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**PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTING A WORKER BASED AND PARTICIPATORY
MODEL FOR EMPLOYEE ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS**

City University of New York

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PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTING
A WORKER BASED AND PARTICIPATORY MODEL
FOR EMPLOYEE ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

by

DANIEL J. MOLLOY

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty
in Social Welfare in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Social Welfare in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Social Welfare.

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Preface

The National Maritime Union Peer Committee Project was administered by the author of this study, who is also Director of the Personal Service Unit of the NMU Pension and Welfare Plan, over an eight-month period beginning in mid-February, 1985. Participants were active merchant seamen and members of the Union, whom the Personal Service Unit serves.

The core programmatic theme of Employee Assistance has been supervisory intervention around documented, impaired job performance, with the use of worker based disciplinary mechanisms as a motivator to seek help. It is a model which reflects a top-down design based on the most traditional and accepted notions of how work organizations operate. This project aimed at exploring the use and carefully reporting on the implementation of a model, in large measure, poles apart from the original notion. It was a worker based, peer intervention and networking strategy, which was more horizontal than vertical, more democratic than authoritarian, more bottom-up than top-down in design. The central purpose of this project was to tell the story of the implementation of this model, with an eye toward its viability and the replication of the implementation strategy again at the NMU or elsewhere.

The EAP movement often seems paralyzed by tensions toward program conservation and expansion. Should programs

have a chemical dependency or broad-brush focus? Should there be work based strategies alone for case finding or broader outreach? In serving both work organization and worker, are EAPs to be neutral or advocating agents? Can a professional helping program align itself with the natural helpers and help exchanged in work organizations, or should the EAPs' helping enterprise be more concentrated, neutral and autonomous? While EAP administrators, consultants and the various professions have discussed these issues at length, little attempt has been made to explore seriously how workers view occupational programs, what they want from them and what role they can play in their operation and direction. This project also suggests that by not utilizing worker input, EAPs miss the richest and clearest expression of unmet needs and clues to address them.

The project activity had two distinct but connected phases. First, from the program's cases 30 active seamen were selected who had used the program consistently, had made referrals to it, were recognized by others as trusted helpers and/or had upgraded themselves in the industry. Attention was paid to a balance of age, race, ethnicity, sex, and length of time in industry in an attempt to reflect as many segments of the NMU as possible. To these 30 the Project Director administered an in-depth interview. The interview served initially as needs assessment for unmet service needs and the peer model itself. In addition, it explored how fertile the occupational environment was for this project to

take root. The second phase of the project was a training-dialogue component, in which 11 of the 30 interviewees participated, in addition to two additional recruits. Much of the training goals and objectives content was extracted from the literature review, which represents the EAP field's and the Project Director's own conceptualization of what this project should address. The dialogue issues were extracted from the initial interview material and from ongoing individual and group responses to the training content supporting the peer model.

The full implementation of the peer model in the NMU program will take two to three years. While the project does address planning and evaluation issues after the initial implementation phase, those planned program activities are beyond the dissertation focus. For the dissertation, the project aimed at finding and drawing out all the issues, concerns, themes, hesitancies, positive and negative responses, fruitful and barren conceptualizations in the project's attempt to build and send forth the first peer committee. To tell the story as richly and thoroughly as possible, the project employed four research procedures. First, it reported on and analyzed interview material. Second, through participant observation, observation by other staff members and tape recording reviews, the project extracted the major themes from the training-dialogue component. Third, the Project Director kept a log of his own ongoing observations and reflections as the project advanced. Fourth, the Project Director kept an

organizational/occupational log to consider how factors extraneous to the project may have exerted influence on it. It is believed that the project ultimately told a story both particular and universal. The story told was uniquely and richly that of merchant seamen and their willingness to work with their formal helping program in the delivery of help, but the way of initiating this program and getting its story told could be done again here or elsewhere.

Acknowledgements

The National Maritime Union Peer Committee Project had help from many corners.

First, I am grateful to my Dissertation Examining Committee--Dean Harold Lewis, the Chairperson, and Professors Irwin Epstein, Paul Kurzman and Florence Vigilante. Each played an indispensable role in both expanding and more sharply focusing the Project's conceptualization, implementation plan and evaluation strategies. Much of the NMU's rich story of help would have been missed without their input as to how the story could best be told.

Strong organizational support came from Albert Franco, the Administrator of the NMU Pension and Welfare Plan, and Alvin Zeidel, the National Maritime Union's liaison to the Personal Service Unit. Both care deeply about their work and the people they serve. Their enthusiasm for the Project made it clear they would support ultimate integration into program operation.

The Project is also in debt to the staff of the Personal Service Unit, who made major contributions to implementation and evaluation. In particular, Carmelo Guastella, Joan Barron and Miguel Martinez played key roles in Project activity. Bruno Bernacik, a long-time member of the NMU and a universally respected seaman, also advised me frequently on the complexities of the maritime industry and its traditions.

Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to the NMU

members who participated in the interviews and training/ dialogue initiative. Their rich stories of help sometimes humbled this professional help-giver, but also made him proud to be associated with men and women capable of exhibiting such profound care and concern.

A last word for my father, who died while I pursued my doctoral studies. In his life, many marveled at his capacity to get the job done. He was a "good working man" and always ready to lend a hand. His work was different from mine, but deep mutual respect and affection unites all true work. That story is told best in the following poem:

DIGGING

Between my finger and my thumb
The squat pen rests; snug as a gun.

Under my window, a clean rasping sound
When the spade sinks into gravelly ground:
My father, digging. I look down

Till his straining rump among the flowerbeds
Bends low, comes up twenty years away
Stooping in rhythm through potato drills
Where he was digging.

The coarse boot nestled on the lug, the shaft
Against the inside knee was levered firmly.
He rooted out tall tops, buried the bright edge deep
To scatter new potatoes that we picked
Loving their cool hardness in our hands.

By God, the old man could handle a spade.
Just like his old man.

My grandfather cut more turf in a day
Than any other man on Toner's bog.
Once I carried him milk in a bottle
Corked sloppily with paper. He straightened up
To drink it, then fell to right away
Nicking and slicing neatly, heaving sods
Over his shoulder, going down and down
For the good turf. Digging.

The cold smell of potato mould, the squelch and slap
Of soggy peat, the curt cuts of an edge
Through living roots awaken in my head.
But I've no spade to follow men like them.

Between my finger and my thumb
The squat pen rests.
I'll dig with it.¹

¹Seamus Heaney, "Digging," The Book of Irish Verse,
edited by John Montague (New York: Macmillan, 1976),
p. 358-359.

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CHAPTER I

A Survey and Review of Employee Assistance Program Literature and Development

Introduction: Defining the Need

The 70s was a decade of rapid growth and change for the occupational human service field. The proliferation of programs, from a handful at the beginning of the decade to thousands at its close, was certainly one indication of this. However, internal changes in program design and activity were, perhaps, even more earthshaking. Often these changes occurred amid great controversy. In fact, doubts still linger about whether the drive toward program extension has not diluted program comprehensiveness and the solid achievements and successes of the field's first efforts.

A single case finding strategy dominates the employee counseling field. It centers around job performance and a job site supervisor who can detect and document a decline in such performance and who can then initiate a constructive confrontation with the worker about his diminishing productivity. If performance continues to slip, a job jeopardy situation develops. This involves escalating, coercive motivation leading to the alternative of seeking help or facing disciplinary action and, ultimately, loss of job.

Historically and programmatically this case finding strategy is linked to the needs of workers and work organizations struggling with the problem of chemical dependency.

The first industrial programs were alcoholism programs, which engaged recovering alcoholics in the task of detecting and assisting workers with problems of alcohol dependency. Through the late 40s and into the 1960s a small, but highly effective, number of such programs emerged in the Medical or Personnel Departments of some of America's major industries. Alcoholism is a disease characterized by rationalization and denial. This strategy was conceived, in large part, to break the back of that denial and help the problem drinker see that his world was coming apart, at a time early enough in the progression of the illness, when he still had the capacity to halt the process.

It is not hard to see why alcoholism was the primary issue in the development of occupational human services, as well as why it will probably remain a central one. It is well documented that chemical dependency costs industry billions of dollars each year in absenteeism, lateness, decreased productivity, inefficiency, increased health care costs and accidents. Alcohol is attributed to be a causal factor in as much as 40% of industrial accidents and is estimated to be a direct diagnosis or a related factor in up to 50% of worker submitted medical claims. Alcoholism is generally accepted as the third major health problem in the nation at the moment, with the recent Califano Task Force in New York State concluding that addiction is already America's number one health problem. In its progressive pattern, addictive drinking usually takes hold of its victims in the

age range of 35 to 50, when they are of most value to their employer. It is a disease which clearly disrupts work functioning. At the same time, it is a disease which the employee assistance field has demonstrated is most responsive to work based mechanisms of identification and help.

While this model developed around the work based mechanisms of job impairment and supervisory intervention is still considered the core programmatic principle and the major factor in the occupational/industrial field's growth, it leaves both a strain and a deficit. There is a strain because this strategy was designed primarily for the chemically dependent person and carefully constructed to avoid problems associated with stigma, labeling and witch hunt. It clearly opened the door for an expanded assignment for occupational programs. Obviously, many human problems can interfere with work, the recognition of which has been surrounded by confusion, conflict and opportunity for this emerging field. This expansion beyond chemical dependency has been greeted by some with enthusiasm and by others with reluctant acquiescence. It will be discussed further in the policy considerations section of this paper.

This strain is an important and pervasive theme in the development of occupational programs. It is alluded to often in this proposal, as is the compromise and accommodation the field arrived at. It is not, though, the major issue or concern of this proposal. The primary focus of this proposal is on the deficit in the job impairment/

supervisory intervention model and in the conceptualization and elaboration of a model which could address and fill in what is incomplete. There is another work based mechanism which may be as intimately and essentially a part of work as accountability and performance.

The deficit became more evident as the employee assistance field grew beyond an industrial-manufacturing base. The job impairment model itself began to show signs that it could not be the total universe of this field. It was not suitable for work environments with inconsistent or loose supervision. Evaluations showed it was uneven in its application, the lower the worker was in the line the better his chance of being confronted. Because of its heavy reliance on the supervisor, it was not always convergent with the values of labor organizations and professional associations. Confrontation which is often necessary with alcohol and drug dependency problems was not seen as the appropriate strategy for human service needs, where denial was less of an issue, or no issue at all. And, even with alcohol and drugs, there was an issue as to whether the supervisor was the first to know.

The proposal which follows is built around the notion that while supervision, job accountability and productivity are job based mechanisms which are essential to the very notion of work, so too are collegiality, mutual support and care and the ties workers establish with each other. Both are essential realities. For the most part, occupational

programs have been constructed around only one.

The literature review and survey which follows explicates a process evolving in the employee assistance and occupational field. The process involves fuller worker responsibility and stewardship for industrial programs and the emergence of peer based interventions. This first chapter presents this process as a natural and coherent one. The second chapter goes on to connect peer interventions with the alcoholism and self-help movements which gave the industrial field both its first impetus and set initial policy guidelines. It then proceeds to some theoretical and practice based considerations for identifying key variables around which a peer intervention program is to be constructed. In moving beyond the issue of chemical dependency the proposal next takes up various potentially applicable and significant notions from network theory, as a means for both an industrial program and a peer committee to reach out to and address a whole spectrum of human problems faced by workers. This entire project is based on the belief that peer interventions and peer networking are authentic work based mechanisms around which major occupational program initiatives can be built. While this is especially true in close knit occupational groups, like merchant seamen (Chapter III), the training-consultation initiative described in Chapter IV and the evaluation strategy developed in Chapter V are believed to have wide applicability. Chapter VI reports on the Project implementation and the four components of the

Project's evaluation. Findings, post-implementation evaluation issues and replicability are also discussed here. Finally, Chapter VII contains the researcher's observations on issues the Project raised, which call for and require further exploration. While vertical notions, performance, accountability, authority and organizational ownership of occupational programs have been fully attended to in the employee assistance field, it is felt that horizontal notions, worker comradery and collegiality, concern for each other and the job, and their own stewardship of programs has been largely neglected. This project attempts to address this perceived imbalance and to lay out and evaluate the theoretical and initial practice issues in democratizing employee assistance. This was reinforced in the mid 80s' with Roman and Blum's development of the core technology of EAPs, based exclusively on the employer's relationship with employees and emphasizing job performance, constructive confrontation and alcoholism.

A. First Stage - Industrial Programs for Chemically Dependent Workers: the Trice-Roman Model

As has been mentioned, the dominant intervention strategy in occupational human service programming was and continues to be supervisory based constructive confrontation. The concept received its definitive and classic treatment in Trice and Roman's Spirits and Demons at Work: Alcohol and Other Drugs on the Job in 1972. The book was reissued in 1978, indicating the high regard for its seminal concepts

and the enormous growth in the occupational field.

At the core of Trice and Roman's thought is the firm conviction that the work based mechanisms themselves, with minimal intervention from or involvement with external agencies, are the principal means for bringing about employee behavioral changes. The single and total focus is job performance. The authors feel that "in contrast to the deviant employee's wife, clergyman, or family physician, the supervisor has legitimate and explicit expectations for his employees to perform their roles without impairment."¹ If the most fundamental aspect of work life is adequate performance, Trice and Roman argue, then "supervisors have both the right and duty to confront them with the facts of their poor performance and to urge them to improve."²

To the authors, constructive confrontation, a seminal concept they are credited with first describing, is a part of the very fabric of work organizations and requires no new skill or procedures. It is built on three basic policy guidelines:

1. drug dependency behaviors produce unacceptable job performance and these behaviors are likely to become health problems;

¹Harrison Trice and Paul Roman, Spirits and Demons at Work: Alcohol and Other Drugs on the Job (New York: Cornell University - New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, 1978), p. 170.

²Ibid., p. 171.

2. since these are potential health problems, with physiological and psychiatric consequences, the organization will provide health coverage similar to that of other disorders;
3. unless job performance returns to an acceptable level, however, a crisis precipitation strategy will be implemented.³

Alcohol and drug dependency are characterized by denial, deception and rationalization. Trice and Roman point out that "alcohol-dependent employees often use the fact that they are still employed as evidence that nothing is wrong with their drinking."⁴ Constructive confrontation attacks the very core of this elaborate system of rationalizations and deceptions.

The authors appeal to and cite "the substantial opinion and results which support this strategy." Representative of this is the statement which follows: "No patient will ever consider giving up alcohol until the suffering it causes him is greater than the pleasure it gives him. He must lose something important to him, or at least be threatened with such loss."⁵

Trice and Roman are well aware that social control is the underlying assumption of this strategy. They say that "since society fails to produce clear sanctions for alcohol use, developing alcohol addicts never face consistent

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., p. 173.

sanctions--a situation which produces feeble internal controls--and that enforced cooperation relieves the deviant drinker of the burden of developing motivation for himself."⁶ Constructive confrontation activates a social control principle within the system, which has the best chance of protecting the deviant worker against removal from the system.

Finally, the authors mention some of the deficiencies of their strategy, items to which they have given much fuller attention in some of their subsequent work. The liabilities indicated are: "high-status deviant drinkers are difficult to confront; a true crisis is difficult to precipitate in low-status jobs; impaired job performance may be difficult to detect and document; and the initial constructive theme of rehabilitative help may be passed over too quickly and the crisis part overdone."⁷

The authors hasten to add that the policy is labeled constructive because it is in the best interest of all, worker, work organization and union. Nor does it require immediate disciplinary action, but well defined policies are needed, so that confrontations are not undermined through endless repetition.

Trice, Hunt and Beyer in the Journal of Drug Issues discuss applications of the constructive confrontation principle in unionized work settings. The principle, in essence, is

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

applied in identical fashion, whether the work setting is organized or not. "A threat combined with an offer of assistance in obtaining help toward rehabilitation is the typical intervention strategy." The authors elaborate: "The threat is some form of discipline, including forced termination where no progress is evident. While employees can seek help before threats of discipline are necessary, the element of sanction is an integral part of such policies, which hope to thus reach cases that are not inclined toward self-referral."⁸

As these authors translate the constructive confrontation principle into the unionized setting, they state the basic premise of alcoholism policies at the work place as: "To the extent that the developing problem drinker experiences an objective, consistent, united, repeated, and forthright confrontation from all of his significant others about his poor performance, he is more apt to respond by trying to bring his performance back to acceptable levels."⁹ In a unionized setting the shop steward, local officers and fellow union members are the significant others. They must all be involved with and cooperating in this strategy or it will be undermined. The impaired worker can hide behind the traditional adversary role between labor and management and

⁸Harrison Trice, Richard Hunt and Janice Beyer, "Alcoholism Programs in Unionized Work Settings: Problems and Prospects in Union-Management Cooperation," Journal of Drug Issues, Vol. 7, No. 2, p. 104.

⁹Ibid.

through such manipulations divide and conquer, thus neutralizing the confrontation.

Cooperation, though, and not conflict between labor and management has been the general rule in this area, and the authors go on to cite an impressive list of labor organizations endorsing the constructive confrontation in the first half of the last decade. The authors commend union literature for forthrightness in this area indicating that "blue collar workers and their work environment come to know rather quickly about poor work performance and its connection with problem drinking."¹⁰ They allude to the peer group as perhaps most knowledgeable about alcoholism and helping the alcoholic. Trice et al. carry this point significantly further, which is most interesting for purposes of this review. They say:

Perhaps it can be argued that current tendencies to emphasize only managerial detection of poor performance in work situations have gone too far, especially in situations where close, personal relationships occur on the job, often fostered by the nature of the work itself. Often union members and officials may readily see the poor performance and its cause more easily than professional and management personnel, and thus be willing to deal with it forthrightly.¹¹

This point is reinforced by Roman, in his discussion of "Barriers to the Initiation of Employee Assistance Programs." He offers the useful and important distinction between work settings where programming concerns are primarily occupational

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

and those where they are primarily organizational.

An occupational program design would appear in organizations "where the program design is primarily concerned with matching policy and procedures to unique occupational conditions; e.g., commercial airline pilots, longshoremen and seafarers."¹² This type of program design would typically develop in a labor union, but Roman sees it as appropriate within professional associations (medical societies and bar associations), "anywhere the program design is primarily concerned with the commonality of working demands and conditions among those sharing an occupation."¹³

An organizational program design, on the other hand, is concerned with the unique nature of a specific organization. It takes into account the organization's "style of management, labor-management relationships and interconnections with the external environment."¹⁴

Roman feels the different bases in these program designs may have profound implications for support and outcome. There may very well also be implications for models of intervention around impaired performance, with supervisory interventions appropriate to an organizational program design and other models of intervention called for in a program designed to

¹²Paul Roman, "Barriers to the Initiation of Employee Alcoholism Programs," Proceedings: Research Workshop on Occupational Alcoholism: A Review of Research Issues, p. 143.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 144.

serve an occupational or professional group.

B. Second Stage - Employee Assistance, Self-Referral, Treatment

The momentum for the second wave in the occupational human service area was already contained within the first impetus for employee alcoholism programs. Right from the start there was the recognition that there were other problems at the job site besides drug and alcohol dependency, which could interfere with job performance.

Roman describes this change in an article aptly titled, "From Employee Alcoholism to Employee Assistance." He attributes the major role in orchestrating the transition to the Occupational Programs Branch of the National Institute of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism. Roman suggests "the NIAAA introduced two elements discontinuous with prior efforts, the broad brush approach encompassing other behavioral-medical models and an emphasis on treatment for target populations."¹⁵ In Roman's view, this led to de-emphasis on both alcohol and prevention. The constructive confrontation itself was now no longer job based, occurring between impaired worker and supervisor, but was left to the professional program counselor or to a treatment agency, to which the worker was referred for any number of personal problems. NIAAA suggested that program labels change, which up to that

¹⁵ Paul Roman, "From Employee Alcoholism to Employee Assistance," Journal of Studies on Alcohol, Vol. 42, No. 3, 1981, p. 249.

point almost always included the word alcohol or alcoholism. The Institute characterized such program titles as "inappropriate and defeating, suggesting instead terms like employee counseling service or employee assistance service."¹⁶

The field became sharply divided and almost self-destructed over the issue. Although much mollified, this controversy can still be said to rage to the present day. Traditionalists felt the dramatic and proven achievements of occupational alcoholism programming would be watered down in the broad brush model, emphasizing mental health concepts as opposed to differential tasks necessary to combat an extraordinarily difficult disease. There were further implications, as well. The supervisory induced constructive confrontation would now be more quickly turned over to professional counselors or treatment experts, with the job based and prevention elements diluted. Finally, the supervisory model itself had to share the stage with the self-referral, which the new model attempted to cultivate in dealing with problems other than chemical dependency. While the self-referral model was certainly appropriate for many personal problems interfering with work, conventional wisdom questioned its usefulness regarding the disease of alcoholism.

Both the Third and Fourth Special Report to the U. S. Congress on Alcohol and Health reinforce Roman's notion of NIAAA leadership and responsibility for the change which has

¹⁶ Ibid.

just been described. The Third Report addresses the issue somewhat gingerly. It endorses the wider EAP model, saying, "it often results in pinpointing other personal problems among the work force and offers the employee appropriate assistance for a range of difficulties affecting job performance."¹⁷ On the other hand, in strong continuity with the past, job based deterioration is reaffirmed as the single, identifying factor for worker referrals into occupational programs.

In the Fourth Report Federal Government responsibility for the shift is clearly recognized and accepted, while the problem with alcoholism de-emphasis is noted forthrightly. The NIAAA endorsed the broad brush approach focusing on a comprehensive conception of employee problems--economic, social, psychological, as well as alcohol. At the same time, problems with the EAP model are acknowledged:

This shift has raised a number of questions concerning the difficulty of evaluating the impact of these programs on alcohol problems, the shift in responsibility for employee confrontation from the supervisor to the counselor, vagueness of goals and inability to determine which components are cost effective. Given the strong government commitment to the development and promotion of employee assistance programs, ways will have to be found to maintain the integrity of the alcohol programming component within the broader employee assistance program approach.¹⁸

¹⁷ Third Special Report of the U. S. Congress on Alcohol and Health (U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1978), p. 286-287.

¹⁸ Fourth Special Report of the U. S. Congress on Alcohol and Health (U. S. Department of Health and Human Services, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1981), p. 129.

It is impossible to overestimate the Federal Government's role and influence in this area. Most of the Occupational Program Consultants were trained by the NIAAA. Until the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981, NIAAA funded occupational demonstration projects across the country. The Institute guided the development of courses for Program Consultants, Program Administrators, and Motivational Interviewers in occupational programs. An NIAAA grant helped initiate and sustain the Association of Labor-Management Administrators and Consultants on Alcoholism, a professional group approaching a 5,000 membership and representing a substantial majority in the field. As a matter of fact, after the budget cuts, with block as opposed to categorical grants, and a certain diminished role and influence for NIAAA, there was some doubt that the field can sustain its rapid growth and development.

The transition from employee alcoholism to employee assistance was rapid and extensive. Roman reports in his survey of state occupational program consultants that while only 40% followed the EAP model in the programs they developed in 1973 by 1976 the number had risen to more than 80%.¹⁹ The new model was leading the way to enormous expansion, both as to program extensiveness and intake procedures.

By the 80s Lewis Presnall, a pioneer in the occupational

¹⁹Paul Roman, "From Employee Alcoholism to Employee Assistance," p. 2.

alcoholism field, was discussing Occupational Counseling and Referral Programs as a systems approach to behavioral-medical problems. According to Presnall well-designed counseling and referral services should touch base with the following ingredients:

First, a total view of the human problems in an occupational community.
Second, assessing the organization's deficiencies in relation to those problems, and its potential assets for solving them.
Third, reviewing the work that needs to be done, and selecting the functional components that are most appropriate to its accomplishment.
Fourth, devising an effective system in relation to counseling and referral which can be introduced smoothly into the work setting with minimal disruption to existing functions.²⁰

The nature of the problems addressed by the EAP now substantially widened. Presnall sees a comprehensive EAP effort dealing with a whole spectrum of behavior-medical problems including, "alcoholism, emotional disturbances, marital and other familial crises, physical handicap adjustment problems, drug dependencies, undiagnosed physical illnesses masked by any of the above, and a collection of miscellaneous crisis situations related to personal, financial, career or legal problems."²¹

Finally, Presnall significantly expands the case finding and initial identification process beyond the supervisory

²⁰Lewis F. Presnall, Occupational Counseling and Referral Systems (Salt Lake City: Utah Alcoholism Foundation, 1981), p. 108.

²¹Ibid., p. 16.

referral. Other channels might include:

- self referrals;
- referrals, or alerting, by other staff; i.e., personnel, safety, medical, employees' services;
- referrals or alerting by union representatives;
- identification of unresolved performance problems by counseling staff during routine record audits;
- alerting of staff by successfully recovered persons;
- alerting of staff by family members;
- outside health, welfare, and law enforcement personnel.²²

Perhaps the best way to cap this discussion of a second wave in occupational program development is to cite the conclusions of a recent study of five Detroit EAPs. In Reaching Out: A Guide to EAP Casefinding the authors tie together the two stages of development. They conclude regarding casefinding strategies:

EAPs use multiple methods of casefinding, but primary emphasis is usually put on two general strategies, promotional efforts aimed at generating self-referrals, and training, primarily of supervisors and union representatives, aimed at identifying people whose work performance is continuing to deteriorate in spite of supervisory corrective action. The balance desired between self-referrals and referrals resulting in poor performance should be considered by each program.

C. Stage III - Extension of Occupational Program Concepts to Occupational Groups and to the Professional Work Force: the Peer Model Emerges

If alcoholism was de-emphasized in Stage II, the third

²²Ibid., p. 176.

²³Ronald Archambault, Robert Doran, Thomas Matlas, Jerome Nadolski, and Dianne Sutton-Wright, Reaching Out (Troy, Michigan: Performance Resource Press, 1982), p. 73.

stage saw a de-emphasis on the job impairment model itself. As the notion of job impairment expanded beyond addiction through the 1970s to a wide spectrum of human problems potentially or actually interfering with work, the seeds were sown for the cultivation of new casefinding methodologies and models of intervention. In addition, the third wave of occupational programming development tried to extend these concepts to the labor force in managerial, professional, technical and clerical occupations.

In his paper before the National Council on Alcoholism Forum in 1982, Keith McClellan indicated that now half of the American work force was in these types of occupations, which raised fundamental questions on top-down EAP models. McClellan views the Trice and Roman model as of limited value and inappropriate in expanding EAPs to this new occupational sector. He says: "As EAPs seek to reach beyond large manufacturing companies with structured work assignments to the rest of the work world, it becomes increasingly evident that the supervisory-dominated confrontation model is ill-equipped to reach many employees with personal problems that adversely affect work performance."²⁴

McClellan alludes to differences in work motives and attitudes between factory workers and managerial, professional or technical workers. The latter can always appeal to

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Keith McClellan, "How EAPs Are Changing" (National Council on Alcoholism Annual Forum, 1982), p. 3.

professionalism and competence to withstand a supervisory intervention, seen as an unwarranted infringement. In addition, there is not always a distinction between job functions and personal habits. Disruptive off-the-job behavior may be as damaging to a professional as impaired work performance. McClellan feels a peer group intervention model is better designed to reach this occupational group than supervisory confrontation. He specifically mentions the model adopted by the Airline Pilots Association and the Flight Attendants, which will be taken up subsequently in this review.

Thoreson, Hosokawa, and Talcot describe a traditional EAP model modified to adapt to the unique characteristics of the University environment and the professional-executive employee. This model is called a developmental approach and emphasizes self-referrals for faculty, while holding to the traditional supervisory EAP model for non-academic staff. Putting aside questions of double standards, the program rationale for its unique features is as follows:

Self referrals. As academicians function in an unstructured work setting, where they function relatively autonomously without close supervision, they are likely to self-refer rather than to be referred by academic supervisor for deteriorated job performance

Information dissemination. To encourage self-referrals, information about the program is distributed at frequent intervals to academic and non-academic supervisors, to all UMC employees and to their families.²⁵

²⁵Richard Thoreson, Elizabeth Hosokawa and Wayne Talcot, "Reaching Distressed Faculty and Staff," EAP Digest, Vol. 2, No. 6, 1982, p. 33.

The program also stresses a broker role. EAP staff do not provide counseling. Instead, focus is on problem identification, assessment, and referral to most appropriate treatment by a qualified service provider.

The authors give comparative program findings to support the model. They state that "it appears staff are more effectively reached by a primary referral approach based on supervision and self-referrals where faculty are more effectively reached through secondary referral resources."²⁶ The total percentage of primary (supervisory) referrals for staff were 83% and for faculty 17%. Secondary referrals (Program Dissemination Materials) were 41% staff and 59% faculty. The authors conclude that encouraging self-referrals and stressing the broker role constitute a significant part of the developmental model and support its success in reaching faculty and professional level employees.

After discussing the usual difficulties in the detection of and intervention in impaired job performance, because of insulation from work appraisal, Wolf proceeds to identify four casefinding models for work with the impaired professional. They are on a continuum of intrinsic to extrinsic motivation and from voluntary to explicit participation with little alternative. Wolf's models are:

1. Voluntary Model. The individual freely seeks help.

²⁶Ibid., p. 34.

2. Secondary Model. Significant others seek assistance around helping the impaired person. These others may be family, colleagues or associates and they may be given help in arranging a confrontation to motivate the impaired person to seek treatment.
3. Confrontation Model. A peer investigatory committee considers an allegation of impairment. If the impairment is confirmed, the individual is confronted with the findings. A strong recommendation to seek treatment is made with an implicit threat of further action if declined.
4. Disciplinary/Grievance Model. Here the option is treatment in place of, or in addition to, disciplinary action.²⁷

Wolf feels the success of EAPs, consumer participation on licensing boards, peer responsibility and peer review, and the malpractice crisis are among many reasons why professional associations are likely to move in this direction in the near future.

While these models attempt to address the needs of the professional work force and certainly involve elements of peer intervention, the peer element remains for the most part unimplemented and untested in actual program activity. A major, innovative step in this area has been taken by the Airline Pilots Association and the Association of Flight Attendants.

In the program description of the Flight Attendants' EAP, Feuer describes a peer model around which the whole

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Kenneth Wolf, "Casefinding Models to Identify and Refer the Impaired Professional," EAP Digest, Vol. 2, No. 6, 1982, p. 38-39.

program is organized. Flight attendants are trained to detect and intervene in problems such as "substance abuse, marital/familial, emotional/psychological, financial, and other behavioral/medical problems experienced by troubled flight attendants." The training is given to Assistance Committee members, the full time flight attendants who have been selected by the Union to work with the EAP and who have primary responsibility for helping the troubled flight attendant to get professional help. Since its inception in July 1980, the program has helped 1,600 (as of August 1984).

The National Association of Flight Attendants' EAP Office, assisted by consultants with expertise in specific content areas, has devised training seminars which address the following:

1. recognizing the patterns of problem behavior;
2. communication and listening skills;
3. confidentiality and legal issues;
4. interfacing with other union committees;
5. the disease of alcoholism and continuing sobriety;
6. developing community resources;
7. crisis intervention;
8. domestic violence;
9. intervention techniques;
10. record keeping;
11. case management; and
12. burnout and managing stress.²⁸

The program has other innovative features. The EAP aims at a comprehensive educational program through a well orchestrated literature dispersal. A research consultant, through

²⁸Barbara Feuer, Program Description - Peer Referral Model, Association of Flight Attendants, Employee Assistance Program.

in-depth interviews, offers an analysis of lifestyle and sub-culture of the flight attendants, to allow an effective adaptation of the peer model.

Feuer indicates the EAP Committee members are the foundation of the program:

These full-time flight attendants have been selected by union leaders because they possess the qualities necessary to coordinate the EAP Their primary responsibility is to recognize signs of problem behavior and to refer to the appropriate treatment professional or self-help group. Many of the 100 committee members have held previous union committee positions; many have backgrounds in helping professions, while others are recovering alcoholics or Al-Anon members. All have been carefully screened because they are ²⁹respected, trusted and well liked by their peers.

McClellan feels the airline industry model may have broader application to other technical and professional occupational groups. He also comments on a variation of this model suggested by Roman for use with college and university faculty. Roman advocated that administrators in institutions of higher learning select department heads and other key faculty members to be trained as skilled resources and to act as "fire marshalls" as the need for intervention arises.³⁰ This is a peer model with a supervisory flavor.

The organization having the longest experience with peer intervention is the Airline Pilots Association. An

²⁹ Association of Flight Attendants Employee Assistance Program, "A Peer Referral Model" (1625 Massachusetts Ave. N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036, 1985).

³⁰ Keith McClellan, "Changing EAP Services," EAP Digest, Vol. 2, No. 6, 1982, p. 28.

initial hypothesis of the NIAAA funded study proposal was that an employee assistance program for an airline pilot should specifically reflect his unique work environment characteristics.³¹ A study released in 1982, based on a review of eight years of program activity, concludes that the emphasis of peer identification over supervisory has contributed to many pilots receiving assistance who would not otherwise have been reached.³²

In a paper delivered before the Association of Labor-Management Administrators and Consultants on Alcoholism in 1980, Hoover mentions that the ALPA Program draws heavily on the work of Vernon Johnson for the theory and content supporting a peer intervention. The five principles of intervention adopted from the Johnson framework are: "the involvement of meaningful people, the presentation of specific data, presenting it with an attitude of concern, the offering of choices and following through to completion."³³ Hoover also alludes to selection criteria of personal and group characteristics necessary for peer committee members or Human

³¹E. Paul Hoover, Nestor Kowalsky and Richard Masters, An Employee Assistance Program for Professional Pilots (An Eight Year Review), (Denver, Colorado: Human Intervention and Motivation Study, Airline Pilots Association, 1982), p. 29.

³²Ibid.

³³E. Paul Hoover, "EAP Concepts as Applied to Non-Supervised Professional Work Groups," Proceedings: Ninth Annual ALMACA Meeting and Exhibits, Oct. 7-10, 1980 (Washington, D. C.: Association of Labor-Management Administrators and Consultants on Alcoholism, 1981), p. 104.

Intervention Committees, as they were actually called. These group members "were trained to plan and carry out interventions with backup from the professional expertise of the project staff."³⁴ A training curriculum was devised for the peer committee, which focused almost exclusively on alcoholism. Hoover indicates that this was the case because there was strong organizational support for developing procedures to manage that condition. There was also the feeling that problem drinking was the most misunderstood and mismanaged of all conditions covered by EAPs. Finally, the elements of rationalization and denial, which seem to be at the core of alcohol abuse and dependency, make it a condition for which self-referral was not to be expected. During the eight-year study period some 235 cases were submitted to the FAA by the EAP for review. An 85% long-term recovery rate is claimed by the program in a systematic follow-up lasting for two years post intervention and treatment. Recovery is defined as total abstinence from all alcoholic beverages.

The railroad industry has adopted an Alcohol and Drug Use Prevention Program (Operation Red Block) with a discrete peer component. The program, conceived and developed by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, focuses on the right of all workers to a safe workplace. Woischke indicates the program's emphasis centers on prevention, "which is defined

³⁴ Hoover, Kowalsky, and Masters, An Employee Assistance Program for Professional Pilots, p. 27.

as preventing a co-worker from consuming prior to duty and, if this fails, preventing an intoxicated person from reporting to work."³⁵ Prevention is achieved through peers or groups of volunteers who attend education training, role modeling and awareness seminars where they learn how to approach and handle a drug or alcohol user. Help is offered over loss of job by a Rule G Bypass agreement which would otherwise obligate management to fire a worker violating the rules in regard to intoxication on duty. The essence of the Program, according to Woischke, is that the prevention concept "reverses the peer pressure." No longer is the pressure on peers to cover for the user so that he will not lose his job; the pressure is placed on the user.³⁶

Woischke insists that the novel aspect of Operation Red Block is that for the first time in the history of the railroads, employees have been given the opportunity to help design and implement a program which directly affects them. By the mid 1980s this became a persistent theme. McClellan concludes his article on the history and development of "Work Based Drug Programs" with the following recommendation: "It should be remembered that good assistance programs help people help themselves and this should be the goal of an EAP. Paternalistic EAPs rarely succeed. An EAP works best when it

³⁵J. T. Woischke, "Operation Red Block," Railroad Industry's Alcohol and Drug Use Prevention Program (14th ALMACA Annual Meeting, Boston, November 1985).

³⁶Ibid.

is considered the joint property of the company and its employees."³⁷

D. Conclusion

This review attempts to present the peer model emerging through a natural evolutionary process in the occupational field. The newer model is trying to take its place alongside the supervisory and self-referral models developed earlier. There is the sense, though, of a poor stepchild ordained by default in industries or occupations where there are no opportunities for decent supervision or accountability. In the next chapter the model's programmatic strengths and possible contributions are discussed. Theoretical and practice consideration, continuity with antecedents and future directions of occupational programs may make the peer model and the key variables it activates the natural and indispensable ally of a professional industrial program. The peer model may not be only an alternative for occupations devoid of tight supervision, but may itself be a critical, unmet need in the development of worker assistance programs.

³⁷Keith McClellan, Work Based Drug Programs (Executive Director, Tri-County EAP, 492 Grand Street, Akron, Ohio, 1985), p. 70.

CHAPTER II

Self-Help and Network Concepts as the Basis for Worker Focused Program Development and as Addressing Three Perennial Program Concerns

Introduction: Three Consistent Programmatic Concerns

If the peer model is to have a significant role in an occupational program and address unmet needs, it must meet the test of engaging the three principles emerging from the survey and historical review of the previous chapter. First, the peer model must prove to be an effective instrument in identifying and assisting workers with problems of chemical dependency. Historically, the roots of employee assistance are in employee alcoholism programs, which, in turn, arose out of the alcoholism movement. While occupational programs have generally expanded beyond an alcoholism base, they have only done so when this programmatic core has been protected and insured as a discrete entity. The peer intervention model, then, should be in continuity with past efforts and concerns which have dominated the field. This chapter sets the model squarely in the Alcoholism movement and Self-Help traditions and connects it with propositions emanating from that area.

Second, the model must address current and future needs of occupational programs and develop beyond their alcoholism base. The peer model, to contribute meaningfully to the field, should assist programs in taking on expanded

responsibilities and in addressing a wider range of service needs. It should also help programs to find an effective and lasting role in a work organization's life.

In addition to engaging the field's major tensions toward conservation and expansion, a model hopefully should address the third criterion discussed in the preceding survey. The peer model should display an intimate connection with work and work life. Obviously, occupational programs should be built around work based mechanisms. In offering assistance to workers, they should engage what is at the heart of work and work life. This, too, is in continuity with the past. Trice and Roman claim it is work relatedness which is the key to success for the original model of job impairment and supervisory intervention. The next pages attempt to demonstrate the peer model's historic and programmatic continuity, its ability to address the field's expanded assignment beyond addiction, its potential to engage the realities of work life.

A. Continuity with Past Policy

The current Alcoholism Movement emerged in the 1930s around the convergence of two extraordinary events, the founding of the fellowship of Alcoholics Anonymous and the development of the disease concept by E. M. Jellinek.

It was in the summer of 1935 that Bill Wilson and Doctor Bob Smith fashioned their program, which touched base initially with the principles of the Washingtonians and the Oxford groups, and ultimately with the thought of William

James and Harry Stack Sullivan.¹ AA was not to be a form of treatment, but a fellowship which gave a daily program of living. Within a very short time, it was to come to have unparalleled success, and its power and influence on issues affecting the suffering alcoholic became matchless.

In 1939, Doctor E. M. Jellinek, while affiliated with the Yale Laboratory of Applied Physiology, continued to outline both the phases and prevalence of the disease of alcoholism. Jellinek perceived alcoholism as a disease, in which various body systems were progressively involved. Psychological and physical dependency, organic disturbances, and progressive loss of drinking control were important variables in the five types of the disease he distinguished. Jellinek thought it futile to try to understand alcoholism from the perspective of any simple discipline or profession. His Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol included articles related to physiology, psychology, education, history, anthropology, and sociology.² In 1943, he began the Summer School of Alcoholism Studies at Yale, which became nationally known and which was later transferred to Rutgers University. All disciplines participated in the Summer School, including the ever growing number of recovering people and members of

¹Ernest Kurtz, "Why A. A. Works: The Intellectual Significance of Alcoholics Anonymous," Digest of Alcoholism Theory and Application, Vol. 2, No. 1, Oct. 1982, p. 64.

²Yvelin Gardner, Alcoholism - Out of the Shadows (New York, N. Y.: National Council on Alcoholism, 1971), p. 60.

Alcoholics Anonymous.

As Jellinek's work gained acceptance and support, endorsement by the World Health Organization and the American Medical Association followed, and pressure began for effort to end secrecy and eliminate stigma. In the mid 1940s Marty Mann, herself a recovered alcoholic and an associate of Jellinek's, began to feel the success of AA and the work at Yale needed national attention. She studied the history of the National Tuberculosis Association and saw the necessity for a voluntary health organization related to alcoholism. By 1950 Mann's efforts culminated in the formation of the National Council on Alcoholism.

Meanwhile, thousands of recovering people were at work and beginning to take note of fellow workers succumbing to a drinking problem. Corporate Medical and Personnel Departments began to rely on recovering alcoholics quietly and clandestinely to give in-plant assistance. These programs were few and were alcohol specific. However, they had enough visibility and effectiveness for the NCA and the sociologist, Seldon Bacon, to begin talking about the cost of lost industrial productivity to the nation in the 1950s--the billion dollar hangover.

The NCA saw in industrial programs a chance at early intervention and an opportunity to break the back of the Skid Row image of the alcoholic population. Many NCA affiliates began to place occupational program consultants on staff, who could help industry form or manage industrial alcoholism

programs. Most of NCA's energies in the 1960s, though, went toward the goal of establishing a special national institute in the federal government to specifically address the issue of the nation's problem with alcoholism and alcohol abuse.

A major triumph for NCA legislative initiatives came in 1972, when President Nixon signed into law (PL 91-616) the Comprehensive Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism Prevention, Treatment and Rehabilitation Act. Based on the legislative efforts of Senators Hughes, Javits and Moss, the bill represented the alcoholism movement's ultimate goal to establish a separate identity for a distinct disease and to struggle free from undifferentiated attention in the larger and better attended fields of health, mental health and narcotics.³ The legislation authorized the National Institute of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism.

With the founding of the Institute came a flurry of activity in the occupational field. Two of the Institute's first activities included a national training program for occupational alcoholism program consultants, who were to go back to their localities to stimulate program development, and a grant to sustain the Association of Labor-Management Administrators and Consultants on Alcoholism, the professional organization developing to represent those engaged in the occupational field. The NIAAA dominated the field until the budget cuts of 1981, when all but its research capacity

³Ibid., p. 17.

was dismantled.

From the outset and throughout the occupational field's growth, the alcoholism movement and the National Council on Alcoholism have played dominant roles in the unfolding policy for the development of employee counseling services. This is certainly a field where the recovering people have exerted substantial influence over both the direction and implementation of policy. The de-emphasis of alcoholism in these programs in the mid 70s actually reinforced this. As a result of labeling theory and an attempt to shake off the Skid Row image, the NCA was saying to itself as early as the late 60s that the surest way to have your program fail was to have your supervisors look for alcoholics. The NCA pursued and achieved the compromise, based on its own industrial consulting experience, that under the broad umbrella of employee assistance, there must be a clearly identifiable alcoholism component.

B. Applicability of Peer Intervention Model to Past Policy

A peer intervention model certainly has the capacity to reflect and cultivate knowledge and values emerging from the alcoholism and self-help movements. The fellowship of Alcoholics Anonymous is basically a 12-step program. It is actually the twelfth step which calls for carrying a message of hope to the suffering alcoholic. In discussing that step, AA alludes to the tension often reflected in the alcoholic's life between domination and dependence. The alcoholic profoundly affects those around him and may try to rule others

or insist that they protect him in service of his addiction. Recovery comes to some extent in seeing the right relationships in life, the brotherhood and partnership with those around. It ultimately involves embracing a life of service and being able to give with no strings attached. The fellowship is for problem people who have found their way up and out and who wish to share their knowledge with those who can use it. It is an action program. "Understanding is the key to right principles and attitudes and right action is the key to good living."⁴ It is in reaching out to others that one progresses in one's own recovery. As Bill said: "Ask Him in your morning meditation what you can do each day for the man who is still sick. The answer will come to you, if your own house is in order."⁵

Vaillant's major work on alcoholism speaks of four essential ingredients in a natural healing process which brings social stability to the alcoholic's life. They are:

1. Substitute dependency
2. External reminders
3. Increased sources of unambivalently offered social support
4. Source of inspiration hope, enhanced self-esteem.⁶

⁴Alcoholics Anonymous World Services, Twelve Steps and Twelve Traditions, p. 125.

⁵Alcoholics Anonymous World Services, As Bill Sees It (Selected Writings of AA's Co-Founder), p. 331.

⁶George Vaillant, The Natural History of Alcoholism (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 315.

Vaillant suggests that Alcoholics Anonymous, or any reasonable facsimile, appears to be the most effective means of bringing all four factors to bear. Of these four factors, the second might be pivotable. One criticism of occupational programs, which Vaillant mentions, is their frequent lack of provision for extensive and long-term follow-up. Vaillant wonders whether the extraordinary recovery figures employee assistance programs report would hold up substantially beyond their usual six-month follow-up. A considered advantage of an occupational peer committee is its possibility of being a major, visible and pervasive reminder in an industry or profession that people do have problems and that they can and do get help. Peers could also serve as the transmission belt through which all four of the above factors ultimately get addressed, beyond and after professional intervention and treatment.

C. Self-Help Theory and the Peer Model

While the reliance on peers in occupational programs connects well with the values of the Alcoholism Movement and the principles of Alcoholics Anonymous, it fits into a broader Self-Help perspective as well. Spiegel in his recent synthesis of Self-Help literature speaks of the notion of empowering. At the base of the Self-Help movement is the confidence and implicit demand that the individual can do something for himself. Spiegel sees in Self-Help a distinction between experiential and professional knowledge, which ultimately must complement and enrich each other. He extracts six points

from his review, all of which have some bearing on an occupational peer training project. They are:

1. Self-Help involves mutual support, as well as political activism.
2. Coping, as well as social advocacy, are called for.
3. There is the recognition that converting others is a powerful way of persuading self.
4. New social networks are needed to support new behavior.
5. Submission to a higher power counters grandiosity and false sense of control the addicted feel they have over their addiction.
6. There is a natural growth⁷ and evolution from penitent to teacher.

Surprise and disappointment are sometimes registered that while occupational programs have grown impressively in numbers, they tend to remain on the periphery of organizational life. They are not yet the dominant event in modern American management that some early pioneers in the field expected them to be. Perhaps one reason for this is that in explicating management's interest and payoff in such programs, less attention has been paid to gaining worker support by pointing out the advantages and protections such programs offer them.

Another factor contributing to marginal organizational status has to do with the staff-client ratio in occupational

⁷David Spiegel, "Self Help and Mutual Support Groups," in ed. by David Biegel and Arthur Naparstek, Community Support Systems and Mental Health (New York: Springer Publishing Co., 1982), p. 106-111.

programs. The overwhelming reality for work based programs, now and for the foreseeable future, is a small staff serving large working populations. Programs which do not forge imaginative linkages with the vast numbers of clients they serve may be forced into a cosmetic role, more stuck with what they cannot do than with what they can. Along these lines, the Newsomes may very well have articulated an appropriate role for EAP professional staff as the integrator and orchestrator of services rendered by professionals and by non-professionals.

D. Structure of Peer Based Interventions

For the actual anatomy of an intervention, utilizing peer concern and based on many of the insights emerging from the alcoholism movement and the disease concept, the training initiative will utilize a number of the principles of intervention developed by the Johnson Institute. The principles were also at the core of the Airline Pilot Training component. The intentions, though, are not to graft them on to the seaman participating in a peer committee, as a case finding and motivational strategy. Rather the purpose is to use them as a useful and important conceptualization to initiate dialogue. In the course of the dialogue the suitability and applicability of Johnson's work to the maritime industry will be discussed and necessary adjustments will be made.

Johnson's principles result from years of work with alcoholics and have been applied in family, community and

some industrial settings. Johnson defines an intervention as presenting reality (specific data) in a receivable form (with concern). Concern is the major motivating force, and factual data from both on and off the job are the substantive materials fueling the intervention. The goal of the intervention is to present reality to the troubled individual in a way he can accept, while simultaneously requesting that corrective action be taken. There are five distinct and essential principles of intervention:

1. The intervention must be by meaningful people to the person in question.
2. They must present specific, documented data.
3. They must consistently strike a theme and tone of concern.
4. They must offer alternatives and choice.
5. They must develop a follow-up plan.⁸

Johnson sees the intervention as a moment of reality for the chemically dependent person. Intervention is based on the acceptance and recognition of three factors. Chemical dependency is a progressive disease involving increasing physical, emotional and mental deterioration. It is chronic in nature, thus not cured but capable of arrestment. It is primary, at least from a practical viewpoint. It blocks the lasting effect of any other care, while the addiction itself is still active. While delusion and impaired judgment

⁸V. E. Johnson, I'll Quit Tomorrow (revised edition) (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1980), p. 48-61.

characterize the disease and lock dependent people into self-destructive patterns, Johnson believes that even the sickest are capable of accepting some useful portion of reality, if that reality is presented in forms they can receive.

E. Concern vs. Coercion

Finally, another important reason for emphasizing concern is a clinical one. In the end concern must take the place of coercion anyway. No one stays afraid forever, and daring returns. Fear is ultimately an unsatisfactory foundation. Unless there is psychosocial and spiritual progress in recovery, there is still a hurting person, although he may be dry. The peer community, fueled by concern, offers continuity between intervention and the sustaining of recovery. The peers are available to continue to support and assist after intervention and treatment. Since it can be assumed that many of the peers would themselves be recovering people (some of whom might actually have been helped by the industrial program), their own recoveries are a precious organizational commodity. While industrial programs must respect confidentiality, many people believe they serve their own recoveries best by sharing them with others. Troubled workers suffering from behavior-medical problems look at those who were once obviously ill and who have now recovered as hope to be clung to. The recovered demonstrate that one need not be locked into his present circumstance. While the peers would need to be trained not to cast everyone into their own recovery mold,

many of their recoveries are outstanding individual and organizational achievements, which belong to and can assist the whole occupational community.

F. Beyond Chemical Dependency

To this point this proposal has presented the concept of an occupational peer committee as capable of addressing a major goal and concern of past occupational programming. The previous section attempted to demonstrate that not only is there considerable conceptual justification for peer concern and intervention with regard to chemical dependency, but that such interventions are in clear continuity with the traditions and values of alcoholism and self-help movements. It was this very movement which played a key and dominant role in the development of occupational programs to begin with.

If the peer model holds promise in meeting the occupational program goal of identifying and assisting the chemically dependent and conserving the critical programmatic concern, what might it offer for problems other than chemical dependency, satisfying the call for program growth and development? Workers and work organizations are increasingly calling for occupational programs to address a whole spectrum of problems which interfere with work life and work performance. What does the peer model offer in terms of identification, outreach, and assistance mechanisms for this expanded assignment?

G. Network Theory as a Base for Wide Range Outreach

A number of notions from network theory are extremely

useful here as a foundation from which a peer committee could begin to build a structure for identifying and assisting with problems other than chemical dependency. The use of the term networking here is direct and elementary. Maguire's definition is both simple and suitable. "Networking is a purposeful process of linking three or more people together while establishing connections and chain reactions among them."⁹ For a network to be efficient and effective, according to Maguire, the networkers must analyze it. Reduced to its ultimate simplicity for Project purposes, the three major network points would be the Formal Helping Program, the peer conversant with both the occupation and the Formal Program and the worker in need of service.

Gottlieb, in particular, presents an expansive view of social support networks in the workplace. For Gottlieb, occupational groups are more congruent with work culture and able to offer less stigmatized forms of help. Gottlieb sees peers as natural helpers at work, who with human problems provide introductions, referrals and information building blocks for collective action to change stressful situations.¹⁰

In discussing his social support networks, Gottlieb points out that this initiative is not an attempt to create pathology detectives, but to make people more available to others who

⁹ Lambert Maguire, Understanding Social Networks (Sage Publications, 1983), p. 25.

¹⁰ Benjamin Gottlieb, "Social Support in the Workplace," Community Support Systems and Mental Health, edited by D. Biegel and A. Naperstek (New York: Springer, 1982).

seem to be slipping or to co-workers who approach them. He develops the notion of informal reconnaissance directed toward finding a select group of people who can serve as more influential points of mediation between help seekers and professional helpers, people who are opinion leaders in the lay referral network.¹¹

As EAPs have often been presented and marketed to industry on the basis of promising cost-effective contributions, Gottlieb alludes to the cost saving in creating a social climate that fosters expression of social support. Organizational policies which isolate people and reinforce marginal strategies are ultimately costly and must be changed.

Lewis offers a number of notions which can propel the concept of peer networks or committees forward. He distinguishes between the formal and informal system and discusses the promotion of shared authority through trust in the motivation of others. He offers a number of useful counterpoints which could help expand the value and theory base of an industrial program. Some of these are the promotion of shared over individual experience and the stressing of rights in the formal structure and fraternity in the informal. The previous section focused on intervention which attends necessarily to dysfunction, but what of a program element which focuses on strengths? If organizational and program policy do not promote opportunities to develop collective concern for the

¹¹Ibid., p. 51.

common good, they run the risk of perpetuating isolation and self-oriented behavior.

Warren sees the quest for, loss of and need to seek community as one of the most pervasive themes of modern life. Along these lines, he suggests that an index of a community's, or organization's, health may be the number of informed referral agents within it. Most people self-refer for help, 90% in his estimation, after talking with a natural helper. Natural helpers either block or facilitate the pathway to the professional. For Warren, being entwined in a helping network is a way to reaffirm a sense of belonging and a way to avoid anomie, the disease of urban and work life.

As self-help concepts were used to form the base of understanding and motivation for peer interventions, network theory provides a framework for the peer committee to take up considerations beyond chemical dependency. The goal here is to facilitate each peer committee member's becoming a knowledgeable and effective information and referral agent. It was mentioned earlier that the second wave in the development of occupational programs was an attempt to build program capabilities around a whole range of human problems for which workers could be expected to self-refer. Program development cannot only be nominal. There need to be plans and strategies operationalizing this goal. A program has to demonstrate its competence and capability to an occupational community in taking on expanded responsibilities. There is also a critical need to explore whether a program is marching in tune with the

actual needs of workers and their work organization. For this, a program must be engaged in an ongoing dialogue with those it serves.

Network theory guides both the instruction and dialogue, which will take place, in this area. It provides a framework for the peers' appreciating the importance of natural helping networks in an occupational community. It offers structure to inform the notion of how natural help is exchanged in the seeking, receiving and offering of help. It sets the stage for a professional program and committee of peers to discuss the appropriate roles for professional and natural helpers in a work organization. There needs to be room in this dialogue to discuss in what areas the professional program has demonstrated competence and in which the peers might be comfortable and enthusiastic information and referral agents. Discussion must also come to touch on areas of need the peer committee feels the program is not addressing. Mechanisms should be developed to assess what stage of organizational involvement may be needed in taking up an unmet need. Is it simply a communication problem, in which the professional program is not effectively demonstrating its capacities or encouraging help seeking? Is it, in fact, an area in which the program needs in-service training to increase competence? Might it be a problem which transcends the worker and the Assistance Program and which must be redressed on a larger organizational level?

Network theory is heavily relied on for the second

component in the peer committee training initiative, considerations beyond chemical dependency. Both Gottlieb and Warren provide useful frameworks for analyzing help giving and help receiving from a social network perspective. Their analysis will be incorporated into the Peer Training and Consultation Initiative. Many of their notions will provide points for discussion, setting the tone for and motivating the dialogue between the professional and natural helpers. Network concepts hold the promise of forging a partnership between the two helping entities, which is itself the goal of this initiative.

Finally, Mitchell and Hurley point out, "an important area for future research is how various social settings influence the development of helping networks and supportive transactions."¹² It may be most useful to see how the unique occupational environment of this study, American Merchant Seamen, influences the depth, character and quality of help exchanges.

H. Authenticity as a Work Based Mechanism

The third point emerging from our review and survey of occupational program literature involves the construction of industrial programs around authentic work based mechanisms. Trice and Roman insist this is at the heart of their model and the reason for the success of the constructive confrontation

¹²Roger Mitchell and Daniel Hurley, "Collaborating with Natural Helping Networks," Social Networks and Social Support, edited by Benjamin Gottlieb (Sage Publications, 1981), p. 295.

model. Supervision and accountability are essential to work and letting these elements run an informed, but natural, course is what led to a major breakthrough in assisting the alcohol- or drug-dependent worker. The question arises as to whether peer interventions and/or natural and informed helping networks are as authentically work based and productive. Can peers, documenting behavior about which they are concerned, be as effective in motivating help seeking as supervisors, documenting impairment clearly tied to escalating coercion? Are natural helping networks a real and serious enough phenomenon in an occupational community for the formal program to seek links and partnership with them in its extended responsibilities in service delivery? In large measure, this is what this Project is attempting to elucidate. However, certain theoretical and value assertions offer tentative assurance and initial support that this undertaking is both authentically work based and potentially productive. Managerial and social work literature provide three relevant points.

I. The Peer Model and Organizational-Managerial Theory

Organizational and management theories have not addressed the employee assistance field per se to this point in time, but some interesting associations and parallels can be drawn. Certainly the emphasis on the supervisor, constructive confrontation and job impairment fits well into the bureaucratic-hierarchical conception of organizational structure. As has been mentioned, that is both its strength and its weakness.

It fits neatly and works well in organizations which are structured as such. On the other hand, research has demonstrated that application is uneven; the lower the worker in the line the better his chance of being confronted. Still another liability is that not all job environments have either tight or consistent supervision. However, there is clearly a comfortable administrative fit between the supervisory model and the most common view about how organizations function, assign and delegate tasks, and how they hold their workers accountable.

The peer model would seem to fit better with some less traditional notions of organizational theory. It is much closer to the thoughts, concerns and findings of organizational theorists like Argaris, McGregor (Theory Y) and Ouchi and Jaeger (Theory Z). The peer model assumes workers themselves are capable of assuming responsibility for determining what behavior on the part of co-workers elicits personal concern, what behavior conflicts with organizational and occupational goals and what behavior calls for intervention or outreach intervention. Theory Y postulates a management which has confidence in human capacities and which itself is directed more towards its own objective than to employee control. The peer model would seem to fit better into these types of organizational philosophy.

J. Peer Model and Situational Concerns

To date most occupational programs have addressed the needs, problems and impairments of workers, while paying

little attention to entire work organizations. The need for industrial programs to attend to the work organization and to clearly differentiate between client and organizational need has been discussed by Akabas, Kurzman and others. The peer model helps mitigate some of these difficulties because the peers will in large measure set the tone of their work and create their role in the occupational program. Certainly they will be taking a careful look at their organization or occupation to determine what are its human service needs. Such an examination will have implications not just for present service needs, but will also suggest areas where preventive strategies might be devised. The peer model presents an opportunity for a whole organization to look at what problems workers are having, how to identify workers with such problems and offer assistance, and how to educate those not yet affected to personal and organizational adjustments which might prevent such problems from occurring. In short, it would seem to provide a clear blend of cause and function.

K. Peer Intervention and Networks Reflected
in Seminal Concepts of Reynolds

To some extent networking and peer intervention was recognized in the early work of Bertha Reynolds, who noted that workers had conduct held in bounds by informal rules known by almost everyone about what was acceptable and unacceptable. In reflecting on her experience at the National Maritime Union, it was her feeling that the organization and

the social worker should work together in identifying unacceptable behavior which threatened both the individual and the organization. Interestingly enough, Reynolds illustrated this point in a discussion of the disease of alcoholism.

Reynolds "came to respect greatly the way Union members regarded prevention of excessive drinking as concomitant with securing for themselves better conditions ashore as well as at sea."¹³ Work organizations have a collective consciousness. Reynolds saw "the maintenance of self-respect and responsibility being of the highest value in strengthening morale in the whole group and that, in turn, was of greatest assistance to weaker members." In short, Reynolds felt that "what seamen did for each other was beyond calculation." She concluded that social work could not, in this work setting, isolate individuals from their own group, which imposed its own standards and correctives for many human problems.

The theory and value base of social work which Reynolds put forward would also seem to support the notion of natural, occupational helping networks. For Reynolds, social work went from an authoritarian, moralistic orientation to a scientific one when it began to recognize individual competence. Reynolds suggests that social work made a major advance when it came to appreciate that some poor people have always acted with extraordinary intelligence toward their own situation and toward their neighbors. The same is certainly

¹³Bertha Reynolds, Social Work and Social Living (Washington, D. C.: NASW Classics, 1951), p. 89.

true for workers. Mutual support and help is part of the very fabric of work life itself. The Newsomes suggest that Unions are actually a form of Self-Help. Reynolds believed that social work must contribute to and not hinder what people can do for themselves in their social world. An industrial social work program's attempt to cultivate, establish and inform natural helping networks aims at engaging that very value.

CHAPTER III

The National Maritime Union as Project Setting and Its Self-Help and Networking Experience

Introduction: Three Programmatic Concerns and the NMU

In this chapter an attempt is made to describe how the three programmatic needs identified in the literature survey and in the policy and administrative review are reflected in the National Maritime Union. It is in this setting that this study will begin to explore the critical issues in the early implementation of this program initiative. Why the NMU is a particularly appropriate and favorable environment for this Project becomes clear as the chapter progresses. Every industrial program, no matter what the setting, must pay careful attention to the history, traditions and symbols of the work context and the occupational group. In this regard it becomes more evident that not only are merchant seamen suitable candidates for this Project, but much of their life and work already suggests it.

There are three sections to this chapter. The first deals with the overall organizational context, while the second focuses more specifically on the formal helping program (Personal Service Unit) and its client population. The third section describes and alludes to two appendix items, from the program's past, documenting the major service needs around chemical dependency and the extent of requests for help in other areas.

A. The Organizational Context

Perhaps in no occupation has the journey for justice and dignity been so long and hard as it has been for merchant seamen. From the earliest days to the mid 30s, there was little change in the way seamen secured their jobs. Raskin points out that seamen might be picked off the docks by an officer or company employment agent or might ship through government-sponsored hiring halls. The result was always the same, though, the seamen had to pay somebody. While this became unlawful in 1915, it was still widely practiced. The law could not get a seaman a job.

If a seaman was picked from a crowd, he was expected to pay the officer doing the picking. If he shipped through a company agent, the seaman would have to be a paying member of the agent's network of bars, brothels, flophouses, and supply stores. The seaman knew that he was overcharged and robbed, but that he had better be a patron if he wanted a job. Even at the government halls, Raskin reports clerks with their hands out. Finally, there were doctors to be paid, to pass you as fit for duty.

Raskin points out, though, that much more important than the graft was the system of control this arrangement provided the shipowners. Not only could troublemakers resisting this system be gotten rid of, but also shipowners could preserve and cultivate traditional divisions among seamen. Most frequently these divisions were between black and white crews. What was argued as necessary for harmony aboard ship was a

scheme of segregated crews or departments competing with each other for jobs and set against each other to keep wages low.

A quote from an NMU retiree, who took part in the 1981 Artist and Elders Project, gives a good sense of the seaman's growing realization of and intolerance with this system of exploitation.

Bill Gavin: It was common practice in those days for the owners to use anything whatever to divide the crews and separate them. It worked very well. Until the case of the coal boats in Norfolk. The coal boats, sailing ships, used to hire a black crew and run up to New England delivering coal along the route. The conditions were so bad on there that the crew would complain and organize among themselves. The owners would fire them all and hire a white crew.

Finally one crew would be coming off and the other would be going on and they would sit down together and start talking it over. They said, "The hell with this. This is no good. Neither one of us is getting anything out of it. So we'll get together, black and white, and we'll make a living out of this. We'll get paid for what we do."

This was the atmosphere of the organizing of the union.¹

After a number of unsuccessful protests and strikes by seamen in the early and mid 30s, which only led to beatings, arrests, and firings, a major breakthrough came in the spring of 1936. A crew under the leadership of Joe Curran, instead of walking out, as in previous job actions, actually conducted a strike aboard the vessel. Reaction was swift and severe with government, industry and press demanding the Curran and

¹ Artists and Elders Project Book, Lives at Sea: Stories of Retired Seamen, edited by Dale Worsley (New York: Teachers and Writers Collaborative, 1981), p. 15.

the crew be charged as mutineers. Curran and the crew held on, though. They did not walk off, allowing the already assembled replacement crew to take over, nor did they allow the ship to sail.

The stalemate lasted for three days, with pressure mounting and a violent collision seemingly inevitable. Curran would admit many years later that he was only looking anxiously for an acceptable way out. Such a compromise came in an extraordinary and unexpected telephone conversation with the Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins. In the course of their conversation Raskin reports that Curran and Perkins exchanged promises. They agreed that he would allow the ship to sail and that she would see to it that meaningful negotiations between company and crew would take place at the completion of the voyage. She also pledged her best effort to see to it that the crew would not be intimidated, coerced or persecuted when they got back. Perkins kept her promise. When Commerce Secretary Roper insisted that the Attorney General bring charges of mutiny against Curran, she convinced the President to overrule him, and no charges were ever brought. Obviously, the NMU's positive association with social work has long and deep roots.

Although there were to be many peaks and valleys over the next two years, Curran's action, and the national attention it won for seamen's grievances, ultimately led to the establishment of the National Maritime Union. The new Union set goals for itself which would involve a long and bitter

struggle. They were:

- To organize all seamen without regard to race, color or creed.
- To level the barriers that divided seamen geographically, by craft, by type of vessel they sailed.
- To raise seamen to first class citizenship as workers and members of the community.
- To maintain the firm democratic framework which had been built into the constitution by which membership control of election of officers² and policies of the union would be assured.²

The progress the National Maritime Union made in raising seamen to full citizenship is among the most dramatic in the American Labor Movement. Through their Union, seamen rapidly and substantially improved their wages, working conditions and began to lay the groundwork for a comprehensive and extensive benefit structure. Progress was already evident some six years after the founding of the union, when Bertha Reynolds began her four-year tenure at the NMU in 1943. Reynolds noted the Union's achievement of establishing and maintaining a democratic organization, making it possible for a seaman for the first time to support himself and a family.

Reynolds alludes to the NMU early in its history seeking a partnership between professional and rank and file capacities. By 1943 this was already true with the Union's newspaper, the Pilot, and in its upgrading school, involving a professional journalist and educator. It was soon to be true in the joint

²Bernard Raskin, On a True Course (New York: National Maritime Union AFL-CIO, 1967), p. 41.

project between the NMU and United Seamen's Service, which would involve professional social workers and union leadership.

The work of Bertha Reynolds is not only seminal to industrial social work but is a landmark in the history of the entire profession. For purposes of this review three points are stressed from Reynolds' NMU experience.

First, Reynolds and her social work colleagues valued and appreciated the achievements of the union, whose members they were about to serve. They saw their own efforts as a special and important contribution to what a union could do. They were also excited at the prospect of what they could do with this new opportunity to be "closer to people."

Second, the relationship between the union and social work was built on a respect for each other's competencies and concerns. Reynolds describes a dual directorship of the newly formed Personal Service Unit, in which responsibilities of the union official and social work supervisors were clearly outlined, as was their accountability to each other and their organizational and agency sponsors.

Third, Reynolds speaks of the ownership of the program resting with the members themselves. It was a new and stimulating experience for clients and Board of Directors to be one and the same.

In the 40s it was the trauma of the War and the enormous disruption it caused in the lives of seamen which had the NMU turn to social work as an ally in serving its members. Almost

30 years later the union had two growing concerns, about which it felt social work could once again deliver and help plan effective service. First, there was the realization that the depression and erosion of the maritime industry had reached such dimensions that the union's own resources alone were not sufficient to meet the needs of its members. A more efficient and effective system of connecting seamen with entitlements and community based services was clearly needed. Periodic economic recessions and the runaway flag situation, which left a steady decline in jobs, made it imperative that seamen have recourse to protection in increasing periods of vulnerability. Often those most in need were seamen at unskilled or entry ratings in the industry, or those with a behavioral or medical impairment which was affecting their ability to work. This situation was aggravated by the increasing automation of the industry and the resulting demand for higher and more sophisticated skills.

A second union concern centered around the problem of alcoholism. Although the NMU resisted and resented the stereotype of the drunken sailor, it also clearly recognized and accepted that chemical dependency was a problem for many seamen. The union's attempt to address this problem took place in the midst of increasingly positive reports from a number of industries of successful use of work based mechanisms in assisting workers who abused or who were dependent on alcohol. Equally important was the informal network of recovered seamen who kept approaching union officials about a

formal program to serve seamen with a drinking problem. The sense that professional knowledge should be complemented by occupational and experiential knowledge was an early premise of program conceptualization in this area and has remained so without.

The Personal Service Unit, which was set up in the mid 70s, bore some striking similarities to its earlier counterpart. There was the element of co-leadership. The PSU Director and a Chief Operational Consultant from the union related to each other as the channel through which respective communication flowed. Initially, the PSU Director role was filled by a faculty supervisor of a student unit from the Hunter College School of Social Work, but in the Program's fourth year a full-time social worker was employed in that position. The sense that professional knowledge and occupational/experiential knowledge were both essential program entities and that they could enlighten and enrich each other has guided the Program from the start and is reflected in its staffing. In full-time staff there is a rough parity between professional social workers and seamen with specific training and background in their area of responsibility.

The present PSU has now been in operation two and one-half times longer than that program supervised by Reynolds in the War years. It was fortunate to evolve at a further stage in the development of trade unions, when they had achieved stable welfare plan structures into which needed benefits could be incorporated. The Personal Service Unit is still

propelled by a Reynolds value and knowledge base in many ways. This project which relies heavily on network and self-help theory is actually attempting to activate the central premise of Bertha Reynolds that social work must get closer to people. Through Peer Committee Training the Personal Service Unit will reach beyond the confines of its office into hiring halls, vessels, the meetings and the conversations of seamen.

In this brief resume of the NMU and social work, it could be said that networking and self-help are persistent themes. The union itself was born out of self-help and networking concepts as seamen began instilling confidence in each other that the goals of the long struggle for justice and dignity were achievable. On the two occasions when the NMU sought to ally itself with professional social workers, it did so with the clear understanding that the helping and caring traditions of seamen for each other should be coupled with needed professional helpers as a discrete and respected program entity.

In a membership organization a program wins increasing organizational sanction in direct proportion to the program's importance in the member's life. Personal Service Unit exists because seamen have networked with each other about the value and significance of its service. Chemical dependency services at the NMU were initiated with the assistance of self-help groups, which were a major advocate for professional services and which perceived their groups more as partners with than rivals to a professional program. PSU

has in turn helped obtain sanction for self-help groups which meet regularly in the NMU under its organizational sponsorship.

This Project carries Reynolds' prime notion of moving closer to clients a step further. It explores whether an industrial social work program can offer some theoretical and practical tools to more fully activate and actualize an already vigorous tradition of natural helping and whether from this training and dialogue a fuller partnership can develop with more clearly defined natural and professional helper roles.

The comradery of seamen is supported by an occupation that places them in each other's care and company for long periods of time. It is an occupation which is often dangerous, and seamen's lives are literally in each other's hands. Work and leisure are shared together in faraway places. To be called a good shipmate is the highest compliment and acknowledgment of respect these men exchange with each other. When in the 30s this relationship was made more reflective, disciplined and purposeful, a union was built. This Project aims at improving the natural helping capacities and interests of this group with principles which can more fully operationalize them. It is believed that this tradition of helping is an authentic and significant reality of work life in this occupation and probably in others. It also seems that these helping traditions recommend themselves highly for engagement by social work or any other profession alert

enough to appreciate them and skilled enough to cultivate them.

B. The Personal Service Unit and NMU Seamen

Programs are, of course, an abstraction. They are abstracted from client needs and strengths and in occupational programs must be carefully attuned to the subculture of the work organization they serve. To this point, the Project has concerned itself with documenting and outlining the needs a peer intervention and networking model must address. It has attempted to provide such need documentation within the general framework of occupational program development, as well as with the specific application of these principles to a program for NMU member merchant seamen. An assessment of strengths, though, must follow an assessment of needs for a program not to be extinguished by its own discoveries.

In large measure the peer model emerges and recommends itself out of the strengths and assets of NMU seamen and their organization. Sound program planning demands that abstractions be based on real strengths. To proceed with confidence and purpose there must be some indication that this is not a forced marriage between a rather utopian concept and an idealized notion of an occupation. Nor does the limited and productive application of this concept elsewhere (the airline industry) assure in any way its success in a totally unique and different environment.

To find support for the viability of this Project the professional program looks at observations, intuitions,

impressions emerging from practice with the population it serves. What is unique and special about merchant seamen that makes this model a natural for the natural helpers the Project aims at identifying and engaging? What in the chemistry seems right? What makes the planner believe he has a good fit? Beyond conceptual clarity and strength, what leads to confidence in applying of this model to this specific occupation?

To begin with, merchant seamen are both a functional and geographic community. For months at a time aboard vessels they spend both work and leisure time together. The vessel is where they live and where they work. The three departments aboard ship live in absolute interdependence. The Deck Department charts and maintains a safe and true course. The Engine Department maintains and manages the power necessary for the voyage's progress. While these departments are concerned with the safety of the ship, its cargo and its crew, the Steward Department is concerned with needs of the crew itself, for nourishment, for comfort, for medicine. Truly, the ship in mid-ocean is a metaphor for life itself. Few men and women work and live, day by day, in such a radical experience of human interdependence.

As a social worker serving this population for almost 10 years, the author is often struck by how a number of seamen seem psychologically, socially and spiritually aware of the special exigencies and intensity of their occupation. They are clearly cognizant of it and live comfortably in harmony

with it. Not all seamen respond to this most difficult and demanding work life with such grace. In fact, these men and women, who do, stand out. They are, though, recognized and appreciated by fellow seamen. This phenomenon is clearly not so subtle that only a professional eye can observe it. It is authentic and substantial within this occupation. This is the very group this Project is trying to engage in collaboration.

Members of this group are often officially recognized by their peers and elected to positions of department delegates or ship's chairmen aboard the vessel. Department and crew meetings are a time-honored, almost sacred, tradition among seamen. They are pertinent here for at least two reasons.

First, ships at sea are not democratic institutions. All authority, out of port, rests with the Captain and the supervisory staff to which he delegates. Seamen who have been among the prime victims of absolutism through the ages have always needed to find a mechanism to assure progress toward justice and self-protection. The union meetings aboard the vessel fulfill that function. At these meetings conditions aboard the vessel or administrative actions which violate the labor-management contract are discussed, as well as supervisory actions taken toward crew members. It is the responsibility of the ship's chairman and department delegate to report contract violations and inappropriate supervisory actions to the union official who must meet the ship at the completion of the voyage (earlier in an emergency), so that

the union can rectify and/or resist the violation or action. In a sense, then, seamen are always advocating for and counseling each other. It is an indispensable occupational function, written into the very constitution of the organization which represents them.

Second, while the vast majority of these meetings concern actions to be taken regarding the management or mismanagement of the ship, at times they are concerned with the NMU member himself. On such occasions meetings might take up reports and recommendations to the union regarding a seaman who acted inappropriately toward a fellow union brother or sister. Meetings might also be concerned with a crew member not having proper regard for safety of crew or vessel or being habitually unable to perform his/her duties. Clearly there are the possibilities for peer interventions with enormous leverage here. This Project attempts to assure that the offer of help is a major theme in such interventions.

The reliance, support and advocacy that seamen share with each other is not just limited to the vessel. Seamen have traditionally watched out for and rescued each other in remote and desolate corners of the world, since men first began to sail. In almost every port, whole industries have sprung up with the sole purpose of taking economic advantage of them. This, though, is changing as seamen are less inclined to patronize or desire services from dockside businesses and entrepreneurs and because automation and scheduling pressures have changed weeks in port to only hours.

Close relationships established aboard the ship will be carried over to shore, both abroad and at home. Seamen who have not married or do not live with relatives at times will share an apartment and will refer to their arrangements as a partnership. In the not too distant past it was quite common for seamen with living accommodations to take in homeless seamen. With their ranks diminished dramatically, with better economic conditions and with a majority now choosing marriage and family, this practice has all but disappeared. It is still common, though, for seamen to help each other out financially. Generosity and honor characterize this form of help. A man is never pressured to repay. It is not even expected, until he is able to find work. The expectation is that a responsible seaman will settle his accounts, when and if he can. The overwhelming majority do.

Perhaps the relating of a number of observations and incidents can best explicate how fertile an environment the NMU is for this Project. A retired seaman with major and serious health problems, who deferred all of his own medical care to travel 800 miles on a bus to be with a terminally ill former shipmate, is a poignant example of a helping and caring network. Less intense, but still illustrative of a helping network, is the electrician who reported always getting overtime pay aboard poor-paying vessels, because friends in the Deck Department in hosing down the ship would let a stream of water linger around the light fixtures. The group of retired and active seamen who meet every day at one of the

local watering holes is still another network. Many do not even drink now, but the need for and pleasure in each other's company is compelling. An even more dramatic indication is that the 200 or so active seamen who assemble in the Union's Hiring Hall each day are joined by an almost equal number of retired seamen, who still consider the Union and the company of other seamen a central point of life.

The Personal Service Unit, in large measure, has already been honored and privileged by acceptance into this network and has been stamped and shaped by this unique environment. Already many seamen will literally collar friends and acquaintances, who describe a problem to them, and march arm in arm into the PSU office with them. A retired seaman, badly injured when hit by a truck, did not feel he would or could get well until struggling into the Union and the Personal Service Unit to resume a regular routine of visits. An active seaman, concerned about the loneliness and isolation seamen were experiencing who were employed in the long and arduous Diego Garcia operation located in the middle of the Indian Ocean, made an intense personal effort to replicate alcoholism and social services through a United Seamen's Club in that remote corner of the world. A number of active seamen will bring in doughnuts, cakes, and other food provisions to go with the office coffee pot to help assure the PSU's effort will provide nourishment for empowerment on every level.

These cases and anecdotes are offered to illustrate that this Project has a fertile environment in which to take root.

They allude to significant occupational strengths. All this, though, must be balanced by the frank admission that the seaman peering over the horizon from his watch tower would certainly not see with his trained eyes a calm sea for his profession. Like many of the older smoke stack industries in America, the maritime industry is in trouble. Membership in the NMU is only one-third of the crest it achieved some 20 years ago. The erosion of the American Merchant Marine is such that only 4% of the cargo imported to and exported from the country is on U. S. flag vessels. The American Merchant Marine has slipped from a position of first in the world, in terms of ships of registry, to twelfth. Work life has changed dramatically as well. Opportunities for much leisure time have become opportunities for almost none. Days and weeks in port have become only hours. The automation of the industry requires increasingly sophisticated skills. From comparatively smaller ships with large crews, the industry today is characterized by floating goliaths with small crews. While seamen are generally paid well now, their ranks have been depleted. In fact, there are now more retired than active seamen associated with the NMU.

In this context, occupational change, and the need to respond to it, is a rather compelling need. It is a need the Union has been struggling with and trying to manage throughout the almost 50 years of its existence. The Union, in fact, has known little else than rough seas and has survived tidal waves of catastrophic dimensions in the past. In the late 60s and

early 70s with the collapse and elimination of the U. S. Flag Passenger Ship Operations, the NMU withstood an unthinkable blow. While the erosion this profession has suffered is startling and disheartening, the resiliency and internal strengths of seamen and their organization in the struggle to survive have been even more remarkable.

This story is far larger than this Project. However, the Project will certainly be influenced by it and hopefully, as it becomes ingrained in the organization, make some contributions to it. Since these strains must be dealt with on a daily basis by this occupation, organization and each seaman, and since they hold the potential for profoundly affecting the Project, some attempt must be made to assess and evaluate their influence. To address this need the Project Director will keep a log of his impressions on how the overall occupational environment may be touching, actually shaping, or even changing the Project. The Project Director will compile this log based on the following:

1. Project Participant Interviews
2. Weekly visits to Hiring Hall and discussions with seamen competing for jobs
3. Interview with Union officials covering vessels
4. Shared Staff Reflections on week's work around key happenings in industry, key themes emerging from Project and their possible relatedness and connections.

This log can then be used as a parallel log to the Project Diary described in the evaluation section. Through ongoing weekly comparisons of the two logs, the Project aims at

ascertaining how and if developments external to the Project are influencing the matters brought up in the interview phase and directions taken in the training-dialogue discussions.

The professional helping program administering this Project, then, takes absolutely seriously and values the natural helping environment and the strong natural helping capacities of the occupation it serves. It also takes seriously the broader occupational concerns and potential needs for help which can potentially influence or steer this Project. Finally, in its attempt to develop a truly democratic model, it also aims at being thoroughly occupational.

C. Relation of Peer Intervention and Networking to Service Needs

Since a substantial portion of the Peer Committee Training Initiative concerns itself with alcohol and chemical dependency, some justification for this concern may be called for. Appendix Item #1 presents the Program's earlier attempts at assessing and defining this need in connection with a continuing grant application under the auspices of the National Institute of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism.

To give indications of Personal Service Unit's present level of service delivery around requests for advocacy and clinical services, a statistical review from the Program's most recent Advisory Committee meeting is provided in Appendix Item #2.

Although peer intervention and peer networking are not mutually exclusive concepts, in the initial framework of this

study, intervention and self-help relate mostly to chemical dependency needs, while networking relates predominantly to the variety of needs described in Appendix #2. Obviously, the formal and informal helpers will see important nuances in this. Self-help concepts can move beyond chemical dependency and networking certainly can have something to do with getting help for the chemically dependent. The schema of concentric circles in the research section of this proposal helps clarify this. It also points out that both peer interventions and networking are grounded in the helping traditions of merchant seamen, which is the major point of this chapter and a theme of this proposal.

CHAPTER IV

The Training and Dialogue Initiative

Introduction: The Training and Dialogue Initiative and Four Programmatic Needs

The Peer Training and Consultation Initiative centers around the three programmatic needs which have now been identified as extant in the literature and history of occupational program development and as vital realities in the National Maritime Union, the setting in which this Project is to take place. In addition, it will concern itself with evaluation issues and strategy. The training and consultation initiative has both content and dialogue goals centered around the three programmatic needs and around the evaluation. Together the three needs and the evaluation strategy comprise the four-session training piece. The training will take place over two successive days, with each of the four sessions devoted to respective dialogue and content goals and their objectives. It is estimated that each session will involve approximately three hours of instruction and dialogue.

To address the first need, the training component relies on concepts from the alcoholism field and self-help literature. Chemical dependency is a significant problem in American work life, and the maritime industry is certainly no exception. In fact, as alluded to in the appendix, there are a number of factors in the industry which combine to make seamen at particularly high risk for coming to have difficulties in this

area. A substantial portion of this training initiative is an agenda that aims at removing obstacles and providing tools allowing peer concern to be a fully actualized factor motivating those who need help in this area to seek it.

In regard to the second need, the goal is not intervention but a purposeful exchanging of help and information. Obviously, all working people, including seamen, have problems other than chemical dependency, which either relate to work life and/or which may be responsive to work based mechanisms in the finding and obtaining of help. In this second phase of the training, concepts of networking and an analysis of the helping process predominate. An attempt will be made to explore a more thematic relationship between the formal helping mechanism, the NMU Personal Service Unit, and the informal helping mechanism, the ongoing traditions and practices of merchant seamen. How do the professional and peer capacities and competencies relate? Could there be a partnership by which they advance each other's effectiveness and facilitate each other's contribution to the occupation's health and well being? Network concepts are used to help the Peer Committee become more reflective on their natural and informal helping activity and to consider whether this activity can be performed in more purposeful fashion.

The third need is to demonstrate that this proposal is based on authentic and viable work based mechanisms. Are peer concern, intervention and helping networks real occupational phenomena for merchant seamen? If they are, can they

then be engaged and operationalized by a formal helping program to work, in partnership, toward a more comprehensive and extensive delivery of services to this particular occupational group with its unique and special traditions?

The fourth need is a presentation and discussion of the evaluation strategy. The dialogue and content goals and objectives are listed here, but their discussion is taken up in the next chapter.

Before the actual outline and description of the training sessions, as well as their goal and objectives, the issue of the actual selection of the Peer Committee members who will participate in the training and consultation initiative must be taken up.

A. Selection Issues

The selection of the individuals who will serve on the Peer Committee is itself an issue crucial to the program's outcome and is actually a critical strategy in the program's design. The peers, individually and collectively, must have characteristics which will help them gain confidence of their fellow workers, as well as the organizational/occupational sanction necessary to fulfill their role. Since there is in the maritime industry a tradition of helping marked by the need to be and have a good shipmate, selection must take special pains to select candidates who honor that tradition. The helping network obviously should be comprised of seamen who have distinguished themselves in their peers' eyes as good shipmates.

The same is true in regard to recovery. There are now a number of seamen who have entered into recovery from chemical dependency difficulties. Some of these recoveries are of remarkable quality and of long duration. Such recoveries are a precious occupational commodity. Obviously the presence of such individuals on the Peer Committee would win important sanction and recognition of its work. Their absence would raise questions of divisiveness between the formal program and informal helpers or suggest a serious oversight indicating a careless and shaky start to the program initiative. As mentioned earlier, the recovered in the maritime industry have been a major force advocating for the formal program. The formal program, in turn, has always worked closely with those who planted its organizational seeds.

Selection, then, must reach for the very best and most willing individuals capable of offering peer assistance. Poor selection would undermine the entire effort. Not only would the peers have difficulty in fulfilling their function, but also the occupation would reject such a group as an expression of its helping identity.

The Airline Pilots Association has developed some sound criteria for peer selection. While no individual could meet all these specifications, selection aims at finding individuals who best match this profile. The qualifications are:

1. capacity for being empathetic
2. ability to be non-judgmental about and sensitive to human needs

3. honest about limitations
4. knowledgeable about industry and occupation
5. non-controversial figure
6. leadership ability
7. capable of keeping confidence
8. respected by fellow workers
9. solid recovery in cases of chemical dependency.¹

The formal program, in initiating and carrying out a peer training effort, has a good idea where to look for and how to engage individuals who could begin to match some of this profile. First, from its own case records it can extract peers who have already made referrals. In developing a list of peers who have encouraged fellow workers to seek assistance in the industrial program, the program will recognize some effective collaborators who match favorably with some of the above specifications. Second, the industrial program works closely with certain self-help groups, particularly the fellowship of Alcoholics Anonymous. The NMU Personal Service Unit has facilitated the Union's hosting of three AA meetings per week in one of its Plan's meeting locations. While formal program activity and the activity of these self-help groups is certainly not convergent, this Project shares enough common ground with the concerns and philosophy of the fellowship for a number of its members to

¹E. Paul Hoover, "EAP Concepts as Applied to Non-Supervised Professional Work Groups," Proceedings: Ninth Annual ALMACA Meeting, Oct., 1980 (Washington, D. C.: ALMACA, 1981), p. 109.

be both strong and enthusiastic candidates. Third, in labor organizations and professional associations there are individuals who are turned to repeatedly to fill positions requiring leadership and special skill. Union delegates, committee chairpersons, etc., have already won the confidence and respect of their peers and many already work closely with and refer to the industrial program. Fourth, in most occupations there are individuals who steadily advance through educational, upgrading and retraining opportunities. Since an industrial social work program often collaborates and works closely with an organization's educational programs, a number of individuals who have participated in such programs and who meet some of the selection criteria come to mind. Finally, the industrial program has its own clients, whom it has assisted in recovery. For some, their progress has attained a maturity, allowing them to reach out credibly to others.

The next step is to match individuals from these five potential sources with the nine or so specification criteria. Once names are extracted, the individuals who touch the most points in both areas would seem to be the strongest candidates. Further refinement is necessary, though. There are issues of group composition in an exploratory study which are just as important as individual qualifications.

Once again, the experience of the airline pilots is helpful as an initial orienting focus. They suggest:

1. Diversity in age, experience and seniority
2. Diversity in requests for help; some chemically dependent, others not

3. Ability of group to work toward consensus,
cooperation, coordination²

In the maritime industry, there would need to be at least two further assurances:

4. Racial-ethnic breakdown approximate to
the membership organization
5. Diversity in departments and in levels
of skill aboard vessels.

B. Selection Instrument's Role in Composition of Peer Committee

The actual selection and screening of the Peer Committee members will be done through an interview questionnaire. The instrument is discussed and attached to the next chapter, which deals directly with the evaluation component of the Project. It is important to note, though, that evaluation pervades this study and follows the Project throughout every phase of its development. The overwhelming contribution of this Project centers around issues in its implementation, which are to be carefully documented and catalogued. In this light, the interview/selection process will also serve as a needs assessment, getting a sense of how the seamen interviewed feel about the needs the Project is targeting and the strategies the Project is putting forward to address those needs. This will be elaborated further in the next chapter, but it is important at this point to stress that evaluation is not envisioned as a before/after, training/result phenomenon. Instead, in this study with a formative focus,

²Ibid.

evaluation is much more imminent and proceeds with the study, step by step, carefully analyzing implementation. The study's principal value is in discovering what the peers pick up and feel they can act on and what they find alien or react to hesitantly. What are the harmonious and dissonant chords? What are the adjustments and accommodations the Project will have to make in the light of its dialogue and consultation with the Peer Committee?

The Project aims at selecting 30 active seamen, who would already be expected to be strong candidates from the sources mentioned earlier, to be interviewed through the selection and needs assessment instrument, which follows in the next chapter. From these the 12 candidates who score highest on the instrument, match the individual criteria and group composition needs and express willingness to take part in the training-consultation project will be selected to participate in the first group. Since this project, if findings warrant, is envisioned as becoming an ongoing and permanent program activity, those not participating initially would be expected to have later opportunities. Practical constraints will also enter in. The rather uncompromising schedule of merchant seamen, as to when they are available and when they are not, due to shipping opportunities or responsibilities, will also enter in. In this light, picking 12 strong candidates from 30, who for one reason or another are preferred, is an optimistic but possible goal.

As has been mentioned, the Project aims in the selection

process to pick 30 candidates who honor the helping traditions of this profession. There should be near unanimity that these are, in fact, seamen with recognized helping and caring capacities. It is seamen who have experiential knowledge in helping and being asked to help who have the most to contribute to this Project. As one looks for skill in professional helpers, a good doctor, a competent counselor, in natural and informal helping networks one looks for the respected, the informed and the interested.

To begin by looking for 30 strong candidates is an ambitious, but realistic, goal. Looking for more might begin to expand and dilute the selection criteria to the extent that the Project might lose sight of its own focus and of the strongest candidates. Looking for less might not leave a large or diversified enough group to undergo the training intervention.

It also needs to be pointed out that, while 12 seamen will take part in the actual training and consultation project, these 12 will be informed of and asked to deal with the issues, concerns and strategies raised by the 30 in the screening and needs assessment interview.

Finally, the need for the seaman to be one identified with strong helping or caring capacity does not mean he needs to agree with the industrial program or his peers on the extent of help and helping activities. A seaman who sees help from a different perspective or who can appreciate and verbalize an unmet need would be highly desirable for his

contribution to the Committee's discussion and work.

C. Training Sessions

As mentioned, the training initiative is built around the three needs of occupational program development discussed throughout this proposal. While these needs are interwoven in the reality of work life, they will each be analyzed, separately and in turn, in the first three of four planned training-consultation sessions. This is necessary for conceptual clarity. The fourth and final session of the training initiative will attempt to reintegrate these themes, as well as to familiarize and consult with the participants on the evaluation plan. The evaluation strategy which has already been implemented throughout the selection and training stages will be discussed, as well as the strategies to be followed in the succeeding stages.

The three needs are translated into the following
Training and Consultation Session topics:

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| Session I | The Chemically Dependent Seaman and His Shipmate's or Union Brother's Response |
| Session II | How and with What Seamen Help Each Other--Natural Helping Networks |
| Session III | The Helping Traditions Among Merchant Seamen |
| Session IV | Putting It All Together and Testing for a True Course |

D. Goals and Objectives

Below each session is listed in goal and objective schema.

Session I

Goal I: To understand the nature and extent of chemical dependency as a disease and a problem among seamen, which is most treatable through occupationally based mechanisms which lead to early intervention.

Objectives I:

1. To review the disease concept of alcoholism, with special focus on the loss of control.
2. To review alcohol and other addictions as a social problem with manifestations in family and work life.
3. To present available program data on the extent of this illness and problem in society and among seamen.
4. To present concepts from self-help theory, in general, and from Alcoholics Anonymous, in particular.
5. To relate self-help concepts to the Union experience and to the occupational alcoholism field.
6. To discuss the possibility of an occupational and peer based strategy for intervention based on concern over coercion.
7. To discuss and review Johnson's principles of intervention and their applicability to the NMU and work life realities of merchant seamen.

Session II

Goal II: To more deeply appreciate all involved in the asking for and giving of help and the occupational framework which can facilitate or impede this process.

Objectives II:

1. To help each participant connect with the difficulty of asking for help and the courage required to do so.

2. To review stages in process of asking for help.
3. To discuss the levels and extent of help which can be given.
4. To discuss natural helping networks as an index of an occupation's health.
5. To present the notion of partnership with the formal professional program. The Peer Committee as Information and Referral Agents.
6. To review formal program's capacities and current service delivery.
7. To present notion of peers uncovering unmet needs, as part of networking activity.
8. To discuss the importance of confidentiality as a critical ingredient in the Peer Committee's gaining trust and confidence of seamen.
9. To review frequently occurring symptoms of mental health service needs; e.g., anxiety, depression, conversion reactions and the need for more supportive interventions coupled with encouragement to contact PSU.

Session III

Goal III: To review the helping traditions among seamen with an eye on changes in the maritime industry and how change may have affected these traditions.

Objectives III:

1. To discuss the concept of the good shipmate.
2. To gain a fuller understanding of each participant's experience of comradery among seamen as myth and reality.
3. To discuss the role of formal and informal help. The possibility of cooperation vs. competition.
4. To discuss the pros and cons of being your brother's keeper.

5. To see what connections can be made with fraternalism, intervention and helping networks.
6. To assess the concern for shipmate plus concern for the job.

Session IV

Goal IV: To reveal and discuss the Project's evaluation plan, its suitability to identify and measure issues already raised and to uncover not yet identified issues and themes.

Objectives IV:

1. To discuss how the industrial program will go about extracting issues and themes from previous three sessions.
2. To discuss program strategies and alternatives to move the project past the initial implementing activity and to measure its progress in operationalizing its concepts.
3. To discuss strengths and weaknesses in the training-consultation initiative in whole and in part.
4. To appreciate the need for Personal Service to grow only on the foundation of sound program ideas based on meaningful occupational realities.

E. Problem Posing Focus and Goals of Dialogue

The major assumptions of this proposal center around the belief that self-help and networking concepts are already partially actualized and reflective realities in the lives of merchant seamen. To a large degree self-help and networking accurately describe the way seamen have given and received help for generations. No attempt, though, has been made to study and appreciate this process, to see if it can be practiced more reflectively and purposefully and to consider the

possibility of uniting the efforts of the informal helpers with the formal helping program.

Because seamen are adult learners with a rich life experience and because these concepts are certainly not alien to them, the training initiative will aim more at stimulating dialogue than at depositing content. In this light, the adult learning theory of Freire is helpful and his framework is adopted in posing problems for active dialogue and not in depositing facts for passive reception.

Each training session would begin by presenting the goal for that session in problem posing fashion. The respective sessions would then look as follows:

- Session I: Can and should seamen intervene in another seaman's drinking or drug problem?
- Session II: Can and should seamen go forward purposefully in constructing and participating in helping networks?
- Session III: Can and should networking and intervention be an authentic expression of this occupation's helping traditions?
- Session IV: How can and should these initiatives be evaluated for delivering help to seamen in need and as an accurate reflection of this occupation's helping traditions?

The can part of the problem posed has more to do with theory and knowledge, while the should relates to values and ethical concerns.

The content goals and objectives are still considered critical and essential. They represent the formal program's theory, knowledge and value base. They are, though, to be

communicated in dialogue through the problem posing format. This in no way underestimates their importance, because the content goals are envisioned as the building blocks in responding to the cans and shoulds of the dialogue. The ultimate goal of the training is that through an active and engaging dialogue, touching base with each of the content goals and objectives, the peers will come to appreciate that they can more purposefully, reflectively and effectively intervene and network and that doing so is well rooted in the traditions of their occupation.

Each training session, then, will have dialogue in the foreground and content in the background. The trainer will keep a careful eye. Initially, he will proceed inductively, drawing connections between issues raised in the dialogue and the content objectives from self-help and network theory. At times, he may need to frame some of the content objectives in the problem posing format to further stimulate the dialogue and to make sure that important points are included. Case vignettes illustrating various content objectives will be prepared to enrich and direct the problem posing schema.

As the group begins to gain an understanding of how each of the content objectives relates to the major themes of peer intervention, networking, helping traditions and evaluation, it will be asked to think about some principles or rules for implementing the project in that area. This is not a complicated or esoteric scheme. Self-help and networking have been practiced in the maritime industry for years.

The ability of the peers to arrive at principles and rules in response to each session will be the first measure indicating the extent to which the session took hold and met its goal and objectives. To articulate principles and rules is both a realistic and an attainable goal with this population. Seamen abide by a number of rules and regulations at various levels of union meetings. They carry a union constitution with them which governs their behavior toward each other and their organization. They live by a negotiated contract which lists in detail mutual responsibilities between employer and employee. Finally, there is the assumption that most seamen selected for the Peer Consultation Committee will be somewhat conversant with the content objectives and informed participants in the dialogue. As this is one feature of the evaluation, it is now time to turn full attention to the Project's evaluation plan.

CHAPTER V

Evaluation Strategy

Introduction: Four Components of Evaluation Plan

The evaluation plan of the NMU Peer Committee Project is conceived around four separate but interrelated components.

They are:

1. Industry Log
2. Project Log
3. Selection/Needs Assessment Interview Plan
4. Dialogue/Training Initiative Plan

The need and source of material for the Industry Log has already been discussed in Chapter III. The Project Log is discussed in the next chapter, with its contribution to Project evaluation. The two remaining components of the evaluation plan are discussed here, as conceived prior to Project implementation. All four components will be reported in more detail in Chapter VI, the Project's implementation and evaluation report. In Chapter VI there is considerable growth and enrichment in the Project's conception, stimulated by its own unfolding and implementation. There is also clarification and development in the conceptualization of the evaluation strategy, as the Project actually interacted with its participants. Finally, both Chapters V and VI contain sections on evaluation issues and strategies beyond dissertation and implementation purposes.

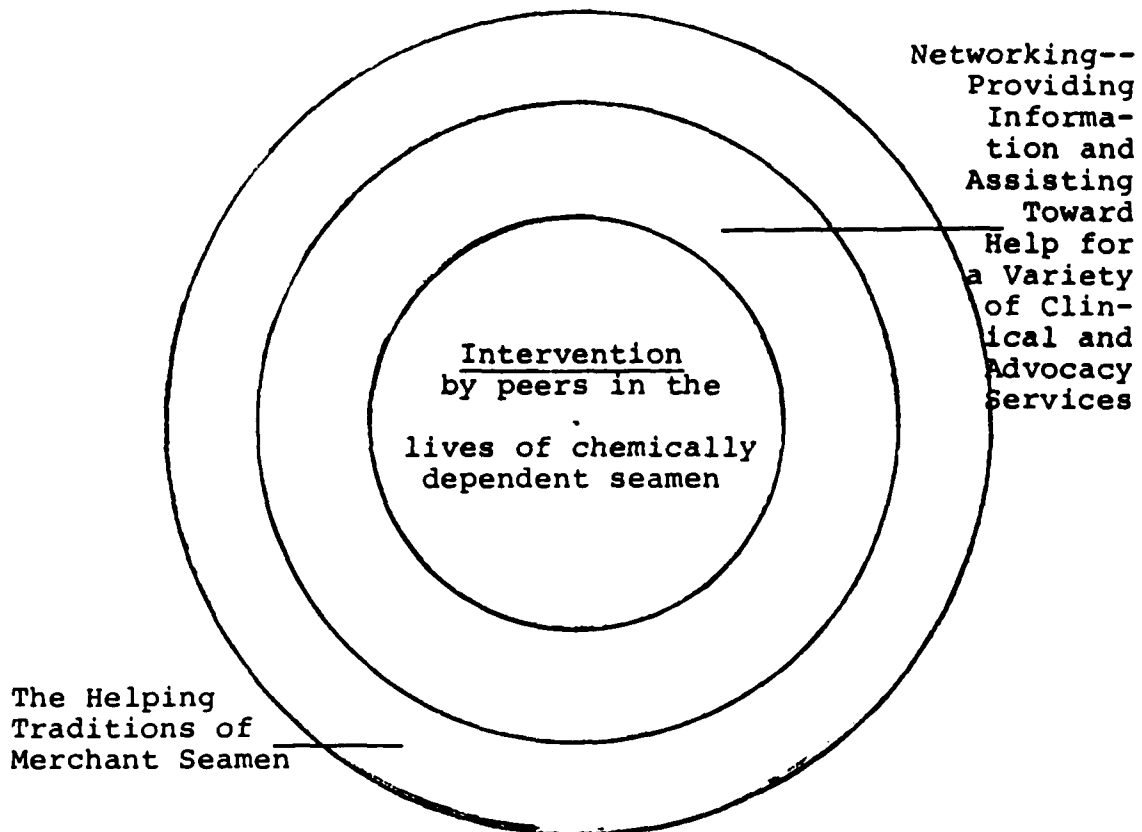
A. Selection, Screening, Needs Assessment

As mentioned often throughout the development of this Project, its major contribution lies in recognizing and exploring issues in its implementation. Therefore, evaluation is a pervasive and imminent concern, attended to from the very outset.

The selection and needs assessment instrument which can be found in the Appendix has a double purpose. It will not only help assure selection of suitable candidates, but will also serve as a needs assessment. As such, it will provide initial feedback as to whether the perceived needs and planning of the formal program matches the natural, informal helpers' perceptions as to unmet needs and credible responses to them.

The selection and needs assessment instrument is a questionnaire-interview, which is predominantly open ended. It consists of 20 question areas, distributed fairly evenly among the three programmatic concerns. Seven questions relate to chemical dependency and intervention. Seven relate to networking and providing information to stimulate further program utilization. Six relate to the helping traditions among merchant seamen and how intervention and networking fit into those traditions. The three areas, of course, frequently overlap and assignment of questions to one area over another can be arbitrary. This seems unavoidable, as these areas of concern are in some way always present in each other, as the following illustration helps make clear.

Convergence of Programmatic Needs



The highest score possible for each of the 20 questions is 5. Response to each question will be recorded by the interviewer, who will also assign a score value to each response on a separate tally sheet. Two staff members will assist the Project Director in this study. They will review the interview responses separately and also assign scores. Of these two staff assistants, one will be a social worker and the other a staff member who has been a seaman. The three assigned scores will be compared and substantial differences among the three scores will be explored.

The instrument will also be pretested with three to five seamen to ascertain whether it is capable of generating

appropriate responses and for the interviewer and assistants to gain familiarity and confidence with it. The assignment of a score value to each response will reflect the interviewer's and assistant staff's assessment of the depth of the respondent's understanding of and concern for the issue raised. All other factors being equal, the candidate with the highest score on average from the three raters would be the most favored. Factors already mentioned, such as balanced group composition and the availability of the seaman during the training-consultation initiative, will also enter in.

All the issues and themes raised in the interviews which relate to the three content and dialogue areas will be noted, recorded and discussed by the trainer and the two co-trainers. They will be presented again in the training sessions as problems identified and posed by the larger group in the Project's first phase of screening and assessment. In this way the input of the initial 30 will continue to serve as a support and challenge to the Peer Committee in its deliberations.

It may be that since the interview group is already so highly preselected for positively relating to Project goals and objectives, little screening or additional selection will actually occur or be called for. As such, the main function of the interview and questionnaire is to determine whether the needs targeted by the Project match those perceived by the participating seamen. In addition, is the convergence of perceived needs of the formal program and of the natural

helpers strong enough to support a dialogue/training initiative exploring the possibility of collaboration between the two interests? In turn, will the collaboration explored in the dialogue/training phase of the Project provide a sufficient foundation for the development and elaboration of a partnership between formal/professional and natural helpers?

B. Evaluation of Training/Dialogue Initiative

Throughout the training and dialogue initiative the trainer will be an observing participant. After each session he will describe his sense of the Peer Committee's response to each content goal and objective, as well as overall engagement around the dialogue goals. He will also lay out the major issues, themes, enthusiasms and hesitancies emanating from the Committee.

When this is completed the trainer will compare and contrast his notes, measures and reviews with those of his two co-trainers. As indicated earlier, the co-trainers will have been a seaman who is on the PSU staff and another staff social worker. They will observe the four training sessions, taking process notes as to all reoccurring themes and important issues. They will also be asked to provide session summaries. The Project Director will review their notes and summaries and discuss with them their observations of each session.

After having recorded his own observations and those of his co-trainers, the Project Director will go over the tape recordings of the four training-dialogue sessions to draw out the process involved in coming to these themes, what underlies

and supports them and what themes may have been missed initially.

The trainer will then compose a report from all these descriptions, containing the rules and principles the Peer Committee itself developed for carrying out interventions, for activating helping networks, for setting these concepts in seamen's own helping traditions and for evaluating this Project.

The whole direction and purpose of this Project is toward consultation and evaluation, and it is anticipated that feedback will be rapid. It will be fairly obvious within the training initiative whether the Project is generating interest and participation. Whether there is a dialogue or monologue will be an early indicator. Beyond that, the trainers will be looking to determine what seamen see in the content as a good occupational fit, in tune with their traditions, and what evokes hesitancy or resistance. In short, the evaluation attempts to highlight, report on, explore and document the increased understanding gained of each other by the formal and natural helpers in the dialogue. The ultimate test of this implementation study is whether that dialogue can generate a commitment to a working partnership.

C. Evaluation--Post Implementation

As indicated, the Peer Committee itself will have input into the ongoing evaluation strategy for this initiative, as it moves from project to program in its development. They will be asked about the content of future training sessions

and strategies for selection of candidates. Their suggestions on a meaningful and ongoing evaluation of this program initiative will form a significant part of the post-training evaluation. The Committee's ability to arrive at a meaningful evaluation is in some way itself an evaluative measure.

The formal program, though, will stand ready to advise, support and assist with interventions and networking. As the Project becomes operational, the formal program will need to know the issues, themes and problems the Peer Committee members encounter as they disperse. How do these concepts work outside the training rooms and in the Union Hiring Hall and aboard vessels at sea?

Along these lines the formal program will ask each Peer Committee member to contact PSU regularly to discuss their peer intervention and networking activity. Ongoing support services they need from the formal program would be discussed at that time. This could be material pertinent to their own role as helpers or it could be more general literature on program activity or capabilities which they want dispersed to all union members. The follow-up interviews would deal with many of the issues raised initially in the needs assessment. The responses now, though, would have more qualitative and reflective experience to draw on.

For purposes of this dissertation, the evaluation attempts to identify, explore and offer informed recommendations on the significant issues, themes and concerns raised in this Project through the first stage of its implementation,

the training and dialogue initiative in an assembled Peer Committee. As such, the study's contribution is in its attempt to thoroughly rethink and design occupational program concepts from the perspective of the worker served and to actually construct that design and test it through its first stage of implementation in a seemingly favorable environment. It is believed that from this alone an enormous amount of data will be generated for exploration and interpretation.

D. Evaluation Plan and Strategies as Project Becomes Discrete and Full Program Entity

The goal of the Project is an ever-increasing infusion of the Personal Service Unit into the lives and work of NMU merchant seamen. Beyond the implementation stage, with which this study is predominantly concerned, lies a rich and diverse field in which to test whether the Project is, in fact, able to take deep root and bear fruit within this occupation.

The initial plan is for the training and dialogue initiative to be repeated two times a year, thus adding 25 to 30 new Peer Committee members to the original group each year. Following such a strategy, it would be safe to assume, within a two- to three-year period, that every vessel which crews up out of the New York Hiring Hall would have at least one Peer Committee member aboard. If total vessel participation in this program initiative does not occur naturally, steps could be taken to achieve this objective more directly in the selection process.

A monitoring and evaluation system would then be set up

around the three programmatic needs and the program activity undertaken aboard each vessel to address them through Peer Committee members. Referrals to the Personal Service Unit around chemical dependency interventions from each vessel would be watched for. Requests for help around other human service needs originating from each vessel would be studied and evaluated along two lines. Is the full range of clinical and advocacy services available to NMU seamen through their Personal Service Unit being communicated adequately? Is there, in fact, a match or fit between what service PSU offers and what seamen perceive as their primary human service needs? Of course, progress in regard to the above can only be marked to the extent that each Peer Committee member is able to incorporate this initiative into the natural helping networks and mechanisms of the occupation and its organizational framework.

Along these lines a checklist will be developed as to how well this Project takes advantage of opportunities for incorporation into the natural helping mechanisms. In addition to noting whether the following actions were taken, the Peer Committee member will be asked to note reactions and responses of shipmates or union members to each item. The items include the following:

1. Is a report or update on PSU and this program initiative a part of crew and department meetings aboard the vessel? (Brief report on meeting content and discussion.)
2. Are there PSU literature and posters aboard the vessel?

3. Does a Peer Committee member see any shipmate as an especially good recruit for Committee membership?
4. What are types of requests for services or human service needs the Committee member is seeing aboard this vessel from the list of anticipated needs discussed in the Peer Training and Dialogue Initiative?
5. Are there unanticipated needs emerging?
6. Is it at times difficult to determine whether PSU or the Union itself should respond to this need and should there be a meeting to discuss this for clarification?

There will ultimately be other measures of the Project's organizational pervasiveness. These include reports on its progress at full Union membership meetings, coverage in the Union newspaper, extension to other ports and Union branches. A stronger measure of its effectiveness, though, will be in a natural organizational and industrial system of checks and balances. Supervisory and health mechanisms within the maritime industry will continue to detect and document human service needs in the very same areas with which this Project is concerned. They will do so autonomously and through procedures unique to their own authority and organization. The U. S. Coast Guard and the Captain, with his supervisory staff, will continue to monitor and direct the job performance of seamen aboard the vessel. At the same time, the NMU Medical Unit will continue its function of assessing the health needs of those very same seamen. All of the above refer seamen to the PSU when a job performance problem or health problem seems related to need for a concrete social service, ongoing counseling or chemical dependency care. As this program initiative

matures it can be compared and contrasted with these other mechanisms, in whole and in specific areas of human service need. Are the peer, managerial and health mechanisms identifying the same clients? Is one better than the others in specific problem areas? How do they compare as to quality, quantity and earliness of interventions? Of course, these questions can only be answered partially, because it cannot be assumed that each mechanism is operating at the same energy and intensity level. The PSU only has control of one mechanism and only partial control of that. Nevertheless, it should become much clearer with the backdrop of the supervisory and health mechanisms whether this program initiative is making a significant contribution to occupational programming. Beyond that, if the initiative seems to fall short of its goal, there should be some important indications or clues as to why.

Conclusion

There are two broad, pervasive realities in work life. The first is the call to a job and being held accountable for the performance of it. The second is what happens between the workers in a shared enterprise. Occupational programs, for the most part, have been built around the first, with little attention to the second. For many practical and compelling reasons, this is understandable, not the least of which is that EAPs needed to be marketed and sold to management as solving organizational problems and being cost-effective. There is an imbalance here, though, which severely diminishes

growth and development for this field. Just as management invests in its personnel, workers invest in their work and in each other. For a host of reasons listed throughout this Project, this imbalance must be addressed. This Project attempts to carefully think out, plan and initially implement such an effort. It does so, while paying close attention to the field's history and concerns. EAPs belong to work organizations, but they must also belong to workers, if they are to be truly occupational and entirely blended into the fabric of work life.

CHAPTER VI

Project Implementation and Evaluation

Introduction: Four Phases

As indicated, the implementation and evaluation plan of the Peer Committee Project called for four separate but interrelated components. In total, these four sections are meant to offer a fairly detailed account of issues, tensions and themes in implementation, as the Project unfolded in its organizational setting. The four sections are not arranged in strict chronological order, as three of the four evaluation components overlapped each other at any given time in the eight-month study period. The order of presentation, though, is meant to convey a movement from the more total and general organizational considerations, affecting the Project but external to it, to internal and Project-specific concerns. The four components are:

1. Industry Log
2. Project Log
3. Interview/Needs Assessment Phase Summaries
4. Group Training/Dialogue Phase Summaries

These are followed by a final section, discussing Project findings.

A. Industry and Project Logs: A Rationale

The research value of the Peer Intervention and Networking Project at the NMU lay in the Project's ability to accurately chart themes, issues and tensions in Program implementation. Much of that charting was planned for and took

place within the Project's own confines through reporting on and analyzing its two major phases, the interview/needs assessment and the training/dialogue initiative.

It soon became evident that this would be incomplete. Not only would it fail to tell the whole story by not recounting the critical adjustments the Project Director had to make, but it would also isolate the Project from its organizational/occupational context. It was this very context which consistently enriched and challenged the Project. Therefore, an evaluation plan which took readings both inside of and outside of the Project had to be put into play. The 1980s have brought profound changes to the maritime industry. How were these changes affecting seamen, in general, and Project participants, in particular?

In an attempt to address this issue, the Project Director kept two logs. The first reported on critical events in the industry, the ripples of which could certainly reach the Project and affect it. The second log focused more directly on the Project itself. It contained the Project Director's reflections on Project implementation over the eight-month period from the beginning of the interviews, through the training dialogue initiative, to a three-month period post initial implementation. In this log the Project Director noted implementation obstacles, adjustments, setbacks and advances. The log also reflected consistent attempts to measure the project and the organization for a good fit.

B. Industry Log

The Project Director's entries in the Industry Log came from a variety of sources. Most involved intent listening to seamen as they discussed the state of their industry. At least once a week, the Project Director would visit the Hiring Hall and observe the hourly job calls. Excitement, anticipation, success and disappointment were all there. The Project Director talked to seamen in the Hall, got the feel of it, and entered the observations of job call participants in the log. Articles in the Union newspaper, Union meetings, special events, organizational decisions, conversations in PSU's office and even listening to seamen talking to each other on elevators were all used for log entries. From the diverse sources, the material in the log reflected the extremely turbulent environment the Project was attempting to address.

Entry I: End of an Era--Seamen's Church Institute-- USPHS

In May of 1985, Seamen's Church Institute held an Open House at its new location and offices on lower Broadway, near the Battery. The event had overtones of both relief and sadness for a number of seamen who were close to the Institute. Relief came in that the Institute was surviving and would continue to provide educational, recreational, legal and social services. However, these services were somewhat peripheral to what had been the Institute's main function, that of providing living accommodations to seamen while they

were on the beach (in between voyages or competing for jobs in the Hiring Hall). These hotel services were to be discontinued.

The Open House was crowded, although only a handful of seamen came. They played pool in a small game room, while the rest of the guests examined the new headquarters, which consisted mostly of a large area of many partitioned offices.

Some in the crowd obviously were impressed with the new, smart-looking offices, but others could be seen shaking their heads, more in resignation than in anger. The Institute had done what it had to do. It was losing enormous amounts of money maintaining a relatively new building on high-priced real estate in the midst of a prolonged, worldwide shipping slump. Nevertheless, the diminished presence of this institution, associated with the Episcopal Church and older than the NMU, was one more fallen domino.

In 1981, merchant seamen saw the shutdown of their primary health care system. The United States Public Health Service Hospital and Clinic System, of which U. S. merchant seamen were prime beneficiaries, was targeted for elimination in the Federal budget cuts. Almost no transitional provisions were made, and long-standing, personal health care relationships were disrupted and shattered. The merchant seamen's entitlement to Public Health had existed since 1787. The Union and industry's attempt to fill the huge vacuum left by the Public Health System closing is itself the subject of a later entry. The magnitude of this loss in an already

depressed industry was catastrophic.

Seamen have seen in the last 10 years ships tied up, companies operating bare bone, new larger ships with small crews replacing the smaller ships with large crews, and even the modifying and relocation of the only seafarer's retirement home from Staten Island, New York, to Sea Level, North Carolina (Sailor's Snug Harbor). The question always lurking in the background is, what will be left? What continuity, if any, will the surviving and newly emerging industry have with the rich traditions and institutions of the past?

Entry II: A Maritime Disaster

Occasionally, there are stark reminders that sailing is still a dangerous occupation. In late May came word of an out-of-court settlement regarding one of the worst tragedies in recent NMU memory. The Marine Electric, a coal ship, went down in stormy waters, when the sea apparently crushed hatch covers and sections of the main deck. Only three of 34 crew members survived. Most died of hypothermia in the icy February waters, 30 miles off the coast of Maryland.

News of the settlement, calling for each family of the deceased seamen to receive about \$350,000, brought back recollections of the 1983 disaster. Many seamen coming into Personal Service at that time knew seamen on the vessel. In talking with them, it was as if a member of their family had died. Seamen in the Upgrading School and Hiring Hall organized a moving and dignified service in tribute to those who had been lost.

In the service, some seamen called out the name or names of some friend on the vessel and mentioned an admired characteristic the man had. Others spoke of a "calling" to the sea, as a loved vocation only special men answered. Other men held themselves back, appearing aloof. In talking to them, though, they were trying to contain and hold down anger and frustration. They felt this tragedy should never have happened; the Marine Electric was not seaworthy in their eyes and should not have been in operation. Some had been on the ship for an earlier voyage and felt the ship unsafe. One even indicated he left the vessel before completing his assignment for concerns of his safety.

The Coast Guard report did recommend criminal indictments for negligence. The incident captured and expressed the enormous problem facing the maritime industry. Funds have been cut for Coast Guard inspections. A shipping company going broke may try to take chances. Seamen desperate for jobs will also take risks. The maritime industry is unraveling and no one knows for sure how much of the industry will survive. This service for the dead seamen lost at sea seemed to evoke an even deeper mourning. A whole way of life was in danger of slowly slipping away. All present were as powerless over this process as they were over the lives of their dead brothers.

Log Entry III: Presentation of Secretary-Treasurer
and Research Director of National Maritime Union to
Seamen in NMU Upgrading and Retraining School

The NMU U. & R. School is a negotiated educational benefit. Through its courses ranging over a number of certified endorsements in the three departments, a seafarer can move from entry ratings to the advanced job categories. Certification in the higher ratings often requires passing U. S. Coast Guard-administered tests, for which the School also prepares its students.

The Union carries out an orientation for all student participants, who can come from any of the 27 NMU branches around the country. The orientation covers in weekly sessions such topics as trade unionism, history of NMU, the present state of and problems in the industry, the structure of the Union and its benefit plans and a number of other issues unique to the industry. The Union has asked PSU to play a major role in these orientations, as it renders a number of services to students residing and studying in the school facilities. These orientations are conducted about four times a year to each new group of 50 - 75 students. Early in each set of orientations the Secretary-Treasurer and Research Director give a frank assessment of the industry and its problems, as well as the Union's attempt to address them. In their presentation, the dramatic industrial decline they describe is startling.

The American merchant marine reached its peak, in terms

of ship registry, in the Viet-Nam War years. Many ships were needed and chartered as carriers to fill out the long supply line to Southeast Asia. The 1,000 U. S. Flag vessels of the late 60s had dwindled to 300 in 1985. During the same period the United States Merchant Marine had slid from first to twelfth in world ship registry. The 60,000 jobs in the merchant marine heyday have been reduced to a little more than 16,000 jobs today; of these, 12,981 are private industry jobs and 3,300 are in civil service categories, mostly in support of military sea operations. In addition to vessel registry decline, automation and cost factors have reduced crews in the same span from 47 to 23. The National Maritime Union compares to the other major union (Seafarer's International Union), representing unlicensed seamen, as follows:

	<u>Freighters</u>	<u>Tankers</u>	<u>Days Required for 1 Full Pension Credit</u>	<u>Vacation Days per 30 Days Worked</u>
NMU	100	61	280	17 for 30
SIU	71	51	365	14 for 30

Although the two unions often find themselves competing with each other and wages have been rolled back over the last two years some 15%, the major threat the American seaman and maritime industry face is in the runaway flag situation. American corporations own at least an equal amount of vessels, as are currently U. S. registered, but choose to register them elsewhere. The NMU Research Director presented a number of factors which make flag of convenience registry desirable. Such vessels do not have to conform to U. S.

Coast Guard standards. Companies can create tax shelters and build up operations on tax-free money. There is no one looking over their shoulder. And, of course, there are lower manning scales. He indicated that the Philippines, today's largest trainer and exporter of seamen, turn out a man who will settle for \$250 a month. Finally, he indicated that the United States is the only maritime nation without a cargo sharing policy. Of the two million Japanese autos imported into the United States this year, not a single one will be on a U. S. flag vessels. In fact, less than 4% of all U. S. imports and exports will be.

The picture is bleak. The Secretary-Treasurer, though, looks at it from the perspective of the almost 50 years of the NMU's crisis-ridden history. The NMU has withstood many assaults, some even more compelling and threatening than present obstacles. He has no doubt seamen and their organization will prevail. There are solutions--merger, international organizing, reasonable government policies and regulations. It is a severe challenge, but the organization and its membership are up to it.

The audience is a good cross section of the NMU membership. The majority seem satisfied with these presentations. They feel the leadership is laying out the issues with concern, honesty and intelligence. They leave the meeting more assured than apprehensive. Some are going to the School to prepare for the smaller, automated industry rapidly emerging. Others, though, blame the Union, muttering criticisms under

their breath that suggest a more militant stance would have prevented these problems from developing. Finally, a few just utter frustrations not aimed at or placing fault with anyone.

Entry IV: Benefit Change

As indicated, the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 led to the closing of the entire U. S. Public Health Hospital and Clinic Service, of which merchant seamen were the designated prime beneficiaries. The closing was a hard blow to an already badly staggering industry. To the NMU, it meant a quantum leap in Welfare Plan expenditures for medical benefits. Within two years of the USPHS closing, costs to the NMU Welfare Plan had jumped from 3 to 30 million dollars.

These increased outlays had to be made up by employers, the steamship companies under contract to the NMU. Some companies, already on the brink of bankruptcy, requested postponement of contributions, in order not to be driven out of business. The Union was faced with a no-win situation, deferred Welfare Plan contributions or loss of jobs from a defunct company. It opted for a plan of temporary deferment and flexibility with such employers.

As this situation threatened to swallow the whole framework of the industry, a consensus arose that there must be some constraints placed on Welfare Plan utilization. The description of Welfare Plan changes in the Appendix details some of the changes. Although severe, the rules and

regulations adopted by the Trustees of NMU Plan are not at all unlike changes made by other union welfare plans in response to escalating medical costs.

These changes were announced in the winter of 1985 and caused little initial disturbance. By midyear, though, health care providers were coming after delinquent accounts and demanding that seamen make up the difference between Welfare Plan cost allowance and actual charges. If a seaman had not used a preferred provider, who had already agreed to the set fee schedules, he was responsible for the balance. Many seamen in these circumstances sought help from PSU.

At this writing the organization is still struggling with this problem and looking for more equitable solutions, which do not place the major burden on the seaman and his family. This problem is enormous and frightening. In one way or another it affects the future of all occupational health benefit systems. In depressed industries, like the maritime, it is more intense and advanced, but it looms on the horizon for all working people.

The occupational health benefit system is a major part of the insulation of working people from poverty. It is eroding. At the NMU the erosion is greeted with both anger and resignation.

The seaman who once had many health care options now sees his choices cut. The major theme of LOSS, a perennial one with many variations for today's seaman, once again asserts itself in still another form.

Log Entry V: The View of the Outsiders

May of 1985 brought a number of celebrations of the end of World War II. There are still many active seamen at the NMU who sailed during the War, to say nothing of thousands of retirees. The Union and many seamen took note that not a single celebration or contribution assessment recognized the significant role played by merchant seamen in the war effort.

The NMU President's Column in the Pilot, the Union newspaper, cited an in-depth series on World War II in Newsday, which relegated the merchant seaman's contribution to two asterisks in a graph. Six thousand merchant seamen perished at sea during the War, a larger per capita fatality rate than any branch of the armed services except for the marines. President Wall went on to quote the civilian and military leaders of the 40s who described the contribution of the Merchant Marine as critical. Roosevelt, Nimitz, MacArthur, and Eisenhower had all paid tribute and assigned an indispensable role to seamen.

With the closing of Public Health the NMU renewed its drive to gain Veteran status and benefits for the seamen who took part in the war effort. The move has faced stiff opposition from Veterans' groups and perpetual deferment from government agencies. Seamen from other maritime nations have obtained special recognition and, in at least one case, received a special bonus pension benefit for war service.

And so, there was a touch of sadness at a service in early May called by seamen to honor their own. It was a

bright, sunny day, but a very cold, hard wind blew off the Battery. Perhaps 300 seafarers gathered. The only outsider may have been a City Commissioner who came to read a proclamation. She came late and left immediately. Maritime dignitaries spoke, and a band played. Then the dignitaries made their way onto a yacht, as the ceremony was to conclude with a memorial, holding the names of the 6,000 dead seamen, being dropped to the bottom of New York Harbor. The crowd made its way onto subways and chartered buses. Most returned to the Union Hiring Hall to resume a job call vigil in a very different era.

At times, one day can capture the meaning of a thousand others. This day said that a whole way of life was radically changing, if not slowly passing away entirely. The next generation of seamen will have an industry which will be only a shadow of the one being celebrated on this day. Finally, the outside world knows and cares little of all this, as it is swept along in its own changes and more compelling concerns.

Further Reflection and Events

By now the major theme of these Industry Log entries is well established. An overwhelming sense of loss pervades the occupation and this industry. It hangs like a cloud in Hiring Halls built to accommodate three to four times the number of men and women who now gather there. In response to this loss, the seaman sees a totally unsympathetic outside world with hardened attitudes.

Hardly a month goes by without a New York Times editorial

calling for the elimination of maritime subsidies and the application of a total free market approach to the shipping industry. Whatever the merits of the arguments, they are lost on seamen who see every other maritime nation offering far more protection to its shipping industry and to the seamen who work in it. Charges that American seamen are overpaid are also difficult to understand for the unlicensed personnel the NMU represents. They have seen their monthly pay scales fall below their Japanese and Northern European counterparts'.

This theme of loss occurs again in seamen who complain about sailing on U. S. Flag ships, which for the first time have been constructed in overseas shipyards. The solidarity they once felt with the American shipyard worker is gone. The ships, too, are different. "They have no character and are like floating warehouses." They are enormous and impersonal. The reduced crews sailing them have only time for work and not for each other.

The spring and fall of '85 brought news that the NMU itself was shrinking. Union halls were closed in Puerto Rico, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Jacksonville, and Corpus Christi. Some of these halls went back to the NMU founding in the mid- and late 1930s. Halls in Pittsburgh and Chicago had been closed earlier, reflecting less work on the rivers and Great Lakes.

In the Project Director's visits to the Hiring Hall, days went by with only a handful of job calls for 200 - 300 men.

Some said the industry was shot, while others insisted that shipping would pick up again. The NMU had been through much cresting and ebbing in its almost 50 years. Many felt it was different this time; there was a sense of permanence to the change in tide.

Conclusion

Even in this brief survey it is evident that the maritime industry is undergoing massive, far-reaching changes. True, the industry has been in decline for 20 years, but in 1985 it threatens to reach avalanche proportions. Seamen have adapted to industrial decline by parenthesizing their concern about the erosion of the industry and then making the best of diminishing opportunities. During this long downward spiral the Union has been active in Washington lobbying for industrial restoration. While these efforts have not reversed the erosion of the merchant marine, they have slowed the process down.

There are a number of factors which mollify these harsh developments. First, some time ago the NMU became an organization with more retired and pensioned members than active seamen. The Pension Plan is solvent, strong and protected. Second, the mean age of an NMU seaman is 54. With retirement at 55 possible, many men plan to put in for pension in the near future. They can transfer their skills to a shoreside industry and fulfill a desire to spend more time with family. Third, for those who wish to "hang in" and for the young, enough of an industry may remain. Although it will be very different, some are

preparing for a place in the highly automated and technically advanced industry of the future.

The events of 1985 made it less possible to lay aside concerns about these changes and to conduct business as usual. The Project was already under way, as most of the events noted in the log occurred. The Project Director saw in them an enormous potential for alienation and anomie, as the sense of powerlessness and frustration rose. The industry was bent on survival. What happened to seamen in the industry's drive to survive was of secondary importance.

These events did not displace Project goals. Instead, they furnished a background, against which natural helping could be measured. Many seamen said the changes in the industry were making it less possible for them to help each other, while the need to reach out to each other was more important than ever. In many ways the events described in the log made the Peer Committee Project more appropriate and urgent than ever. At the same time, it raised more issues about ultimate organizational and occupational viability.

C. The Project Log

The Project Log represents the Project Director's reflections on implementation. What went right or wrong, the expected and unexpected, unanticipated developments and obstacles, persistent themes and tensions were all recorded for illuminating implementation issues in the present effort, as well as for any contribution the log could make to future work at the NMU or for replication elsewhere.

Log entries were drawn from increased attentiveness to case material which related to Project goals and objectives. Informal discussion with seamen about the Project during planning and implementation also provided contributions. Discussions with staff and Union officials were occasionally sources of entry as well.

Tensions

Throughout the Project, the Project Director listened to clients with a third ear for conflicts and tensions aboard vessels. He did the same in informal discussions. Three areas consistently arose in which seamen had substantial difficulties with each other.

The most frequently mentioned conflict area was the difficulty older and younger seamen had with each other. The older seamen portrayed young people in the industry as not caring, having no love of the work, treating it just like a job. The young complained the older men resented them.

In many ways, this tension is related to automation. Some older seamen recall their youth, when they were literally shown the ropes by an older man who took them under wing. On the new modern vessel, the trained young seaman may actually know more about vessel technology than his senior shipmate. In addition, the younger man knows little of the struggle to build the Union which the older man sees as a major personal and collective achievement. He may not even care, as the Union's domination of the industry is severely challenged.

Women in the industry shared privately some of the

difficulties of working in an overwhelmingly male environment. They must function as super-persons, as any problem they may have may be only attributed to their gender. Also, friendship with anyone is scrutinized for sexual overtones. They are very much alone on a vessel.

The third area of conflict was between the relief man and the "homesteader." Some men who chose to sail relief felt a class system had emerged in the industry. The steady man gave the impression he owned the ship and now tells the new man joining the vessel "how we do things here." Relief men feel looked down upon.

A note of explanation is needed here. Jobs in the Union Hiring Hall are called in both steady and relief categories. Originally all jobs were called for limited duration, with no seaman occupying a permanent position. A number of NMU members are still committed to this principle philosophically, as the most equitable and just job distribution system. Because the majority of seamen preferred more permanence in job assignment and because the shipping companies wanted more continuity in personnel aboard vessels, the NMU adopted a system of both steady and relief assignment. Seamen differ as to the merits of this system. The majority feel it offers options in job selection, accommodating various needs and lifestyles. Others feel it initiated and perpetuates the two-class system in the industry mentioned above. This issue and tension arose in all phases of Project activity, logs, interviews and the dialogue/training initiative.

In noting these conflicts, the Project Director decided that the group composition of the training and dialogue phase of the Project should represent, as much as possible, all sides of these issues. He also included these in a list of additional topics to be added to the training/dialogue objectives as possible points of discussion.

Alienation and Anomie

Throughout the interviews seamen alluded to many issues in their industry and occupation, suggesting significant potential for alienation and anomie. As the Industry Log suggests, there is a major effort under way to save the American shipping industry and to make it totally self-supporting. To some seamen it is a plan that puts forward survival, no matter what the cost. Benefits, institutions, traditions, protections may all have to be sacrificed to achieve this goal. As the whole fabric of the industry is pulled apart and cut, it appears to some that a certain normlessness prevails. There is a conflict here between means and ends, or as Merton would have it, between goals and norms.

The goal of survival may be in conflict with an acceptable mode of reaching it. Merton insists that there must be an effective equilibrium between these two phases of the social structure. In the crisis-ridden maritime industry, the potential for anomie, normlessness, is substantial. His description of the process could easily be applied to the industry's present dilemma. Merton says: "The process whereby exaltation of the end generates a literal

demoralization; i.e., a deinstitutionalization, of the means occurs in many groups when the two components of the social structure are not highly integrated."¹

At this point, the blueprint for survival is negotiable. The NMU has been responsive and successful in turning around some policy decisions adversely affecting the membership. Seamen wonder, though, how long that will continue in these days when management has the upper hand.

As for alienation, its potential pervades the present-day merchant marine. Seamen feel a certain estrangement from society even in good times, but it is intensified when a government and society clearly disregard their occupation and care little whether it survives or not. There is also a sense of powerlessness over the erosion of the industry and its changes.

The new ships pay well, but some seamen complain that giving in to the seduction of money, on ships that have low regular manning scales but higher overtime, leaves the other men in the Hiring Hall high and dry. The new ships are also resented because they favor a young man. Their great size and advanced technology require physical, as well as mental, dexterity. Blauner discusses isolation as one feature of alienation and describes it as "an absence of loyalties to

¹Robert Merton, Social Theory and Social Structures (New York: Free Press, 1968), p. 190.

intermediate collectivities."² Through the ages, in the worst of all possible situations, seamen have always had each other. The Project Director sensed from time to time that the desire to address this issue, or at least point it out, was an underlying factor supporting the seamen's embrace of the Peer Committee Project. Since this issue related directly to occupational helping traditions, there was a sense that the crisis in the industry supported the Project much more than deflecting it.

Selection Issues

As the interviews proceeded, it became increasingly clear that the instrument was functioning well as a needs assessment and device for Project engagement, but was fulfilling almost no screening function. All participants connected easily with Project goals around intervention and networking and wanted to talk about helping traditions, especially in the light of recent developments in the industry.

The Project Director realized that the group had already been substantially preselected. The 30 participants were precisely the persons the PSU staff thought would have the most interest, capability and desire for Project involvement. More than two-thirds had a long-standing positive relationship with PSU and had made referrals to the Program. The rest had at least one service relationship with the Unit through the Upgrading and Retraining School and had expressed a desire to learn

²Robert Blauner, Alienation and Freedom (University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 24.

more about PSU's program activity. Presence in the Union school also meant a level of commitment to the industry.

Clearly the Project was loaded with participants who the Project Director thought wanted the initiative to work and who could contribute to that end.

However, issues did arise which posed questions for ultimate group composition in the training/dialogue phase. One recovering alcoholic did not believe alcoholism was a disease. He had not drunk for a number of years, but in speaking against the disease concept he was angry, hostile and adamant. He seemed too agitated, fragile and disturbed for a participation in the Peer Committee at this point. He did subsequently drink and required hospitalization and rehabilitation. If this had not been associated with relapse and personal difficulty, it might have been interesting and useful to have the issue of the disease concept played out in the group. On the other hand, it might have been a major distraction and detour, totally confusing the non-alcoholics in the group. Although the issue was unfortunately resolved by the relapse, the Project Director was more inclined toward exclusion of this participant.

In another interview, it emerged that one man, recognized by the PSU as a competent and generous helper, gave of himself out of religious conviction and sense of mission. His helping was based less on occupational traditions and more on his own religious beliefs and responsibilities. In addition, he had a somewhat condescending attitude toward other seamen, calling

them mere children. They were weak, in need of guidance and help. The Project Director was ambivalent about including this seaman. He was leaning toward inclusion, to see how a very different posture worked its way out in the group. However, a June upturn in shipping took this man away, along with many others of the interview group.

In regard to the selection of recovering people, the Airline Pilots Association's stipulation of at least one year in recovery before participation in a Peer Committee seemed a wise and appropriate guideline. In talking to many newly recovering people informally or watching them in group sessions, it is obvious that they need and want to work on themselves. The Project called for a strong reflective capacity on recovery from alcoholics. This could not be expected from someone whose experience in this regard was only weeks or months.

The Project Director set the training and dialogue initiative for the last week in June. From the 30 interviews only one candidate had been eliminated. By now, though, a number of the interview participants were at sea. Candidates were coming and going, but the Project Director felt confident he could count on assembling the group of 12, which was considered optimum for the initiative. A group of this size was large enough to assure representation of NMU diversity in age, sex, race, ethnicity, department and time in the industry. It was also small enough for full participation and involvement.

In mid-June came a sudden upturn in shipping. U. S. Lines

announced it was bringing out two of its new Econoline ships. They needed to be entirely crewed up, with crews being flown to Korea to bring the new ships home, when they would begin full operation. There was excitement and hope in the Hall. While the Project Director welcomed the sudden change in fortune, he wondered whether he had lost his group as the Hall emptied out.

The Project Director decided to recruit two additional seamen, a man and a woman. They were filled in on the goals and objectives of the Project and asked to respond to the questions of the needs assessment and interview, so that they would begin from the same exposure to the Project as other participants. Both had a long, positive experience with PSU. They grasped the intent of the Project quickly and expressed real interest in participating. Both would have been prime candidates for the interview phase of the Project, except that they were at sea during the interview period.

On the Friday prior to training/dialogue initiative (set for the coming Monday), the Project Director checked to see what he had. Eleven of the original 30 actually did remain and were set to go. The Union assured the Project Director that no major crewings would occur during the training/dialogue period. There would be other new ships coming out, but not for at least a month. (See chart below for characteristics of interview and group composition.)

Interview and Group Composition Characteristics

		<u>M</u> <u>a</u> <u>l</u> <u>e</u>	<u>F</u> <u>e</u> <u>m</u> <u>a</u> <u>l</u> <u>e</u>	<u>W</u> <u>h</u> <u>i</u> <u>t</u> <u>e</u>	<u>B</u> <u>l</u> <u>a</u> <u>c</u> <u>k</u>	<u>L</u> <u>a</u> <u>t</u> <u>i</u> <u>n</u> <u>o</u>	<u>A</u> <u>s</u> <u>i</u> <u>a</u> <u>n</u>	<u>A</u> <u>g</u> <u>e</u>	<u>Y</u> <u>e</u> <u>a</u> <u>r</u> <u>s</u>	<u>N</u> <u>M</u> <u>U</u>	<u>D</u> <u>e</u> <u>c</u> <u>k</u>	<u>E</u> <u>n</u> <u>g</u> <u>i</u> <u>n</u> <u>e</u>	<u>S</u> <u>t</u> <u>e</u> <u>w</u> <u>a</u> <u>r</u> <u>d</u>	<u>R</u> <u>e</u> <u>c</u> <u>o</u> <u>v</u> <u>e</u> <u>r</u> <u>i</u> <u>n</u> <u>g</u>	<u>N</u> <u>o</u> <u>n</u> <u>a</u> <u>l</u> <u>c</u> <u>h</u> <u>o</u> <u>l</u> <u>i</u> <u>c</u>
30 Interview Participants	11 Group Participants	X		X				50	20		X			X	
		X		X				32	5		X				X
		X			X			62	38				X		X
		X		X				29	10		X				X
		X		X				55	8			X		X	
		X				X		60	36			X			X
			X	X				54	5				X		X
			X				X	23	5				X		X
		X				X		49	30			X			X
		X			X			23	4				X		X
		X			X			49	20				X		X
		X			X			67	34		X				X
		X		X				57	28				X	X	
		X			X			30	8		X			X	
		X		X				57	31		X			X	
		X		X				46	27		X			X	
		X				X		51	18		X				X
		X			X			49	12		X			X	
		X				X		24	6			X			X
		X		X				63	42			X			X
		X		X				53	18				X	X	
		X		X				59	41			X			X
		X				X		47	14				X	X	
			X	X				44	24				X		X
		X			X			34	13			X		X	
		X				X		46	20		X				X
		X				X		60	37		X			X	
		X		X				57	30		X			X	
		X			X			60	40		X				X
		X		X				55	17			X		X	
Totals		27	3	14	8	7	1	$\bar{X}$ 48.2	$\bar{X}$ 21.4		13	8	9	13	17

So it was decided to go on Monday with 13 participants, including the two last-minute recruits. One seaman, a participant watching this process unfold, said, "Now you can see how predictability, continuity and consistency are not easy to come by in this industry."

Changing Perspectives

As the Project went on, following faithfully its implementation plan, it seemed on target. However, the target at times seemed larger than the Project.

The Project Director was encouraged at the relative ease with which the group took to the notions of chemical dependency interventions and helping networks. There was, of course, some initial reluctance and resistance to chemical dependency interventions on the part of the non-alcoholics. In the group dialogue those issues did get addressed and refined. They proved to be helpful and led to working rules being adopted. As far as networking, the group actually offered some organizational suggestions, which went beyond what the Project Director had envisioned. The participants also clearly articulated what material and backup they would need from the formal Program to carry out a comprehensive and extensive effort in this area. Both the intervention and networking notions were rooted in the helping traditions of the occupation. It was here that a deeper and more unsettling need was calling for attention.

Change in the maritime industry has been rapid and far reaching. The consistent erosion of the industry's structure

over the last 20 years has meant substantial sacrifices having to be absorbed at every level. Until recently, the pain was chronic, but bearable. The constellation of events in the last two years has made the pain acute and forced some to face the long unattended fear that it may, in fact, be unbearable.

The majority of NMU members have enormous confidence in their Union leadership. In almost 50 years the Union has had only two presidents. The first, Joseph Curran, was a charismatic labor leader, who led seamen from among the worst working conditions imaginable to some of the most progressive benefits yet achieved by labor in the 1960s. Before Curran's retirement, decline had already set into the industry. His successor, Shannon Hall, has presided over a deteriorating industry for over 12 years. He has had to fight vigorously and intelligently to save the industry and the Union.

The NMU is a highly centralized organization. It has elections every five years and national conventions at three-year intervals. The entire membership elects delegates to the conventions, who come from NMU branches and from vessels under Union contract. The convention is open to any business, but responds predominately to an agenda set before it by the national leadership. The entire focus and organizational structure of the NMU is national. Local branches do not have autonomy, independence and power. In the schema offered by Lipset, Trow and Coleman (Union Democracy), in their classic work on the International Typographical Union, the NMU

structure is more oligarchical than democratic. From its outset, it was more a top-down than bottom-up organization.

While this organizational structure has allowed the NMU to respond quickly to a rapidly changing and complex industry, it is not participatory. In this light the Project seemed to be tapping into a need to talk about multiple, highly diverse changes. How were these changes affecting the participants and their occupation? The range of response was from optimist to pessimist. There were stoics ("things have always been rough"), romantics ("seamen are a special breed; they always measure up"), sentimentalists ("seamen always rally to each other in times of trouble; we will survive") and idealists ("intelligent people on all sides are trying to accommodate each other; it will be OK"). Countering these more optimistic stances, seamen offered assessments like, "this industry is shot," "no one cares about anybody any more," and "management has the upper hand again--it is all over." All of them needed to talk about occupational change more, but had little opportunity to do so.

To some degree, the Project anticipated this need by rooting the discussion of helping networks and intervention in occupational helping traditions and their continued viability. However, the intensity of their need in the context of 1985 developments in the industry was not anticipated. Would this need to discuss change rooted in work life itself overwhelm the two needs for help the Project was trying to address? Or would the Project suggest and explore the

interrelationship between work and help needs? The answer was not clear, but it was an issue the Project Director knew he had to carefully and consistently attend to.

Shipmates for Life--the Wheelhouse Story

Shortly before the dialogue/training phase of the Project, the Chief Alcoholism Counselor who was to be one of the co-trainers in that Project phase, referred a retired seaman to be seen by a social worker. He also asked that the Project Director see the man himself. He felt there were painful issues which only a professional who knew the industry could appreciate. In addition, he believed the Project Director would find the issues strongly related to the Project.

The man was muscular, well tanned and had a friendly way about him. In his mid-60s, he looked much younger. He said he came to New York twice a year to look in on an old shipmate. The man, with whom he had sailed many years ago, now was partially disabled. Each year he came up from Florida a couple of times to check if the network of friends and neighbors assisting his friend was still functioning. He would stay a week or two, keep his friend company, stock the place with provisions and then return home. He also was afraid his friend drank too much, so he kept an eye on that, to see if he needed or was ready for help.

This year, though, he was traveling with an almost unbearable load. In the two preceding months, he had suffered two painful, personal losses. He came by the Union in hope of sharing them with old friends who would understand.

His son had been one of the 200 marines killed in the terrorist suicide attack on the marine barracks in Lebanon. The son was a career military person who was only a month from retirement. There were plans to go into business together when he left the service. The retired seaman had great affection for and pride in this son, as well as anger than young people are sacrificed for unclear and questionable objectives. He said the anger had given way to guilt that someone so good was dead and he was left to go on living. The meaning of his son's life, the meaning of his own, some of the good that came out of this tragedy were all discussed. A daughter, who was recovering from drug addiction and from whom he had been estranged for many years, had really reached out to him and was helping to make this more bearable. He planned to return home in a few days. He was now remarried and kept a small farm with his wife. They raised chickens. What help he might need and how he could get it at home were reviewed. Then, he was asked about his second loss.

This involved a friendship of 40 years with a seaman and NMU official, who had died shortly after his son. He and his best friend had done a lot of sailing together as young men, and they eventually arranged to have the same watch. Countless nights at sea were spent together in the deep darkness of the ocean, one on lookout and the other at the wheel. Keeping the ship on course in the wheelhouse is the seaman's highest responsibility. Crew, vessel and cargo are in his hands. The ship's wheel is even the symbol of the NMU. It

expresses the pride and purpose of this occupation.

To trust another seaman with the wheel on your watch, while you take care of another matter, is the highest tribute you can pay him.

Both men stopped sailing in their mid-50s, when one became an NMU official and the other retired. Still, the retired man dropped by the Hall almost every day to see his friend, when he was not taken up with his small farm, or driving occasionally for a local long-haul trucking business. He said he covered ships with his friend and helped out around the Hall on a part-time basis. They would share a drink together at the end of the day at a local establishment. One would have a few beers, while the other, a recovering alcoholic, sipped soda.

Then, about 10 weeks ago this friend collapsed at work and was rushed to the hospital. It was a major and devastating heart attack. The man lived for about a week, slipping in and out of consciousness.

Each day the retiree visited his fatally ill friend and was recognized with a smile. He said that whenever he came he was glad to see his friend alive. He could not understand people who complain about the ordeal of visiting the sick. "They don't know what friendship and love is." In the visits the two men shared the hope that they would be able to visit a ship together or share a drink. However, it became clearer as the days went on that this friend was certainly dying. His voice grew weaker with each visit. Finally, the dying

man called his friend over. He held his hand and whispered in his ear, "Pat, take my wheel."

Pat shared his story with a few friends the three days he dropped into the New York Hall to renew friendships and to seek help with his grieving. The Chief Counselor said that of those privileged to hear it, none were left with dry eyes.

It was a deeply moving story. The Project Director wondered whether it was a story rooted in the past and reflecting the way this occupation was. Now sophisticated technology holds the ship on course, and the wheelhouse may have only one man monitoring mechanical functions and looking out over the ocean by himself. He may share ten minutes or so with the shipmate who comes to relieve him from the next watch.

Certainly, the future will be different. How different and what will be lost in the drive to save the industry is the larger issue and need the Project was tapping into. This need did not displace the Project and, in many ways, seemed complementary to it. It did, though, bear close watching for the Project's course beyond this implementation study.

D. The Interviews

The Project Directed conducted 30 full-length interviews over a period of four months. Their purpose was threefold. First, the interviews tried to assess the need for the Project itself. Second, it was thought the interviews would fulfill a screening function allowing the Project Director to select

the strongest candidates for the Peer Training and Dialogue Initiative. As indicated in the Project Log, this never really occurred. The candidates were already highly preselected for favorable disposition toward the Project. Third, the interview questionnaire tried to ascertain interest, level of possible engagement, tensions needing to be explored and addressed in the Project's subsequent phase.

The Project Director remained faithful to the questionnaire format and its three areas of concern, alcohol and intervention, helping network and helping traditions. Inadequacies in the questionnaire are discussed in the Project Log and the conclusion. For the most part, the interview questionnaire served as an effective instrument fully engaging the 30 participants and extracting valuable thoughts and feelings about the three areas of Project concern. Some participants answered each question in short, measured responses and completed the interview in under 40 minutes. Others expanded considerably on each item, often anticipating the next questions the interviewer was about to raise. Some of these exchanges took more than two hours. Even in the lengthy interviews seamen never seemed redundant. The interview instrument itself is included in the Appendix of this report.

Intervention

Twenty-seven of the 30 seamen interviewed saw alcohol and drug addiction as a disease and illness. The non-alcoholics used terms like "allergic to alcohol" or loss of control over alcohol. The recovering alcoholics, of course, subscribed to

the disease concept, but stressed the essential role of the concept in their own recovery more than the concept's ability to advance understanding of the nature of alcoholism. At least half of the recovering participants indicated that the key to breaking their denial was coming to accept they had a disease which was treatable. Being a sick person who could get well was preferable to the sense of being weak, immoral, undisciplined and useless, labels they perceived coming from others. While conducting the interviews, the Project Director was often reminded of Vaillant's conclusion that the disease concept holds the best hope for treating alcoholism, but not necessarily of understanding the problem in its entirety.

Of the three dissenters from the disease concept, two were non-alcoholics who perceived alcoholism as a weakness and defect in character. The dissenter who had an alcoholism background had not been drinking for over five years and had made many referrals to PSU of seamen with drinking and other problems. He termed the disease concept an excuse and doubted seriously an alcoholic predisposition could be inherited. He seemed angry, agitated and preoccupied in the interview. Two weeks later his family called for help, as he had begun drinking again.

All participants were able to offer a good sense of the range of social problems with which addiction to alcohol and other substances was associated. Family disintegration, abuse and neglect of spouse and children, economic problems, loss or neglect of job were all alluded to by both alcoholics and

non-alcoholics. Black and Hispanic participants indicated that alcohol was used as a bonding agent and sign one was a man with other men. A number of seamen saw alcoholism tied up with manhood with comments like, "drinking seemed a better way to be a man, drinking to be macho and to dream, drinking to overcome needs and have no needs." In regard to other problems surfacing around addiction, those recovering who had families stressed the family nature of the disease. Every family member became caught up in and damaged by the disease. They asserted that meaningful treatment and prevention must reach out to the entire family.

As far as the extent of alcoholism in the maritime industry, two-thirds of the participants called alcoholism a serious or most serious problem in the American Merchant Marine. Seeing alcohol dependency as a pervasive problem seemed more a function of a seaman's experience than whether he or she had an alcoholism problem in the past. There were some ships on which almost everyone drank and others where no one did. Almost all participants with 10 or more years' experience in the industry saw alcoholism as a declining problem. They pointed out that while decreasing, the problem is still serious and the need to get the alcohol-dependent seaman help was even more urgent now. In a rapidly changing industry requiring high skills and performances, he would not be tolerated and could easily be forgotten and left behind. Three seamen with recovering backgrounds indicated that through a good portion of their lives, they would not have provided reliable

assessments of the extent of drinking. "To the addicted, addiction is the problem." Only in recovery did they realize and accept that not everyone drank like they did. For the one-third not seeing alcoholism as an extensive problem, they mentioned as more prevalent and compelling the sense of overwhelming boredom which set in on long trips, the high stress and heavy work of the new, larger ships with reduced crew, and the growing use of drugs other than alcohol.

A particularly interesting phenomenon reported in the interviews was the tendency of chemically dependent people to find each other. Seamen reported "alcohol and drug ships." While dry ships far outnumbered wet ones, almost all participants could recall with horror the rapid mood shifts and inconsistency affecting a whole crew on such ships, along with the sense of never knowing where you stood. There seemed to be a lack of caring, and it was virtually impossible to initiate and contribute to the comradery and concern for each other which usually prevailed. It was a totally unresponsive environment.

All seamen interviewed were able to express and understand the difficulty involved in helping an alcohol- or drug-dependent seaman. The difficulty came from trying to help a person with a problem he did not think he had. Anger, hostility, resentment were likely to be incurred. All the recovering and many of the non-alcoholics, though, did report approaching a shipmate about his drinking problem and suggesting he get help. Sometimes it was no more than placing

Alcoholics Anonymous literature on his bunk or in his room. Those reporting discussing an alcohol episode with a seaman encountered both resistance and, at times, some level of acceptance. In few cases was there any follow-up to ascertain if the limited acceptance resulted in getting help. The recovering were clearly more comfortable with approaching a problem drinker for at least two reasons. First, they would use their own experience for openers. Telling a shipmate coming out of drinking episode of one's own past difficulties could begin an engagement process. This was done with both humor and concern. Second, the recovering did not seem to expect as much. The alcoholic, to them, responded over time. It was the accumulation of many displays of concern and confrontation which planted the seeds for their own recovery. Two of the seamen interviewed, both non-alcoholics, thought that it could be personally dangerous to intervene in a shipmate's drinking problem. In cases where a crew member's use of alcohol or drugs is supported by or is in partnership with supervisory staff, the intervener is no longer solving the problem, but is viewed by the drinking partners as the problem. Four seamen saw a supervisory/crew member drinking relationship as a problem, but one which was declining for two reasons. First, there was the increasingly hard line some shipping companies were taking in enforcing federal regulations against personal possession of alcohol aboard a vessel. Second, when a supervisor was drinking with a crew member, other supervisors and the Captain were likely to

become aware of it. Participants who were known to be in recovery aboard a vessel indicated they had been approached by Captain or supervisors for consultation, advice and help in such situations.

The interviews uncovered diverse motivations for reaching out to and directing the chemically dependent for help. For the recovering there was a need and a desire to end a pain they knew so well as soon as possible. Although they understood they were powerless over another's alcohol dependency, they identified with and almost felt the pain of the still suffering alcoholic. When the interviewer asked did every alcoholic need to hit bottom, they responded yes, but the bottom could be raised. The best illustration came from an older and widely respected seaman who said the elevator down stops at every floor. At each floor the alcoholic needs someone there inviting him to get off.

For the non-alcoholics there was also a desire to help someone end self-destructive behavior, but there was a continuum of motivation ranging from concern to self-interest and safety. Drinking at sea is clearly dangerous and jeopardizes the life and safety of crew and vessel. It usually means more work and responsibility fall on the shoulders of those not abusing or dependent on alcohol. Drinking at sea may lead to altercations and injury. It brings down morale and leaves one an irresponsible shipmate. Throughout the interviews non-alcoholics expressed concern for shipmates becoming increasingly alcohol dependent, but also gave clear

indications that they did not want or intend to become victims of their illness. The recovering, as well, frequently alluded to safety issues, pointing out that the new large vessels with substantially reduced crews required all crew members to be at their best. The loss of one person in a 16-man crew was a critical development.

In the motivational continuum supporting intervention from the concern or safety perspectives, one could not place recovering alcoholics and non-alcoholics closer to either extreme. Non-alcoholics clearly displayed concern for shipmates with a drinking problem and the recovering were no more willing to tolerate threats to safety and increased work loads. The non-alcoholics appeared more frustrated in their concern and did not know what to do with it. They feared being perceived as moral crusaders, counter criticism or being told to mind their own business, in approaching a seaman about a drinking problem.

The recovered from their own experience and guidelines, absorbed from their self-help affiliation, could much more easily operationalize their concern. They knew what to expect and saw resistance as part of the illness. It was also harder for the alcohol-dependent seaman to turn the expression of concern away, by saying to the recovering person he had no idea what a drinking problem was.

Finally, while all 30 participants thought there was a definite role for Union brothers and sisters to try to move alcohol- and/or drug-dependent seamen toward help, almost

half felt the tendency to cover up chemical dependency still pervaded the industry. Alcohol education and the demands for higher performance on new vessels had reduced covering by shipmates and managers, but drinking was so rooted in the industry that the tendency to protect the alcoholic was very much alive. In addition, there was the problem of the functional alcoholic, the seaman who drank to the point of his health, family and finances being at risk, but who did his job with no apparent decline in competency. With such seamen, waiting for job decline might be waiting too late.

Helping Networks at Sea and Ashore:

Networking and Helping

The second section of the questionnaire concerned itself with the broader issue of seeking and giving help for any and all human problems.

For the seamen interviewed, by far the most difficult obstacle to overcome in seeking help for any personal problem was the admission to oneself that he or she had lost control. Some added that this admission undermined "the macho sense of self most men try to hold on to." Others stressed a related theme of embarrassment, and the fear that others would think less of one for having such a problem. Another apprehension was that word might get around the ship or Union, if the person turned to for help did not keep confidence. In fact, seamen saw assurance of confidentiality as the major positive factor supporting a helping environment and helping network. Those with recovery backgrounds stressed denial as an obstacle

to seeking help. They indicated that the groundless sense of control they had was the very foundation of their problem. Finally, a number of seamen suggested it was much easier to give than to ask. It was not easy to let others see the needing and grieving side of a person.

Seamen stressed three points in responding to what might make asking for help easier. First, as has already been mentioned, is the assurance of confidentiality. Such assurance not only affected the natural helpers one would turn to, but also use of the professional program. Many of those interviewed cautioned the Personal Service Unit from assuming that all seamen believed in and understood the confidential nature of Personal Service Unit assistance. Since Personal Service Unit did have dealings with employers, the Coast Guard and the Medical Unit, it needed to stress its own absolute commitment to confidentiality. While those interviewed held Personal Service Unit in high trust and indicated the other seamen felt similarly, they still felt confidentiality needed to be underscored in all outreach. Secondly, they felt asking for help would be facilitated by informed people. If there were enough people around who knew how, when and where to obtain help, there would be a good chance that one in need would find it. Third, asking for help is easier in an environment that shows concern for personal pain or injustice. This was summed up best by the seaman who said, "you need to know you are not alone," and "others need to know you are not alone." He elaborated, "If you know you are not alone and

that other people have this problem too, you are not reluctant to ask for help. And if others know you are not alone, either they will not try to take advantage of you, or they will back down at the sight of solidarity."

The network section of the interview questionnaire asked seamen to offer their feeling as to what was the prime personal or social service need for today's seamen. Earlier, in the context of discussing chemical dependency, seamen were asked to assess the seriousness and extent of the industry's addiction problem. In that context alcoholism was seen as a major problem by both recovered and non-alcoholics. Within the networking context addiction held as a serious problem, but yielded to the need to be connected with help itself as the most serious problem.

It might seem in this context that the intervention and networking sections of the interview-questionnaire begged the question. Such could readily be suspected, except that each seaman freely offered qualifications or examples for his assertion about primary service need. And so, when a seaman indicated the primary need to be connected with a trusted and knowledgeable helping network, at least one-third of the time the seaman was talking about such a connection for a chemically dependent seaman.

Most of the participants, though, raised the networking need themselves in terms of not knowing what to do with needs that arise or are discussed out at sea. They tend to be put on hold with good faith intentions to resolve them at the end

of the voyage. However, personal relief at voyage termination and the short, busy span of time before the ship takes off on a new trip tend to undermine resolution. Networking needs may also arise around change of plans. A crew member may be expecting to get off the ship, only to find out the original job holder is not returning. A seaman is faced with the decision of leaving or staying. Families may need to be contacted; rent and utility bills may need quick attention. Because even acknowledged and discussed problems can be deferred, covered over and lost on a long voyage and because the industry can make enormous demands on a seaman's life and its predictability, connection with a helping network was seen as critical. Almost all the interviewed felt it necessary for Personal Service Unit to find more ways of reaching out to the vessel. A number suggested that a Personal Service Unit representative be assigned to meet each vessel in the same way a Union official is, one for contract-related problems and the other for human and social service needs. They also pointed out that many times a job and personal problem is interrelated and both Union and Personal Service Unit have a role in addressing it. It was in this context that a number of seamen actually began to envision the helping network of natural helpers the Project had in mind. This was best conceptualized by a young, recovering seaman who said, "What you need out there are scouts, someone to watch for, talk to and bring you those who seem to be in trouble."

In this regard, the original conceptualization of the

Project seemed to hold. Networking was seen as an overarching helping activity addressing a variety of human service needs, not the least of which was chemical dependency. Many seamen in response to the principal service need first mentioned the need to be connected to help itself, as primary, and then mentioned a specific service need. The table which follows illustrates this. It also accounts for the fact that more than 30 service needs are recorded. In speaking about the need to be connected to help, a woman going to sea for many years and in a highly responsible position said, "The ship at sea is a forgotten entity; it loses contact with both the Company and the Union." There is a need to feel still connected to help and care.

Most Serious Personal or Social
Service Need for Today's Seamen

<u>Principal Service Need</u>	<u>Recovering Seamen</u>	<u>Non-Alcoholic</u>	<u>Total</u>
Pressure of job	2	1	3
Concern about family	1	1	2
Family does not understand demands industry places on seamen	0	1	1
Tension with supervisors	3	0	3
Need to be connected with trusted, knowledgeable helper	4	10	14
Addiction	5	2	7
Lack of work	1	2	3
Mental health problems	1	2	3
Retirement issues	1	1	2
Money management problems	0	3	3

Beyond the need to be connected to help itself and addiction service exigencies, the seamen interviewed raised a number of other service needs. Some felt the pressure of the job was the principal problem today's seaman faces. The huge new ships with significantly reduced crews require both more sophisticated technical skills and physical dexterity. This is clearly a problem for the older seaman, who may not only need to consider retraining, but may also question his ability to run all around, up and down, a 1,000-foot vessel. Family concerns were also brought up in two themes. First came the seaman's worry that his family was all right and

protected in his absence. Second was the seaman's disappointment that his family really did not seem to understand the nature and difficulty of his work. The men who raised these issues felt Personal Service Unit could and should help in these areas.

Work issues were raised in two areas. First was the lack of work in an industry that is trying to withstand a steady and seemingly irreversible erosion. While no seaman saw Personal Service Unit as having any solution for industrial decline, some suggested the Unit might be able to offer programs to help seamen make better use of the long hours in the Hiring Hall. The second issue related to the belief that power was shifting back to management. Supervisors were becoming heavy handed and the tight class system between officers and crew, which had eased off, was reasserting itself. Unlicensed seamen and their Union were making real sacrifices to save the industry; these should be accepted in the spirit of cooperation and not viewed as managerial vindication in strict partisanship.

Some seamen felt that mental health problems tended to be missed and underserved, even more today than in the past. The diminution of Coast Guard crew monitoring activity and the closing of the Public Health Clinic and Hospital System had made it difficult for people with such problems to be found and helped. Seamen thought the Union's Medical Unit should play a stronger role here. They also thought Personal Service Unit should publicize its helping capacity in this

area more extensively. Retirement planning was raised as a service need which should be structured in a more formal programmatic way than is now the case. Fiscal planning, available pension options, housing and life change issues should be researched and discussed in more depth than the present effort offered. Finally, money management problems were raised as a critical need. While in service of the vessel, a seaman can elect to have his pay sent him in allotments (or to a designated person or institution), or he can be paid in full at the end of a voyage. The weekly or biweekly discipline built into shoreside wages is not present. This schema indirectly encourages boom to bust individual economy, which some seamen are never able to escape. Participants pointed out that help in this area is still a considerable service need.

Besides anticipating some of the Project's direction and goals, seamen did see other areas for a closer working relationship between Personal Service Unit and merchant seamen. A number saw Personal Service Unit functioning as an internal organizational advocate for individuals having difficulty with the Union or the various benefit plans. Personal Service Unit could also document and present to Union and plan officials the difficulties, problems and new service needs seamen were experiencing. A slight variation to the helping network and scout theme was the assertion that Personal Service Unit should exert leadership in helping seamen to help each other. The Unit should take the lead in keeping the helping traditions

alive and in expressing "what we owe each other." One seaman compared Personal Service Unit to the NMU Upgrading and Retraining School, saying that as the School tries to move skills forward, Personal Service Unit should try to move help forward.

Finally, while all the participants saw Personal Service Unit as highly respected and trusted by seamen (as would be expected in this preselected group), the group was virtually split in half as to how well seamen were informed of the Unit's helping capacities. The seamen interviewed saw Personal Service Unit with a service capability reaching across every stratum of the organization; yet there was a perception by some that help was primarily for those in such great need from alcohol and/or financial and personal problems that they were in danger of losing shipping rights. Some thought Personal Service Unit was only for those facing a severe family or personal crisis. The Unit needed to do a better job of spelling out its service activity. A number of ideas came forward as to how Personal Service Unit could communicate the comprehensiveness and extension of its program. These included use of the Pilot (Union newspaper), reports at Union meetings, program literature distributed aboard ships. The clear message in all these suggestions was that Personal Service Unit could never finish the job of communicating its goals and objectives to the seamen it served. It needed to take more advantage of available mechanisms and to seek out new opportunities in laying out its program and in

ascertaining whether the message was being heard.

The Helping Traditions of Merchant Seamen

In the third and last section of the needs assessment, seamen were asked to reflect on the traditions of help and concern long celebrated in their occupation. What was happening to these traditions as the industry underwent radical change? Were they merely lingering nostalgic and sentimental memories of another time, or were they vital and alive, even in these difficult times? Seamen often talk about a good shipmate. It is one of the highest tributes they pay to each other. Since the good shipmate is often alluded to in the context of help, the needs assessment began this section by asking the participants to describe who would gain such a reputation.

Interestingly, almost two-thirds of the men and women interviewed saw a high correlation between job competency and help. The good seaman, the man who knew his job thoroughly, was also the good helper. A number of notions were offered to support this contention. The industry has gone from requiring large crews with mostly elementary skills to small crews with predominantly advanced skills. Many seamen look up to and rely on the man who has been able to handle this transition. Some said skills respect among seamen is the bonding ingredient in their relationships. The modern seaman emphasizes responsibility over pleasure. Indeed, the idea of pleasure itself had changed. There is more pleasure in doing your job well than in wandering around and being taken

advantage of in the sorry establishments dotting all the world's waterfronts. Finally, some in the interview group took satisfaction in that the highly competent and skilled seaman broke the back of the shoreside stereotype of the seaman as an outcast who could not make it in society. As the interviews continued, it became clearer that the question of the good shipmate needed to be posed in two contexts. The interview instrument did not clearly differentiate between work-related problems and personal ones. This would be illustrated dramatically in the dialogue-training phase of the Project, when the need to make such differentiation would become evident. While the highly skilled and generously helping seaman was often the same person, a total equation of the two attributes would be inaccurate.

In the interview each participant was asked to assess the occupation's helping traditions in the light of major industrial change. They were also asked to react to the contention that the changes and depression in the industry had adversely affected the traditions of help and concern for one another. Most seamen responded by pointing out a number of factors operating against the traditions of help. For the most part they saw this valued heritage as staggered, but still struggling to move forward. A handful thought helping traditions had been dealt a fatal blow by industrial and social change and were not sure they could be resurrected.

Seamen pointed out a wide range of factors mitigating against the depth of help exchanged by the previous generation

of seamen. A few older men said society does not let you share as much any more. It was as if the wider acceptance of seamen in and exposure to shoreside institutions and concerns were a mixed blessing. They had been contaminated by the perimeter society teaches you to put around how much you should offer someone needing help. Such sentiments were expressed by seamen who had little in the way of family connection and whose primary social tie was shipmates and the Union.

The two factors most mentioned by seamen as affecting or contributing to change in their traditions were the modern seaman's ability and desire to start a family and the steady decline in work. While today's seaman still cared about his shipmates and Union friends, his primary responsibility was directed to his own family. Better working conditions and wages, plus predictable work routines, had made it possible for the majority of this generation's seamen to marry and start families. The bottom line in helping another seaman has been understood in the American merchant marine as one's willingness to loan or even give money and/or lodging to the man who is "tapped out." Now the seaman may see his child having to go without something because he encounters a shipmate in need. Tight family budgets with little room for stretch also contribute to reluctance.

Of almost equal magnitude in constraining financial help was the decline in job opportunities. A number of seamen said that the scarcity of jobs made them think of themselves first. Fifteen years ago a seaman could walk into the Hall and get a

job the same day. Now the borrower may face many weeks in the Hiring Hall and need long-term help. The lender has to keep some of his money back, so that he does not get caught short if he has to hold the Hall down for a long period. Of course the scarcity of jobs stole the thunder from seamen and the Union, putting it back in the Company's hands. In a depressed industry, management can increasingly dictate the terms of survival.

Several seamen expressed their feeling that unions had become victims of their own success. They fought for and gained better wages and working conditions. This diluted the fighting spirit. Seamen and other working people became more comfortable and defensive. Modern convenience aboard the vessel also contributed to this. Smaller crews, working longer hours, and then retreating to their own air-conditioned rooms had all but eliminated the hatch gatherings of the previous generation, where work and leisure activities were discussed at great length.

A number of other factors affecting their traditions of help and concern were mentioned less frequently, but often with intense feelings. Jobs are called in the NMU Hiring Hall on both a steady and relief basis. Originally, all jobs were relief and governed by strict rotation. Demands by Companies for more consistent personnel and by seamen for more secure and predictable work led to a compromise in the shipping rules. Seamen could compete in the Hiring Hall for both steady and relief jobs in a rotary system. To assure a

flow of relief jobs a steady worker could not stay on the vessel more than seven months, with relief jobs guaranteed at least 60 days. While all seamen have the option of competing for either job category, some felt that the arrangement has left the NMU with a class system. Two participants, in particular, felt steady men tend to lose contact with the Hiring Hall and even look down on those who choose to sail in relief categories. This carries over to the vessel, with the steady men conveying a sense of ownership, entitling them to put down the informal rules. The relief people sometimes feel like visitors or even intruders.

Intergenerational conflict was mentioned by six interviewees as an important factor affecting helping traditions. Older seamen spoke of their love of ships and the sea, complaining that the "young person going to sea sees it only as a job." They also expressed concern about drug use by the young. Young seafarers smiled, saying that older seamen sometimes acted like the parents they were trying to get away from. Young people also reported feeling confused and alone when joining a vessel and being left to figure things out for themselves. In each case, though, an older seaman ultimately came forward and took them under wing.

Finally, some complained that the communal notion of work had been lost. Work tended to be defined more narrowly now, within the three departments of deck, engine and steward. In the past a larger sense of work prevailed transcending departments. Everyone took part in a "unified adventure."

While the participants thought these factors were seriously impacting on the occupation's helping traditions, all but five thought they were still very much alive. Care, concern, and help were there, although they had to make accommodations to a new world and a vastly changed industry.

Many seamen saw Personal Service Unit as an organizational expression of their helping traditions. Some said in a more complex industry and world, helping had to be informed and disciplined. There was the feeling that the Personal Service Unit filled the void left by change. It also brought the capacity to help, or connect with help, the seaman impaired with alcohol, emotional or family problems. No one gave the impression, though, that Personal Service Unit had in any way displaced the occupation's own helping traditions. Many problems called for a sustained professional effort, if real help was to be given. Personal Service Unit was an outgrowth of that recognition. Some of the participants actually saw Personal Service Unit resting on the foundation of the occupational helping traditions. This was especially true of recovering alcoholic seamen who saw a major role for Personal Service Unit in facilitating opportunities for seamen to help each other. A handful of seamen saw a major organizational potential for Personal Service Unit. They indicated the Unit was in an advantageous position to see both the problems and the strengths of the occupation. In view of this, it was the formal program's role to get and keep people healthy and confident, to point out the problems and difficulties adversely

affecting health and confidence and to contribute to and utilize the seamen's ability to get along with one another. Finally, some of the group felt that Personal Service Unit's major responsibility to the occupation and the Union lay in consistently raising the consciousness of the industry to help giving. The formal program had a major role in preserving the informal help exchanges and traditions by celebrating them wherever they were found and pointing out their enormous value.

E. The Dialogue/Training Initiative: Summary of Group Sessions

Pre-Session Notations

All but one of the 13 participants were present 10 minutes before the trainer was to officially convene the first session. Seating was arranged in a semicircle, with the trainer's seat and recording devices placed in the middle of the open end of the semicircle. There were no assigned seats for any of the participants or the two co-trainers, although it was immediately apparent that a number of recovering seamen were congregating together. To some degree, this was both expected and unexpected. Each recovering seaman was an active participant in a self-help group, binding them in fellowship. On the other hand, almost all of the participants, with recovery experiences or not, knew each other. Some had been shipmates together, and it was clear from the way they greeted each other that they had had positive exchanges in the past. The presence of a co-trainer who shared

a recovery background with these seamen was a factor clearly facilitating this process, as the recovering seamen seemed drawn to him.

Participants' dress reflected they viewed this as an important occasion; dresses, suits and ties for some. Others dressed more casually, but above Hiring Hall standards. The group members seemed glad to be there, pleased at who would be participating with them, eager to get under way, yet apprehensive as to what they might be asked to do. Organizational support was noted and commented on favorably by a number of participants. The sessions were taking place in the conference room, where much of the Union's and industry's official business took place. Coffee and refreshments were provided and set up on a table off to the side. They were to be made available by the Union cafeteria for each session. Lunch was also to be provided to each participant over the two days of training-dialogue initiative. There did not seem to be any discomfort with the presence of the recording devices. Union branch meetings have been recorded for years, to assure accuracy in transcription. The 13 participants were all well connected with the Personal Service Unit and were present due to a long-standing positive relationship. While that relationship was strong enough to justify their presence, the organizational support the Project was enjoying contributed to a sense that this was indeed an important event and undertaking. The message was that the organization viewed the formal helping program as important and that both the

organization and the formal helping program valued and appreciated the input it was seeking from this group.

Participants greeted each other enthusiastically. Each group member already knew at least half of the other participants. Four or five pockets of conversation formed, with the drift of recovering people toward each other, already noted, taking place. There was a sense of warmth, comfort and ease which seamen feel in each other's company.

The trainer called the group to order at the designated starting time with 12 of the 13 participants present. The only missing group member joined the session 15 minutes later, due to a subway delay. The trainer opened the session alluding to the training content and dialogue theme. The training content represented the Personal Service Unit's effort to formulate helping tools which reflected the way seamen gave help to each other. Now there was need for feedback as to whether these tools were perceived as useful and whether the ideas accurately reflected the way seamen exchanged help with each other.

The trainer also reviewed with the group selection criteria. The participants were already somewhat conversant with selection issues from taking part in the interview phase of the Project. The trainer discussed the purpose of the Project in seeking to establish a fuller partnership between the formal program and seamen who were perceived by other Union members as trusted helpers. The participants had used Personal Service Unit, had encouraged others to do so, had made

direct referrals to the Unit, and were advocates for Personal Service Unit and its services within the organization.

The trainer then asked each member to introduce him- or herself. Participants presented themselves and their experiences in the industry with comfort and humor. Each recovering alcoholic made references to his illness and the length of his recovery in his opening remarks. All expressed gladness at being there and more than half acknowledged and embraced a capacity to help. Two took pains to express that helping needed differentiation and was a quality phenomenon. They distinguished between sea lawyers and helpers. A sea lawyer has a negative connotation in the maritime industry and is a term to define a seaman who has become expert at manipulating the system. He does not act with concern for the integrity of the job or for his shipmates. He lives off the industry more than he participates in it. Often he will advise a seaman who has come on hard times of schemes to be taken advantage of. Just as often his advice is wrong, because he does not listen, does not care and does not know as much as he thinks he does. Helping and being perceived by others as a helper was acceptable and embraced by the participants with this important nuance. Introductions and clarifications aside, the trainer was set to present issues, content and points of dialogue of the first session.

Session I: The Chemically Dependent Seaman and His Shipmate's or Union Brother's Response. Can and Should Seamen Intervene in Another Seaman's Drinking or Drug Problem?

The trainer began by discussing notions of the disease concept of alcoholism, as well as a view of addiction as a social problem affecting the problem drinker and all those around him. He also presented some of the responses to this issue which seamen had made in the needs assessment phase of the Project. It was pointed out that while most seamen, whether with a recovering background or not, accepted the disease concept; there were a few who expressed reservation. To this, three of the non-alcoholic participants responded that although they accepted the disease concept, they really did not understand the compulsive nature of addiction. Why would anyone continue to make use of a substance that was obviously destroying his life? It was the two women in the group, neither of whom had ever seriously abused or become dependent on alcohol, who presented this point most forcefully. They kept pressing for a definition of alcoholism.

Two senior seamen in the group, in terms of both ratings and length of time in the industry, responded. They described alcoholism as both a mental obsession and a physical addiction. They spoke of alcohol as a dangerous drug, which if newly discovered today might be banned. In terms of their own recoveries, seeing and accepting alcoholism as a disease was critical. They were not sinners or bad people; they had

an illness. They found comfort, peace and a way out when they came to understand that they were sick, but could get better. The best definition they and the trainer could offer the group was that one is an alcoholic when that substance takes over his life, with the individual losing control of his own life's direction. In short, alcohol is making one's life unmanageable.

The non-alcoholics followed this discussion very carefully. They listened attentively and with sensitivity, yet it was clear that they were puzzled. A male non-alcoholic responded that he did not think the life unmanageability criterion was all that reliable. He knew a number of seamen who did their job and met their responsibilities as well as anyone, but who certainly had a drinking problem. The recovering in the group felt this was often true, but was frequently the result of enabling. The alcoholic's life stays manageable when everyone covers up for him, when co-workers do his job and when family members close their eyes and pretend everything is all right. The group also distinguished between alcoholism and alcohol abuse. A number of people can drink quite heavily, but they do not develop dependency on the chemical. Alcohol does not become the most important element in their life. If their physician told them their health was in jeopardy, they would and could stop drinking.

The group seemed to be struggling with three tensions at this point. First, for the alcoholics this was difficult because they were no longer talking just to each other.

Concepts which would be taken for granted or experiences which would be immediately understood in their fellowship were not being accepted without question and were even being challenged. The non-alcoholics seemed to be contending with two tensions of their own. Here they were with a group of people who had made a critical life decision to stop drinking. In the back of their heads, a few in the group seemed to be measuring their own drinking. Comments like, "I passed out once" or, "I have had a few bad hangovers" indicated that some self-examination was occurring. As frequently happens with an intense discussion of almost any illness, consciously or unconsciously, the discussants wonder whether they have it. The third tension the group seemed to be struggling with was unresolved feelings about how work and family life had been affected by an alcoholic person. At some point in life just about everyone feels quite uncomfortable and taken aback by the drinking of a significant other. Lingering anger, resentment, pain and disappointment were evident in the group, especially among the non-alcoholics, who had so few opportunities to get in touch with this issue. Comments like, "why can't they stop?" and, "why are they so touchy and hostile?" were clues of unresolved, difficult experiences in the past.

An Hispanic and recovering seaman tried to speak to some of this tension. Over the two days of the Project, his comments always seemed to be based on his own strong reflective capacity. In each session he seemed to help the group see an

issue in a new way. He suggested that alcoholism could not be understood by too exclusive a focus on physical addiction. The real torture is mental and spiritual. He drank and did his job. It was years before anyone knew he had a drinking problem. His body's strong constitution was a liability. He was not that physically sick. Long before his body broke down, the courage in his mind and heart had evaporated. He drank to have the courage to do his job. He drank to face a family crisis. He drank to drive a car. He became absolutely convinced he could face no task in his life without alcohol.

The co-trainer, who had had both a background in recovery and as a seaman, used this statement as a springboard for an important concept. He suggested that non-alcoholics use alcohol like any other commodity. They can take it or leave it. Most of all, when they drink, they can generally predict how much they will consume and what they will do tomorrow. The alcoholic cannot predict. He may be all right, which will suggest he can try again to drink normally. On the other hand, the first drink may lead to catastrophe. He may lose a day, a week, a month, or even years of his life. Alcohol removes all personal predictability from his life. The notion of non-predictability seemed to take hold of each participant. Heads were nodding understandingly around the room. It seemed to provide the non-alcoholic with a focal point that had been missing up to now.

The pressure to drink was the next issue the group took up. Alcohol has always been an important part of the maritime

industry subculture, as it has for many male-intensive, working class populations. The non-alcoholics were especially interested in how those in recovery handled the pressure of alcohol's pervasive presence and use. The recovering reported that the vast majority of seamen respected their decision not to drink. In fact, those who knew them from when their addiction was active often expressed gladness and support. Occasionally, though, a seaman would purposefully and directly attempt to entice a recovering seaman to join him in a drink. Almost always, the recovering saw this shipmate as someone with a drinking problem of his own. He was in need of a drinking partner and was acting out of his own illness.

While the group saw alcohol as a major problem in the industry, there was consensus that the problem was declining rather than growing. Many people had gotten help. The Union and the industry had attempted to address the problem. Many, unfortunately, were unable to arrest the disease's steady progression and were either dead or far too sick to function. A few of the recovering seamen suggested that when an industry does not address alcohol it assumes exaggerated proportions, because alcoholics try to convince the world that everyone drinks like they do. Only in their recovery did they realize that most seamen either do not drink or that their drinking is not disrupting their life and work.

The capacity of alcohol to cause pain, anguish and confusion in work life was still considered to be enormous. This became evident as the trainer invited comments on an

issue which came up in the needs assessment regarding the tendency of alcoholics in the industry to find each other and congregate on alcoholic ships. Here, a young black seaman reported, drinking is pervasive. The whole ship can be locked into drinking, the Captain, supervisory staff and the unlicensed staff. An otherwise gentle, thoughtful and good-humored man, he could only shake off constant invitations and demands that he drink by saying that he was a violent, homicidal alcoholic, who always turned first on the man who asked him to drink.

The trainer asked the group to describe what it was like to work and live on such vessels. The two women in the group offered vivid descriptions. Swings in mood and personality changes were enormous. One moment the ship was happy and cheerful, until competences broke down and the vessel was in trouble. Then things went from wonderful to terrible. The whole voyage was marked by inconsistency and never knowing where you stood. Ultimately, a scapegoat would be picked out on whom all the ship's troubles could be blamed. A conspiracy to make life miserable for that person would then ensue. One of the women actually felt scapegoated like that some years ago and resigned a job which was hard to come by. Another participant reported his most recent voyage, on which the Captain and other officers drank somewhat heavily. One of the officers could not keep pace and fell out, leaving the Engine Department to function without him. When an unlicensed seaman (NMU member) in the same department went down

subsequently with his drinking, the department's resources were stretched to the breaking point. He described the voyage as 70 days of hell, with life aboard the vessel reduced to sleep and work.

The trainer reviewed with the group the concept of intervention with special emphasis on Johnson's five principles and their application and adaption to the maritime industry. In introducing his remarks he indicated that on certain vessels, like the one the group had just described, application would be difficult, if not impossible.

The non-alcoholics seemed to be searching for authority which would support their intervention into a chemical dependency problem. The recovering alcoholics had the authority of their own experience and a program of life extracted from the philosophy of their fellowship. On what authority could non-alcoholics intervene in an illness they knew little about? The group discussed and found motivation for intervention from three vantage points. First, every seaman, whether recovered or not, had an absolutely legitimate interest in his own safety, as well as that of the crew and vessel. Second, every seaman was linked to the integrity of the job and successful completion of the voyage. When one was not contributing, it affected all and was the legitimate concern of all. Third, in the time-honored traditions of seamen, it has always been a concern that a sick seaman get help. True, the issues were more complicated here. The illness is one which the individual denies he has, and there is a good chance he will react

hostilely to the offer of help. Yet, the principle that the sick seaman should be helped would still seem to hold. This last point was still held somewhat tenuously. At the encouragement of the recovering in the group, the non-alcoholics were willing to try it on for size, but they were still not sure it fit.

One of the women in the group, who held a position of Chief Steward, said that she accepted how alcohol or drug use could not be ignored when it was causing harm to the individual the crew or the vessel. The group interrupted her for a second to underscore her allusion to harmful drinking. No group member was against alcohol and its responsible use. No one wanted to adopt a prohibitionist attitude. Concern was for those seamen who were giving clear signs that the chemical was taking over their lives. After that clarification, which needed more emphasis than it had been receiving up to now, the Chief Steward continued. She accepted the need and responsibility to intervene, but felt she needed tools and techniques to handle the hostility she might very well incur. What do you do with the person's anger? She reported intoxicated seamen hollering, throwing food around and fighting. The fighting usually takes place with someone else who has been drinking. How do you respond to hostility? Do you have to get a person to admit that they have lost control of their drinking?

The group and the trainer both returned to Johnson's five principles. The theme of concern must dominate. This

is not a confrontation, but an expression of genuine concern. The recovering in the group agreed with Johnson and believed that even at their sickest moments alcoholics were capable of receiving their behavior reflected back to them, if it was done with genuine concern. They all held that an alcoholic can accept the facts, if they are presented to him with love. In fact, such expressions of concern were keys to their own recovery. At times, a recovered person approached to tell them it does not have to be this hard. On other occasions, a friend or even a child would simply say, "you drink too much."

The group discussed guidelines or rules to shape, inform and discipline any attempt to intervene in a shipmate's or Union member's drinking problem. Three major rules were put forward, with some discussion as to why adherence to them was critical. First, the recovering strongly urged that no one ever be approached while he was intoxicated. Rarely can important and meaningful communication take place when someone is under the influence of a chemical. The recovering thought that alcoholics were particularly open to communication about the pain and chaos in their life in the 70 hours or so they were withdrawing from the chemical. At that time, physical discomfort undermines denial. Second, the theme of concern must be dominant. The group felt that each person who contemplated speaking to a chemically dependent person about their addiction should be aware of his own attitudes and discomfort. Once aware, he should assess his ability to

stick to a theme of concern, even if intervention is resisted. Third, no one should diagnose, accuse or judge. The intervention aims primarily at getting the individual to discuss the problem with the formal helping program. While chemical dependency is not particularly hard to diagnose, it is extraordinarily hard to accept. It is the formal helping program's responsibility to reach and carefully uncover this resistance. Personal Service Unit is to see to it that the natural helpers' referrals have the opportunity to honestly evaluate their need for care.

The recovering cautioned the group that this was all seed planting. Their own recoveries were built on an accumulation of frights and concerns they received from others, which all added up to the overwhelming evidence that they needed help. If concern for another's uncontrolled drinking could be demonstrated more frequently, more recoveries would be possible and at an earlier stage of the illness. The group ended its discussion of chemical dependency and intervention by returning to the theme that every seaman bore some responsibility for solving this problem. To turn away and avoid was to enable and become part of the problem. To express concern under the guidelines put forward and to move a seaman with a drinking or drug problem through the formal helping program was to be part of the solution.

Session II: How and with What Seamen Help Each Other--
Natural Helping Networks. Can and Should Seamen Go
Forward Purposely in Constructing and Participating
in Helping Networks?

The trainer opened the second session by indicating that the Personal Service Unit had attempted to respond to many human service needs in the 10 years of its existence. The first session dealt with a major occupational problem, which is often complicated by denial and which requires a unique and special form of intervention to address it. Merchant seamen, though, have come to Personal Service Unit for many reasons and with requests for help which have been extraordinarily diverse. Before considering the variety of human service needs around which seamen have asked for service, the trainer suggested it might be useful to consider the difficulty and hesitancies each of us experiences in asking for help. Success as natural helpers would certainly be abetted by an understanding of what those contemplating asking for help were going through.

The group reiterated many of the obstacles to seeking help they had expressed in the needs assessment and interview phase of the Project. The fear that everybody will know, the hesitancy to expose yourself and the belief that you are the only one with this problem were all thought to be paralyzing postures, which could lock someone into a painful situation. Most of the group members acknowledged gaining a great sense of relief from talking over a problem they were experiencing

with a shipmate. However, they quickly added that it had to be the right shipmate, someone who could be trusted. A major obstacle to seeking help was thought to be denial. This was certainly true in the issue of chemical dependency, but may be true to varying degrees in many human problems or illnesses. It is hard to admit to yourself that you have lost control of a situation or that it is really getting you down. Also, when you are lost inside a problem, you can no longer see clearly how it is affecting you.

The trainer indicated that the group had a good sense as to how and why one gets stuck inside an illness or problem. He returned to the earlier theme of trustworthiness. Members had reported relief if they could share their pain, confusion and apprehension with a trusted shipmate. What did they mean by trusted? How would they describe a trusted shipmate? The trainer shared with the group the response to the inquiry in the interviews about the good shipmate. The most frequently mentioned characteristic of the good shipmate was someone who thoroughly knew his job and who was highly competent and comfortable in all phases of his work.

The group reacted strongly against any suggestion that job competency be a measure of trustworthiness, sensitivity or helpfulness. Each group member could think of seamen who functioned flawlessly, like robots. Unfortunately, they had about the same amount of feeling. Reaction here was quite strong, with two participants who had been fairly quiet to this point becoming adamant in their objection to the image

of the competent seaman being linked with the trusted helper.

In retrospect, the equation of the good shipmate with the trusted helper resulted from oversimplification and lack of clear differentiation in the interviews between concepts which were potentially different and which, in fact, did not prove to be convergent. Both the trainer and the group came to see this more clearly in their dialogue, with the group gently but firmly pointing out that the training content might be mixing apples and oranges. The good shipmate and the trusted helper could be the same person, but by no means had to be so. Competence was highly valued and respected in the middle of a vast ocean where lack of knowledge and skill could mean disaster. Yet, the seaman you looked to in rough seas was not necessarily the seaman you looked for in rough times.

Having offered clarification, the group went on to describe three qualities of a trusted helper. First, helpers should have a certain ease and contentment about themselves. They should be happy doing what they are doing. A seaman turned in against himself or his occupation could not transcend his own situation enough to respond to a request for help. Second, helpers should be compassionate people. Helpers are people who see, feel for and experience a need to reach out to others in pain or who are being taken advantage of. They want to stop the hurting or the unfairness. Finally, a helper must respect confidentialitys. The helper should respect his shipmate's privacy and add to, not subtract

from, his sense of dignity. It was disturbing to group members to share a problem with a shipmate only to have a third party approach them later about a communication they had assumed would be treated with confidence. The ability to maintain confidence was an essential part of maturity in helping. It meant the helper could key in on the problem and the discomfort of his shipmate and not his own need for whatever gratification could be obtained from revealing a secret.

The group seemed to be struggling with a dilemma here. On one hand, everyone acknowledged experiences of relief from sharing a difficult personal home or work problem with a shipmate. The relief was genuine and meaningful, with the sharing, at times, leading to help. Sometimes, though, the relief was short-lived, when the seaman discovered to his horror that his problem was a principal topic of conversation for all crew members aboard the vessel.

The trainer and co-trainer responded to the group's concern by indicating that just as the group saw confidentiality as a cornerstone of the natural help exchanged in the industry among seamen, it was also part of the foundation of the formal, professional program. The trainer pointed out that the right to that confidentiality within Personal Service Unit was considered critical and totally respected by the Union and the Pension and Welfare Plan. It was also a part of the ethical code of the two helping professions serving the membership in the formal program, social work and alcoholism counseling. The trainer drew the discussion on confidentiality

to a close by suggesting that since the group saw keeping confidence as critical to the helping identity, a commitment to this principle be incorporated into the rules and guidelines the group was adopting, as it moved along in its considerations.

The trainer reviewed Gottlieb's four stages of "Workmate's Influence on the Course of Problem Management" with the group. Gottlieb's notions were easily applicable to the analysis of help the group had already undertaken. The participants saw clearly a role for natural helpers assisting shipmates in problem recognition, help seeking, help getting and in reintegration-return. Many of the examples given around the four stages of problem management and natural helping were again from the area of chemical dependency. This prompted some of the non-alcoholics to suggest that the group and the formal helping program might be underestimating or not paying sufficiently close attention to other problems. It was their feeling that many seamen had serious smoking problems and would be quite responsive to a program offering help. Others suggested that the tendency toward weight problems had reached epidemic proportions. Food is a major source of gratification at sea, because there are not too many options in the middle of the ocean. The idea was also put forward by a few participants that while many seamen elected sporadic employment scattered over many different vessels for legitimate personal reasons, others might be choosing such work routines to conceal mental health or chemical dependency

problems. Beyond the issue of concealment, the problems might dictate a limited capacity to work.

Most of the group thought this was a diminishing problem, though, and was being supplanted by an even more disturbing phenomenon. The fragile and marginal short-term seamen, who sought periodic work in the industry's seasonal upswings, was now gone. The depression in the industry had sent them elsewhere, while Group I seamen (full National Maritime Union members) now took jobs that in the past went to Group II. (Group II seamen are registered in Union Hiring Hall, but are not National Maritime Union members. If they sail sufficient days within designated periods, they can elect to join the National Maritime Union. Then, as full book members, they have the same chance to compete for jobs in the rotary shipping system of the Union Hiring Hall. If no Group I competes for a job, Group IIs are then free to do so. While the National Maritime Union Hiring Hall in New York once had hundreds of Group II seamen, in the last five years their numbers have declined to the point where there are now only a handful.)

Two or three group members thought that a much more pervasive concealment or swallowing of problems was now going on in the industry. The reduction in crew size, the high incidence of accidents or suits in the maritime industry, the lack of medically trained personnel aboard a vessel, poorly equipped medicine chests, the high cost of repatriation from a foreign port for an ill or hurt seaman, all coupled with

the extremely tight job situation put enormous pressure on seamen to conceal, cover up or try to tough out a medical problem. When there were some 30 or 40 companies under contract to the National Maritime Union, a seaman did not have to worry if there were a few instances where he and the company did not separate from each other on the best of terms. Now with only four to five major companies dominating the industry, it was imperative to stay in their good graces. One could not afford to get the reputation of being sickly or accident prone.

Two participants related incidents illustrating this problem. One of the women in the group had contracted food poisoning aboard a vessel. Although she was seriously ill and actually thought she might be dying, her supervisor reacted by accusing her of not wanting to work. She recalled feeling very much alone and that she might be going crazy. Her isolation was intensified by being the only woman aboard the ship. Shipmates, though, did rally to her. She left the vessel, was hospitalized overseas and repatriated when she got well. Another member described an incident on his last trip. A piece of loose piping swung around in heavy winds, striking a shipmate's leg and fracturing it. The Mate (Deck Department Supervisor) kept telling the injured seaman he was all right and to report back to work. It was only at the seaman's own insistence, with the crew rallying to him, that he was sent off the vessel for medical care and the fracture diagnosed.

Some in the group, although acknowledging that these incidents unfortunately do happen, thought they were the exception, rather than the rule. The industry was changing, and the changes, for the most part, were not good for seamen; yet all was not hopeless, bleak or uncontrollable. Seamen were not by nature docile. They have always had to watch out for themselves and for each other. It is as much a part of the fabric of the occupation as are water and ships.

It was apparent that two currents were meeting in the group and causing tension. Some were saying the erosion of the industry, and the feeling that power was back in management's hands, made some live and work in fear, to the point where they were reluctant to assert their rights. Others acknowledged these shifts, but did not see them in such catastrophic dimensions. They were part of the natural ebb and flow of labor relations. The seamen who took this stand seemed confident in their ability to watch out for themselves and to negotiate a satisfactory relationship with supervisors aboard the vessel.

Two Hispanic seamen tried to bridge the gap between these two views. The first said that when he boards a vessel he knows that his first job is to try to create the environment in which he likes to work. He makes it clear that he knows the job, enjoys doing it and is concerned for the whole crew's welfare. A successful voyage depends on everyone aboard. For each crew member, it is his voyage and his ship, and he must take some responsibility for making it a suitable place to

live and work. On his last trip a young seaman in an entry rating became ill. For about 10 days he went to his young shipmate's room with a meal tray three times a day, each time staying with him while he ate his meal. No one asked him to do it. He was not in the Steward's Department. He just wanted to do it. The Captain, though, did ask him for help in another matter. He was concerned about a crew member's drinking, one of the officers, and wondered how he could best go about helping the man. He told these stories to illustrate that you must make everyone know, from top to bottom, how you want this ship to be in regard to the respect, care and consideration people doing a difficult job together deserve. On some ships you can create that environment without too much trouble, because everyone is with you. On others, it is a constant fight, but you can make small changes and you feel you are doing the right thing.

The second seaman supported this response. He indicated that for the last five years he has been the Ship's Chairman on almost every vessel on which he has served. He indicated that there are seamen who can talk for themselves and those who cannot. In addition, if someone is hurting or sick, his ability to talk for himself is probably diminished. He always saw it as his obligation, as a shipmate and Union brother, to get help for the person who was having some kind of trouble.

The two statements did help the group find an acceptable consensus. Each group member felt in reviewing painful and

difficult circumstances in their years of going to sea that there was someone around in almost every instance who wanted to solve the problem or take the pain away. Group members said there must be a leader, and in difficult moments it always seemed a seaman came forward. A black seaman, who was also the youngest participant, summed up the group's mood. He said seamen certainly were not docile, but in a depressed industry, undergoing many changes, there were caution flags all over the place. It was not the time to make waves, unless they absolutely had to be made. A couple of group members repeated an adage, which came up frequently throughout the Project, that "seamen always rally to the shipmate in trouble." A number of heads nodded in agreement, but it seemed a few felt this missed the point of the more active stance described by the two Hispanic seamen. It was obviously better not to just be waiting for people to get into trouble. The woman in the group, who held a Chief Steward position, indicated that the old timers in the industry were keeping up the traditions. She was not sure the younger generation was connected to them, or cared about them. Inter-generational conflict was an issue which would come up frequently throughout the initiative. The trainer indicated that helping traditions in the industry and the present state of their actual practice were the major concern of the next session. There were, though, a number of points regarding needs and helping networks which Personal Service Unit wanted to share with the group and to which it was anxious to get

their response.

The trainer reviewed the six helping behaviors described by Waren. Members saw themselves as having actually engaged in all six stages of the helping continuum. The trainer presented Waren's notions while giving examples of the full range of Personal Service Unit's advocacy and clinical services. Social Security problems, disability, housing needs and complaints, legal consumer problems, health and health care payment problems, unemployment insurance complexities were all discussed in the context of how Personal Service Unit responds to those needs for help and how seamen are encouraged by shipmates to come to Personal Service Unit to seek help for these needs. Stress aboard the vessel and at home was also discussed and how it manifested itself in forms of anxiety, depression or even in conversion into physical symptoms. The session was by now three hours old. It ended with a flurry of suggestions on how Personal Service Unit could work with the Peer Committee to better publicize its program. It was thought that while the membership utilized Personal Service Unit with consistency and held it in high regard, there were still many seamen who had no real grasp of the depth and extent of its services. The suggestions were all noted, and the trainer indicated that each would be brought up for full discussion in the fourth session when the group tried to put together a strategy for moving the Project forward and for evaluating it. One member capped the session and first day by indicating that he was proud of the National

Maritime Union, because it was the only maritime union with such a substantial commitment to human service, as evidenced by this day and all Personal Service Unit's efforts.

Session III: The Helping Traditions Among Merchant Seamen. Can and Should Networking and Intervention Be an Authentic Expression of This Occupation's Helping Traditions?

All 13 participants were in the meeting room well in advance of starting time for the third session of the training-dialogue initiative, which took place on the Project's second day. The mild apprehension of the first day was strikingly absent. The room was filled with laughter. Group members mixed freely, took different seats without any noticeable grouping, as on the previous day when the recovering in the group obviously sought each other out.

The trainer commented on the above, indicating that there seemed to be an air of both relaxation and enthusiasm in the room. The session began with the trainer alluding to the complexities and difficulties of being our brother's keeper, an issue men and women have struggled with since the dawn of time. In spite of this, the trainer indicated that in the almost 10 years he had served merchant seamen he had been continuously moved and even inspired by the care and concern seamen share for each other. There were examples of seamen extending hospitality and lodging to the stranded or broke. Substantial amounts of money would be loaned and even given to another seaman who had come on hard times. Seamen

would take it on themselves to watch out for seamen who seemed to be in pain or stress. The trainer also indicated that in the interviews two very different themes emerged: first, that those traditions of help were waning and were in danger of dying off, and second, that they were changing, but still very much alive.

A white seaman with high ratings and many years in the industry responded first. He indicated that in the past seaman had no outside ties. He related two incidents from a number of years ago, when he was first sailing. He was playing pool at the "Dog House" (Seamen's Church Institute) with an old-timer. It was in between trips and his reserves were low, although he had not said a word to anyone. The old-timer put \$200 on the table and told him to take it. He further indicated that if they saw each other again, it could be repaid. If not, he should consider giving it to somebody he might run across who seemed to need it. On another occasion, an older seaman came up to him saying that he was throwing his money around in a bar the night before. Although the younger man had no recollection of it, his older shipmate told him that he took all his money away, fearing he was going to lose it or get beat for it. Now that he had a better hold on himself, the older man was returning it.

The male Chief Steward offered the notion that changing surroundings and choices in life made for changes in tradition. Now each seaman has his own room aboard the vessel, which tends to isolate him more from his shipmates. Most

seamen today elect to marry and have families, resulting in vessel and shipmates not being primary home and family. In addition, seamen now have benefits like Personal Service Unit and unemployment insurance to get them through hard times, with less need to rely exclusively on each other. He felt, though, that the seed was still there and that new ships with smaller crews were bringing it to life again, as seamen really need each other. Men and women get to know each other well when they must rely on each other day in and day out. The new ships and crew size make this clearer than ever.

The co-trainer related incidents from his own background as a seaman. As a young seaman, he, too, was given money by older shipmates. In those days seamen took care of each other; there was always a place to stay and enough to eat and drink. He described layers of loyalty every seaman felt to his shipmates, to his ship, to his department, to his watch and watch partners. Seamen would share gear and keep an extra locker with gear they had accumulated for a man who might come aboard broke and without any. He used words like "tight" and "close" to express his sense of how seamen were bonded to each other.

The trainer noted that most of the stories of concern contributed were based on experiences the group members had had some time ago. What was it like now? One seaman responded that the fast turnaround time had changed the industry and removed a major opportunity for seamen to get to know each other. A few years ago a ship and its crew would spend

days to a week in port. Now, with full containerization, it was only a matter of hours. The substantial amount of leisure time seamen would spend together exploring a foreign port was past. There were still good shipmates, though, who watched out for each other aboard the vessel and who would be a shipmate to you ashore in dangerous waterfronts around the world, when opportunities to go ashore did present themselves.

The group returned to the issue of a seaman's own room, again indicating it was a mixed blessing. Not only did one have a room, but it could become a self-contained fortress. Seamen now came aboard with their own TV-VCR hookup. Recreation rooms could be avoided entirely. Some seamen were glad to share their films and cassettes with the rest of the crew, while others saw having their own machinery as a way out of making necessary compromises and accommodations with each other in the ship's recreation room. Air conditioning in the rooms was another both delightful and dubious advance. It has all but eliminated a favorite institution of seamen, the port side hatch gathering. Here in the ocean breeze the whole off-duty crew would gather to hold court, to philosophize on the state of the world and to tell and retell many past adventures.

The group then took up a major theme, brought up initially by both a man and a woman whose roots and early sailing went back to the passenger ship days. They indicated that young seamen are very different. They do not want to

learn or be bothered. To them, it is just a job. They also have little sense of the struggle their forebears have gone through. A group participant reported a young seaman telling him how good conditions were aboard the vessel and in the National Maritime Union Upgrading School and praising the steamship operators for their concern and enlightenment. The older man cautioned the younger about ever thinking that this came from the goodness of company hearts. It took self-sacrifice from the previous generation of seamen and an intense Union effort to build it. It may take it, again, to hold on to it.

The youngest group participant responded with firmness. The tone in his voice and expression on his face seemed to indicate that he did not want to negate what was said by the older participants, but he did want to balance the equation. He said bad attitudes at sea, in his experience, were not a condition of age. There were a number of older seamen concerned about their level of skill and physical dexterity in a radically changing industry. Due to advances in technology and reduced crew size, a seaman today had to be more capable both mentally and physically. Some of the older seamen, who had not studied or retrained, were in the difficult position of knowing less than their younger shipmates whom they, at times, resented and feared. In addition, to the younger seaman, the ship was not all there was to life. He was also working for his home and his children's future.

The seaman who began the session with his own moving

anecdote of early experiences in benefiting from a shipmate's concern reflected that this tension may result from too narrow an outlook. Forty years ago he heard seamen lamenting that things are not the same. He added that we must adapt ourselves to circumstances; circumstances rarely adapt themselves to us.

The group, though, was still struggling with this issue and not ready for closure. A participant declared that he did not know if the tension was between the old and the young, but he had the feeling that seamen found it easier to get along years ago on the passenger ships with crews of 700 to 1,000 than they did now with crews of 20 to 30. It is not the same. A woman answered that the sense of the crew as family is gone. The male Chief Steward countered that families are not always enveloped in happiness and good feelings. Perhaps the passenger ships were not a good measure. They were luxurious, opulent floating parties, and everyone got caught up in the celebration. He suggested that a seaman's work life was now gravitating toward another extreme, work, sleep and little else. A number of heads nodded in agreement. A member added that, in spite of advanced electronics and a tendency on the part of seamen to enjoy privacy more, he still found good crews. There were still seamen who enjoyed being and working with each other.

At this point the trainer indicated that some in the group stressed changes in the industry and others underscored changes in seamen. Both could certainly be true and

interrelated, but was there any reason for emphasizing one over the other?

A seaman from the Engine Department responded. He was a man widely respected for advocating for other seamen, yet with a very gentle and sensitive quality. He had not spoken to this point in the third session. He said that in these questions, seamen should not forget the industry, but they should concentrate more attention on themselves. They have more control over themselves than they do over the industry. He went on to describe a program of life or code that he adheres to aboard a vessel. It was in some ways similar to the code the Hispanic seaman described in an earlier session. Unlike the Hispanic seaman, this man had no recovery background or self-help traditions to help for such a program. This man clearly viewed work as a communal enterprise. As soon as he came aboard a vessel he began, and then continued, an assessment of what needed to be done and the capacity of the crew member primarily responsible to do it. And so, on the trip he just completed, he noted there was a 100-pound ordinary seaman who would be called on to move 400-pound oil drums. He told him at the beginning of the trip that when the time came to do it, he was available to help and cautioned him about trying to do it himself. He also told the Deck Department, that although in the engine room, he was not above helping with the wet and heavy nylon lines, when it came time to tie up the vessel. He made it clear that he would help when another's work was getting out of control,

even if he was off or if he had to put his own work aside for a moment. Finally, he looked ahead in regard to his own job and responsibility, not hesitating to ask for a hand when he needed it.

The group responded to this work style and commitment by acknowledging that a number of seamen carried themselves this way. Some ships operated with this spirit, but just as many seamen adopted a narrower outlook. In fact, shipboard supervision sometimes encouraged a more limited sense of job.

Some seamen rigorously and adamantly limited their activity to their job, and the Company reinforced this. The first question asked by the Company when someone got hurt was whether the injury was incurred while doing one's own job. If not, on whose authority was the seaman acting?

The group felt, though, that most companies, ships and crews transcended this narrow outlook. The code of good seamanship and of the good shipmate, which meant giving each other a hand, was for the most part prevailing. The trainer got the feeling, though, that the group was reflecting, somewhat sadly, that what was once taken for granted was now being questioned. This was reinforced by one group member. He said the sense the Union began with was that an injury to one was an injury to all. Today that feeling was fading. Seamen were in danger of losing their history. A labor organization's biggest enemy is sometimes its own success. The edge, which made for unity, is lost when better conditions are won. The new generation thinks things were always like

this.

The Chief Steward returned to his earlier contention about the new Goliath ships and their small crews, with one trip on and one trip off. There was a rebirth of comradery taking place out there. Work was hard, but people were able to laugh about it together. There was a clear recognition that they were in absolute need of each other. For him, a critical time for seamen came when mail caught up with a vessel in a port on the other side of the world after many days at sea. Through the years he exhibited his concern by watching people after they received, or did not receive, mail. He would then follow it up by initiating a conversation about the good, bad or no news. Recently, on one of these new giant vessels, he found shipmates watching him as he read his letters. They were returning his concern. It was doubly appreciated. It told him that his initial outreach meant something. Also, he was in need of and glad to receive their care himself.

Reduced crew size and the need for prompt, effective help was an issue the group returned to often. Every person aboard the vessel was now a key player, having to be on his toes at all times. It was no longer possible to cover for someone who drinking or troubled. It was necessary to know how, when and where to obtain help and how to get seamen to it. Personal Service Unit was more important than ever. Small crews required seamen who could and would work together. Otherwise, disaster awaited. An older seaman, who sailed in

the highest Deck Department rating, said it was fine to say crew solidarity was necessary. He agreed, but what if a crew could not achieve it? It was too much to just expect. He was thinking seriously of retiring and going back to the Islands, where he had his own small boat. On the new vessels, problems or illnesses were prohibited. It was like going back to slavery. At a given moment, as few as five men might be responsible for the operation of an enormous vessel.

Again, the group was taking up a theme and tension which was at the very heartbeat of their occupation. Management was taking a hard stand, saying the survival of the American merchant marine depended on fewer but larger ships, highly automated but with smaller crews, adhering to rigorous schedules and carrying heavy loads of cargo around the world, in a streamlined operation. A whole spectrum of responsible postures was present and clearly articulated in the group. Some seamen accepted this. They ranged from the Chief Steward, who saw it as a new opportunity for solidarity and greeted these changes with enthusiasm, to others who reluctantly acquiesced to the inevitable. The two seamen who shared their programs of concern and job assessment felt they could still adhere to and practice their principles through this industrial change. Another group of seamen were adopting a wait-and-see attitude. They doubted seriously that these changes could ever be positive. They also relied on reports of seamen who had worked on the new vessels to tell

them of the demands of the job. Ironically, the new, large, automated vessels not only called for mental agility, but they required significant physical dexterity as well. Getting quickly around a 1,000-foot vessel in heavy seas is no easy matter for men whose mean age is well over 50. Meanwhile, they would try to select older and more traditional vessels in the National Maritime Union Hiring Hall. They anticipated, though, an increasingly difficult situation, as the new vessels replaced the older ones. Finally, there were a group of seamen saying that if these were the conditions of survival, they would prefer to retire.

The youngest participant responded to the positions which were being staked out by the group. He said he certainly could appreciate the dramatic changes in the industry and the difficulties they were causing. In spite of low morale, he still saw evidence of solidarity and concern among seamen. He mentioned hearing of a ship in trouble and sinking, while he was on the island of Diego Garcia. There was a traffic jam of seamen trying to get to launches and return to their vessels, to take part in rescue operations. Another seaman mentioned the outpouring of concern and grieving when the Marine Electric went down in a winter storm off the coast of Virginia. All but three were lost. The halls in New York and Boston organized moving memorial services, leaving all with a sense of the occupation's oneness.

The trainer commented that the group seemed to be saying that the days and rich tradition of helping were still alive,

but facing a severe challenge. This challenge came not only from changes in the industry but also from changes in seamen. This included the wider range of responsibilities merchant seamen embraced, as they achieved better working conditions, which enabled them to sustain relationships ashore, to marry and to start families of their own. The trainer asked the group how they saw the two notions of the previous sessions, networking and intervention, fitting into these helping traditions. Were they authentic contributions with which the group felt comfortable and were they appropriate and truthful reflections of their own sense of concern and help? The trainer also asked the group to evaluate these notions in line with the strains and tensions the occupation was feeling at this time.

The group member who revealed his job assessment strategy responded first. It was in regard to the networking notion. Without in any way relating the nature of the problem, he told the group that Personal Service Unit had helped him with a complex and difficult family problem. It was quite serious, but with Personal Service Unit's assistance he put balance and structure into a chaotic situation. Now it was a manageable problem and actually improving. While attending to this problem, he learned a lot about himself and about getting help. He thought he was more aware of others who might be undergoing problems like his own. He had already approached seamen who seemed to be preoccupied with something happening at home. He let them know that Personal Service

Unit had given him valuable help in this area.

Everyone in the group indicated that they had made referrals to Personal Service Unit at one time or another. They were, though, startled at the range of Personal Service Unit services, which they had never quite realized, until hearing how other members had been helped by the program. The group made two important points. First, if they were to be informed agents who would make referrals to Personal Service Unit, they needed to have a full, up-to-date sense of what Personal Service Unit had to offer. Second, when the difficulty was more a personal or family problem, the confidential nature of Personal Service Unit's service had to be stressed. It was fine to shout how something Personal Service Unit was doing put more money in your pocket, but help around a personal difficulty deserved privacy and respectfully quiet treatment.

The session ended with a discussion of the appropriateness of the intervention strategies for chemical dependency, outlined in the first session. A group participant, who did not have a recovery background, described an incident on a recent voyage in which he did cover up for a shipmate with a drinking problem. He basically did the man's job, as well as his own, for the day or two he was under the weather. There was some embarrassment in the seaman's voice as he described the incident. He said in the light of these days together, perhaps he had done the wrong thing.

The recovering in the group attempted to put him at ease.

They said that they still get caught up in enabling and covering for the problem drinker. That is the very way the disease affects all those around the alcoholic. Not only that, but it was the correct and appropriate action to reach out to a Union brother and shipmate. The purpose of these days together, though, was to encourage "us" all to go one step further. When that man comes around to thank you, as almost every guilt-ridden alcoholic would, you can talk to him at a moment when he may be temporarily revolted with alcohol himself. As he thanks you, tell him that you are not sure you did him any favor, if he does not think seriously about finding out if he needs help with this problem. The recovering told the group not to expect miracles or thunder claps of realization and insight. Again, it was an accumulation of many such expressions of concern which planted the seeds for their own recoveries.

Session IV: Putting It All Together and Testing for
a True Course. How Can and Should These Initiatives
Be Evaluated for Delivering Help to Seamen in Need
and as an Accurate Reflection of This Occupation's
Helping Traditions?

All participants were present in the meeting room as the trainer introduced the issues of concern for the fourth and final session. The trainer indicated that he would like to put three issues before the group. First, was the group comfortable with the notions of intervention and helping networks discussed in the first two sessions? Second, did the group

see these notions as an accurate reflection of their helping traditions and as a strong enough foundation to support a partnership between the formal and natural helpers, which was this Project's goal? Third, how would they evaluate this Project to be certain it was on a true course? The trainer added that the Personal Service Unit, after reflecting on its own service experience and conducting the interview phase of the Project, had attempted to plan Personal Service Unit's activity over the next five years in a way that would continue to be responsive and close to the membership's concerns. The group was a critical checking point for determining whether the Project was on strong enough ground to proceed, or whether it needed some adjustments or tighter fittings.

The trainer asked the group to return to some of the issues and discussions of Session I on Chemical Dependency Intervention. He reviewed with them quickly the themes of Session I, as well as the principal issues emerging from the intervention material in the interviews. How did the group feel about doing interventions within the guidelines which had been put forward or which emerged from Session I discussions?

Interestingly, four non-alcoholics responded. It became clear that each had grasped the concept of intervention personally by relating it to a past experience. The female Chief Steward spoke first. She indicated that she had "helping" and "accusing" mixed up, in regard to alcohol. Sticking

to a theme of concern made her feel comfortable, freeing her from the fear that intervention would degenerate into accusation and argument. A seaman added that the meaningful person notion made sense to him. He could see himself talking to a friend. There should be something between you and the person you are expression concern to. You have to be important to each other. He did not want to be a crusader, waste his time or to get into an argument with a stranger. He did want to and would help a friend with an alcohol problem and felt he now had a better understanding of how to go about it. An Hispanic seaman said he could definitely see himself trying and already had someone in mind aboard the vessel, when he returned. He also thought that he had gained a better understanding of how he might handle the alcohol problems of some family members. The second woman in the group returned to the theme of concern indicating that she felt it could remove the fear she had of approaching the alcoholic. The trainer asked the group if all felt the same comfort with intervention as was being described by their friends and shipmates. All nodded affirmatively, indicating the group had come to unanimity in this regard.

The trainer next asked the group to take up some of the considerations of Session II on Helping Networks. Again, themes from Session II and the network interview material were quickly reviewed. Just as the apprehension about being perceived as a moral crusader precipitated against intervention, the fear of appearing to others or acting like a sea

lawyer was a factor impeding highly visible networking. The sea lawyer, in large measure, was an end unto himself. The group found it both comforting and encouraging that the helping network of seamen led back to the formal program, which, in turn, was connected and accessible to a whole helping system. In this light, natural and formal helping were intimately related and actually facilitated each other. The natural helpers expressed more willingness and confidence in helping, because the formal professional program was there to back them up. A number of participants expressed confidence in the scout concept, which a seaman himself had conceptualized in the interviews. The natural helpers could see themselves aboard vessels intervening and networking, but they wanted ties back to the formal program which were clear, strong and organizationally visible.

The group brought forward a number of suggestions about how these ties could be fostered and nurtured. First, there might be monthly meetings for all those who had participated in the Project, those who were slated to participate in future training-dialogue sessions and for all seamen who might consider future participation. Second, the group felt it would be both necessary and beneficial to have supporting material. This included Personal Service Unit brochures which should be updated to include some mention of the scope and purpose of this Project and also information on the various programs and entitlements to which Personal Service Unit attempted to assist seamen in gaining access--unemployment

insurance, disability-illness, housing, income maintenance, etc. The formal program should prepare packages with this kind of information for the natural helpers to bring aboard the vessel and distribute. Third, the formal program might consider writing to the Ship's Chairman on a regular basis, advising him again of Personal Service Unit's established capacities and its new initiatives. Personal Service Unit and its activity might even become a formal point of consideration at every shipboard meeting. In that way what Personal Service Unit wished to communicate to the seamen aboard the vessel and what seamen wanted to communicate to Personal Service Unit would actually be reflected in the minutes of shipboard Union meetings. Three issues were raised in regard to this idea:

1. Since Union meetings were at the very center of Union activity, this proposal should have the support and endorsement of the Secretary-Treasurer.
2. While Peer Committee members could have a formal role in implementing this proposal, it could actually go forward with or without them. Furthermore, as it would take Personal Service Unit a number of years to have a full network of natural helpers, it might be advisable to plan implementation of this proposal independently.
3. Union meetings aboard vessels are enormously uneven. On some ships they are spirited and vital; on others the crew treats them as empty formalities. They are poorly attended and rushed through without thought.

Finally, the group thought the formal program could advance its own networking goals either by doing a monthly column in the Union newspaper or by producing a video

cassette on itself, since most vessels now had such equipment.

At this point the participants who were members of the Steward's Department seemed particularly anxious to get to a major concern of their own. Like the Personal Service Unit, they perceived themselves as essential care givers and they wished to present concerns felt from their side of the table. They saw Personal Service Unit as a major resource in helping them serve their shipmates. To their dismay, they indicated that many seamen prefer their food fried and fatty, and their favorite ingredients are salt and sugar. As a result, the Chief Steward in the group said, "It is no mystery that major health problems for merchant seamen are hypertension, high cholesterol, diabetes and obesity." The Stewards pointed out that while Personal Service Unit had made some real efforts in regard to health education for retirees, not much was being done for active seamen. The collaborative effort between the Medical Unit and Personal Service Unit on alcohol and drug education was about all there was. They felt the occupation was in need of a much more extensive effort in health and nutritional education, a notion supported with equal strength by both alcoholic and non-alcoholic participants.

In addition, the co-trainer mentioned that the Stewards' attempt to reach out to ethnic diversity needed support. Sometimes an attempt to expand understanding and horizons was met with narrowness and resentment. The co-trainer saw a role for Personal Service Unit, singly or in collaboration

with the Medical Unit, to be part of the Steward's Department's own network of support in serving seamen.

In response to the trainer's inquiry as to how Personal Service Unit could better respond to this need, the group suggested nutrition-related monthly columns in the Pilot, an ongoing health education series, non-smoking and other health-related groups and a rekindling of the rich appreciation there has always been in the National Maritime Unit that ethnic groups accommodate each other in regard to food preference. Again, the Pilot might be a good vehicle for expressing the important connection between ethnicity and what we eat, as well as the glorious culinary achievements of each group.

The trainer asked the group how they felt about networking and intervention as a reflection or vehicle for the occupation's helping traditions. Again, a group member thought it important to address the lingering notion that seamen do not care as much for each other as in the past. He said it is not that seamen care less for each other, but that they have less to give. There is still a feeling of family out there, but there is also a family at home and responsibility toward them was primary. He thought the ideas of networking and intervention were good ones and could take hold in the organization now, even more than they might have in the past. In his mind, the National Maritime Union had shifted from an organization with enormous local and regional consciousness to a much more homogeneous outlook. He asked the group did they remember what used to come to mind when they heard the

terms "Boston Crew" or "Mobile Crew"? Many in the group, most of them seniors in the industry, acknowledged a whole flood of thoughts coming into their minds. The seaman continued his reflection, indicating that he felt most of that intense regional loyalty is gone now. Seamen now had a more expansive, universal outlook, which transcended local loyalties and narrower views. He returned to his opening remarks, saying that while seamen with more responsibilities may have less to give each other, their outlook and attitudes are wider and more informed. In short, the environment might be better today for the ideas being discussed in these sessions than the golden days the older men like to harken back to.

A non-alcoholic seaman responded that the networking concept made a lot of sense to him. As far as intervention, the sense of timing and documentation made enough sense to him that he could seriously entertain the idea of doing it. He thought, though, among his own friends and peers drinking was becoming less of an issue and problem. Many of his shipmates and Union friends had either stopped drinking or were drinking moderately and responsibly. Some had done this on their own, and many with Personal Service Unit's help. He had the feeling that this problem was becoming increasingly manageable, when you looked at core National Maritime Union membership. However, the National Maritime Union's open-door policy and its leniency with dues and disciplinary procedures attracted dropouts, castoffs, and rejects from the two other major maritime unions. Often these seamen had drinking, drug

or mental health problems. The group agreed that this was a problem, but one requiring considerable discretion. Certainly, they did not want the National Maritime Union to adopt a Spartan, authoritarian posture, as they perceived in the other seafaring unions. In addition, some of the men did all right in the National Maritime Union, and tradition required seamen to reach out to each other beyond organizational affiliation. Unfortunately, the severe erosion of the industry had slowed this process down considerably, making it much more likely that these seamen would drop out of the industry rather than into the National Maritime Union. Finally, one group participant pointed out correctly that since these seamen were in an advanced and visible state of need when they arrived, they usually came to Personal Service Unit's attention quickly in any case.

The trainer asked the group for their suggestions for the Project's evaluation. How could he ascertain that the Project was achieving its goals of peer intervention and referral in regard to chemical dependency and the creation of an informal helping network, acquainting the whole organization with the extent of Personal Service Unit's helping capacities? How could it be determined and measured that a true partnership had been effected between the natural and formal helpers, which was finding and engaging those in need, informing them about help and connecting them to it?

There was a moment of silence, which was broken by the Chief Steward. He said that the time spent together had been

a powerful and enlarging experience. There was much too little opportunity to do this. It should continue, but he hoped it would not be tied to the expectation of immediate results. He went on to say that the first thing that must be kept in mind in working with seamen is that the transitory quality of life hurts the continuity of almost everything. Just about everyone in the group reinforced this notion. They all acknowledged the Project as a valuable effort, which had engaged them deeply, but which would not bear fruit overnight.

The group indicated that the ultimate measure of the Project's success would be increased referrals to Personal Service Unit. They would ask each referral they made to say they were sent by so-and-so. When they completed a voyage, they would inform Personal Service Unit of seamen who seemed amenable to a referral aboard the vessel. The group agreed that each Peer Committee member should report back to Personal Service Unit after a trip, to let the formal program know of what went well or what was a problem.

Many of the earlier ideas about formal incorporation into Union meetings of Personal Service Unit initiatives, programs, announcements was mentioned again not only as an implementing strategy, but as a sign that Personal Service Unit and this Project were being taken seriously. Again the group thought it critical for them to be armed with program literature and information packages. On a long voyage, a seaman can get desperate and thankful for anything to read.

Some things are read so often that they are almost memorized.

The recovering people in the group clearly felt the need to reinforce the notion of patience. They cautioned both the formal program and the non-alcoholics against discouragement. In their own recoveries many friends and family members had to plant seeds and show genuine concern before they were finally reached. None of that concern or seed planting was wasted in the end, although it must have seemed like it to those who reached out to them at the time. A number of the recovering also indicated that it was an expression of concern from a non-alcoholic which was a pivotable point in their own recovery.

The co-trainer brought up the important issue of support post-intervention and treatment, after a shipmate had returned to work. When someone works hard to get well, it should be greeted with recognition and encouragement. It is just as important for peers to note progress as it was to point out slippage and decline. A seaman needs to know that his getting better really makes a difference. The recovering in the group agreed strongly. Some of the most tenuous moments of their own recoveries came when they wondered if anyone really noticed how much they struggled, changed and attempted to grow. Most felt that shipmates were actually quite good in this area. They recognized, encouraged and even seemed to share in the job of recovery. Families, at times, were not as responsive. This may be because the hurts were deeper or because they did not participate in treatment. Both recovered

and non-alcoholics saw such support-giving as an essential element of natural help. They all agreed that although it came naturally and spontaneously, it certainly could be pursued purposefully and be incorporated into the checklist and guidelines developed in the earlier sessions. Changes in appearance, feeling and getting better, reconnecting with shipmates, increased interest and enjoyment in work were among the most important achievements in recovery, which should be reflected back to a seaman as he rejoins the vessel.

The trainer indicated that he heard clearly two concerns or themes emerging from the discussion. First, the Project had tapped a deep need seamen have to discuss thoughts, feelings and affections they held for their industry, occupation and each other. Second, like everything in this industry, this Project, too, would have to deal with the formidable constraints of time and space. The Project, though, had come through a difficult and exploratory phase quite well, uniting people who will soon be thousands of miles apart and who will not see each other for many months. The group had helped in seeing to it that the Project was seaworthy, had helped set it on a true course, and had offered some notions for checking its course for arrival at its destination. The trainer asked the participants when they returned to sea to jot down thoughts, feelings, reactions about the Project as they try to implement the networking or intervention strategy. Such information would be valuable for Project evaluation and for

future training-dialogue sessions. The trainer brought the formal session to a close, but informal discussion continued in small pockets around the meeting room for at least 30 minutes. In fact, many in the group reconvened two floors below in the Personal Service Unit Office and stayed into the evening. Some wanted to hold on to old friendships just renewed. Others wanted to get their materials to bring aboard the vessels. Still others wanted to go over a point or two from the two days spent together. For all, though, it was hard to say "goodbye."

F. Project Findings

1. General Notions

The National Maritime Union Peer Committee Project began with the notion that the EAP movement could be substantially enriched by the inclusion and cultivation of democratic program elements. The Project postulated intervention and helping networks as worker-owned program initiatives, addressing the major needs EAPs attempt to meet at this stage in their development. The Project next tried to establish that the program entities were authentic work based mechanisms rooted in the occupational traditions of the study group--active seamen affiliated with the National Maritime Union.

The first and dominant issue the Project had to struggle with was that the NMU was, indeed, a unique occupational environment. EAP literature to date has concentrated on mechanisms which are believed to be common to every work organization. As has been indicated, the job performance mechanism

is the key program entity. Work organizations and occupations are enormously diverse and rich in their own right. Little attention has been given to this diversity and the possibility that work organizations are as different from each other as they are the same. Occupational programs which do not involve themselves in the uniqueness of their environment run the risk of being highly distilled enterprises, as much outside as inside a work organization.

While this would seem to be especially true in the American merchant marine and a work organization representing merchant seamen, this is by no means an isolated condition. The erosion the maritime industry has struggled with for 20 years now pervades American industry. The unique and rich work subcultures of the heavy, smokestack and textile industries are threatened in similar ways to that of merchant seamen. There is lack of stability in the lives of countless working people, bringing about a host of unmet needs which NMU seamen raised in addition to the needs the Project was attempting to address. At the same time, the Project discovered strengths and capacities of enormous quality in Project participants.

In brief, the NMU Peer Committee Project found real interest and was able to stimulate substantial engagement around the needs it attempted to address. However, the Project's setting was a complex work organization undergoing profound change. In asking seamen to discuss their unmet needs and to enter into a fuller partnership with the formal helping

program in addressing them, many other needs and strengths came to be realized. What competence and role the formal program might have in addressing these needs was certainly not clear. Yet, it did seem certain that seamen wanted PSU to be conversant with these issues, aware of the role they played in a seaman's life and to be prepared to fulfill a mediating role when the organization was not responsive.

Finally, while the EAP perspective needed enlargement, it was a sound starting point. Helping networks reaching from and back to PSU around personal, clinical and advocacy service needs and chemical dependency interventions provided a fixed point of program competence in the dialogue. PSU had to begin this initiative from its own strength, as well as from its occupational sanction and area of trust. In fact, it was within these program confines that all the Project participants knew PSU and wanted it to prosper. From this foundation, though, participants were able to raise many wider concerns without feeling they had strayed too far, with no place to return.

2. The Occupational Setting--Industrial Change and Its Effect on the Helping Traditions of Merchant Seamen

If the Project's agenda was intervention and helping networks set within occupational helping traditions, the participant seamen agreed conditionally, with important clarifications. The maritime industry was in a constant state of flux. Its future was unpredictable. The helping traditions

of seamen had clearly and unmistakably been affected by these changes. It could not be assumed that the helping traditions were still strong enough to support this initiative. On the other hand, seriously examining the impact of industrial change on help was itself an unmet need which both PSU and Project participants needed to address. Throughout the needs assessment interview phase and the training/dialogue initiative, the anticipated needs the Project had targeted seemed interwoven with the need of participants to explore the impact of change on their traditions of help and concern for each other. Full involvement in both the formal helping program and the informal occupational helping traditions seemed linked to questions of how much control seamen still had over their own work environment.

There were many factors involved in the assessment of industrial change the Project participants began to undertake. First, seamen described the profound changes brought about by automation. Instead of large crews working together with considerable leisure time, today's seamen tended to work alone, on enormous vessels, spending only hours in each port on the ship's itinerary. Hatch gatherings, going ashore with shipmates and a whole host of other communal inducements were less frequent or altogether eliminated. Better working conditions had made it possible for many seamen to elect marriage and family, displacing concern for shipmates as a primary responsibility.

Besides automation and family commitments, some

participants wondered whether their introduction to the industry and work itself on the passenger ships was a particularly realistic initiation. Those ships were floating parties, displaying lavish opulence, and no preparation for the more austere and prosaic work opportunities and routines to follow.

More disturbing was the realization that the changes in the industry were for the most part motivated by its steady decline. The tendency of the industry in this descent to rest on plateaus brought a false assurance of possible arrest. It seemed to many that the industry was only pausing on a downward staircase, leading to token survival. It was only a matter of whether their personal careers could be accommodated before time ran out.

Perhaps most unsettling was the feeling of some participants that the cost of saving the industry had already become a price too high to pay. Smaller crews left more men waiting in the Hall for jobs and took the dignity out of work. "It was a return to slavery," said one of the group participants who planned to retire after his next trip. Some saw the same sense of normlessness in benefit reductions occasioned by the loss of the Public Health Hospitals. What protections were there for an industry with survival in question? This feeling of anomie was expressed by only a few participants, but when articulated, other group participants did not object to it or label it an exaggeration. While most had not embraced the notion, it seemed to have crossed their minds.

As a counterpoint to this need to assess change and its

effect on the occupation, participants offered a number of postures regarding change and assertions of, what they believed to be, still considerable occupational strengths. Some seamen saw the new large ships with reduced crews as a blessing in disguise. They fostered, of necessity, cooperation and a rekindling of the communal sense of work. The Chief Steward, who put this position forward and held it most strongly, said he saw seamen rallying to each other in this new situation and helping one another, as they did in the past. He also felt there was a sense of a whole crew doing a job and not the narrower sense of work which had prevailed in the industry in recent years. Interestingly, his counterpart, the female Chief Steward, expressed most clearly the opposite concern that the crew's sense of a total work community had been lost. She, though, had not yet sailed on the new vessels.

A consistent theme throughout the interviews and dialogue was that this too shall pass. Seamen and their industry have known nothing but trouble. It has never been easy. There have always been threats to the survival of the industry as it was known at any given time. Personal livelihood has rarely been secure. It has been an uphill fight for as long as anyone can remember and will continue to be so. This generation of seamen will wage the battle as well as any other. And, in accord with the best traditions of the sea, they will carry and assist those who need help along the way. Many times when a group participant had expressed a sense of

hopelessness or powerlessness, another seaman would respond with an impatient assertion that seafarers are far from docile. In fact, they are cautious but clever and resourceful survivors.

Related to this theme was an enormously important Project finding. More than one-third of the training/dialogue group found meaning, comfort, purpose and ownership of their work, because they were able to assert a personal work style over their environment. This was usually a personal touch communicating concern to a shipmate, which humanized the work setting. It manifested itself in the Chief Stewards who watched mail calls to see if difficulties were being experienced from home. They also made themselves available informally for seamen having supervisory problems aboard the vessel. There was the Ship's Delegate who saw it as his responsibility that everyone had a good voyage, especially the man and woman least able to speak up for themselves. There was the Able Bodied Seaman who took on the role of caretaker and visitor of the sick, and the A. B., in the interviews, who kept a fund on the vessel which seamen could use for emergencies at home. Finally, there was the Deck-Engine Mechanic who made himself available to any shipmate when another's work was stressful or required heavy lifting or pulling. The seamen who communicated these personal assertions of work style made it clear that they were not always welcomed or accepted on a vessel for a variety of reasons. However, if they could not function as they wished, they left.

In each case, advanced job skills and seniority in the industry gave them that opportunity. Such mobility would not be possible for seamen in entry ratings. The participants who had the capacity to assert themselves in this way did feel more in control of the turbulent environment of the maritime industry in the 1980s.

Finally, participants strongly supported the Project, because they saw in it a potential mechanism for important communication. It might even forestall the drift some were sensing toward normlessness and anomie. If the Union and Pension and Welfare Plan supported PSU in this endeavor, it would seem they really wanted to know what seamen felt. This became clearer in the Networking and Evaluation sessions of the Training/Dialogue Phase, when participants offered a number of far-reaching suggestions as to how the Project and PSU could achieve high organizational sanction and be incorporated into the very fabric of the industry. Project and participant goals matched well and led to deep mutual engagement. The Project aimed at exploring help and forging partnerships between the formal and informal helping systems. The participants were concerned that industrial change had adversely affected their helping traditions. The Project offered an opportunity to explore if this was so and to take corrective action.

3. Intervention and Chemical Dependency

The presence and involvement of recovering seamen in all phases of the Project was itself a guarantee of high engagement

and commitment on the part of participants to the Project's intervention goal and objectives. Recovery, in the self-help traditions, depends on reaching out to those still suffering, if it is to sustain itself, to grow and to mature.

What was surprising, though, in the Project's first two group sessions was the tendency of the recovering to segregate themselves from the non-alcoholics and the initial tension between the two groups. Possible reasons for that tension, which dissolved by the end of the first session, have been pointed out. It was also interesting that the two women in the group pressed hardest for a definition of alcoholism and that all the non-alcoholics were lukewarm to the life unmanageability criteria put forward by the Project Director and others. The co-trainer's description of absolutely unpredictable behavior following use of alcohol was what finally reached the non-alcoholics and helped break the initial resistance. After this, it became possible for the recovering to honestly present their illness, as they understood it, and for the non-alcoholics to respond with acceptance and a real effort to understand. In the end, it was probably not any single conceptual advance which dissolved the tension between the recovered and the non-alcoholics. Time spent together and the quality of their interactions seemed to make them want to trust and learn from each other.

Ultimately, the dialogue between the recovering and the non-alcoholics was characterized by extreme patience, tolerance and respect on both sides. Perhaps the most important

theme to emerge regarding intervention came in the form of an often repeated caution from the recovering not to have magical expectations. Alcoholism rests on the defense of denial. The seeds of recovery are planted by many expressions of concern, reflecting the alcoholic's behavior back to him. One has no control over another's drinking, but one can and should express concern over such self-destructive behavior. This caution seemed to make it considerably easier for the non-alcoholics to envision themselves intervening in a chemical dependency problem.

The group felt comfortable with Johnson's five principles of intervention, once they worked through and thoroughly understood sticking to the theme of concern. By the last session each group member could see himself intervening with a theme of concern. Most, including the non-alcoholics, felt they had probably acted in this way toward an alcoholic in the past, although not with consistency or with a real sense of directing him toward help. The three rules developed in Session I regarding the approach to a seaman with a drinking problem were also pivotal in the non-alcoholics' embracing the concept of intervention.

The alcoholics also helped the non-alcoholics to sort out legitimate safety and work issues regarding a shipmate with a drinking problem. A seaman should not be allowed to jeopardize crew and vessel safety because he likes to drink. Nor should he be allowed to expect others to cover up and do his work while he recovers from a drinking episode. The

recovering insisted that an alcoholic be held responsible for his behavior. Still, they acknowledged, even in themselves, the universal tendency to cover up for a man facing job loss or disciplinary action. In the future, such offers of help should be wrapped around insistence that the seaman contact PSU for a confidential assessment of whether he needs help. There should also be a clear message that covering up will not happen again.

Other important notions emerged in regard to alcoholism and intervention. Of considerable importance to traditional EAP notions was the Hispanic seaman's description of his alcoholism as a mental and spiritual breakdown. He drank alcoholically to do his job and almost everything else. He never really had job problems, but was in deep trouble. Job performance was never an issue. He suggested that job performance and physical deterioration would not have been an early indicator for him of an addiction problem, and may not be for many men with strong constitutions.

There was also the sense offered by many that alcoholism is a significant but declining problem in the maritime industry. The recovering themselves reinforced this by indicating that when one drinks he needs to see everyone drinking the way he does. Part of recovery is finding out this is not the case. Some suggested that addiction had many forms, some of which needed to be attended to more closely. Smoking problems, eating disorders, licit and illicit drug misuse were the most frequently mentioned.

Finally, the insidious nature of addiction was pointed out. A few participants alluded to the tendency of alcohol- and drug-dependent people to find each other on "Alcohol and/or Drug Ships." They described the "horror and hell" of sailing such vessels, living and working in a world of total inconsistency.

4. Helping Networks

The participants grasped and embraced the helping network concept rather easily. Each seaman had been involved in all of the six helper behaviors at one time or other in reaching out to a shipmate or Union brother. There was also realistic and insightful recognition of the process and difficulty of seeking help.

Just as intervention potential was at times held off by the apprehension of being viewed as a moral crusader, a strong helping identity was mollified by the possible backlash of being labeled a sea lawyer. This difficulty, though, was much easier to overcome than the initial reluctance regarding chemical dependency intervention. Participants quickly came to appreciate that their own helping identity and the type of help the Project envisioned were motivated by genuine, far-reaching concerns and were not short-term manipulations of the system designed to win questionable admiration.

Key to the sense of the integrity and sacredness of help was the emphasis the group placed on confidentiality. A trusted helper would never betray confidence. The code of the good shipmate meant that one should never hear a personal

and private concern he had shared come back to him on a vessel or in the Hall from a third party. Participants wanted confidentiality added to the three rules developed in regard to intervention. It should be set above all as a guiding principle. Not only was it due out of respect for the person seeking help and as an inducement to asking for help, but it was also a guarantee that the help giver's motivation was genuine. The help giver more interested in personal recognition, who wants horns to blow and hands to clap as he offers assistance, is not the genuine article. In fact, he begins to look like a sea lawyer.

Another important finding, with important implications for the selection of future Project participants, was that seamen looked for their helpers to have at least one other characteristic beyond sensitivity and concern. A good shipmate, a true helper, must have courage. He will not let someone take advantage of a new, uninformed or docile shipmate. This might take the form of watching a shipmate's overtime, if he feels Department Supervisors are trying to take advantage. It could mean making sure the Union contract is honored. A helper should also be an advocate, or in the words of seamen, a "fighter." It is not surprising that this characteristic should be emphasized in a trade union, especially one representing men and women who must stand up for themselves in the middle of the ocean. Each of the seamen who described the assertion of a work style within their work environment were really giving illustrations of this. They

adopted a clear helping posture, which demanded a certain confidence and courage. The Personal Service Unit itself, interacting with seamen for 12 years now, has always reflected both a clinical and advocacy capacity. Of course, none of this is far from Reynolds' notion that help and justice are twin sisters.

The lack of clear differentiation in the interviews of skills regarding work based problems of a technical nature and personal problems has already been discussed. It is repeated here as a reminder that it is an issue requiring tighter and clearer conceptualization. A skilled worker is valued in every occupation, especially in heavy seas on a troubled vessel. Many good seamen are also skilled helpers. Some, though, as one participant said, "are only robots." The highly competent worker and the skilled helper are both part of the idealized notion of the "good shipmate." The training/dialogue sessions made it clear that both capacities may or may not rest in the same person.

Throughout the Project, seamen cast themselves in a number of roles. The more dominant ones included seeing themselves as victims of industrial change, survivors, helpers, fighters, expert and competent workers, relics of the past, scouts for the formal program. Future training and dialogue should pay more careful attention to the articulation of these roles and invite participants to concentrate more directly on them. At times, the Project Director felt overwhelmed by the enormous complexities of industrial change and the wide

variety of responses to it. Keying in on the roles mentioned above, and being alert to others, could be a first step in taming and ordering this disordered field. While this is not the need the Project set out to address, it is certainly one needing attention.

Finally, there were notions of reversed networking and reinforced networking. Reversed networking came in the form of speculations on the part of Steward Department participants on how PSU could help them do their job better. Could PSU be a resource to them in their effort to educate shipmates to higher nutritional standards and awareness? To reinforce helping networks, participants made it clear they needed and wanted a steady stream of updated information from the formal program. They felt a strong link with PSU would increase their confidence and capacity to help. At the same time, it never seemed that a partnership with the formal program would in any way adversely affect the spontaneity and naturalness of their own help giving efforts. Some self-help literature suggests that natural and professional helpers should stay out of each other's way. It is felt that professional helpers will somehow impede, confuse, or mess up what natural helpers do with grace and effectiveness. This did not seem to be the case with the seamen participating in the Project. Connection with the formal program, they thought, would facilitate their help giving. They not only could receive information, advice and support in their help giving, but had a trusted place to send those needing assistance.

5. Research Evaluation Issues and the Future
of the Project

a. Replicability

The Peer Committee Project would seem to have strong possibilities for replication. The Project Director has a list of 45 seamen who have indicated a willingness to participate in the Project's future dialogue/training sessions. Half of those are left over from the first interview group, while the remainder are candidates who were out to sea in the implementation period, but who fit the original selection criteria. The NMU PSU in New Orleans was also set to begin Project implementation, but a personnel change there will delay that plan for the immediate future. The PSU in New York will attempt to train 25 Committee members a year in two separate dialogue/training initiatives.

The Project seems entirely appropriate to other labor organizations or agencies with personal service units, member assistance programs or other forms of social and human service provision. With adjustments to setting, values, knowledge base and skill, the Project would seem applicable to professional and trade associations. Even management-operated programs, wishing to seriously cultivate democratic and participatory program elements in an EAP, could conceivably make use of the Project format and plan. The Project consistently and faithfully attempted to touch base with traditional EAP and occupational program principles to assure transorganizational applicability. At the same time, it

attempted to demonstrate that EAP program development must take into account and utilize the enormous richness of occupational and organizational diversity.

b. Evaluation

The seamen participating in the Project put forward two concrete and accurate measures to determine the Project's progress. The first would be increased referrals. Clearly that is the ultimate measure of the Project's success in meeting its goals and objectives. The second measure of progress would be increasing organizational sanction for the Project, as it moved toward a meaningful and permanent place in the organization's life. The first would take only months to begin to measure, but the second might involve considerably longer. Meanwhile, the Project would need to constantly resist the transitory quality of an industry which spread people around the world with limited opportunity to communicate with each other. Yet, there was a strong sense that if the Project was well orchestrated, it would play. It could not only address the needs it targeted, but held potential for at least airing many other needs occasioned by a radically changing industry.

For dissertation and implementation purposes the Project does seem to have met its goals and objectives. Participants responded and committed themselves to the intervention and networking principles. They saw them as an accurate and authentic reflection of their own helping traditions. They embraced the notion of partnership between formal and natural

helpers. Seamen greeted the Project with enthusiasm, indicating a willingness to engage in referral stimulating activity within the intervention and networking frameworks. Beyond that, they offered to cooperate with the Personal Service Unit in assisting the Project to high organizational sanction and integration.

There is, though, a considerable distance to be traveled between the close of the implementation phase and the ultimate achievement of Project goals, in terms of a steady stream of referrals and full organizational auspices. An interim evaluation or monitoring plan is necessary. This can best be provided by a close following of both Project activity and participants. All PSU activity on behalf of the Project, whether it be the production of program literature or articles in the Union newspaper or discussions about this effort with organizational gatekeepers, must be examined for the contribution it makes to progress. More importantly, Project participants need to be carefully followed to catalogue what they are doing and where they are doing it. The Project Director will conduct in-depth interviews at least once a year to see how things are going with Peer Committee members. What is on target and what seems to have lost its way would be a major focus of these interviews. It would also be important to determine where participant seamen have been and what type of referrals or support for the Project are coming forth from those vessels.

Closely following and monitoring Peer Committee

participants, as they move about the Union and industry, now seems to the Project Director the most reliable indicator of the Project's middle-range effectiveness. It has become increasingly clear that seamen referred to PSU may not be able to accurately state exactly what motivated them to come. If a seaman hears about PSU's capability to help with unemployment insurance eligibility problems while aboard a vessel, he will just come in when he faces such a difficulty. He will not necessarily mention how he got such information, nor is he likely to be asked in the informal and frequently hectic environment created by men seeking help in between job calls. While interventions for chemical dependency could more easily be traced back to a display of concern by a close shipmate, assistance within the networking framework would be difficult to pinpoint and assignment might only be arbitrary.

In line with this plan, the Project Director will develop an interview questionnaire, to be administered at least once a year to Peer Committee members, exploring three areas. First, the natural helper will be asked to detail all activity he has taken on behalf of the Project since his last report. Second, he will be asked to assess the impact of that activity. How did this activity help another seaman or acquaint someone with PSU's capacity to help? Third, he will be asked to offer his own appraisal as to whether the needs targeted by the Project are still critical and whether Project strategies are still appropriate. In addition, does he see other unmet needs calling for the attention of natural and formal helpers?

A very brief post-implementation snapshot can be provided at this point. Four months after the group training and dialogue initiative, 12 out of 13 participants had returned to work, although one had come ashore to work for the Union. Of the 12, five had completed voyages, while seven were out at sea. All five indicated they had spoken about PSU's program capacities at ship meetings and to shipmates privately. Two, both non-alcoholics, had been aboard vessels where a seaman had a drinking problem. They did not intervene, as they had no relationship with the seaman in question whatsoever. In one case, the drinking stopped early on in the voyage; in the other case, it continued. In addition, before shipping out, two participants had each referred two old shipmates to PSU for drinking-related problems. In both cases the seamen making the referrals were non-alcoholics.

c. Final Points

It should be mentioned that the evaluation plan called for two co-trainers, which the Project did, in fact, employ. Both were PSU staff members, a Social Worker and the Chief Alcoholism Counselor. The latter was also a seaman. He clearly took an active role in the dialogue/training initiative, participating far more than observing.

The social work co-trainer limited her activity primarily to observation. Her notes were carefully reviewed and worked into the summaries of the dialogue/training sessions. Her presence was enormously important, as many of the non-alcoholics had been helped with personal problems by her.

They were glad to see her there and probably participated more fully because of her presence.

Finally, at least two issues mentioned early on have been left hanging. They are intergenerational tensions and the special problems of women in the industry. The seasonal upturn in shipping which cleared the Hall the week before the dialogue/training sessions took with it most of the young Project candidates. The youngest participant was in his 30s. While that is quite young by NMU standards, the group was too skewed to have a balanced exploration of the intergenerational conflict issue. As far as the special difficulties confronting women in the industry, it was felt by the Project Director that this would better wait until female participants were seen individually and asked their opinion as to the most appropriate forum for such discussion.

G. Conclusion

With the completion of the Project's Implementation Phase, the Project Director is left with the sense that he has, in the last eight months, seen the NMU in a new way. This, in spite of the fact that he has served seamen there for almost 10 years. He can do no better than express the sentiments of Eliot, which seem remarkably appropriate:

"We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time."

CHAPTER VII

Final Observations and Conclusions

Introduction

The NMU Peer Committee Project established that merchant seamen have a rich and compelling story to tell about how help is exchanged in the maritime industry. More specifically related to Project goals and objectives, participants welcomed and embraced notions of partnership between natural helpers and the formal helping program. These notions were advanced in the interview and dialogue/training phases of the Project, as the intervention and networking material was presented and discussed within the framework of the occupation's helping traditions. While the seamen participating in the NMU Project certainly responded favorably and genuinely to the major themes and purpose of this study, the interchange between the formal program and the natural helpers raised further questions with important implications for practice. Project data cannot support solutions or answers to these issues, but point to areas for potential fruitful exploration.

A. Chemical Dependency

In regard to chemical dependency, there is the issue of what happens when peer concern is consistently resisted and deflected by the problem alcohol or drug user. What are the peers to do when their well of concern runs dry or its water just rolls off the back of their chemically dependent brother/sister? Can they and should they move toward a more coercive posture, threatening their shipmate with the intention to seek

organizational sanctions from the Union (we do not want to sail with this person any longer) or even to align themselves with supervisory staff in the creation of a job jeopardy situation? Once again, the difficult and painful issue of environmental concealment asserts itself. Any attempt to address this issue would involve engaging every segment of the occupation and full appreciation of its culture.

In Chapter III of this study and in Appendix Item 1 the central role played by alcohol in this occupation's culture is described. In the interviews and group dialogue/training initiative, seamen frequently alluded to alcohol as the chosen symbol of their bonding. Raskin points out how waterfront bars were even once a part of the shipowner's network, with alcohol used as an agent of control and dominance. Times have changed and the needs of today's industry are dramatically different. Many of today's seamen, though, were socialized into yesterday's industry. An occupational culture existing for many generations does not necessarily keep pace with the engineer's blueprint for automation. Fine et al. point out that every occupation must be conscious of this and plan strategically program elements which will facilitate a transition from a culture of drinking to a culture of sobriety. When work organizations fully understand they are undergoing profound changes and accept responsibility for helping workers having difficulty making necessary transitions, there is a sufficient level of trust for workers to entertain the notion of seeking organizational support in

their attempt to assist a co-worker. In the maritime industry, there is considerable understanding and acceptance of responsibility for this difficulty, but there is room for enlargement and more forthright acknowledgment. Along the lines suggested in the Fine article, the NMU is paying much more attention to libraries, entertainment and recreational opportunities aboard vessels. For a culture of sobriety to take hold in an occupation, work organizations and workers must see viable and enriched alternatives to alcohol and drugs. The majority of today's seamen do not see alcohol playing the central role in their occupation it once did. To the extent that they see this cultural change as a positive development advanced by cooperation between themselves, their Union and management, the more readily they would turn to Union officials and/or supervisors in assisting an unresponsive peer. While the potential for this level of trust is a possibility in the maritime industry, it is underdeveloped. For it to be realized, organizational behavior which is informal, decided case by case and spontaneous would have to be raised to a level of deliberate and publicized policy. The NMU Peer Committee Project tried to explore the foundation for a partnership between the formal helping program and natural helpers. A fuller partnership between workers and their entire occupational framework in assisting workers with alcohol and drug problems is beyond the scope of this Project, but not beyond the potential of its growth. Along the lines suggested by Fine, the chemical dependency recovery

process for work organizations may be similar to that of individuals. Individuals must work positively and constructively on their sobriety, or they tend to slip backwards. Work organizations not pursuing a culture of sobriety run the risk of promoting a culture of drinking.

Another issue, which arose as a secondary theme in the group dialogues and which is a major program element in the railroad initiative described by Woischke in Chapter I, is the right of workers not to drink. Workers have a right to a safe environment and to the expectation that their co-workers will share job demands with them equitably and competently. It is actually the right not to drink which should take precedence and be protected in the world of work. The clear assertion of this right, with the equally clear offer of safe help to those who have abused the rights of others by reporting to work under the influence of alcohol or drugs, is now a major theme of programs developed by labor and management in the railroad industry. The NMU Peer Committee expressed very similar notions in their discussion of enabling. Although the issue requires further exploration in future groups, the recovering participants cautioned the group not to accept intolerable behavior. They would not continue to cover for a seaman who resisted all attempts to engage him around seeking help. They strongly urged reporting to both Union and management irresponsible actions which threatened safety of crew and vessel. This notion may hold considerable promise for using work based mechanisms to find and help workers with

chemical dependency problems. It was underplayed in the NMU Project, but certainly could be explored further in subsequent groups. Helping the majority of working people to assert their right not to drink and to have a safe working environment, conjointly with a compassionate offer of safe and confidential assistance, is a potentially fruitful strategy for dealing with the complex issue of environmental concealment.

The critical dimension in all of this and a most important theme in all chemical dependency schemes is that of help. Concealment, covering up and enabling will continue in an occupation, even reaching ingenious and sophisticated dimensions, unless there is a viable alternative. Alcoholism is an illness, and the alcoholic has the same rights that attend to a worker with any other illness. While workers have a right to an alcohol-free work environment, alcoholics have a right to safe and competent help. Seeking help can in no way threaten job entitlement or advancement. Its confidentiality must be guaranteed.

The present generation of NMU seamen has made considerable progress over the problem of alcoholism. In large measure this was due to recognition by them, their Union, the Coast Guard and the Shipping Companies that there was effective help and treatment for this problem. They also realized mechanisms must be developed for seamen to seek that help or be directed toward it safely. As working people and work organizations have learned more about this illness

and as stigma diminishes, the extremes of moral outrage, anger or condescending permissiveness under which alcoholics were usually viewed has changed. It is becoming increasingly possible for a worker to help a chemically dependent co-worker within a work organization without hurting him. Perlis' original conceptualization of the "human contract" is still most useful. There should be a clear understanding in the workplace of worker problems which do not fall into the adversarial labor-management relationship. It is in the best interest of worker, labor and management that these problems be solved as quickly and humanely as possible, and safe helping mechanisms must emerge and be spelled out clearly as work policy. To the extent that this high level cooperation and mutual understanding exists between workers and work organizations, the more likely working people will be to rely on all mechanisms at their disposal (peer and supervisory) to assist a troubled co-worker.

The "human contract" calls for high level labor-management cooperation and well-defined helping policy. At this stage NMU Peer Committee members might work with select managers, but would certainly not trust all. However, this Project would argue the human contract must be written and constructed from the bottom up as well as from the top down. As peers begin to explore collaborative interventions with trusted supervisors around assisting a troubled worker, a fuller commitment to democratic principles may emerge with regard to the responsibility for help giving within the world

of work. Clearly responsibility and opportunity to help a troubled worker rests with labor, management and co-workers. These entities work independently now. It is hoped in the future they will discover and cultivate areas of convergence. This would establish the ultimate safe environment for help giving and seeking for peers, supervisors and for workers in need of assistance. The atmosphere for collaboration would be favorable.

Unfortunately, the recent almost total emphasis on detection over help is a counterbalance to the above notion. The fullest expression of this came in the recent call of the President's Anti-Crime Commission for national drug screening for all workers. Such strategies reinforce adversarial relationships, as well as the covering up, concealment and enabling fostered in such environments. In this atmosphere, the call for a work environment emphasizing help, and the safety of obtaining it, is more urgent than ever.

B. Value Conflicts and the Connection Between Professional and Natural Helping

Of course, the Peer Committee Project raised issues of competing values and value dichotomies. Sure, one helps a shipmate, but does help ever reach the point where one must consider turning him in? Seamen place enormous trust in each other, with their lives literally in each other's hands. Yet, what does one do when impairment makes one question a shipmate's present competence? The code of silence and protection stems from deeply held values. The group struggled with

this issue. It was expressed most poignantly by the seaman who related a recent incident of covering for a shipmate who could not stay his watch because of having had too much to drink. He asked the group if he did wrong.

The group assured him he had acted in the best tradition of the good shipmate, but the code of silence and protection must be informed by knowledge and trust. Continued silence and protection will hurt rather than help. The natural helpers conceived their role as scouts, agents, arms and legs of the formal program. Through the years they have been that and much more. Their helping is both connected to the Personal Service Unit and independent of it. The helping traditions of the merchant seamen were alive long before formal and professional helping programs were established. In the National Maritime Union, the deep tradition of mutual aid and self-help evolved to the recognition that seamen also needed professional helpers. Both the natural helpers and the Union realized that help must be disciplined, consistent and concentrated. It may involve long-term support and may be trying to address personal and social conditions of enormous complexity.

The needs assessment instrument asked seamen how they saw the Personal Service Unit in relation to their own helping traditions. They mentioned all the items above. They also indicated that social workers seemed to understand, were responsive and, when necessary, could help make others responsive to them. There was respect for professional

skills and knowledge. After this, a number of seamen paused and said, PSU is a depository for what is known about helping in this organization. They intimated that it is where help is safeguarded and reflected upon, whether those reflections be those of professional or natural helpers.

In this context the natural helpers saw themselves as trustworthy bridges between the formal program and the seaman in need of help. The seaman trusted them, and they, in turn, trusted the Personal Service Unit, to which they referred seamen, often actually accompanying them to the Unit. At the NMU professional and natural help both enrich and need each other, with each deeply respecting the other's capabilities and competencies. Out of this atmosphere of mutual respect and need a partnership has emerged that has enabled natural helpers to look beyond the code of silence and protection. Trust and safety, again, are the critical issues in helping workers to deal with competing values in directing a troubled co-worker to help. At the NMU there is a solid foundation for that trust and safety in helping. The Peer Committee Project tried to build further on these notions and erect the structure of partnership. There is still much building to do, but the material, laborers and plan seem to be of a quality equal to the task.

C. Helping Networks and Other Critical Needs

In regard to the networking theme, group and interview participants both raised a major issue and issued a caution to the formal program. Chemical dependency is a critical

need, deserving considerable attention. However, seamen have other critical needs which also call for concentrated discussion. Those mentioned by Project participants included: seamen with mental health difficulties, addictions to smoking and food, seamen with aging parents, retirement counseling, problems with disability, housing and a host of advocacy needs around entitlement and income maintenance programs. The need for help in negotiating the Union's own Benefit and Welfare Plan structure was also raised. It was the feeling of many participants, including some of the recovered, that while alcohol was the dominant problem of the organization's past, it would take its place in a more even distribution of needs in the NMU's future. While each and all of these other needs were raised and discussed throughout the training/dialogue initiative, it was the feeling of some participants that some of them required the same amount of concentrated exploration in time and energy as did alcoholism. Participant remarks like, "you do many other things besides help with alcohol," or "we have many other needs," or "seamen need to know all the other things you do," were all indications of this. Because alcohol has posed major problems for merchant seamen and because of the roots of EAP development in the Alcoholism Movement, the framework for the training/dialogue initiative presented in Chapter IV is still viewed as sound. Recovering seamen captured the essence of occupational needs and strengths and presented the Project with an ideal place to begin. However, future training/dialogue groups will call for adjustments

and accommodations. Other needs and strengths will need to be highlighted, as well, along the lines suggested above by both recovered and non-alcoholic seamen.

D. Industrial Change and Decline and Its Effect on Helping

Finally, as indicated at several points, the Project Director saw one issue haunting the Project from the outset. Would the maritime industry's problems with future survival and viability overwhelm the Project and displace its goals? Would seamen want to talk about help, when there were concerns of survival lurking on the horizon? When this question was put to a number of participants after the training/dialogue initiative, they responded in two ways. Some said that talking about help also allowed them to talk about change in the industry and how it was affecting them. They indicated, "There are not enough opportunities for this. We need to do it more." There was a sense that they could help each other with change. The issues were, in fact, intimately interconnected. Two seamen, in particular, noted that discussing help with the group had put them in touch with a deeper sense of purpose and understanding of the dignity of their occupation. In considering helping traditions and change, they grew in the conviction that they had "an occupation worth saving" and "an industry which must be saved."

While the Project's helping goals were not believed to be displaced by the industry's problems and may even have been reinforced by them, there is now an issue as to what contribution the Project can make to the larger need the

organization is struggling with, change and future survival. The Project Director has kept the Plan Administrator (to whom PSU is directly responsible) and the Union's PSU liaison informed on all phases of the Project. Both have been highly supportive of the Project, have followed its progress and wish to see it continue. In this, the Project Director has tried to keep an eye toward the mediating role participants raised for the Personal Service Unit to play in presenting their needs to organizational decision makers and gatekeepers. Tension, on every side, pervades an industry undergoing profound change. While PSU and the Project must and should respond to this crisis, there is a potential mine field here. Either seamen or organizational administration may view PSU as overidentifying with the other and insensitive to their concerns. Kurzman's article on "Rules and Regulations in Large-Scale Organizations" presents a helpful framework to guide mediating activity. Particularly, his notions on balancing a functional analysis sensitive to issues of self-maintenance and self-defense with a communications approach which aims at keeping the communication network open allows the organization to function in balance and with homeostasis in relation to the environment. Fluid communications are critical to an organization undergoing change. The Project has a potentially significant role in facilitating some important communication between seamen and key organization decision makers. Consideration of this major unmet need, with which every segment of the maritime industry is

preoccupied, was clearly beyond the Project's original conceptualization. However, the Project has demonstrated some capacity for addressing critical manifestations of personal and social need as the maritime industry pursues its agenda for change and survival.

APPENDICES

Statement of the Extent of
Problem Drinking Among Seamen

There are many factors which contribute to the merchant marine's being one of the highest risk occupations for developing problems with alcoholism and excessive drinking. First of all, there is a drinking tradition among mariners which crosses every nationality and race.

In Two Years Before the Mast, Richard Dana, drawing on his own experiences as a seaman, suggests that mariners drink to establish proper credentials with their shipmates. He writes:

When the voyage is at end, you do as you please; but so long as you belong to the same vessel, you must be a shipmate to him on shore, or he will not be a shipmate to you on board Our crew fell in with sailors of other vessels and sailor-like steered for the first grog-shop. I followed in my shipmates' wake, knowing that to refuse to drink with them would be the highest affront . . . it is the universal custom with sailors for each one, in his turn, to treat the whole, calling for a glass all around, and obliging everyone who is present, even the keeper of the grog-shop, to take a glass with him.

The average age of an NMU seaman is 52, coupling the high risk age category with the high risk occupation. A procedural approach for estimating the potential clientele of Alcoholism Service Programs which were developed for the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (Marden 80) was applied to NMU active seamen.

Of all occupational categories, no occupation has a higher at-risk population than transport operators, the category in which merchant seamen are placed. The age

category into which most seamen fall is the 50 - 59 age grouping. This is the category in which 29.2% of the work force can be considered potential clientele for an alcoholism program. Within the 50 - 59 age category we find merchant seamen 3.3 times more likely to have alcohol problems than professionals and technical workers, 2.3 times higher risk than managers, administrators or the unemployed worker, and over a 3.7 times higher factor than sales workers, clerical workers, farmers and service workers.

When the Marden procedure for estimating potential clientele is applied to active seamen, with the adjustment made for sex, we find that 21% of the work force is at risk of having alcohol problems.

The merchant marine is a unique occupation within the transportation industry. For this reason the Michigan Alcoholism Screening Test (MAST), which was developed by Selzer, was administered to a class of students attending the NMU Upgrading and Retraining School. The test was administered to 45 students. Using a group method the students were asked to anonymously answer the questions on the MAST. A score on the MAST of 5 usually indicates alcoholism. Alcoholics in treatment usually have a score of 10 or more. 62.2% of the respondents in our study had a score of 5 or more points on the MAST. When we use 10 as a cut-off point, we still found 35.5% scoring 10 or more points. This pilot study indicates that the Marden Model may significantly underrepresent the at-risk population in the maritime industry.

Although specific studies of drinking among merchant seamen are still relatively few, they have confirmed the overwhelming impression of heavy drinking. Danielle Hitz in her article, "Drunken Sailors and Others," confirms proportionately more heavy drinking among seamen than the total sample average of her study. In the course of her article, one of the possibilities she discusses for contributing to heavy drinking seems particularly pertinent to merchant seamen. She says: "Certain occupations may for various reasons (geographic isolation, unusual working hours or shifts, particularly esoteric skills involved) form subcultural groups characterized by a great deal of intragroup socialization even when off duty, with special customs, or rituals or argot."

Elements of the three major theories on factors contributing to occupational group drinking are present in the merchant marine. Structural strain, selection and social control are all part of the fabric of the maritime industry. An earlier study from Norway entitled "Abuse of Alcohol Among Seamen" concludes that alcohol abuse is an important problem among Norwegian seamen. It further concludes that persons with "certain characteristics that make them particularly predisposed to abuse alcohol have a strong tendency to enter the merchant marine." The strain of life at sea is also discussed as a deleterious influence, but not given the same weight as the selection theory.

Casper in his article "Drinking as Conformity" discusses seamen and reinforces Hitz's notion of occupational subcultures.

He cites studies in which seamen see their work as arduous, in the sense that they experience deprivations that workers ashore do not. He also perceives seamen as subject to a massive organizational embrace. Up until recently the social control theory in the maritime industry may have worked in reverse. Alcohol was viewed as compensation for a difficult job. Supervisors would look the other way when a man came back from shore leave. Now with both alcohol education and the technical demands of the industry, that outlook has changed dramatically. Social control now works as a potent force to increase productivity and to have seamen operate at peak efficiency. If a seaman's drinking is interfering with his performance, he must be directed toward help and not allowed to return to work until he has found recovery.

Personal Service Unit - Social Service Report
 Statistical Data for Period
 June 1, 1983 - December 31, 1983

Total Number of Seamen Served	932
Total Number of Active Seamen	641
Total Number of Retired Seamen	270
Total Number of Dependents	21

Frequency of Services:

Unemployment Insurance	305
Individual, Marital, Family Counseling	179
Welfare	96
Food Stamps	83
Housing	78
Social Security	45
Medicare	31
Temporary Lodging	29
Hospital	28
Pre-Retirement Interviews	25
Medicaid	21
Nursing Homes	12

Referral Sources:

Pension and Welfare	25%
Medical Department	20%
Self	17%
Peer	17%
Patrolman	9%
Pilot	8%
Family Member	4%

Referred to:

Public Agency	704
Private Agency	228

Types of Services Provided:

Financial	516
Social/Legal	239
Medical	177

Continued . . .

Personal Service Unit - Social Service Report
Statistical Data for Period
June 1, 1983 - December 31, 1983

Continued from previous page

Marital Status:

Married	328
Single	313
Divorced	116
Widowed	97
Separated	78

Miscellaneous Telephone Calls Received Requesting Information	148
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NMU Welfare Plan Benefit Changes

Due to the continuing rapid increases in hospital and medical care charges, the Trustees of the NMU Pension & Welfare Plan have found it necessary to make the following changes to the NMU Welfare Plan:

Effective January 1, 1985:

Deductible: The Major Medical deductible will be \$250 for a participant and all his dependents.

Co-payment: The Major Medical benefit will pay 80% of the first \$2,500 of covered expenses (the participant pays the other 20%) and 100% of the covered expenses over \$2,500.

Reimbursement: The Plan will reimburse Hospitals and doctors for covered expenses based upon reimbursement schedules established by the Trustees. Expenses that exceed the established reimbursement schedules will not be paid by the Plan but by the participant.

Prescription Drugs: The co-payment for the prescription drug benefit is now \$3.00 per prescription.

Effective February 1, 1985:

Second Opinions: A second opinion will be mandatory for certain non-emergency surgical procedures. Failure to obtain a second opinion will result in a reduction of benefits. The Plan will pay for the second opinion without applying the deductible or co-payment provisions of the Major Medical benefit.

Selection Questionnaire

Name: _____

Department: Deck _____ Engine _____ Steward _____

Age: _____ Race: B _____ W _____ H _____ Rating: _____

- 1) Have you ever served as a ship's delegate? Yes ____ No ____
- 2) Have you ever served as a delegate to the
Union convention? Yes ____ No ____
- 3) How long have you been a merchant seaman? _____

I. Intervention

Some professionals who study and treat people for addiction problems say there are strong points and weak points in looking at it as a disease.

- 1 - (5) What do you think they mean?

- 2 - (5) What do you feel?

- 3 - (5) What do you feel is the extent of addiction to alcohol and other substances in the maritime industry?

- 4 - (5) Why is it at times so hard to help a shipmate with an addiction problem?

- 5 - (5) Many people talk about enabling and covering up in regard to excessive drinking. What do these terms mean to you?
- 6 - (5) Some people talk about having to wait for the alcoholic to hit bottom. What does that mean?
- 7 - (5) Do you see a role for Union brothers and shipmates in helping an addicted seaman to understand and accept the need for help?

Has a shipmate or Union brother's drinking ever seemed to you excessive and a cause for concern?

Were you able to talk to him about it?

Why did you or why did you not talk to him?

What thoughts ran through your head as you were trying to decide?

The Personal Service Unit is looking to find the most effective means of communicating the range of services it has presently developed for Union members. It is also trying to understand what is working well and what may need more attention. In this context, PSU needs to hear of both your support and your criticism.

You have been asked to participate in this Project because you have demonstrated care and concern for other seamen. Care involves calling attention to what is being done well, but also pointing out what still needs to be done or what may need to be done in better fashion.

Your honesty in what follows will be very much appreciated, even if critical of PSU. It is a sign you care.

II. Networking

Can you think of a time in your life when you really needed help?

- 8 - (5) What was difficult about asking for it?
- 9 - (5) What was difficult about finding it?
- 10 - (5) How might asking for and getting help have been easier for you?
- 11 - (5) Could a shipmate have helped? Could the NMU Personal Service Unit have helped?

- 12 - (5) In what ways could PSU better get out the word that help is available?
- 13 - (5) Do you think NMU seamen are poorly or well informed about help available to them?
- 14 - (5) How well do you think PSU responds to and understands the needs of seamen? How could they do better?

III. The Helping Traditions of Seamen

- 15 - (5) List some of the characteristics and qualities of a good shipmate.
- 16 - (5) Some people say the helping traditions in the maritime industry are changing. Do you agree or disagree? Why?
- 17 - (5) Is it important that they be restored or maintained, and how can this be done?

- 18 - (5) How do you see PSU in regard to these traditions?
- 19 - From your list of the qualities of a good shipmate (review them), which ones have bearing on PSU and the services it offers?
- 20 - What is it about this industry and about certain seamen that gets them looked at as helpers by shipmates and Union brothers?

Checklist for Reviewers of Selection-Screening Instrument

- Does candidate appreciate value of disease concept for the person suffering with an addiction problem?
- Does he see social problems attached to addiction; e.g., family problems, loss of job?
- Does he have a realistic picture of addiction in the industry?
- Does he have a sense that denial and rationalization are an integral part of an addiction problem and that they are hard to deal with?
- Is he aware of a universal tendency to cover up and that it can lead to the non-addicted person's becoming part of the problem?
- Does he take an active or passive stance toward problem drinking?
- Does he see a role for himself as a helper with a shipmate having a drinking or drug problem?
- Has he already been a helper?
- Is he properly respectful of the complexities of intervention?
- Is he aware of the distinct possibility and probability of a negative response?
- Can he take a negative response and still maintain a theme of concern vs. disintegration into a fight?
- Is he aware of the courage it takes to seek and ask for help?
- Is he aware of the internal process?
- Does he understand the need for the person seeking help to develop trust in the helper?
- Is he aware of the importance of a helping atmosphere in encouraging the hurting person to seek help?
- Can he make connections as to how a helping atmosphere can be created aboard a vessel?
- Can he offer suggestions as to how PSU can extend its efforts to the vessel?

- Can he back up his reason for his claim that seamen are poorly or well informed about helping network?
- Is he willing to search and think hard about how PSU could do better?
- Does he have a good range and real affect in his description of the characteristics of a good shipmate?
- Is he sufficiently cognizant of changes in the industry?
- Can he offer some speculation as to causes for occupational changes and as to how they are affecting seamen?
- Does he seem overwhelmed, disoriented or hopeless because of industrial changes?
- Does he have a sense of the importance and the vitality of the industry's helping traditions?
- Does he see them as still viable in a radically changing industry?
- Can he see and articulate connections between the formal helping program (PSU) and the natural helping network?
- Does he see a role for PSU aboard the vessel?
- Does he see linkage between PSU and the helping traditions of this occupation?

Interview Statistical Breakdown

Interview Group

Number of seamen interviewed	30
Men	27
Women	3

Race/Ethnicity

White	14
Black	8
Latino	7
Asian	1

Age

60 - 70	6
50 - 59	10
40 - 49	7
30 - 39	3
20 - 29	4
$\bar{X}$ Age	48.2
$\bar{X}$ Age of all active NMU seamen	54

Years in Industry

40 and more	3
30 - 39	7
20 - 29	6
10 - 19	7
1 - 9	7
$\bar{X}$ Mean time in industry	21.4

Department

Deck 13

Engine 8

Steward 9

Recovering/Non-Alcoholics

Recovering 13

Non-Alcoholics 17

Training/Dialogue Group Statistical Breakdown

Training/Dialogue Group

Number in Group Dialogue/Training Initiative 13

Men 11

Women 2

Race/Ethnicity

White 8

Black 2

Latino 3

Department

Deck 5

Engine 4

Steward 4

Age

60+ 4

50 - 59 4

40 - 49 4

30 - 39 1

$\bar{X}$ Age of participants 53.6

Recovering/Non-Alcoholic

Recovering 6

Non-Alcoholic 7

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