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PORTRAIT OF LABOUR RACIALIZATION IN THE GLOBAL CRUISE TOURISM INDUSTRY

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Abstrak

Artikel ini membahas tentang isu rasialisasi pekerja pada industri kapal pesiar global. Secara khusus, artikel ini menyoroti isu segregasi, diskriminasi, dan ekploitasi terhadap pekerja yang mayoritas berasal dari negara berkembang. Penelitian dengan pendekatan kualitatif deskriptif ini menggunakan teknik pengumpulan data melalui studi literatur. Dengan mengacu pada konsep Rasialisasi Tenaga Kerja Global, penelitian ini menemukan bahwa ras yang digunakan sebagai dasar pembagian tenaga kerja secara hierarki telah melahirkan bentuk rasialisasi berupa peliyanan atas dasar ras dan pengabaian hak-hak dasar yang menempatkan pekerja kapal pesiar dari negara berkembang pada posisi yang paling bawah. Dengan cara ini, rasialisasi pekerja yang digunakan perusahaan transnasional dalam industri pesiar global menjadi sebuah sistem eksploitatif yang memberikan keuntungan pada kapitalis di industri ini.

Kata Kunci: *industri wisata pesiar, negara berkembang, perusahaan transnasional, rasialisasi, tenaga kerja*

Abstract

This article discusses the issue of labour racialization in the global cruise industry. In particular, this article highlights the issue of segregation, discrimination and exploitation of workers, the majority of whom come from developing countries. This descriptive qualitative research employs literature study as data collection technique. By referring to the concept of the Racialization of Global Labour, this study found that race used as the basis for the hierarchical division of labour has created labour racialization in the form of racialized othering and denial of rights that place workers from developing countries at the bottom of labour hierarchy. In such a manner, labour racialization utilized by transnational corporations in the global cruise industry becomes an exploitative system that favors the industry's capitalists.

Keywords: cruise tourism industry, developing countries, labour; racialization, transnational corporations

Introduction

People in developing countries such as South Asia, Southeast Asia, Central America, the Caribbean, and Eastern Europe are particularly familiar with global cruise tourism because the majority of the crew on cruise ships hail from these countries (Terry, 2017). According to Terry, 70% of cruise ship crew members are from those low-income nations. Several studies showed that the main motivation for working on a cruise ship for workers from these poor countries is to get a high income in a short time (Bolt & Lashley, 2015; Chin, 2008; Nilan & Artini, 2013). As cruise ships also demand an amount of crew, hence working on cruise ships becomes an appealing possibility for people from poor countries to improve their economic situation.

The industry, monopolized by large companies from Europe and the United States, has been showing a rapid development since the 1990s signified by the expansion of the sector as well as the extension of its market segment, which reached the Americas, Europe, and Oceania. (Brida & Zapata, 2010). Three companies have emerged as the primary participants in the sector as a result of the industry's development, namely Carnival Corporation, Royal Caribbean Cruise Limited, and Norwegian Cruise Line. These three major companies controlled 72,2% of earnings within the US$ 46,5 billion global markets and 79,9% of the passenger berths in 2018. Several well-known brands such as Carnival Cruise Lines, Costa Cruises, Holland America Cruises, Yacht of Seabourn, P&O Princess Cruise, Cunard Lines, Windstar Cruises, Aida Cruise, Royal Caribbean Cruise, Celebrity Cruises, Star Cruises, and Norwegian Cruise Lines operate under these three companies, in addition to the three biggest companies listed previously, there are also several other companies engaging in this industry, including MSC Cruises, Disney Cruise, Dream Cruise, Silver Sea, Star Cruise, and others (Cruise Market Watch, 2018).

As a part of the broader tourism industry, the cruise industry has also demonstrated the interconnectedness of globalization, not only because of its fast expansion but also because of its distinct features (Brida & Zapata, 2010; Wood, 2006). A procedure known as “flagging out”, for instance, has interconnected cruise companies from developed countries with other countries, particularly developing countries. The adoption of the “flagging out” procedure allows the shipowners to register their ships in foreign countries under the Flags of Convenience (FoC) system. Consequently, even

though these cruise companies are based in the United States and Europe, they are also incorporated in other countries, most notably Panama and Liberia. Through this FoC system, cruise companies obtain advantages in their operations. One of them is through the recruitment of workers from various countries, mostly from developing countries that become the focus of this study.

The employment of workers from various countries, creating a multicultural atmosphere, is a branding that displays the positive image of the companies. It is used to attract and impress the passengers with an extraordinary experience in a multi-ethnic setting. However, a study by Chin (2008) revealed that the celebration of the diversity in the cruise industry is accompanied by an affirmation of the differences of nationalities among the crew, which is conflated with race/ethnic origins, culture, and status of national economic development. These findings are similar to those of Terry (2011) in his study on global labour market flexibility in the cruise industry and its human resource impacts. Terry found that employee positions in the organization are greatly influenced by race and ethnicity, with people from similar ethnic groups working in similar job roles. In another study, Terry (2017) reasserted his previous finding by stating that as the cruise companies employ workers from various countries, race and ethnicity are part of work structures in the industry with workers from South Asia, South East Asia, Central American, the Caribbean, and the former communist bloc in Eastern Europe holding semi-skilled and menial jobs. These studies have signified the existence of racial and ethnic factors in the cruise industry that constitutes the foundation of this study. Due to that reason, it is significant to shed light on the importance of racial and ethnic factors in the industry by examining their impacts on the labour structure. By referring to the concept of the racialization of global labour that links globalization, labour, and transnational corporations, this article aims to demonstrate the portrait of the racialization of the workers in the cruise tourism industry. Particularly, this article aims at discussing how the racialization of labour in the cruise industry is generated and perpetuated for the benefit of the capitalists in the industry.

Concept of the Racialization of Global Labour

To comprehend this phenomenon, this article refers to the concept of the racialization of global labour. In general, racialization is used to describe “the processes by which racial meanings are attached to particular issues—often treated as social problems—and with

how race appears to be a, or often the key factor in the ways they are defined and understood" (Murji & Solomos, 2005). Omi and Winant (2014 as cited in Gans, 2017) define racialization as the extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified social relationship, social practice, or group. Social, economic, and political variables can all play a role in racialization construction in different ways. Racialization, on the one hand, can lead to groups of individuals being excluded from society and being treated differently because of the identity associated with a mix of physical appearance and putative ancestry. On the other hand, the racial identity of other groups may also benefit from racialization (Glenn, 2002 as cited by Bonacich et al., 2008).

The concept of the racialization of global labour provides an argument that the prevailing global capitalist system that goes along with globalization is maintained and structured within a global system that locates groups of workers hierarchically in a racialized labour system. To put it in another way, capitalism is heavily reliant on racialization as a method of fully exploiting labour. The system has privileged dominant racialized labour groups, mostly White/European workers, while workers of colour in subordinate positions face higher levels of exploitation and poor working conditions. By focusing on the form of racialization by transnational corporations, the racialization of global labour is defined as a form of racialization to exploit the labour of subordinate racialized groups. Moreover, it is stated that racialization of labour is utilized by capitalists to maximize their profits by employing workers of colour and force the workers to live and labour under many inferior conditions (Bonacich et al., 2008)

Bonacich et al. (2008) assert that in this context race is not only employed as a way to establish a set of rules and institutions related to labour that can serve the interests of the employers but also maintain low standards for workers in certain segments of the population. This concept offers two fundamental attributes useful in assessing the racialization of global labour. They are the racialized othering and the denial of basic citizenship. The racialized othering refers to the idea that the lives of these workers are of lesser importance and so it is equitable that they should not receive decent treatments. Due to this reason, the subordinate racial groups hold a frail position in an exploitative labour regime, and the coercive treatment for the workers is considered common practice. The other feature of the racialization of labour is the denial of basic citizenship which refers to a broader meaning than just in the context of the nation-state. According to

Bonacich et al. (2008), a central feature of citizenship refers to the right to participate in the construction of democratically elected bodies that oversee the society and economy. It also includes the right to legal access to challenging particular institutional arrangements. Therefore, the denial of citizenship can occur when workers have no power over institutional arrangements to powerful economic actors that become their real employers. Through these means, transnational corporations benefit from subordinate race workers because these workers are often politically disenfranchised in the global capitalist system.

Methods

This article applied a qualitative method to address the problems that have been proposed. The study on the portrait of the racialization of labour in the global cruise industry is based on information and data from secondary resources. This data was collected to achieve the purpose of this study, which is to describe discrimination and job segregation in the global cruise tourism industry. The secondary data sources in this study come from books, scientific articles, and data sources originating from the internet, such as online news, company websites, and others. By employing the concept of global labour racialization as an analytical framework, these data were then processed, verified, and analyzed to provide a qualitative interpretation of the focus of this study.

Labour Racialization in the Global Cruise Tourism Industry

An Overview of the Global Tourism Industry

The cruise industry as part of international tourism has become a unique representation of globalization. It is stated by Wood (2002) that no other business is a more extreme example of globalization than the cruise industry because of its extremely movable character and unique liberation from traditional limitations of geography. To provide a more thorough picture of the industry, a cruise is described by Wood (2006) as "huge floating chunks of capital, they are intrinsically mobile and capable of being repositioned at a moment's notice. Unlike land resorts, cruise ships can change their locations to escape bad weather, political instability, or other things their owners may not like. Major events like 11 September can elicit massive redeployment of the whole fleet". The business models applied by this industry are also one of the traits that portray the paradigm of globalization. As stated by Mathisen (2017 in Coggins, 2020) the uniqueness of the

business model of the cruise industry can be seen from its ability to incorporate as shipping companies in other countries to avoid corporate income tax, choose countries with experienced shipyards as a place to build ships and offer export financing, employ officers and crew from maritime countries, attract passengers from different markets depending on demand and ability to pay the highest rate and offer its exceptional products while the ships generally sail following the sun. The flexibility in the operation and the business model adopted have made the cruise ship companies one of the major players in the international system.

Similar to the characteristic of the industry, the cruise ship itself has become a global microcosm, a term coined by Wood (2006) to describe the situation designed in a cruise ship. A global microcosm can be defined as a place or situation that becomes an imitation or a smaller form of greater quality or feature. Some of the reasons why cruise ships are depicted as a global microcosm are because of the variations of the passengers' country of origin and the facilities that resemble land-based resorts. Cruise ships have developed rapidly both in terms of the size of the ships as well as the range of services provided to passengers. The bigger capacity of a cruise line is associated with the growing number of passengers enjoying cruising as their vacation options. Statistical data reported by Cruise Lines International Associations (CLIA), the world's largest cruise industry trade organization, indicated that the number of worldwide passengers increased by 60 percent for the period 2009-2018. The number of passengers in 2009 was 17.8 million passengers and in 2018, the number increased to 28.5 million passengers, the majority of whom come from North America and Europe (CLIA, 2019).

Table 1- The Increasing Number of Cruise Passengers

Year	Passengers (in millions)
2009	17.8
2010	19.1
2011	20.5
2012	20.9
2013	21.3
2014	22.34
2015	23.06
2016	25.2
2017	26.7
2018	28.5

Source: (CLIA, 2019)

It is also pointed out by the report that cruise ship passengers come from many countries such as the United States, China, Germany, United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, Italy, Spain, France, and Brazil. The largest number of passengers came from the United States which reached 11.9 million. China as a new market in this industry also contributed 2.4 million passengers in 2018, which is the second largest number of passengers by country (CLIA, 2019).

Global microcosm is also adequately described by the label attached to the cruise ships as floating 'cities' or 'hotels' (Dennet, 2013). This label does not only refer to cruise ships as a social container that has its floating society but also refers to how cruise ships have evolved into more than just a mode of transportation. According to Brida & Zapata (2010), the sector has expanded from a very small part of the oceanic passenger industry into a complete and complex vacation business. Everything that can be enjoyed while on a land-based vacation is now provided by cruise companies ranging from casinos, fitness centers, shopping centers, restaurants, pubs, spa services, cinema, and many others. Not to mention the fact that cruise ships also provide the grandest facilities such as the first wedding chapel, most impressive ice rink, best in-line skating track, or biggest rock climbing wall (Dowling & Weeden, 2017). This resemblance to the facilities found at onshore resorts is due to the reason that the cruises are designed to be the destinations in themselves.

Behind the expansive growth of mass cruising, there are several major players in this industry. McNulty & Wafer (1990) stated that cruise ships are a powerful sector of the tourism industry almost completely under the control of transnational corporations. As shown in the table, Carnival Corporation, Royal Caribbean Cruise Lines, and Norwegian Cruise Lines are the three biggest players in the industry with several well-known brands operating under these corporate banners.

Table 2 - The Major Players in Cruise Industry

Company	Brands
Carnival Corporation	Carnival
	Princess
	Costa Cruises
	Holland America
	AIDA
	P&O Cruises
	P&O Cruises Australia
	Cunard
	Ibero Cruises

	Seabourn
Royal Caribbean Cruise Lines	Royal Caribbean Celebrity Pullmantur Croisières de France Azamara TUI Cruises
Norwegian Cruise Line Corporation, Ltd.	Norwegian Cruise Lines Oceania Cruises Regent Seven Seas
MSC	MSC Cruises
GHK	Star Cruises Crystal Cruises

Source: (Clancy, 2017)

These leading corporations also invest in big ships which means that they have enormous passenger capacity (Peručić, 2019). On average, a cruise ship has a passenger capacity of 3,000 guests. Of all cruise ship companies, Royal Caribbean International has the ship with the largest number of passenger capacities. Harmony of the Seas of Royal Caribbean as the biggest ship in 2017 accommodated 5,496 passengers. The other two ships, Allure of the Seas and Oasis of the Seas, each had a passenger capacity of 5,400. In 2018, the company debuted a new ship, Symphony of the Seas, which overtook Harmony of the Seas as the world's largest ship. (Ward, 2017 as cited in Peručić, 2019).

With continuous change and development, every cruise ship demands more crew to ensure passenger satisfaction during the cruise. Passengers' experience will determine and maintain the company's image. The more luxurious the ship, the smaller the ratio between the passengers and the serving crew which means the more crew needed to cater to the needs of the passengers. As described by Jenkins (2019), the Symphony of the Seas of Royal Caribbean International which carried 5,503 passengers required a crew of 2,200 to handle all the needs during the voyage. This means that each person of the crew must serve 2.5 passengers. Based on the global economic impact in 2017, this industry provided 1,108,676 jobs for all crew from all over the world (CLIA, 2019). These crews were recruited from various ethnicities and from various countries which further completes the picture of cruise tourism as a globalized industry. As mentioned earlier, most of the workers come from developing countries in Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Eastern Europe. Others come from developed countries such as the United Kingdom and Australia with a higher status and position (Bolt & Lashley, 2015). This

industry's access to the global workforce is a distinctive character that is going to be discussed in the following section.

Cruise Industry and Its Access to Global Labour

As mass cruising becomes a more popular holiday choice among tourists from wealthy countries, the need for seafaring human resource aspects has also been continuously increasing. More intensive and specifically skilled personnel are required by the companies to remain competitive in the industry (Artini & Nilan, 2014). The human resources needed comprises both nautical and technical people to manage the cruise ship as well as hotel and entertainment personnel to service the tourists (Schlingemann, 2015). As discussed above, with the ongoing developments of the cruise industry, the demand for the huge number of labours is not only due to the increasing size of the ships but also by the complexity of activities and entertainment offered to the guests. The number of crew required to run the ships may be represented by the number of passenger capacity and crew aboard under the Royal Caribbean brand, as indicated in the table below.

Table 3 - Royal Caribbean Cruise Lines' Guest Capacity and Crew Onboard

Ship Name	Guest Capacity	Crew Onboard
Adventure of the Seas	3807	1185
The allure of the Seas	6780	2200
Anthem of the Seas	4905	1500
Brilliance of the Seas	2543	848
Enchantment of the Seas	2730	852
Explorer of the Seas	4290	1185
Freedom of the Seas	4515	1360
The grandeur of the Seas	2440	760
Harmony of the Seas	6687	2200
Independence of the Seas	4560	1440
Jewel of the Seas	2702	852
Liberty of the Seas	4960	1360
Mariner of the Seas	4000	1200
Navigator of the Seas	4000	1200
Oasis of the Seas	6780	2200
Quantum of the Seas	4905	1500
Radiance of the Seas	2466	894
Rhapsody of the Seas	2416	765
Serenade of the Seas	2476	848
Spectrum of the Seas	5622	1551
Symphony of The Seas	6680	2200
Vision of The Seas	2514	742
Voyager of The Seas	4269	1176

Sources: (Royal Caribbean, n.d.)

To meet the demand for an intensive workforce as illustrated in the table above, cruise companies can legally hire workers from various countries due to the application of a system known as the Flags of Convenience (FoC). In essence, a flag of convenience is a system that allows the shipowner to register their ships and use the flag of other countries. It is the common practice that the countries chosen to register the ship are the most convenient and favorable for the shipowner (Boczec, 1962 as cited in Rogers, 2010). DeSombre (2006) also underscored that the FoC system allows shipowners to register their ships and operate their business in accordance with favorable international and domestic regulations. Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Belgium, Bolivia, Cambodia, Cayman Islands, Comoros, Cyprus, Honduras, Jamaica, Lebanon, Madeira, Mongolia, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Tongan, and Vanuatu are just a few of the countries that are also known as FoC countries besides Panama and Liberia (International Transport Workers' Federation, 2018). Sailing under the flags of developing countries offers ship owners further benefits. These flag countries have very minimal rules imposed on ship owners ranging from working conditions, pay levels, nationalities employed, tax obligations, environmental restrictions, and other rules enabling them to minimize costs and maximize company profits (Bolt & Lashley, 2015). A study by Negret (2016) revealed that most FoC countries have become "safe havens" for American and European shipowners owing to the low taxation and poor law and regulation in the FoC countries. That is to say, the application of the FoC system not only provides convenience in recruiting workers from all over the world but also gives many advantages for the companies in their operations.

The cruise companies have deliberately chosen these developing countries as their flag countries to free themselves from the constraint of the national labour market which on the one hand led to an increase in the recruitment of cruise crew from countries that supply cheap labour, particularly developing countries in Central/South America and Southeast Asia (Schlingemann, 2015). The emphasis on labour cost within the entire operational financial management is essential for the companies to remain competitive. When cruise companies, primarily from developed countries recruit a majority of their workforce from within their own countries, the companies unquestionably are burdened financially. As illustrated by Terry (2017) that a ship registered in the USA must employ at least 75% of U.S. citizens, adhere to the country's labour regulations, and pay labour wages according to the labour market in the United States. Therefore, shipowners will

find that shifting labour sources to countries with low wage standards is by far the most profitable strategy for the companies.

As mentioned previously, by adopting the FoC, cruise ship owners are no longer confined by nationality-based employment recruitment. The ability of shipowners to hire their workforce from wherever they choose would result in the diversity of the crew, which, according to Chin (2008), signifies a globalized multicultural workplace at sea. A single cruise line may employ people from more than 50 different nations, with 40 or more nationalities represented on any particular ship (Wood, 2000 as cited by Terry, 2017). A report from War on Want and International Transport's Workers Federation describes the diversity of crew nationalities in this industry, mentioning that the Carnival ship, for example, hired workers from 64 countries, including Peru, Uruguay, the Philippines, Romania, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, India, Nicaragua, Indonesia, and others. According to the report, the Philippines supplied the most workers for the Carnival, followed by India and Indonesia. (Mather, 2002). Klein (2002) mentioned that most cruise ships would openly tell passengers the number of nations represented among the staff as a positive feature. Similarly, a study by Chin (2008) revealed that this multinational crew is openly claimed as a pride for the company since it resembles a 'mini-United Nations' staff on board. Due to this fact, employing personnel from various countries, particularly from developing countries, is not only to save the ship's operational costs but also to highlight the good aspects of their business as well as to impress the passengers through this remarkable branding.

The development of the industry has provoked the availability of jobs in the sector. More and more ship crew are being withdrawn from countries with relatively low wages and living conditions (van Fossen, 2016). From the workers' point of view, in addition to having the opportunity to travel around the world by sea and meeting people of various nationalities, the expectation of improving their welfare is the main motivation for working on cruise ships. Several studies have shown that working onboard is closely associated with high pay. In a study conducted by Bolt & Lashley (2015) it was found that workers revealed that they had to sacrifice a lot to work on cruise ships. Taking a long trip from their home countries, sacrificing time with their families, and working onboard for a long period of time are just a few of the many sacrifices they would make were it not for the greater pay compared to what they would receive in their own country.

So, salary becomes the key reason for seeking jobs on a cruise ship. A study on the motivation for working on a cruise ship conducted by Artini & Nilan (2014) also revealed that working on a cruise ship was motivated mainly by the idea of building wealth so that the workers would be able to help their parents financially, send their brothers and sisters to higher education, and open their own business in the future. This study, which was conducted on cruise ship workers from Bali, also showed that the expectation of working on a cruise ship has become a common pattern found in families who are still struggling economically. Moreover, cruise ship training schools that have increased in number have also attracted young people to work on cruises with promises of getting salaries nine times the standard salary in Indonesia. These factors combine to make working on a cruise ship a dream for a brighter future.

Labour Racialization in Cruise Industry

The meeting of the multinational workforce with passengers from various countries has become the most visible evidence of the globalization phenomenon on cruise ships. The cruise passengers which are primarily from the United States, Germany, United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, Italy, Spain, France, and Brazil (CLIA, 2019) are served by the workers who are also from diverse countries. The workforce onboard a cruise ship, according to Artini & Nilan (2014) is like a reflection of the globalized labour force. As explained by Artini & Nilan, hiring employees from different countries, particularly Southeast Asian countries, is a way to impress passengers who expect dedicated personal service. Artini & Nilan take one of the advertisements to present an overview of the service received by guests which read as follows:

> *Lucky guests on MSC Magnifica are expertly looked after by a 1,000-strong crew, enjoying the best of modern Italian style. At the heart of MSC Magnifica is a lush haven of tranquility, the luxurious MSC Aurea Spa. This sumptuous wellness centre offers a myriad of relaxation options from saunas and Turkish baths to a fitness centre, beauty salon, Thalassotherapy room, relaxation area, and massage rooms. Why not give in to the magic of an authentic Balinese masseurs* (MSC Cruises, 2010 as cited in Artini & Nilan, 2014).

The words used to attract the attention of prospective passengers in the advertisement purposely include diction such as "*relaxation"*, "*magic"*, and "*authentic"* to define the service that will be provided during the cruise, particularly from Southeast Asian crew. Other than that, the mention of workers from Southeast Asia, especially the masseuse

from Bali can be interpreted as workers who would be probably highly trained but not properly paid (Artini & Nilan, 2014). This suggests that the employment of multinational workers is used not only as a marketing strategy but also as a cost-saving strategy for the companies.

For the majority of the workers, the excitement of being paid to travel around the world on a modern and luxurious cruise ship is replaced by the surprise of working long hours for relatively low pay, the poor quality of accommodations, the degree of insecurity about keeping their job and maintaining their income soon after they start their job onboard (Dowling & Weeden, 2017; Klein, 2002). As stated by Dennet (2013), the nature of the cruise industry is characterized by a combination of intensive labour workforce, demanding emotional displays, physical challenges, poor working conditions, and low levels of pay. Regardless of their roles or position, practically all cruise ship employees work long hours with few days off because cruise ships highly depend on a self-reliant labour force all day, seven days a week to pamper the passengers. However, the workers from developing countries that make up the majority of the workforce confront more challenging and harsh working conditions due to specific low positions assigned to them. While the workers from developed countries hold higher ranks in the work structure and enjoy better benefits and working conditions, the workers from developing countries mainly hold semi-skilled and menial jobs (Terry, 2017).

This segregated labour force is deeply linked to the implementation of the prevailing FoC system as previously discussed. According to Klein (2002), the cruise industry's workforce structure in the 1960s and 1970s was considerably different from what it is now. The ship's crew and personnel were dominated by Europeans at that time and it highly determined the reputation of the companies. European service staff in the dining room and room steward held up the cruise line’s reputation. However, a turning point began in the 1980s, when the industry experienced a serious challenge. The merger of several companies, followed by consolidation and the increasing size and facilities of cruise ships (Klein, 2002), compelled these transnational corporations to look for ways to save on operating costs. Even though the use of FoCs in the cruise industry is part of a longer maritime history that predates the development of the contemporary cruise industry, this practice became increasingly popular in the maritime industry after the oil shocks in the 1970s and grew further in the 1980s (Terry, 2017). The predominant reasons

are certainly related to cost reduction and flexibility in company operations, including the ability to hire seafarers from around the globe as mentioned above.

This practice, while it has become an instrument for the capitalists in the industry to increase profits, on the other hand, it has also generated racial inequality which, in the context of the cruise ship industry, places the crew from developing countries at the lowest rank in the work structure. Because cruise companies may hire crew from any country for each position, they can match certain nationalities to certain roles within the hierarchy of labour. Therefore, it becomes obvious that the work structure in the cruise industry is highly stratified based on race and ethnicity (Bolt & Lashley, 2015; Chin, 2008; Dennet, 2013; Terry, 2017). The racialization of the workforce in this industry, about the concept of the racialization of global labour will relate to the two things, namely the racialized othering and denial of basic citizenship, as detailed in the following section.

Racialized Othering

Racialized othering indicates a situation in which the fragile position of certain racial groups causes them to be the most exploited in the labour regime. This situation is constructed by normalizing the coercive methods and poor treatments enacted in the business as though the lives of these workers are less important (Bonacich et al., 2008). Within the contemporary cruise industry, this condition is reflected in the hierarchical work structure created to manage this business. This firm stratification of workers based on race and nationality, then, determines their working conditions. Referring to the report from War on Want and the International Transport Workers Federation, how the industry is organized has resulted in visible labour segregation. It is further highlighted that it takes little effort to figure out "who works on a cruise ship and what their wages are" based on their gender and nationality/skin colour. And the workers' employment dictates where they are and are not permitted on the ship. It is a highly stratified and hierarchical environment, with the various strata kept separate (Mather, 2002). In other words, the nationality and racial identity of the workers largely determine their place in the industry.

In general, we can find a three-class social structure within a cruise ship: the officers, staff, and crew (Lee-Ross, 2004 as cited in Dennet, 2013). The crew occupied the bottom of the hierarchy and are typically include positions in the dining room, custodial operatives, and cabin stewards. Staff hold positions such as shop assistant, gym

instructors, and entertainment. Most front-line service staff are recognized as crew. The officers, at the top hierarchy, are led by the captain (Dennet, 2013). The captain will be assisted by the staff captain in charge of officers and seamen. In addition, there are several other top positions such as the Chief Engineer, the Principal Medical Officer, and the Hotel Manager which is sometimes also called Hotel Director, Chief Pursers, or General Manager (Dowling & Weeden, 2017).

Related to this, a study conducted by Wu (2005) has classified the variation in the nationality of workers on cruise ships into 5 groups as shown in the following table:

Table 4 - Regional Division of Cruise Workers

REGION			
Advanced	**Eastern Europe**	**Asia**	**Latin America and others**
Italy	Ukraine	Philippines	Honduras
United Kingdom	Russia	India	Colombia
Germany	Belarus	Indonesia	Peru
Greece	Romania	China	Mauritius
United States	Poland	Thailand	Mexico
Canada	Moldova	Sri Lanka	Ecuador
France	Bulgaria	Myanmar	Brazil
Norway	Macedonia	Turkey	Guyana
Belgium	Serbia	Pakistan	Guatemala
Portugal	Bosnia		Nicaragua
Germany			Costa Rica
Holland			Panama
			Jamaica
			Haiti
			U.S.V.I.

Sources: (Wu, 2005)

The advanced group listed in the table above is a group of countries whose workers receive better conditions in terms of work position, wages, and working conditions on cruise ships. While the other 4 groups of countries fall into one category, namely developing or poor countries, where the workers get less attractive positions and lower compensation (Dennet, 2013; Wu, 2005). The study by Gibson (2008) also revealed the same kind of stratification in which the workers from developed countries such as the United Kingdom or Australia are in the highest status position, in the middle position are mainly placed by workers from Eastern European countries, and at the bottom of the hierarchy are the employees from underdeveloped parts of Eastern Europe, Central America, and Southeast Asia. A more detailed picture of stratification and discrimination on cruise ships is presented by War on Want and ITF through their report which stated that “the higher status employees, largely from industrialized countries, have cabins-often

above the water line in which only two shares. They eat at their waitress-served restaurants, have their sheets changed every day, and may have access to some passenger facilities such as the onboard internet cafe. Meanwhile, below decks, in the galley preparing food, for example, the majority are from developing countries and Eastern Europe. These crew members are not allowed up beyond a certain level into the passenger areas or face disciplinary action. They sleep in cramped noisy cabins. Their food is often leftovers" (Mather, 2002). Even for workers from developing countries, certain positions which Terry (2017) described as semi-skilled and menials jobs are specifically assigned to them, including room stewards, waiters, busboys, line cooks, dishwasher, general cleaners, mechanics, plumbers, electricians, oilers, wipers and other below decks jobs. These positions signify the place of the workers from developing countries in the industry.

From the perspectives of the companies, the mass hiring of the crew from developing countries is for two reasons. First, these workers were less demanding of their working conditions and demanded far less compensation (Bulikhov, 2009). Low-cost labour would lower the operational cost of the companies, as it is practiced through FoC. Second, some major cruise lines indicate a clear preference for certain nationalities. One of the reasons is that those workers, particularly from Southeast Asia, are shaped not just by wage levels but by prevailing stereotypes of different national cultures. Service culture is an integral part of Asian identity (Chin, 2008). An interview conducted by Zhao (2002) with a crewing agent revealed that crew from Asia, especially from the Philippines, naturally have a wonderful service culture. They always greet the guests and always put a smile on their faces. Young people from the Philippines, Indonesia, and India are used as actors to provide an unforgettable experience for guests and to create a colonial-themed cruise (Nilan & Artini, 2013). To put it in another way, the nuances created on a cruise ship provide a picture of the preservation of colonial patterns of racialized servility and colour hierarchies (Oyogoa, 2016). The racialization has benefited the group of white men from core countries who are at the top of the workplace hierarchy. They are racialized as having the qualities required for leadership and dominance over others. Meanwhile, workers from peripheral nations, particularly Southeast Asian men, are racialized as being genetically predisposed to servitude. As quoted by Terry (2011) that " the deeper you go in the belly of the ship, the darker the crew" does not only describe the weak position of these workers, it also implies that these workers realized that they

had few chances of being promoted because of the colour of their skin (Klein, 2002). In this way, the workers from developing countries are being excluded and discriminated against to generate profit for the capitalists in the industry.

Denial Basic Citizenship

The second face of racialization in the cruise industry comes in the form of denial of basic citizenship. As mentioned by Bonacich et al. (2008), the denial of basic citizenship means that the unprivileged workers have almost no access to challenge or bargain the regulations or institutions that abided by them. The segregation of labour that puts the crew from developing countries at the lowest rank within the work structure is inevitably coupled with the issues of labour rights violations. The gloomy picture of labour violations in the cruise industry presents an example of human rights issues in the tourism industry. Since tourism is considered to promote economic development and contribute to mutual understanding and respect between people and societies, as suggested by Cole and Eriksson (2011), it is also expected to bring dignity and alleviate poverty in order to enhance destinations' communities rights. However, most of the discourse on human rights in tourism always prioritizes the rights of tourists over the rights of other stakeholders (George, 2007 as cited in Cole & Eriksson, 2011).

Workers from developing countries experience rights violations such as non-secure and short-term contracts, low wages, and high costs including illegal agent's fees to secure a job, long working hours and high work intensity, poor management practices such as bullying and favouritism, racial and gender discrimination, high labour turn over, and employee resistance to trade union organization (Cole & Eriksson, 2011). Klein (n.d.) highlighted the issue of violation of labour by highlighting the ITF's report as follows: "Below decks on virtually all cruise ships, there is a hidden world of long hours, low pay, insecurity, and exploitation. Those who work continuously below deck, like in galleys (kitchens), rarely see the light of day, let alone the shimmering sea of the Caribbean". The violation of labour rights is also part of the implementation of FoC system. One of the consequences of adopting FoC is that the protection and fulfilment of labour's human rights in cruise ships are under the law of the flag states. However, most of the flag states or the FoC countries belong to developing countries with neither the power nor the administrative infrastructure to effectively impose any governmental or international regulations; nor do they want or have the power to control the shipowners of the

companies (Anderson, 1996 as cited in Negret, 2016). Moreover, these flag states offer registries for cruise companies as a means of generating income. Therefore, FoC system has certainly enacted an unfavourable system for the workers and the perpetuation of violation of labour rights.

In dealing with labour rights issues, the cruise industry tends to avoid unionization of its workforce (Klein, 2002). Unfortunately, this situation is also exacerbated by the nature of the multinational workforce in which the differences in nationality, language, and mindset become a challenge for workers to unite against discrimination and exploitation. The "divide and rule" practice has become an effective mechanism to deaden labour rights-related issues. In addition, the companies do not find it difficult to control the behavior of this lowest rank worker through the creation of a culture of fear. As mentioned by Terry (2017) that the labour force from low-wage countries is more vulnerable to exploitation due to the fear of being fired as they are dependent on the jobs. In fact, these workers are very tolerant of low-status work that is full of exploitation and discrimination because they see this work as a way to make money, support their families, and raise their standard of living (Bauder, 2006). The acceptance of discrimination, exploitation, and violation of human rights would perpetuate the dominance of the capitalists in this industry over workers.

Conclusion

The study on the global cruise industry presents two sides of the same coin. On one side, it provides us with evidence of interconnectedness established through the process of globalization. As a mini replication of the globalizing world, we witness various interactions between actors such as developed countries and developing countries, transnational corporations with multinational workers, and between passengers and the crew in this industry. On the other side, this industry also shows the gloomy side of globalization. The pride of having multinational and multi-ethnic crew eventuates into exploitation and discrimination against the workers from low-wage countries.

As stated by Bonacich et al. (2008) in this era of globalization, the capitalist system indeed exhibits its dependence on worker racialization, which divides workers into stratification based on race and nationality. This article found that racialization in the form of racialized othering in the work structure on cruise ships places workers from poor

countries in the lowest and most disadvantaged job positions and has little opportunity to move up to higher levels of employment. GAs race is a basis for the division of labour, this work structure has established a master-servant relationship that recreates the nuances of colonialism. Likewise, denial of basic citizenship provides us with the portrait of the powerlessness of the workers to voice the violation of their rights as workers. Fear of sanctions and losing jobs is the reason this story remains below the decks. As this article only emphasizes the segregation of labour in general, this also becomes the limitation of this paper. In addition to ethnic and racial factors that divide workers in a hierarchical work structure, it is also important to examine work experience through gender perspectives. Women workers take on many roles in the cruise industry's labour market in various positions, which is significant to be highlighted in future studies.

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