajectory, I have been guided by the notion that few individuals have experienced the liminal spaces of cruise ships. Therefore I have been concerned not with the corporeal, embodied experience of cruise ship space in terms of the physical act of travel per se, but with cruise ships as imagined spaces.
Amid the plethora of ways in which imagined places and spaces of tourism may be conceived, in this study I have drawn on the links between popular culture and the imagination with a specific focus on the discourses of three popular films. I have not sought to investigate and evidence the links between the ‘reel’ spaces of cruise ships and actual experiences in the physical, corporeal sense. Rather I have endeavoured to gain a greater understanding of both the dominant and absent discourses of popular films and how particular discursive formations are produced and consumed in our cultural milieu. Therefore in its aim to interpret and critically explore the discourses of popular films and what these reveal about cruise ships as distinctive socio-cultural spaces of travel and tourism, my research has centred on the notion of ‘reel’ spaces of tourism, cruise ship space and the cruise experience.

The importance of drawing on popular films, as the lens through which to examine cruise ships as significant, but under-explored, spaces of travel and tourism, lies in their mediating power. At a societal level, film as part of the mass-mediated environment, circulates as powerful vehicles of discourse in which ideologies are produced and consumed by global audiences. Indeed as I have discussed in this thesis, film institutions such as Hollywood have long been recognised as powerful agents in the construction of particular identities and the reinforcement of ethnic and gendered stereotypes (see Denzin 1991; Denzin 1995; Morgan and Pritchard 1998). Yet as Long and Robinson (2009:109) have most recently asserted “[t]he longstanding pervasiveness and power of Hollywood as a source of global imagery is generally unchallenged in much of the work carried out in film tourism”. The importance of engaging with media such as film is even greater given the point made by Morgan and Pritchard (1998) that the tourism industry draws on and perpetuates filmic representations in its own promotional material and tourism imagery. Therefore at an individual level the significance of film lies in the power of such media to discursively construct our imaginings of places and spaces of travel and tourism; form our perceptions and expectations of particular travel and tourism experiences; affect or direct particular decisions regarding travel and holiday choices; and shape and influence experiences of particular places and spaces of travel and tourism.

Moreover as I have previously articulated in this thesis, various approaches of postmodernism frame particular modes of thought regarding the role and significance of mediated imagery in postmodern contemporary societies. Consequently, these contribute to
and underpin the importance of drawing together the fields of tourism and film in the context of this study. For example it is suggested that we not only live in an era of simulations, in which reality is both simulated and performative, but that the distinctions between real and simulated experiences are diminishing (see Urry 1990; Denzin 1991; Gubrium and Holstein 1997; Wang 2000; Jansson 2002). I have not suggested in this study that the distinctions between cinematic travel and the physical act of travel are not recognised. Indeed it has been argued that consumers understand perfectly well the difference between simulations of travel and ‘real’ experiences (Jansson 2002). However given the links between mediated imagery and subsequent travel decisions there is the risk that the ‘real’ doesn’t match the ‘simulated’ increasing the possibility of dissatisfaction (Jansson 2002). Such a potential consequence serves to further highlight the significance of particular mediascapes such as popular film and the need, for all stakeholders involved in the tourist experience, to acquire a greater understanding of the construction and appropriation of places and spaces of travel and tourism through these powerful vehicles of discourse.

Such thinking about the simulated world is even more significant given the context of this research. Arguably the modern cruise ship is an exemplar of a simulated, fantasy space and film, and in particular, the institution of Hollywood has a long history in perpetuating the glamour of ocean liners (Atterbury 2009; Votolato 2007; 2009). As such I contemplate the interplay between travel through film and travel in the corporeal sense and to what extent the ‘reel’ spaces of film (re)present the ‘real’ spaces of cruise ships, or the extent to which films are discursive re-constructions of the already simulated world of the ship. Such musings further add to the richness of such inquiry. Regardless of whether films are simulations of reality or simulations of already simulated environments, I argue that it is even more important to develop a greater understanding of the discourses, ideologies and regimes of truth (Foucault 1989) surrounding cruise tourism and the cruise experience and how these manifest themselves and circulate in our cultural sphere. This is a key element of the ‘hermeneutic circle’ (Urry 1990; 2002) or the ‘circle of representation’ (Jenkins 2003) which plays a powerful role in constructing our imaginings of places and spaces of tourism and our subsequent ways of seeing and/or performing tourism.

In the above I have briefly revisited the reasons why cruise ships are significant spaces of tourism worthy of investigation and I have once again highlighted the importance of
Chapter 10: Voyage

bringing together the fields of tourism and film in the context of this study. In charting my voyage several nascent areas of inquiry within tourism studies have been identified which collectively played a significant role in constructing this navigational map. For example my study has embraced the discursive ‘turn’ (Hall 1997). In doing so I have acknowledged the significance of discourse and communication to tourism studies and what has been commented on by Pritchard and Jaworski (2005:1) as the “…relatively unexplored and undertheorised” nature of discourse and communication among tourism researchers. Embracing the visual and visuality as forms of discourse (Rose 2007), I have responded to the observations made by scholars regarding the many aspects of the visual within tourism that remain empirically under-researched (see Burns and Lester 2003; Feighey 2003; Pritchard and Morgan 2003). As such my study has contributed to the continuing importance and burgeoning interest in tourism and aspects of the visual (see Crouch and Lübbren 2003; Tribe 2008; Palmer 2009, Rakic and Chambers 2009; Scarles 2010; Burns et al 2010a; Burns et al 2010b).

Despite some notable examples (see Jansson 2002; Crouch 2005; Crouch et al 2005; Falkheimer and Jansson 2006), the connections between tourism and media have been relatively slow to emerge and consequently “…the interplay between tourism and media has attracted limited academic interest” (Beeton 2006:157). This study has responded to the limited and inadequate interdisciplinary inquiry and cooperation existing between tourism and media studies (Mazierska and Walton 2006) and the seeming neglect of the relationships between media, film and tourism (Falkheimer and Jansson 2006). While there exists some very significant research in the area of tourism and film (see Beeton 2005), the use of film for the purposes of my investigation has moved beyond film-induced tourism. Instead I have positioned films as discursive constructs recognising both the mediatization (Jansson 2002; Jansson and Falkheimer 2006) of places and spaces of travel and tourism through film, at the same time as positioning film as unique sites or spaces of travel in themselves (Bruno 1997; 2002).

Despite the exponential growth of cruise-related publications over the last decade (Papathanassis and Beckmann 2011), the sociological aspects of cruise tourism have received far less attention, with studies focusing on the cruise experience and cruise ship space few and far between (see Foster 1986; Yarnal 2004; Yarnal and Kerstetter 2005). In its examination of cruise ships as unique but relatively underexplored socio-cultural spaces
of travel and tourism, this study contributes to the burgeoning research agenda within cruise-related studies generally. In doing so it seeks to addresses the imbalance that currently exists within cruise research, which has traditionally been dominated by management-orientated studies. Moreover, exploring the mediatization of cruise ships and the cruise experience through film, my study has also responded to the lack of explicit interest that these unique spaces of dwelling have received within film studies (see Clarke et al 2009). The following will revisit the key stages and objectives of my research journey and in doing so I will further outline the contributions of my study.

10.3 Cruise ship space

Through a synthesis of existing literature, this study contributes to a greater understanding of the unique and constructed nature of cruise ships as transient liminal spaces, betwixt and between land and sea. Such an exercise has provided me with valuable insights and knowledge in my conceptual framing of cruise ships as both real and imagined spaces of travel and tourism [obj. 1]. The framing of cruise ships as unique spaces of travel and tourism is comprised of three broad themes: the sea as an object of fascination; cruise ships as symbolic and material objects; and cruise ship space as a playground for risk, adventure and play. This endeavour has contributed to a greater understanding of the distinctive nature of cruise ships as significant yet underexplored socio-cultural spaces of travel and tourism. My conceptualisation of cruise ships and their spatial qualities provided a useful framework, which to a great extent informed my analysis of the films Carry on Cruising [1962], Ship of Fools [1965] and Titanic [1997].

In seeking to deconstruct cruise ships and the ways in which they are spatially constructed, organised and embodied, I have drawn on Lefebvre’s (1991) ‘spatial triad’ as an overarching concept to explore and unveil the multifaceted nature of cruise ship space. In doing so I have acknowledged ships as important architectural feats of engineering and technologies of the sea; explored aspects of interior space, design and taste; and revealed ships as bounded lived spaces embodied by an onboard community for purposes of work, leisure or travel. In my examination of cruise ship space the role that architectural spaces and interior design play, both as a physical and socially ordering function, has been of interest (see Tuan 1977; Wealleans 2006).
I have also sought to highlight the extent to which these bounded spaces are defined by the activities, micro-practices and rituals of the onboard community and how particular socio-spatial orderings of ships are often dictated by hierarchal structures. Additionally, I have illuminated the embodied nature of cruise ships and how issues surrounding class, ethnicity and gender can all play a role. Conversely given the highly regulated and ordered environment of cruise ships, I have endeavoured to unpack the carnivalesque characteristics of such spaces drawing on notions such as social anti-structure (Turner 1974), transgression and deviation (Bahktin 1984). Moreover, I have illustrated the performed nature of ship space and how particular performances contribute to and challenge social cohesion, the established order and the regulation of behaviour (Weaver 2005c; 2006). Drawing on Foucault’s (1986) notion of heterotopias, I have sought explore the ways in which ships are variously experienced and embodied by different members of the onboard community, often premised upon purpose of travel and aspects of identity.

Significantly through my conceptualisation of cruise ship space I have highlighted the symbiotic relationship that exists between ship space and the surrounding ocean. I have argued that the sea, as both a physical and imagined space, is inseparable from the notion of cruise ship space and the cruise experience. Whether embodied in the corporeal sense, or as an imagined construct, cruise ship space and the cruise experience is synonymous with the sea. Particular engagements with such a vast expanse of space are anchored through a range of physical, sensory, symbolic and imaginative connections with the ocean. I have argued that these underpin, not just the mobility of ships in terms of transportation, but also contribute to the lure of cruising, and significantly, play an important role in constructing the spatial and embodied characteristics of cruise ships and the cruise experience.

My conceptual analysis of cruise ships has revealed that spaces of performance are socially and culturally constituted. They are imbued with meanings and significance, both at a societal and individual level. Interweaved throughout my analysis are references to numerous films that I have argued collectively contributes to constructing or reaffirming impressions and attitudes towards the sea and sea travel within the popular imagination. In doing so I have provided a brief glimpse into the rich stream of visual discourses that continue to circulate within our postmodern celluloid culture. Overall, I have drawn together natural landscapes [sea]; built architectures [the ship]; and mediated discourses
[films] in my examination of how cruise ships are conceptualised as both real, and imagined, spaces of travel and tourism, revealing how the natural and material worlds come together and how they provide particular insights into cruise ships and their onboard communities.

10.4 Films as discursive spaces of travel and tourism space

In this study I have sought to identify the ways in which popular films can be conceptualised as unique spatial constructs that both frame and constitute places and spaces of travel and tourism [obj 2]. In my brief exploration of the increasing significance of the visual within contemporary society, I have highlighted the historical development of the moving image and the links between such media and the art of travel (see Bruno 2002; Strain 2003; Mazierska and Walton 2006; Nicholson 2006; Ruoff 2006). As I have commented on previously, films as cultural artefacts circulate in postmodern societies with the propensity to not only construct our vision and particular imaginings of ‘Other’ places and spaces of travel and tourism, but also influence the ways in which such spaces are embodied and tourism is enacted.

Drawing on the concept of film space has provided me with useful perspectives for thinking about the mediation and construction of particular ideologies and discourses that both frame and constitute places and spaces of tourism. In this thesis I have endeavoured to illuminate the complex terrain of discourse, and discourse analysis, in which I have articulated various aspects of Foucauldian thinking and how I have drawn on these to frame my methodological approach and application of discourse analysis. Embracing Foucault and his influential work on discourse, knowledge and power, I have positioned popular films as sites of knowledge production and as unique discursive domains within which we can identify particular discursive regularities either in a single film or across an archive of data. In doing so I have sought to illustrate how the dominance of particular discourses or discursive formations contributes to particular regimes of truth (see Foucault 1989).

As a mode of communication that occurs in space itself, I have argued that the imaginative embodiment of film can be both a discursive practice and a practice of tourism. As such I have embraced the concept of film as spaces of mobility through which we travel providing ‘reel’ experiences of landscapes, people, places and spaces of travel and tourism.
(see Bruno 1997; 2002; Gibson 2006). As powerful cultural scripts I have also acknowledged both the representational and non-representational dynamics of film. I have also conceptualised film as unique liminal spaces that can be temporarily embodied and travelled through (Bruno 1997; 2002). In doing so I have illustrated how films can be embodied through the imagination and through memories. Such embodied experiences also encompass a range of sensory and emotional responses.

Through my examination of the spatial aspects of film, I have revealed the intertextual and performative aspects of films. In doing so I have moved beyond the notion of film as primarily a visual medium, and the realm of representation, to take a haptic, non-representational stance, recognising that encounters with moving images are of a multi-sensory nature. As vehicles of discourse they depart from other visual media that have received attention within tourism studies, such as the picture postcard or tourist brochure, in that film engenders particular forms of visual and sensory mobility. In responding to the visual and sensory ‘turns’ both within tourism (see Scarles 2009; 2010) and film studies (Bruno 2002; Marks 2000; Barker 2009), such a positioning has played a key role in framing this study’s embodied methodological voyage.

10.5 Cinematic autoethnography: an embodied methodological voyage

A key objective of this study was to develop an embodied approach to film analysis within tourism inquiry [obj 3]. I have brought together various strands of thinking which have informed my approach to discourse analysis and its subsequent utilisation. For example, I have advocated the viewpoint that knowledge and meanings are not static and inert, and that films, once conceived and created, go on to reside in the cultural milieu as artefacts that take on a life of their own beyond their point of creation. Moreover, regarding the process of knowledge production and the construction of meaning I have acknowledged film and the ‘body’ in all its various guises (see MacDougall 2006; Barker 2009). Utilising Lefebvre’s (1991) ‘spatial triad’ and embracing Foucault’s assertions regarding the omnipresence of power (Rose 2007) I have acknowledged the trialectical relationship that exists between the body/s of the film, the filmmakers and the spectators (Barker 2009). Such a positioning reinforces Rose’s (2007) observations regarding visual images and the three sites where meaning is made “…the site of production, the site of the image or object itself and the site of its audiening” (original emphasis). Consequently my study approach has embraced the notion that films continue to be subjected to different interpretations, by
different actors, at different times. Essentially I embraced the epistemological and ontological positions that advocated a performative dimension to establishing meaning, in that meaning exists at the point of embodiment, and that meanings and interpretations are dependent upon what the researcher brings to the field of research at a particular moment in time. Consequently meanings are not absolute and the field of inquiry is subject to multiple interpretations (see Rose 1997; Wylie 2007).

As a discourse analyst I have embraced the situated and transient nature of knowledge. I have positioned myself as the reflexive-voyeur (Denzin 1995) acknowledging that I am just one of many “…voyeurs adrift in a sea of symbols” (Denzin 1991: vii-viii). As the embodied researcher I have become an active and subjective participant in the field of research and have sought to locate and make sense of the discursive structures of these films. In many ways my research journey could be described as a voyage of the imagination. Moving through these architectures of space, I have imagined myself voyaging not just with the film-maker/s, but also with the onboard communities of the ships within the films. Such positioning aligns with MacDougall’s (2006:16-17) assertion that films enable us to “…stretch the boundaries of our consciousness and create affinities with bodies other than our own”. Conscious experience of images involves a kind of thought, “…made up of ideas, emotions, sensory responses, and pictures of our imagination” (MacDougall 2006:2).

As I have argued from the outset my engagement with, and interpretations of, the films selected for the purposes of this study evoke personal memories surrounding my experiences of working and living on cruise ships. My initial approach to engaging with film as visual evidence was that of a linear one-directional relationship, this being the power of film to discursively construct our imaginings of cruise ship space and the cruise experience. However as I have demonstrated in my application of discourse analysis, my prior knowledge, experiences and memories all play a role in my interpretations of the films. As such I have felt it necessary to draw on the principles of autoethnography and to include a reflexive element to my analysis. In doing so I have demonstrated the role that my positionality plays within the interpretive process.

My study raises questions of the role of the spectator, and more specifically in this case that of the researcher, and issues of representation. Whilst not dismissing the significance
of the representational and the more structural meanings within the body of film, my methodological voyage has embraced the sensory and emotional dynamics of such spaces. I have not sought to carry out an analysis of the sensory or emotional dimensions of film per se, but rather have endeavoured to demonstrate how, as a researcher, my embodied experiences of film can be of a haptic and tactile nature and can engender a range of sensory responses. Moreover my study reveals the affective dynamics of film and how these can have an impact on the process of research. I have highlighted in this thesis how my engagements with these films are all different and how this affect on the researcher can impact on both the research and interpretive processes.

In my development and subsequent application of an embodied approach to film analysis within tourism inquiry, this study has demonstrated an alternative way of applying the Foucauldian approach to discourse analysis in the context of film. In doing so, my approach has embraced the tactile, performative, emotional, embodied nature of being and connecting with the material world. As such my research embraces the power of film as one of the ways in which we come to understand and construct our own particular knowledge and views of the social world. Within the tourism context my study is methodologically innovative. As highlighted in the above, I have taken a reflexive and embodied approach to engaging with the discourses of film. Not only have I endeavoured to bring out the sensory aspects of my engagements with these films but I have also sought to demonstrate how the interpretative process draws on memories and engenders particular emotional responses. In doing so my study approach has moved beyond the notion of vision per se. Importantly it is illustrative of the complex and individual nature of our visual experiences.

Many scholars have noted the extent to which methodological perspectives within tourism inquiry traditionally have, and continue to, align with scientific, positivist and quantitative approaches (see Tribe 1997; 2005; 2006; Riley and Love 2000; Pritchard and Morgan 2005; 2007; Ballantyne et al 2009; Bruner 2010). This said, over the last couple of decades, tourism studies has seen some significant shifts in research approaches and associated methods (see Ren et al 2010; Tribe 2010). The interpretive, embodied, performative and reflexive aspects employed in my methodological voyage have embraced the shifting terrain within the tourism academy and its growing acceptance of different research orientations that depart from its positivistic traditions. In doing so my study
contributes to a growing number of studies that are challenging some of the entrenched orthodoxies within tourism inquiry.

The inclusion of moving film clips in my work responds to calls for methodological innovation within tourism generally (Tribe 2008) and Beeton’s (2006:159) observations surrounding what she highlights as being the standard and traditional use of visual media in research articles, she asserts:

> Until the academic world takes this forward, we remain mired in an academic paradigm that does not fully utilize the new technologies and concepts. We call on academics to challenge the status quo and take a leap of faith needed to truly develop this field.

This said, whilst the technologies exist for the dissemination of publications that include digitised moving imagery, copyright laws would preclude this thesis being made available for public consumption with the inclusion of moving images.

### 10.6 Cruise ships as imagined geographies

A key endeavour of this research was to critically examine the relationship between the spatial constructs of cruise ships and embodied cultural practices as mediated through three popular films [obj 4]. Drawing primarily on the discourses of three purposively selected films to form my archive of data, I have sought to identify discursive regularities and discursive formations, which contribute to particular regimes of truth (Foucault 1989). My research demonstrates how popular films frames particular imaginings of cruise ships and the cruise experience and serves to illustrate the role of films as discursive constructs in framing cruise ships as ‘imagined geographies’ (May 1996). As such my analysis makes a contribution to our knowledge and understanding of the discursive structures of popular films and what these reveal about the spatial constructs of passenger ships and their embodied cultural practices.

As I have voyaged through the spaces of *Carry on Cruising* [1962], *Ship of Fools* [1965] and *Titanic* [1997] I have sought to explore these ships, their spatial characteristics, the onboard communities and their embodied practices. Throughout my excavations of this archive of data, I am cognisant of recognising the constructed nature of these films and have remained alert to the inevitable absent discourses and incomplete texts. As such I
have critically questioned the *discursive formations* and *regimes of truth* pertaining to the embodied experiences of cruise ship space. Whether in terms of their physical structures or social functioning, my excavations have revealed a partial anatomy of passenger vessels as distinctive social-cultural spaces of travel and tourism. My discursive analysis has unearthed the ways in which these films echo historically situated attitudes to sea travel and associated rituals and traditions; illuminated the isolated and mobile nature of a ship’s society; unveiled some of the unique spatial arrangements for work and play; and revealed performed identities and transient relationships.

Arguably one of the most visible discourses encountered through my engagements with these films is that of romance. This is perhaps not surprising given the omnipresence of heterosexual romance as part of, and often central to, the action of many Hollywood films (see Hayward 2000). Moreover, as discussed from the outset, in this thesis the discourse of romance is synonymous with the notion of cruising and remains omnipresent across a range of media depicting the cruise experience. However, although I have already been socially and culturally conditioned to search out romance within the spatial confines of the cruise ship, what I did find surprising was the similarities and parallels existing across the archive of data regarding romance. These films, differentiated by genre, historical period, nationality and purpose of travel, still conveyed similar stories of love and ship-born romances. Despite the dominance of this discourse, upon closer examination and interwoven against this backdrop of romance, my voyages with *Carry on Cruising*, *Ship of Fools* and *Titanic* unveiled a range of sub-texts. Although more nuanced and subtle these included gender relations; the hierarchal employment structures; the ocularcentric nature of cruise space; notions of surveillance, power and control; boundaries; performance, play and promiscuity. All of these arguably, contribute to the ways in which cruise ship travel is perceived, imagined and experienced.

The discourse of the exotic emerged in various ways to frame cruise ships as ‘imagined geographies’ (May 1996) constructed through notions of difference. Various rituals and traditions, as made visible in *Titanic* for example, evoke much nostalgic reverie associated with ships and sea travel in an era of exploration and discovery of the ‘Other’. So too notions surrounding travel to other geographical locations, encountering other people, and engaging in other rituals, such as dress, not only have the propensity to construct the exotic but also a sense of self, often in comparison to others. What has been interesting to
contemplate through my analysis of these films is the juxtaposition between the extraordinary and the ordinary, between the exotic and the banal. I have encountered the significance of everyday practises and taken-for-granted activities amid the extraordinary space of the ship. The ways in which these are enacted and how they shape and regulate identities, behaviours, social interactions and work conduct have been revealed.

The discourses across the _archive of data_ in different ways contribute to various _regimes of truth_ regarding particular social practises such as dress and dining arrangements within the extraordinary space of the ship, all of which have a regulatory function. Yet beneath the exoticness, my ‘archaeology’ of sea travel and the cruise experience has also unearthed some of the less glamorous aspects of sailing at sea and this form of travel. These included sea-sickness; loneliness; emotional labour, fatigue and lengthy periods of working at sea; segregation, ostracism and banishment. The extent to which these films make visible the labyrinth of the back-stages of ships, those spaces ordinarily beyond the passengers’ gaze, are minimal. For example the segregation and different workspaces for lower ranking staff and crew were in the main an absent discourse across the _archive of data_. Whilst the carnivalesque characteristics of ship space revealed themselves in playful ways for some, for others these encompassed aspects of risk. The ways in which some passengers became the subjects of the predatory gaze of others is an illustration of the vulnerability of some within what is perhaps on the surface perceived to be relatively safe environments.

Although these films all depict sea travel, they are very different in their genre and storylines, yet what they all do is provide an insight into the development of attitudes towards sea travel throughout the twentieth century; the unique spatial aspects of ships; and particular embodied practises. In varying ways these films all contribute to the stereotyping of ships as hedonistic pleasure spaces of promiscuity and romantic endeavour. Yet reading against the dominance of these discourses, also cognisant of those that are absent, my voyages have illuminated the highly structured, panoptic and ocularcentric characteristics of ship space.
10.7 Key contributions of the thesis

i) Theorising and exploring cruise ship space
In this study I make a contribution to the literature within tourism studies relating to cruise ships and their uniqueness as spaces of travel and tourism. Multidisciplinary in its pursuit I have brought together a range of inter-related theories about space to illustrate the complex and multifarious ways in which cruise ships can be conceptualised and examined. As such, this study provides a different way of thinking about and exploring cruise ships, as imagined constructs. Interpretative and discursive in my endeavour, this study provides a range of insights about the spatial production of cruise ships and their embodied practises as mediated through popular films. As I have previously articulated in this thesis, despite some notable exceptions, the spatial aspects of cruise ships are relatively underexplored within the tourism literature.

ii) The tourism and film nexus
Through my discursive analysis of popular films, this research contributes to a greater understanding of the connections between film and tourism and provides an example of the mediating power of films and their potential to construct travel and tourism discourses. In this study I have carried out a discourse analysis of three popular films, the findings of which demonstrate the ways in which a single film or a selection of films provide a partial insight into the complex anatomy and workings of these unique spaces of travel and tourism. Through this archaeological endeavour I have discovered how three films, different in genre, disclose a set of uniform discourses that I argue contribute to the notion of cruise ships as hedonistic pleasure spaces of promiscuity and romantic pursuit. On close examination my analysis also reveals a set of more nuanced discourses regarding the spatial organisation of ships and their embodied practises. My findings encompass how these films mediate the gendered nature of sea travel and ship space, unveil particular issues associated with ships as workspaces and highlight an array of shipboard rituals.

iii) Visuality and methodological insights
A key contribution of my study is the development and application of an embodied approach to film analysis within tourism inquiry. In terms of its methodological trajectory and subsequent application of discourse analysis I have contributed to the continuing recognition of the importance of tourism and visuality and have embraced current debates
within tourism regarding the multisensory nature of the visual. In acknowledging my own positionality and bringing together notions such as haptic visuality, haptic touch and the concept of kinethesis, this research also contributes to a growing agenda within tourism studies that is recognising the propensity of different media to mobilise the tourist experience. In this case my study opens up debates within tourism inquiry regarding the role of film in mobilising the imaginative and vicarious experience of places and spaces of travel and tourism. As such I offer an embodied approach to the analysis of the discourses of popular films in which the researcher is immersed within the space of the films. Consequently the application of discourse analysis is reflexive in nature revealing the ways in which the films are experienced by the researcher, in and through the imagination, emotion and memory, all of which play a role in the interpretive process. The approach to discourse analysis enacted in this research can be replicated, adapted and developed in future studies.

10.8 My voyage: twists and turns and moments of fear

My research voyage on occasions has felt like an expedition and at times I have found the journey, in terms of its methodological trajectory, precarious and challenging to navigate. This research has opened itself up to a plethora of considerations and ‘turns’, many of which are increasingly being adopted within various areas of tourism inquiry. These included the cultural ‘turn’, the discursive ‘turn’, the critical ‘turn’, the sensory ‘turn’, the corporeal ‘turn’, the performative ‘turn’ and the reflexive ‘turn’. The many ‘turns’ that I have encountered in my endeavour to articulate my research approach has at times caused me to feel disorientated, almost nauseous, as I responded to the various twists and ‘turns’. On occasions I felt at risk of losing my way. Consequently the map of inquiry, almost kaleidoscopic in nature, has sometimes seemed blurred amid my endeavours to negotiate and make sense of the vast expanse of possible directions in which to take my research. Conspiring to blur my clarity of vision was the complex terrain of discourse analysis and the myriad of definitions and its application as a method, often dependent upon particular disciplinary perspectives and interpretations. However, the realisation I have reached here is that the terrain is both complex and multifaceted and often is a matter of perspective.

My initial approach to determining the dominant and absent discourses across my archive of data, viewed film as audio-visual media. Perhaps subconsciously aware of tourism’s positivist research traditions my first review of these data sets involved a rigid and
systematic deconstruction of the films ‘frame by frame’. As I have previously commented upon during the early phases of this journey (see Lester 2007) I was aware that my area of inquiry and methodological positioning may be considered by some to be unconventional and consequently prone to levels of scepticism and/or criticism. Certainly, given the subject matter of my research I was sensitised to perceptions among fellow academics regarding the seriousness of my research. However even at this early point of embarkation I felt unsure about my study approach in that I had already identified the difficulty of disentangling myself as the researcher from the ‘cinematic field’ of inquiry (Denzin 1991). Although I recognised the shifting terrain in philosophical approaches within the tourism academy, I felt for a time nomadic, adrift in the liminal space betwixt and between the various disciplinary boundaries of what I perceived, rightly or wrongly, as acceptable. Holding fast to the comfort of the familiar, yet curious about the unfamiliar, I spent some time aimlessly wandering through a sea of differing philosophical perspectives at times fearful of losing my way. Yet as Foulke reminds us “[d]rifting is anathema to all seafarers, who want to control and navigate their vessels, but it does lead one into unexpected places” (2002:xi). In a similar vein the research approaches and methodological perspectives that I have embraced, and which have subsequently informed my research design, are as a result of my wandering, sometimes accidentally, into territories previously unknown to me.

Thus my research has taken me into the realm of debates surrounding the crisis of representation and notions of reality. Postmodernism is a complex area with diverse and often contrasting strands of thinking (see Gubrium and Holstein 1997) and it has not been my intention in this thesis to engage in an in depth discussion of the plethora of debates in this area. However, issues regarding the field of research and my positionality expose the complex nature of the postmodern world in which we live. To define the ‘field of research’ and thus address issues such as the ‘researcher in the field’ is more complex than thinking of it in terms of gathering primary data from the natural environment in the geographical sense. If going into the field is bound up with notions of the ‘real’ world then in terms of film and cinema ‘the field’ is more nebulous and illusive. If we embrace the postmodern thesis in which the boundaries between real and simulated experiences are diminishing, in which ‘reel’ experiences serve as actual lived experiences, if we are in, as Denzin (1991) describes, a visual and cinematic age, then we are talking about lived experiences. Our interactions with film are an everyday practice of engaging with the real world. Moreover,
Urry (1990:85) posits, “[e]verything is a copy, or a text upon a text, where what is fake seems more real than the real”. As such to address the questions as to whether I have gone into the ‘field’ in order to carry out this research is a matter of epistemological and ontological positioning. Certainly this voyage has taken me into the realm of postmodern thinking. In doing so I have drawn on films as not just as cultural scripts but as spaces that we can temporarily inhabit, where meaning is located. I have not been searching for any one reality or ‘the’ truth; rather I have offered my readings and interpretations of the films as I have experienced them.

Employing a discursive, autoethnographic, reflexive and sensory approach to film analysis has caused me to explore previously unchartered territory. I have encountered methodological perspectives that were previously unfamiliar to me. Perhaps a mixture of being self-conscious and being afraid of criticisms that such an approach is self-indulgent, I found my approach at times challenging to enact throughout my research. Autoethnographic and reflexive approaches require me to reveal my personal memories and expose my emotions. As such, dealing with these dynamics and presenting my research has been a process of experimentation, trial and error. Throughout my research journey, anxieties surrounding my embodied and reflexive research approach and the risk that my subject area will not be taken seriously, have remained a constant presence. This said, what I have endeavoured to employ throughout in my approach is a systematic, transparent and honest approach to the research. On a practical level, at times, I was overwhelmed by the sheer expanse of filmic space through which to navigate my journey. Even managing the volume of filmic data and dealing with the inevitable process of needing to be selective has not been without its challenges.

10.9 The stopping (off) point

In terms of how to conclude a qualitative study, Wolcott (2009:113) simply states, “[y]ou don’t”. He goes on to advise that serious thought be given to the notion “…that your final chapter must lead to a conclusion or that the account must build toward a dramatic climax” (Wolcott 2009:113). I take some solace from these words as I have found the process of my research journey to be one of infinite endeavour, I say infinite because my itinerary, and thus final destination, as mapped out at the point of embarkation has been subject to diversion, re-scheduling and change. Often reaching into the unknown, I feel like I have, and continue, to travel through an endless expanse of sea that relentlessly throws up to its
surface more questions than answers. Indeed, discovering what I thought I was searching for only seemed to yield more questions and complexities to work through. In contrast to the seafarer who eventually emerges through the mist, terra firma clearly in sight, my voyage keeps traversing new paths and vistas into the unknown. Throughout this voyage my ‘epiphanies’ (see Denzin 1989), moments of discovery and knowledge comprehension have quickly lost their significance as further questions and areas of exploration have emerged from the unknown. Consequently the limitations, inadequacies and questions left unanswered are many. As such this research leaves a terrain with many opportunities and possibilities of further exploration in the continuation of this voyage.

As I have already set out in the introductory chapter the focus of my research is only part of a broader conceptualisation that articulates the links between mediated discourses of travel and tourism and ways of seeing, enacting, and remembering particular tourist experiences. In terms of my discussion here, regarding the limitations, gaps and avenues for further research, I revisit the conceptual model (fig. 10.2) from the introductory chapter (section 1.5).

Figure 10.2 The place of imagery in cruise tourism marketing adapted from Jenkins’ (2003) conceptualisation of the ‘circle of representation’ (after Hall, 1997) cited in Weeden and Lester (2004)
Chapter 10: Voyage

First and foremost, limitations exist regarding the scale and scope of this research. Research examining the entire ‘circle of representation’ is a desirable endeavour, but one which clearly falls out of the remit of this study. As I have previously commented on in this thesis, my study has not directly focused on answering the question as to whether, and if so how, these films stimulate a boost in cruise passenger numbers and associated inquiries. Nor has it sought to evidence links between the discourses of popular films and consumer perceptions, motivations and subsequent behaviour, although by default my analysis has offered some insights into this area. This is not to say that these aspects of inquiry are not important and indeed there is much scope for future research in the areas of consumer behaviour, image creation, perceptions, and motivation. To date studies on perceptions and travel motivations remain a relatively under-researched area of cruise tourism.

The application of the findings, from a business and management perspective, beyond this point of the research are somewhat limited. However, what I have endeavoured to illustrate is how visual media, in this case popular film, plays a significant role in constructing our impressions, perceptions and imaginings surrounding particular spaces of travel and tourism. I have argued that gaining a greater understanding of the mediated discourses circulating in postmodern societies is an important precursor to underpinning subsequent studies in the area of consumer behaviour. More specifically, amid the growing research agenda in the area of film-induced tourism, of which the majority of the work has focused on land-based travel, this research will underpin any future studies that seek to investigate the explicit links between popular films and elements of the holiday decision-making process.

This study acknowledges the significance of discourse and its importance within the ‘circuit of culture’ (Hall 1997). It has provided a greater understanding of how the ship and its embodied practises are mediated and thus constructed through popular films, all of which I have argued contributes to particular imaginings of cruise ships and the cruise experience. As a consequence of my archaeological endeavour, both the number and the breadth of themes emerging have developed considerably. In the process, such excavations have developed my understandings and appreciation of the historical and cultural origins underpinning ocean cruising as we might conceive it today. Consequently there are many emergent themes in this research that can be pursued and developed in much greater depth.
These may include for example: aspects of gender; architecture, art and interior design; everyday practises such as eating and dress; rituals, performance, work and play; romance, promiscuity and sex; enchantment and disenchantment. Additionally there is scope to develop the spatial aspects of this research in the context of cruise ships. Many of these areas for further inquiry lend themselves to multi-disciplinary approaches and as such there exists opportunities to pursue collaborative work that brings together different fields of expertise drawing on a range of disciplinary perspectives.

This study offers an interpretation of the discourses of cruise tourism through the medium of popular films. The explicit positioning of myself as a reflexive and embodied researcher has inevitably impacted upon the process of my analysis and interpretation of the films. Whilst I argue that my analysis is enriched by my positionality in the field of research, I also acknowledge that this research is highly interpretative. I am acutely aware of issues of subjectivity and cultural bias, and that my study approach has privileged my voice as the researcher. As I have commented on previously in this study, the construction of meaning and the production of knowledge encompass a trialectical relationship between those involved in the production of the films, the product itself and various audiences consuming the films. Therefore to develop this study further, multiple interpretations drawn from different audiences would enhance and contribute to a greater depth of understanding of these films and their discursive formations. For example an analysis of the interpretations of other archives of data that have made comment on the meanings of these films could be undertaken, for example there exists a plethora of data available through websites such as ‘The Internet Movie Database’ (IMDb). Research could be conducted into varying consumer groups to elicit their interpretations of the films. Accessing those people that work on cruise ships or in the industry may also yield different perspectives and interpretations of the films. Future avenues of inquiry could encompass the viewpoint of the filmmakers and their intended narratives.

Conversely, further research opportunities extend to the industry. As I have already highlighted in this thesis connections between Hollywood and ocean travel have a long history. Films such as Titanic have been used in media narratives in reference to the contemporary cruise industry. The extent to which the cruise sector acknowledges, understands and utilises the mediating power of films and their discursive constructions of sea travel, cruise tourism and the cruise experience is worthy of investigation. This is
particularly pertinent in the current climate given the ‘mass-ification’ of cruise tourism (see Chin 2008), and an industry that promotes itself on innovations, new technologies and the increasing sizes of passenger vessels.

I have looked in depth at only three films from the many that I could have selected for the purposes of this investigation. I have previously outlined the reasons for my selections. However, I recognise here that every cultural artefact is worthy of investigation and as such there remain many film spaces yet to explore. Drawing on a broader archive of film data would enhance the understandings that have been presented in this thesis as to how the ship and their embodied spaces are conveyed through popular films. In this study I have focused on popular films as the key medium through which to examine cruise ships as spaces of travel and tourism. Other research possibilities to take this study forward could include exploring cruise through other film genres, for example documentary film, consumer generated video and film footage or commercially produced film such as corporate promotional film. There is also considerable scope to draw on other visual media. For example, there exists much data and information accessible through the Internet that promotes, critiques and narrates travel products, destinations and experiences. These include, web-sites with a commercial and non-commercial focus; travel blogs; photograph and video galleries; critique forums. Even companies such as P&O Cruises embrace employee-generated blogs as key communication tools in their online promotional material. The Internet and associated technologies and tools such as web-cams also enable ‘real-time’ connections with particular spaces of travel and tourism, a feature common of some cruise provider web-sites.

As I have highlighted in this research, the dynamics of engaging with film go beyond their representational qualities. As such there exists a rich stream of opportunities for future inquiry that embraces the sensory and emotional dynamics of film to further explore particular embodiments of such mediascapes. Furthermore there exists considerable scope to advance understandings of the mediatisation of other places and spaces of travel and tourism. As such the conceptual and methodological model that I employed in this study, as the lens through which I examined cruise ship space, could be drawn upon in the context of exploring other imagined tourist spaces and their embodied practices.
10.10 Chapter summary

Through this research I have endeavoured to further an understanding of the unique but underexplored spaces of cruise ships, how they are organised, embodied and lived in. As architectures of space, popular films, cruise ships and the sea are all discursive constructs imbued with ideology, power and knowledge. As such my analysis of cruise ship space and the cruise experience has drawn together films, cruise ships and the sea as unique spatial constructs of travel and tourism, illustrating the layering of discourses and intertextuality in the construction of meaning.

The originality of this work lies in my examination of cruise ships as unique socio-cultural spaces of travel and tourism through a discursive analysis of popular films. Cross-disciplinary in approach, I have drawn from an array of existing literature and range of perspectives to inform my interpretations and analysis of the discourses of film and in framing my methodological approach. A synthesis of existing literature has enabled me to develop my conceptual analysis of cruise ships as socio-cultural constructs and as both real and imagined spaces of travel and tourism. My study approach has revealed the complex and multi-faceted nature of engaging with film. It moves beyond the notion of representation, questions aspects of the production of meaning and reveals the multifaceted nature of engaging with film as an everyday embodied practise.

I have previously argued that popular films have the propensity to not only frame our particular imaginings and ways of seeing cruise ships and the cruise experience, but also influence how we envisage ourselves as part of these imagined geographies. My approach to engaging with film has already articulated how we can inhabit and voyage through the space of the film, contemplating, remembering and imagining. As such, voyaging through these spaces caused me to revisit my own life and work history, all of which impacted upon my experiences of these films.

In many ways this research has been a voyage of the imagination. I have argued that ships exist both as physical constructs but also as imagined spaces of travel and tourism, spaces of work, leisure and play. So too have I argued that films are spaces of embodied practise in which we can imagine our bodies moving through time and space. In my examination of cruise ships as distinctive liminal spaces of travel and tourism I have endeavoured to embrace the ordinary practises of the everyday as a way of understanding these
extraordinary travel spaces as constructed through the seemingly fictional world of popular film. Arguably to adapt a phase from Denzin (1991) what has been carried out in this study is a piece of cinematic autoethnography. Despite the fact that I feel the journey is by no means completed, for now I lower the sails and secure the anchor. Such an interlude will not only enable me the time and space to reflect on this voyage to date, but also to reassess its quest, and plan its continuation.
Bibliography


Casey, E.S. (1993) *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World*, Bloomington & Indianapolis, Indiana University Press.


275


Ishii, A. (Ed) (2009a) Film + Travel North America, South America: Travelling the World Through Your Favorite Movies, Museyon Guides, New York, Museyon Inc.
Ishii, A. (Ed) (2009b) Film + Travel Europe: Travelling the World Through Your Favorite Movies, Museyon Guides, New York, Museyon Inc.


279


Mather, C. (2002) *Sweatships: What it really like to work on board cruise ships*. War on Want/ITF.


Walters, J. (2009) Standing in the shadow of the world’s biggest ship; Cruising; Pools, a climbing wall, 16 restaurants, room for 6,000-plus people… a park? Joanna Walters finds the Oasis of the Seas to be more like a bustling city, The Times, 28th November, London, England.


**Filmography**


Krevoy, B (Producer), Nathan, M (Director). (2002). *Boat Trip* [Motion picture]. USA/Germany: Motion Picture Corporation of America and International West Pictures and Apollo Media.


Wald, J (Producer), McCarey, L (Director). (1957). *An Affair To Remember* [Motion picture]. USA: 20th Century Fox.