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REPORTS IN CONTRAST

**15** RESPONSIBLE TOURISM

# WORK ON CRUISES

## From prolongation to the intensity of working hours

ANGELA TEBERGA





REPORTS IN CONTRAST  
15

**Works on cruises.  
From prolongation to the intensity of working hours.**

Angela Teberga

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To Ernest Cañada, for the invitation, trust, friendship and careful reading of the text; to Vania Herédia, for academic guidance in my doctoral career and friendship; to Richard Santos, for the statistical treatment of data in the SPSS® (Statistical Package for the Social Science); to Sérgio Lemos, for the illustrations that compose this report; and to Leonardo Rodrigo Soares, for the translation into English.



Photo: Angela Teberga

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# 1.

## INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVE

The cruise industry was responsible for the generation of more than 500 thousand direct jobs (crew and workers of the onshore companies) and for the payment of more than 21 billion dollars in salaries in the year 2019 (Cla, 2020) – which confirms the attractiveness of the sector as a job opportunity for young people and adults from different parts of the globe, especially from peripheral countries.

Despite the expressive numbers, very little is debated or discussed about the working conditions to which sea cruise crews are submitted<sup>1</sup>. To keep all on-board services operating (hospitality, restaurant and entertainment), it is necessary for workers to make them happen, daily, seven days a week, without breaks or holidays. This is a contradiction of the tourism industry (Meliani & Gomes, 2010), and particularly of maritime cruises (Gibson, 2008), which more than ever should be put on the scene: while some rest and practice tourism, others work so that the first ones can enjoy idleness and leisure.

From this context, the objective of this research is **to analyze the variables of prolongation and intensity of working hours as the main determinants of the precarious work of crew members on cruise ships.**

The chosen variables are related to both old manifestations of precarious work, as well as modern ones – flexible working hours, functional duties and legislation.

The chosen variables are related to both old manifestations of precarious work – working hours of 12 hours a day were common at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in England (Engels, 1975) –, as well as modern ones – flexible working hours, functional duties and legislation (Dal Rosso, 2017) –, and contribute to a predicted end in the world of capital: the full reduction and adaptation of work to the capital logic, that is, extracting as much value as possible.

This research is not, therefore, about studying other manifestations of precariousness on ships, such as: gender inequality (Teberga & Herédia, 2017), sexual abuse of women (Klein & Poulston, 2011; Klein, 2012), job turnover (Lukas, 2011), poor food and housing conditions, long-term contracts, low salaries or illegal charge for guaranteeing a job vacancy on board (Klein, 2002). **Particular attention to working hours** is justified by:

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1 I must highlight the work of Ross Klein, professor at the *School of Social Work, Memorial University of Newfoundland* (Canada) and associate researcher at the *Canadian Center for Policy Alternatives*. Klein is the author of several articles, books, book chapters and reports on the cruise industry behind the scenes and also coordinator of the [Cruise Junkie](#): *Your resource for the other information about the cruise industry*. The reality of the crew's work has been in their interests since the early 2000s.

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1. **A theoretical reason:** in a Marxist perspective, the level of exploitation is measured by the relationship between necessary work (that in which the worker produces the value necessary for its reproduction) and surplus, the latter being the part of the journey that is not returned to the worker in the form of salary, but which takes place in the form of added value. The capitalist, therefore, is concerned with the reduction of necessary work and the expansion of surplus work, materialized through the prolongation or intensification of working hours, so that capital accumulation can happen (Netto & Braz, 2012). That is why, for Harvey (1993: 210), "it is the mastery of others' working time that gives capitalists the initial power to appropriate profits".
1. **An empirical reason:** exhausting working hours are cited by all consulted authors as the most important complaint of seafarers, of all nationalities, who work on sea cruises (Mather, 2002; Klein, 2002; Klein, 2006; Lee -Ross, 2006, Chin, 2008a; Sehkaran & Sevcikova, 2011; Bolt & Lashley, 2015; Oyogoa, 2016; Llangco, 2017). The consulted literature is unanimous in the understanding that "the workers suffer from long working hours and high work intensity" (Cole & Eriksson, 2010: 113).

The report is divided into four main sections:

- Work on cruises: descriptive analysis of the composition of the workforce (by nationality, age group and gender), the main occupations characteristic of the tourism sector (hotel departments, A&B and entertainment) and the functional hierarchy;
- Applicable labor legislation: analysis of the use of flags of convenience as an instrument for flexibilization labour standards and study of the Maritime Labour Convention 2006 as an international normative reference for the work of seafarers;
- Prolongation of working hours: theoretical study on the prolongation of working hours as a strategy for extracting absolute added value and analysis of the reality of cruise ships;
- Intensity of working hours: theoretical study on the increasing of productivity through the intensification of working hours as a strategy for extracting more relative added value and analyzing the reality of cruise ships.

The content of this report is the result of part of my Doctoral Thesis in Tourism and Hospitality from the University of Caxias do Sul (UCS) (Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil), in which I investigate the illness and the occurrence of accidents among Brazilian crew members caused or intensified by exhausting working hours on cruise ships.

Finally, I wish the reading to be enjoyable and I truly hope that the crew from all over the world feel represented by the reflections made in this text. I dedicate this research to you.

# 2.

## METHODOLOGY

### BIBLIOGRAPHIC AND DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH

The theoretical research was carried out in the main scientific journals and international tourism books. The analysis of the Maritime Labor Convention 2006 was performed based on the principles of documentary analysis by Cellard (2008), which must follow the stages of preliminary analysis (detailed and systematic reading of the document according to dimensions determined by the authors) and central analysis (interpretation of the document and articulation of ideas according to the research objectives).

### ONLINE QUESTIONNAIRE

Online questionnaires (or web surveys) are a typology of questionnaires sent and filled out by respondents through the internet. In this study, the tool used to apply the questionnaire was Google Forms, a platform recommended in cases where there are technical difficulties for applying face-to-face questionnaires (Torini, 2016). The statistical analysis was performed using the SPSS® software.

The questionnaire developed for this research was divided into three blocks of questions: the interviewed crew member's profile, measurement of the workday and measurement of the work intensity. The questions regarding the second and third blocks of the questionnaire were adapted from the 6th European Working Conditions Survey (2015)<sup>2/3</sup> (Eurofound, 2015).

10 is the average of employment contracts carried out per crew member; in addition, 6.5 months is the average time for each contract.

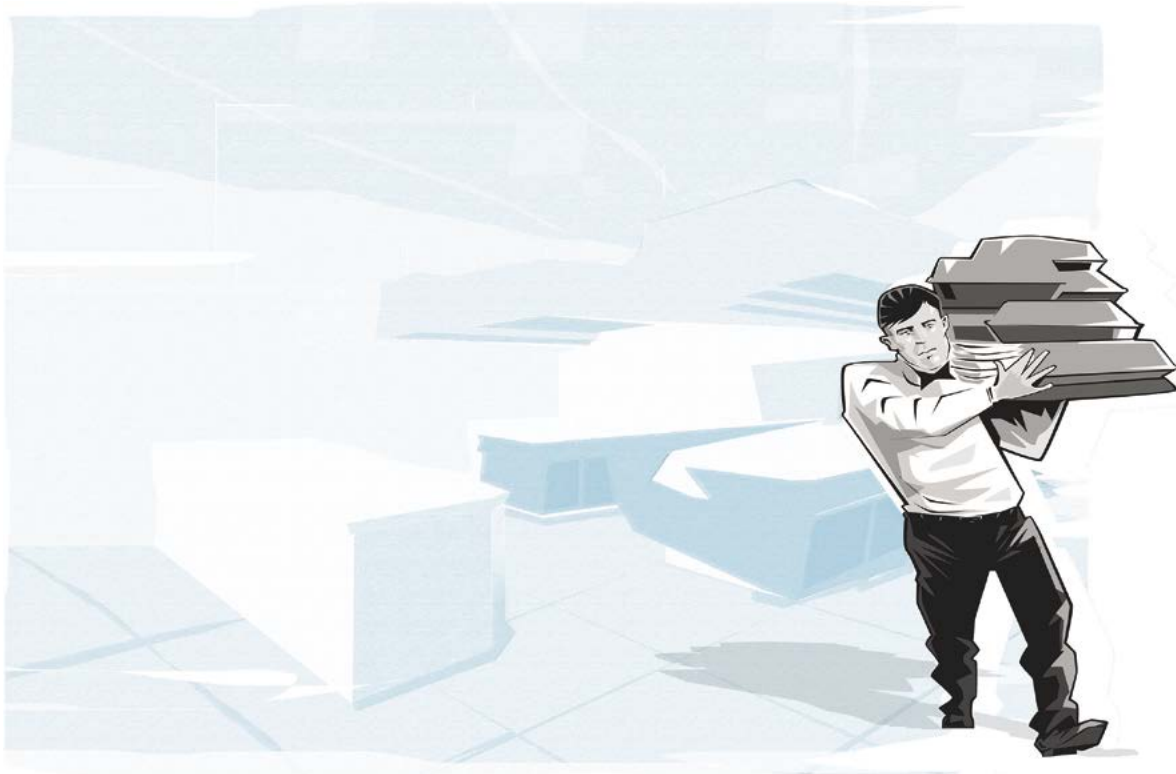
The web survey was applied to 100 crew members of cruise ships, between the months of August and November 2019. The sample is composed of 55 men (55%) and 45 (45%) women. 69% of respondents are between 25 and 39 years old, 5% between 18 and 24 years old and 26% over 40 years old. 63% of the research participants have higher education (college degree) and 32% have completed high school. The respondents are from 36 different nationalities, with the Asian continent (Philippines and India) standing out.

2 Radic et al. (2020) developed a similar study, based on the application of the same questionnaire among cruise crew members. However, the theoretical approach used focuses on measuring the engagement of the crew's work and well-being.

3 For the critique pertinent to the research developed by Eurofound (2015), see Dal Rosso and Cardoso (2015).

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Regarding the hierarchical organization of the crew on the ship, 47% of respondents are crew, 33% staff and 21% officers. Their functions are varied, involving hospitality, cleaning, food or entertainment. 10 is the average of employment contracts carried out per crew member; in addition, 6.5 months is the average time for each contract. Also, there is a diversity of the shipowners in the survey respondents, with emphasis on Carnival Cruise Line (26%), Royal Caribbean Cruise Line (18%), Princess Cruises (11%), Norwegian Cruise Line (6%) and MSC Cruises (6 %).





# 3.

## THE WORK ON CRUISES

The appeal of the high employability of tourism reproduced in speeches and political documents also extends to the cruise market. This is because, in addition to the vessel being labor-intensive (it is estimated that for every three cruisers, a crew member is employed), it also demands other activities on land that support the operation of the ship trip. In addition to these, it is important to remember the indirect jobs induced by this market, generated by suppliers of goods and services, such as food and beverages, fuel and equipment, transportation services and travel agency.

The generation of employment and income is among the economic contributions considered by the Cruise Lines International Association (CLIA), the largest representative of the cruise industry in the world. The market was responsible for the generation of 554,215 direct jobs (crew and workers of the onshore companies) and for the payment of 21.6 billion dollars in the year 2019. However, the figures are more expressive in the previous year, in 2018, when 607,000 direct jobs were generated and over 28 billion dollars were paid to workers<sup>4</sup>.

The high employability and the payment in foreign currency (dollar or euro) have aroused the interest of thousands of young people and adults, demonstrating that the cruise market is an interesting employment alternative for workers from different parts of the globe, especially in peripheral countries (such as Southeast Asia and Latin America<sup>5</sup>), or who are in a situation of unemployment or greater social vulnerability.

Among many young people, moreover, it remains an enchantment in relation to working on a ship. In the popular imagination – and that can be confirmed in practice, in certain situations –, there is the idea that the ship's crew member can visit several international tourist destinations while working, an opportunity that would not exist if his work happened on land<sup>6</sup>. This is a typical dazzle among migrants from peripheral countries, as explained by Bianchi (2000).

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4 At the time of the COVID-19 pandemic and the subsequent downtime of cruise operations (no sail) since March 2020, the economic impacts were immediately felt by the sector's working class. Between March and September 2020, it is estimated that the downtime was responsible for the loss of more than 518,000 jobs and US\$ 23 billion in salaries (CLIA, 2021).

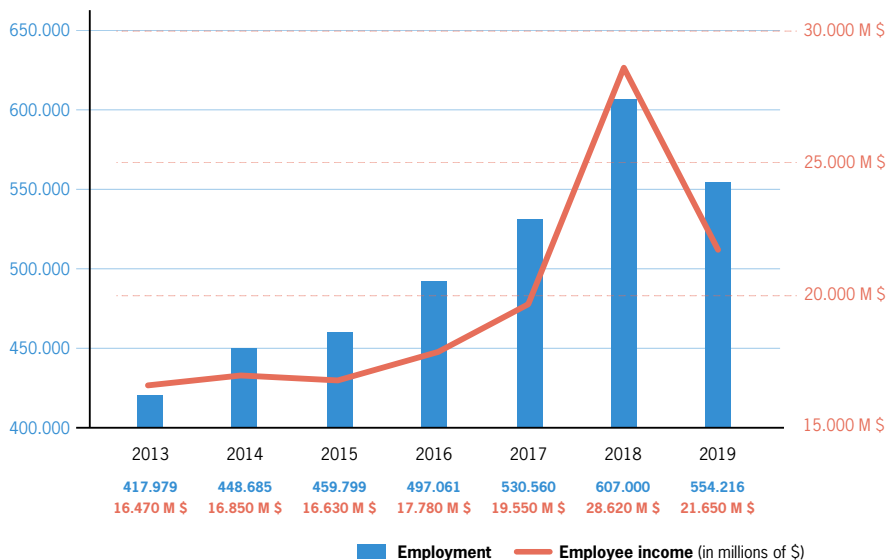
5 To learn more about employability on cruise ships among Argentineans, see Vereda et al. (2016), and among Brazilians, see Santana and Edra (2020).

6 Sehkanan and Sevcikova (2011) consider that the motivations for working on the ship differ significantly according to the crew's nationality. Helping their families financially in their countries of origin is the most important motivation for work for crew members from peripheral countries, according to the authors. In Brazil, Pacheco, Panosso Netto and Lohmann (2010) and Claro (2016) identified that one of the main motivations of the Brazilian crew member for work on board is exactly the practice of tourism in port cities.

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Graph 1.

**Direct jobs generated by the cruise industry.**



Source: CLIA (2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020). Organized by the author (2021).

### 3.1. Workforce composition

Every tourist who has been on a cruise realizes, right on boarding, that the ship's crew is extremely diverse, which may suggest the impression that the maritime labor market looks like a “mini-United Nations” (Chin, 2008a; 2008b). This phenomenon happens because, just as the cruise industry is globalized, so is its labor market<sup>7</sup>. This is a well-known characteristic of the merchant navy, including cruise ships, which can search for the cheapest available workers around the world (Meirinho, 2014).

According to Wu (2005), the scale and extent of differentiation by nationality illustrate the fact that cruises employ a “genuinely globalized” workforce (Sampson, 2018)<sup>8</sup>. 99 nationalities are represented in Wu's survey, with 10 nationalities constituting two thirds of the sample (Philippines, Italy, United Kingdom, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Germany, Ukraine, Colombia, and Greece).

7 The globalization arrives, however, in a different way among nationalities, according to Carelli (2014). The author explains that globalization only includes the human dimension - full freedom of the “citizens of the world” to live, move and work for the countries of the globe - when this is shown to be advantageous to the central countries of capitalism. In other words, the protectionism in the domestic labor market is only loosened “in the interest of States that, to meet economic needs, selectively open up opportunities for workers from poorer countries, generally disqualified, to do low-cost work that their citizens do not have interest in doing it” (Carelli, 2014: 201).

8 According to Terry (2011), there are certain limits to the globalization of the workforce, due to the demand of companies for qualified labor and with the ability to communicate in the English language.

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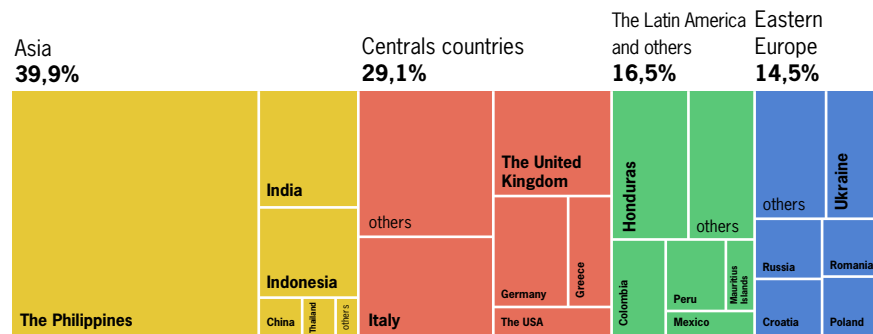
The Philippines appears prominently in all surveys consulted on the composition of the merchant navy workforce disaggregated by country. According to Calmon Neto (2014: 128), the Asian country is “notoriously known for being a supplier of qualified labor and at more accessible prices than other places in the world”.

Philippines is “notoriously known for being a supplier of qualified labor and at more accessible prices than other places in the world”.

In fact, the Philippines are the majority among seafarers, making up 30% of the world's maritime workforce<sup>9</sup>. It is estimated that, in 2014, 79,941 Philippines worked on passenger crafts, which represents just over 19% of the total number of seafarers in that country, behind only work on bulk carriers (cargo ship carrying bulk cargo). Still, chief cook and waiter are among the top ten occupations that most employed seafarers in the Philippines, with 15,890 and 11,538 employees, respectively, in 2014 (POEA, 2015).

The following figure, known as the “tree map”, is intended to illustrate the composition of the workforce on cruise ships by nationality, with the size of each rectangle configured to represent the percentage of representation for each country. The Philippines appears with 28.5% of the total of the crew, followed by Italy with 6.3%, the United Kingdom with 5.8% and India and Honduras with 5.4% (Wu, 2005).

Figure 1.  
Composition of the workforce on cruises by nationality



Source: Wu (2005). Organized by the author (2021).

The average age of workers of all nationalities is 33.8 years, but there are differences according to job category and gender. Officers are, on average, almost 5 years older than the average cruise ship worker, and senior officers are on average over 40. The average age of female sailors is 30.1 years (Wu, 2005).

<sup>9</sup> To learn more about the lives of the Philippines seafarers on ships with a multinational crew, see Sampson (2003); on working conditions of Philippines seafarers on cruise ships, see Llangco (2017); and on future perspectives for Philippines work on cruise ships, see Milde (2009).

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Men compose 81% of the crew and women 19%, but they are distributed unevenly by department and hierarchy. Most women are employed in occupations with direct contact with passengers, with more than 30% of women working in the public service (Wu, 2005).

### 3.2. Main occupations and Functional hierarchy

It is rare to hear from a tourist who will be transported on a cruise ship, from one point to another in Europe, for example, just for the purpose of mobility. The main characteristic of cruises is exactly “to make their guests enjoy the great infrastructure that ships offer” (Palhares, 2002: 234) and that is why the main occupations of cruises have a greater relationship with a megaresort than with a means of waterborne transport itself. This distinction is so important that shipowners have preferred to call their guests

The relationship between cruises and tourism is so symbolic that the attractiveness of destinations seems to be in second place, when the cruise itself acts as the main attraction.

from guests (hotel customer) to passengers (customers of a transport) (Zhao, 2002) - although evidently ships classify themselves as passengers, along with ferries (ferries) and other similar vessels (Campos, 2017)<sup>10</sup>.

It is not the objective to present here the diversity of attractions present in “floating resorts” (Najafipour, Marzi & Mohammad, 2014; Scazufca, 2016), but remembering them is important to contextualize the nature of the work that is developed. Scazufca (2016) explains that the relationship between cruises and tourism is so symbolic that the attractiveness of destinations seems to be in second place, when the cruise itself acts as the main attraction. As the vessel offers lodging, leisure activities and different cuisine, the cruise becomes the very reason for the trip, and hence the comparison with resort category hotels.

The occupations listed in Annex 1 are directly related to the hotel, restaurant and entertainment operations and compose 85% of the maritime workforce (Wu, 2005). They are divided into the following departments:

Hotel operations:

- Housekeeping

Restaurant operations:

- Food & Beverage
- Galley (Kitchen)

<sup>10</sup> The Ministry of Tourism of Brazil inserts the cruises as an attraction of the nautical tourism segment, which is characterized “by the use of nautical vessels for the purpose of tourist movement” (Brasil, 2010: 14). The nautical cruise tourism, in turn, is constituted by the “provision of services combined with transportation, accommodation, food, entertainment, visitation of tourist sites and related services, when performed by tourism vessels” (Brazil, 2010: 17).

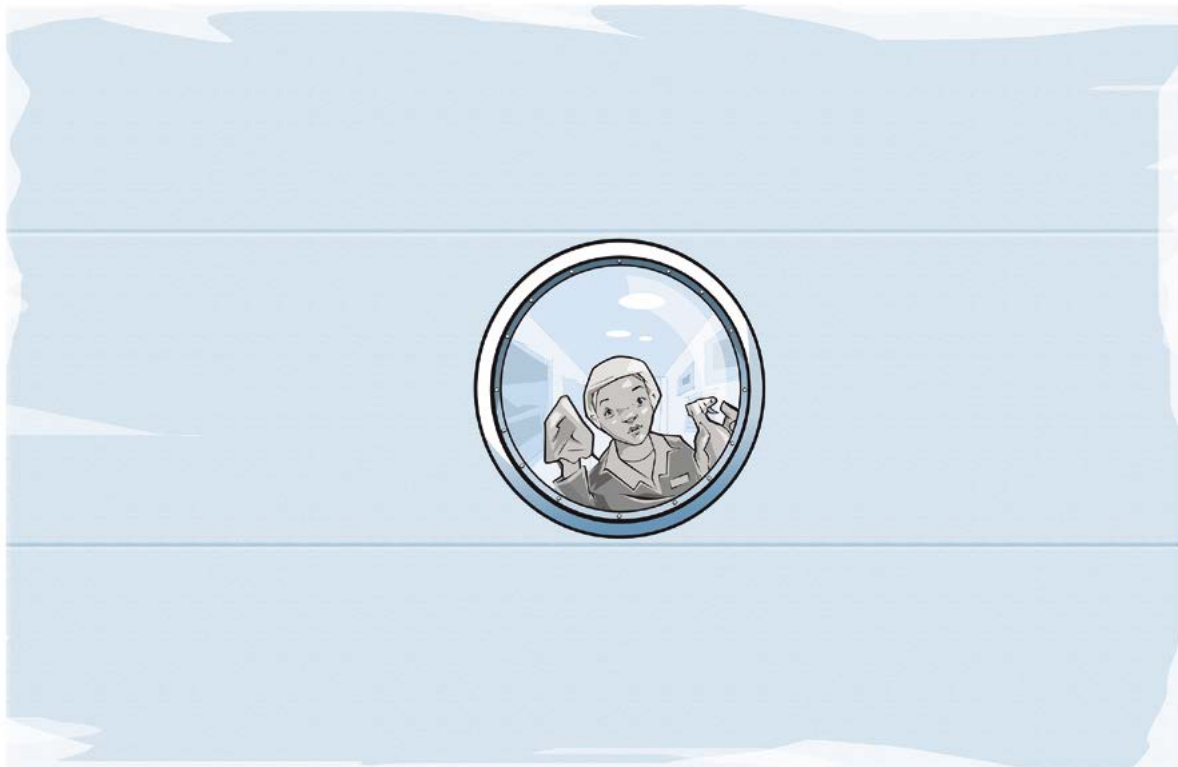
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Entertainment operations:

- Cruise Staff
- Entertainment
- Gift shop / free shop
- Casino
- Photo
- Shore excursion
- Spa and beauty salon

Even the typical occupations of the tourism sector, these are inserted in a rigid and verticalized functional hierarchy, common to the military organization of the Navy. The maximum authority on a ship is the captain, who is responsible for the entire crew, safety and operation of the vessel. Below the captain are three direct subordinates: the captain of the officers (maintenance and safety of the ship), the chief engineer (engine room) and the director of hotels (hotel department).

In such regard, Mazza, Ferreira and Dutra (2014) explain that the rigid functional hierarchy of maritime work, but mainly the low autonomy of the crew member for career advancement and for their personal development may imply difficulties for the Brazilian worker to remain in the shipping companies. "The permanence and development of a career on board becomes recurrent only among those who adapt to the imposed conditions and who are less autonomous, willing to follow the steps



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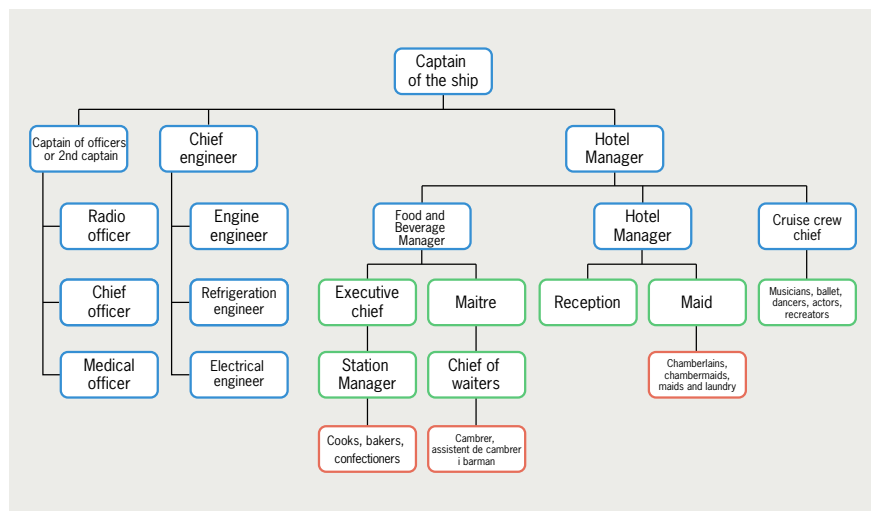
indicated by the career building strategies presented by the organization” (Mazza, Ferreira & Dutra, 2014: 13).

The crew is divided into three main categories: officers (career officers, engineers, doctors and heads of departments), who compose about 15% of the crew; staff (reception, security, shops, photography, entertainment), with 26%; and crew or rating (other general service crew), with 59% (Wu, 2005)<sup>11</sup>.

The crew is divided into three main categories: officers, who compose about 15% of the crew; staff, with 26%; and crew or rating, with 59%.

The following organization figure was elaborated from the standard hierarchy of many cruises, and the colors define the categories of these occupations: officers in blue, staff in green and crew in orange.

Figure 2.  
Organizational chart of the work structure on cruises



Source: self elaboration (2021).

The nationalities are, however, distributed unevenly between departments (restaurant, kitchen, bar, reception, governance, etc.) and categories (officers, staff and crew), as noted by Wu (2005) and Wood (2000). From the point of view of the distribution by departments, Wu (2005) explains that more than half of the crew members from central capitalist countries work in services with passenger attendance and the crew members from peripheral countries are mainly present in kitchen departments, restaurants and bars. For example, more than 50% of Honduran crew members work in the kitchen, restaurants and bars. The same goes for Philippines and Indians.

From the point of view of distribution by hierarchical categories, regional differences are even more evident, with the vast majority of Asian and Latin American crew members in lower category occupations (crew or rating). Philippine crew members, for example,

<sup>11</sup> The hierarchy presented by Wu (2005) is even more complete, considering the senior, junior, petty and rating crew.

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compose about 40% of the lower rank and their participation among senior officers is unknown. On the other hand, European crew members, from Italy, Greece, the United Kingdom, Norway and Germany, represent more than 60% in the category of officers (Wu, 2005).

Wood (2000) states that the international division of labor is reproduced within a cruise. The author demonstrated the existence of a clear ethnic segregation in the hierarchy of the crew positions. "Most ships have very clear horizontal and vertical lines of ethnic stratification" (Wood, 2000: 10; free translation). Some authors consider that the organization of the functional hierarchy of ships is "old-fashioned" and "colonial" (Mather, 2002: 12) or, still, it remembers the segregation practices "of the last century" (Chin, 2008b: 2), because they are the gender, nationality and skin color that define who occupies a certain position and what salary they receive.

The officers are commonly Norwegian or Italian; the skilled workers are Western Europeans or Americans; and the rest of the crew is Asian (especially from Indonesia and the Philippines), Caribbean or Eastern European. In fact, there was a "specialization" in specific sectors by certain countries, such as Norway due to its maritime tradition (Wu, 2005). There is also a reinforcement of ethnic stereotypes, with Asians commonly being related to a service culture and the "natural" facility to smile and greet passengers (Zhao, 2002).

Entrepreneurs in the sector, such as Dickinson and Vladimir (1997) reduce the dimension of ethnic stratification on cruises and claim that workers from peripheral countries demand this job because wages would be much higher than those paid in their countries of origin. In this regard, Chin (2008b: 15) is categorical in his criticism: "Taken to its logical conclusion, the overall explanation is damning in its presumption that not only should seafarers from the Global South be grateful for being gainfully employed but that they are culturally suited for the terms and conditions of work rejected by others".

The participation of women in official positions is negligible (around 2%) and most of them are employed in occupations with direct contact with passengers.

Gender is also an important determinant for stratification among the crew. The participation of women in official positions is negligible (around 2%) and most of them are employed in occupations with direct contact with passengers, with more than 30% of women working in the public attendance service (Wu, 2005). Zhao (2002) noted, for example, that the medical center is composed of female nurses and the reception by more than 70% female crew members, suggesting that they would have "natural" skills or abilities for this type of work.

In the same strand, Teberga and Herédia (2017) demonstrate that 58% of the female crew members interviewed perceive a division of positions by gender, which is justified on account of the physical strength attributed to the male gender (and therefore the engineering, maintenance, swimming pool and kitchen positions being occupied mainly by men) and the sense of care attributed to the female gender (and for this reason women occupy positions of attendance to the public or cleaning). This data confirms that the most notable manifestation of gender inequality in cruise ships is the sexism in the hierarchy and in the distribution of positions among the crew.

# 4.

## APPLICABLE LABOR LAW

### 4.1. Flags of Convenience

The ship's own deterritoriality suggests the promotion of the transnationalization of these “itinerant companies”, including the administration and registration of ships in states that are foreign to each other. Although it is a well-known practice in the world of navigation, the transnationalization of the merchant navy was intensified by the neoliberalization of the economy and, with it, the strengthening of foreign trade and the unrestricted mobility of capital, goods, services and workforce that began in the 1980s on a global scale.

It is common to hear from the crew the phrase: “ship is lawless territory”. This understanding is emblematic to characterize the sui generis nature of vessels. They are characterized as transnational companies and have the same “strategy based on the objective of maximum benefit” (Teitelbaum, 2012: 113), through the search for more favorable countries for production and the consumer market. At the same time, they differ from any transnational on land because they are not fixed in a given territory, suggesting the impression that there would be no legislation to respect and norms to comply with.

On the contrary, from a legal point of view, **the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea** (UNCLOS), approved in 1982 in Montego Bay (Jamaica), determines that the rules that will affect the ship will be those of the country in which it was registered. The article 94 of the Convention states that “every State shall effectively exercise its jurisdiction and control in administrative, technical and social matters over ships flying its flag” (UN, 1982: 58).

Among the obligations of the country of the flag is the execution of measures to guarantee working conditions and training of the crew, making it clear that “labor relations on board merchant ships are governed by the legislation of the State of the flag that flies” (Meirinho, 2014: 181). In addition, Campos (2017: 139-140) presents the main duties of the State of registry, according to what is established in the Convention, namely:

- Exercise the jurisdiction and complete control;
- Maintain a register of ships;
- Take the necessary measures to ensure safety at sea;
- Determine the opening of an investigation in relation to any maritime accident or navigation incident on the high sea;



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- Cooperate in conducting any investigation involving a maritime accident;
- Promote the establishment, operation and maintenance of an adequate and effective search and rescue service;
- Provide and ensure the effectiveness of the duty of assistance.

In the context of the American continent, the Convention on Private International Law, also known as the **Bustamante Code**, approved in 1928 in Havana (Cuba), already established that the working relationships of the crew of vessels and aircrafts must be governed by the laws of the location of the registration (Pavilion or Flag Law). The article 274 of the Convention provides that “The nationality of ships is proved by the navigation patent and the registration certificate, and the flag is an apparent distinctive sign”; and the article 281 states that: “The obligations of officers and seafarers and the internal order of the ship are subordinated to the law of the flag” (OAS, 1928: 33-34).

This understanding, however, when determining compliance with the flag legislation, opens the gap for ships to be registered in countries with more interesting regulations or, as it was agreed to be attributed, “more convenient”. Flag of Convenience (FoC) are defined as “the flag of convenience ship is one that flies the flag of a country other than the country of ownership” (ITF, 2021) or “the flag or the flag of States that grant nationality to ships without requiring a substantial bond” (Zanella, 2021: 13).

Campos (2017) clarifies that the use of the flag of convenience does not comply with the United Nations Convention in its article 91, which establishes the need for “a genuine link



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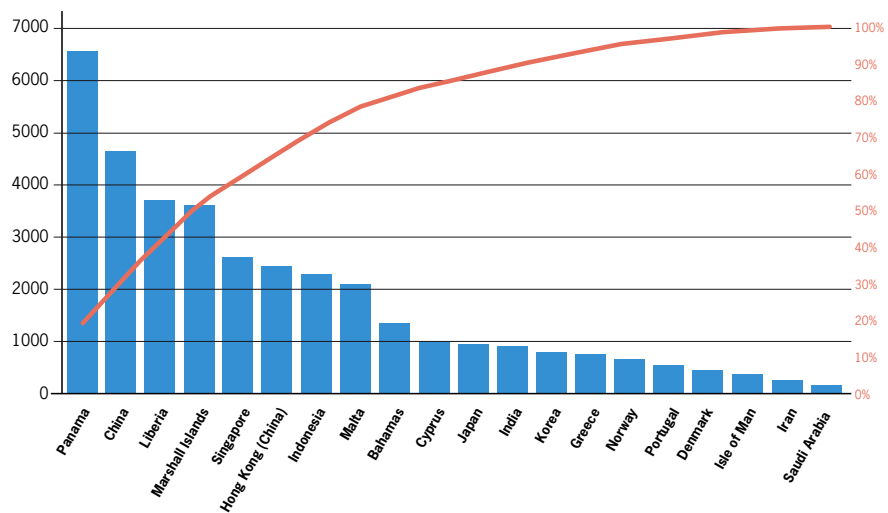
between the State and the ship” (UN, 1982: 58). The author considers, therefore, that the States must establish minimum requirements for the authorization of registration of vessels in their territory.

After the world trade crisis of the 1970s, there was an unbridled rush by companies to register their vessels in countries with “virtually nonexistent” legislation.

Several authors, scholars of maritime transport, have highlighted and criticized the influence of the FoC in defining the rules to be followed in these spaces, following the example of Sampson (2018) and other researchers at the Seafarers International Research Center at Cardiff University. In fact, what was seen, especially after the world trade crisis of the 1970s, was an unbridled rush by companies to register their vessels in countries with “virtually nonexistent” legislation (Wood, 2000), in search of competitive advantages.

Raymundo and Romay (2014) highlight that the indiscriminate use of FoC causes various types of labor problems, from job instability to non-payment for vacations and holidays. In short, **labor costs can be cut in half** (Zanella, 2021), due to lower payments or nonpayment of regular expenses, such as taxes and social charges.

Graph 2.  
Number of ships (merchant navy) per registration flag (2020)



Source: UNCTAD (2021). Organized by the author (2021).











Most of the vessels that use FoC are registered in Panama (UNCTAD, 2021), whose law on registration of vessels does not present restrictions for the granting of the Panamanian flag and allows national and foreign vessels to be registered regardless of the owner’s nationality or residence of the vessel (Campos, 2017). The graph below shows the number of merchant navy ships organized by registration flag in 2020. Panama counts 6,528 vessels registered with its flag (18% of the world fleet), followed

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by China with 4,603 ships (13% of the total), Liberia with 3,686 vessels (10% of the total) and the Marshall Islands with 3,592 vessels (10% of the total). Together, the four countries cited represent just over half of the international fleet.

Among passenger ships, this reality is no different, being a practice widely used by several shipowners (Wood, 2006; Chin, 2008a; 2008b; Boy, 2011; Terry, 2017). In the table below, I present as an example the flags used by some companies such as: Carnival Cruise Line, Royal Caribbean Cruise Line, Princess Cruises, Norwegian Cruise Line and MSC Cruises - see the complete list in Terry (2017: 75).

Table 1.  
Country of ownership and registration of major cruise lines

Shipowner	Country of Property	Country of Register
Carnival Cruise Line	USA 	Panama 
Royal Caribbean Cruise Line	USA 	Bahamas 
Princess Cruises	USA 	Bermuda 
Norwegian Cruise Line	USA 	Bahamas 
MSC Cruises	Switzerland 	Panama / Malta 

Source: Cruise Mapper (2021). Organized by the author (2021).

It can be seen that, although the shipowners are commanded from central countries of capitalism (ship owners countries), such as the United States of America and Switzerland, their ships are registered in peripheral countries, such as Panama, Bahamas, Bermuda and Malta - with the exception of the last, all are located in the Caribbean region<sup>12</sup>. The choice of these countries for the registration of their ships has, of course, economic reasons, since “they present significantly lower operating costs than those flying flags of traditionally maritime states” (Meirinho, 2014: 183).

<sup>12</sup> There is an interesting debate about the homeland to which the tourist multinationals belong in Artigues & Blázquez-Salom (2019).

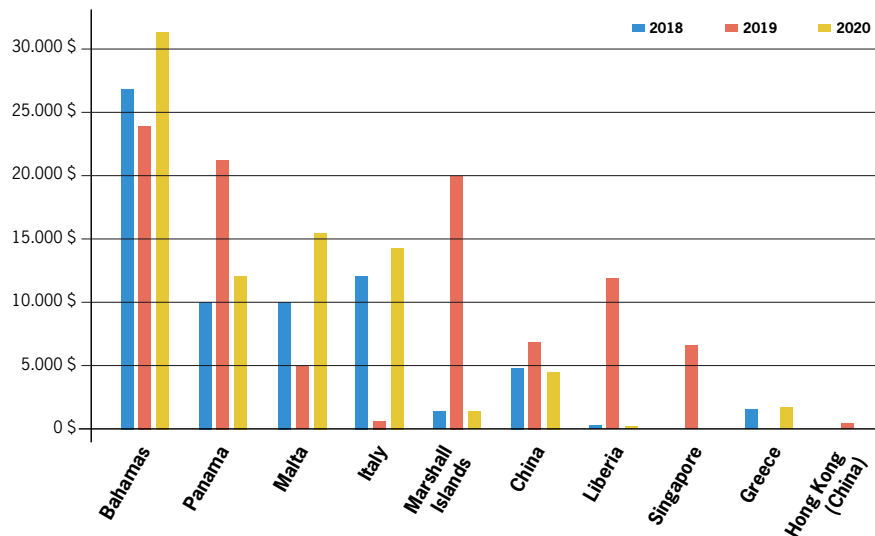
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The World Tourism Organization believes that the dissociation between the country of effective ownership and the flag country of the cruise ships “is even greater than the average of the world merchant fleet, mainly due to the high personnel costs, which are considerably reduced with the non-application of labor laws in OCDE countries” (UNWTO, 2008: 236).

The graph below shows the main registration flags for ferries and passenger ships, by registered fleet value, in millions of dollars, according to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). Although Panama has a prominent position, it is not the main country where passenger vessels are registered in recent years. The Bahamas, an island country of the Caribbean community, led the ranking of registration flags in the years 2018, 2019 and 2020. In 2008, differently, UNWTO (2008) indicated that Panama, Liberia and the Bahamas led the records of cruise ships, with a capacity to host 38,527 (34 ships), 37,520 (33 ships) and 36,231 (38 ships) passengers, respectively.

Graph 3.

**Main registration flags for ferries and passenger ships, by registered fleet value.**



Source: UNCTAD (2018, 2019, 2020). Organized by the author (2021).

As there are significant gains for the country of registration, the intention of the “FoC countries” is to remain always attractive to multinational companies. Brida and Zapata (2010: 223) report, for example, that in 2000 Panama signed an agreement with the Florida Caribbean Cruise Association (FCCA), in which “the government engage to pay cruise lines for each passenger landed to 'encourage the flagging of vessels in the Panamanian flag’”. At the same time, the main criterion in choosing the country to register the cruise ship flag remains the lowest costs linked to the country of registration (Boy, 2011).

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## 4.2. Maritime Labour Convention 2006

Although the use of convenience flags is a recurring practice of cruise ships, it is certain that, in the labor context, the scenario has changed significantly in 2013, when the international norms of the **International Labor Organization (ILO)** began to become effective reference for maritime work. The Maritime Labor Convention 2006 (MLC) was adopted in 2006, during the 94th session of the International Labor Conference, by governments, workers 'and shipowners' representatives, but only entered into force in 2013, with the Philippines ratifying the Convention, 30th country to ratify the Convention.

Work in the maritime environment was already supported by specific international labor conventions, but MLC is considered the most important (in addition to the most recent), for having reviewed and consolidated several conventions and recommendations that had existed until then (Calmon Neto, 2014). ILO has about 70 international normatives for the maritime sector, with a view to establishing minimum conditions for decent work in this sector. Of these, MLC 2006 is considered the 4th most important international maritime law standard (Calmon Neto, 2014), along with:

- SOLAS - Safety of Life at Sea Convention, which requires minimum safety standards in the construction, equipment and operation of vessels;
- MARPOL - Maritime Pollution Convention (Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships), which aims to eliminate maritime pollution related to oil, harmful substances, sewage and garbage; and
- STCW - International Convention on Standards of Training, Certification and Watchkeeping for Seafarers, which establishes minimum qualification requirements for the certification of Merchant Marine Officers and seafarers.

Calmon Neto (2014: 128) states that: "MLC added basic principles and rights to all 'sea workers', in order to guarantee minimum working conditions and quality of life on board vessels flying the flag of a country that has ratified the Convention." In addition, Raymundo and Romay (2014) point out that the working conditions stipulated in the

Convention are better compared to international maritime labor contracts regulated by International Collective Labor Agreements.

The ratification of the Convention benefits both the maritime worker, through minimum working conditions, and the maritime employer (shipowners), due to legal security in labor relations.

According to Calmon Neto (2014), the ratification of the Convention benefits both the maritime worker, through minimum working conditions, and the maritime employer (shipowners), due to legal security in labor relations. By

the beginning of 2021, 97 countries had ratified the MLC (ILO, 2021), showing the widespread "acceptance by the well-known 'countries of shipowners' and 'countries providing maritime labor'" (Calmon Neto, 2014: 131).

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In the Philippines, the largest supplier of crew members in the world, the ratification of the Convention in August 2013 was celebrated by local union workers and institutions. “It will make a major contribution to decent working conditions and to the improvement of the quality of life on board for Philippine seafarers” (ILO, 2013) - stated the president of the Philippines Union of Officers and Associated Sailors on the approval of the MLC.

In fact, MLC is praised by experts for seeking to guarantee social labor rights for seafarers working on vessels from signatory countries. It establishes the right to a safe workplace, fair employment conditions, decent working and living conditions on board, health protection, medical assistance, welfare measures and other forms of social protection (Article IV) (ILO, 2006).

The Convention has rules regarding:

- **Minimum conditions to be observed for the work of seafarers on board a ship:** minimum age, medical certificate, training and qualification and recruitment and placement;
- **Working conditions:** maritime labor contract, salaries, duration of work or rest, right to vacation, repatriation, indemnity in case of loss of the ship or shipwreck, capacity, career development and professional skills and employment opportunities;
- **Accommodation, leisure, food and table service:** decent accommodation and leisure facilities on board, good quality food and drinking water;
- **Health protection, medical care, well-being and social security protection:** medical care on board ships and ashore, health and safety protection and accident prevention, access to onshore and social security.

With regard specifically to working hours, a theme highlighted in this report, the Convention provides, in principle, that **the normal working day must have eight hours of work with one day of rest per week, in addition to rest on holidays** (Standard A2.3, 3rd item): “Each Member acknowledges that the normal working hours' standard for seafarers, like that for other workers, shall be based on an eight-hour day with one day of rest per week and rest on public holidays” (ILO, 2006: 31).

However, in a second moment, it opens the possibility of **flexibility of working hours**, through two dynamics:

1. Adoption of specific rules provided for in collective agreements and conventions (Standard A2.3, 3rd item). “This shall not prevent the Member from having procedures to authorize or register a collective agreement which determines seafarers' normal working hours on a basis no less favorable than this standard” (ILO, 2006: 31).

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2. Imposition of maximum work or minimum rest limits (Standard A2.3, 5th item). “The limits on hours of work or rest shall be as follows: (a) maximum hours of work shall not exceed: (i) 14 hours in any 24-hour period; and (ii) 72 hours in any seven-day period; or (b) minimum hours of rest shall not be less than: (i) ten hours in any 24-hour period; and (ii) 77 hours in any seven-day period” (ILO, 2006: 31).

Below, I present a compiled of the regulations corresponding to the items on working hours. The articles are divided between mandatory items, rules beginning with the letter A, which must be complied with by the signatories; and non-mandatory items, guidelines beginning with the letter B, which are recommendations to signatories to the International Convention.

Table 2.  
**Description of items on working hours at MLC 2006**

<b>Work hours</b>	<p>[MANDATORY]</p> <p>Each Member acknowledges that the normal working hours’ standard for seafarers, like that for other workers, shall be based on an eight-hour day with one day of rest per week and rest on public holidays (A2.3.3).</p> <p>The limits on hours of work or rest shall be as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) maximum hours of work shall not exceed:             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(i) 14 hours in any 24-hour period; and</li> <li>(ii) 72 hours in any seven-day period; or</li> </ul> </li> <li>(b) minimum hours of rest shall not be less than:             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(i) ten hours in any 24-hour period; and</li> <li>(ii) 77 hours in any seven-day period (A2.3.5).</li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p>Nothing in this Standard shall be deemed to impair the right of the master of a ship to require a seafarer to perform any hours of work necessary for the immediate safety of the ship, persons on board or cargo, or for the purpose of giving assistance to other ships or persons in distress at sea. Accordingly, the master may suspend the schedule of hours of work or hours of rest and require a seafarer to perform any hours of work necessary until the normal situation has been restored. As soon as practicable after the normal situation has been restored, the master shall ensure that any seafarers who have performed work in a scheduled rest period are provided with an adequate period of rest (A2.3.14).</p>
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<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);"><b>Extra hours</b></p>	<p>[OPTIONAL]</p> <p>The rate or rates of compensation for overtime, which should be not less than one and one-quarter times the basic pay or wages per hour, should be prescribed by national laws or regulations or by collective agreements, if applicable (B2.2.2.1.c).</p> <p>Records of all overtime worked should be maintained by the master, or a person assigned by the master, and endorsed by the seafarer at no greater than monthly intervals (B2.2.2.1.d).</p>
<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);"><b>Break schedule</b></p>	<p>[MANDATORY]</p> <p>Hours of rest means time outside hours of work; this term does not include short breaks (A2.3.1).</p>
<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);"><b>Interval between rounds</b></p>	<p>[MANDATORY]</p> <p>Hours of rest may be divided into no more than two periods, one of which shall be at least six hours in length, and the interval between consecutive periods of rest shall not exceed 14 hours (A2.3.6).</p>
<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);"><b>Weekly break</b></p>	<p>[MANDATORY]</p> <p>The normal working hours' standard for seafarers, like that for other workers, shall be based on an eight-hour day with one day of rest per week and rest on public holidays (A2.3.3).</p> <p>[OPTIONAL]</p> <p>National laws or regulations or collective agreements may provide for compensation for overtime or for work performed on the weekly day of rest and on public holidays by at least equivalent time off duty and off the ship or additional leave in lieu of remuneration or any other compensation so provided (B2.2.2.3).</p>

Source: OIT (2006). Organized by the author (2021).



# 5.

## PROLONGATION OF WORKING DAYS

The beginning of the history of capitalism is marked by extremely long hours and precarious working conditions. Marx (2012) mentions that adults, and even children, worked up to 16, 18 and 20 hours a day, when they did not reach even more hours in times of greater productive demand. This type of exploitation of the labor force, or rather, the non-payment for excess work, Marx called the **absolute surplus value**. Dal Rosso (1996) states that, in the context of the industrial revolution, working time was extended to such an extent that the extraction of overwork was greater than in slave societies, being “the immanent impulse of capitalist production to appropriate work during all 24 hours a day” (Marx, 2012: 297).

The **minimum working day limit** is defined, according to Marx, by the working time necessary for the production of a certain commodity (this time also defines the value of the labor force). The **maximum working hours limit** varies according to the extent of the excess working time (overwork). Thus, the greater the maximum limit of the working day, the greater the overwork and, consequently, the exploitation (Surplus Value).

The greater the maximum limit of the working day, the greater the overwork and, consequently, the exploitation (Surplus Value).

Although it is in the interest of the capitalist to increase the maximum limit of the day, this movement is stopped by the physical limits of resistance of workers and by the moral limits for the satisfaction of their social needs.

It is also important to note that the definition of the workday applies fundamentally to contexts of heteronomous work (wage, slave or servile), not to self-employment, in which the worker defines it. This is explained, according to Dal Rosso (1996), because the decision on the duration of the journey is either made between capitalist and worker or by the capitalist unilaterally.

Historically, the working day has profound variations depending on the accumulation systems. Dal Rosso (1996) shows that the journey has, initially, a relative reduction of ancient Rome, where slavery was legal, for the Middle Ages. Then, a deep extension of working time with the Industrial Revolution, when it reached its peak. On the historical curve of the working day, Dal Rosso (1996: 95) states:

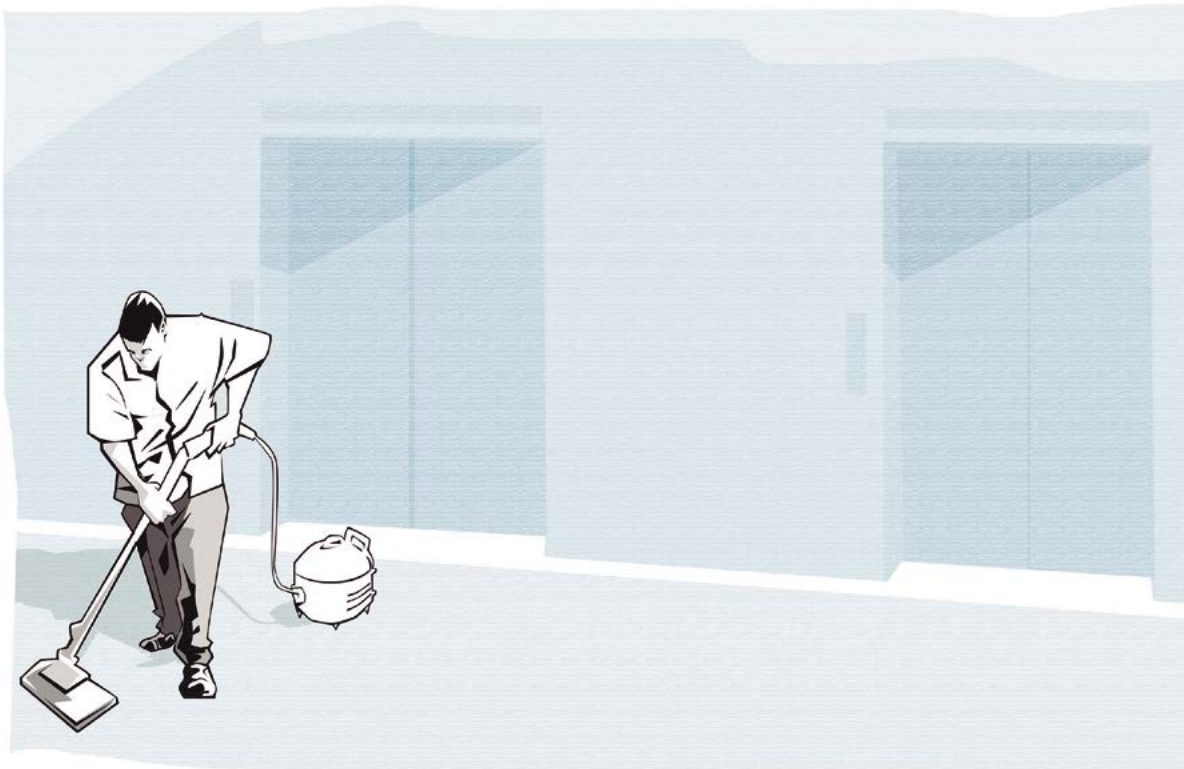
in the capitalist mode of production, the upper limit was reached when the annual working hour hit the ceiling of 3,500-4,000 hours per year, equivalent to weekly working hours of 67-77 hours and varying daily working hours between 11 and 13 hours of work. It is the stage of the man-machine, the man-tool.

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Subsequently, there was a reasonable reduction in working hours in the 20th century, after striking movements that demanded a reduction in working hours. Thus, thinking throughout history, the trend in central countries is to reduce working hours (the German metallurgical industry in 1994 employed 28 hours a week!) and, in this way, increased non-work time. Countries such as Canada, the United States of America and other European countries have an average working day below 40 hours per week. However, the increase in productivity, through the mechanization of production, which saves labor, reaches only a few places or economic sectors: in peripheral countries, working hours in general have a slower reduction, and may also not be verified or even lengthened in some situations. There is an evident and striking difference between the working hours practiced in the first and second group of countries. There are countries, in a stage of capitalist expansion, in which the workload exceeds 50 hours worked (Dal Rosso, 1996).

But, from a Marxist point of view, the increase in productivity is not the only nor the main factor that reduces working hours. Its definition has always been a direct implication of the class struggle. With antagonistic interests, capitalists and workers develop a clash over how to control the length of the journey. In this way, economic sectors or regions of the globe that have no union tradition are overcome by economic power and suffer from worse working conditions. Likewise, central countries today have reduced working hours due to pressure from workers and different social segments (Dal Rosso, 1996).

The 21st century is marked mainly by the flexibility of working hours, that is, the distribution of working hours becomes flexible. There is a tendency, worldwide, to



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overcome the rigid and repetitive regimes practiced in the Taylorist and Fordist regimes – which does not, however, necessarily mean the reduction of the workday. This is a typical instrument of the neoliberal capitalist system, which adopted the so-called “flexible accumulation” (Harvey, 1993) to expand its performance in terms of accumulation, when it converts times of non-work into times of work.

The era of flexibility presupposes not only flexible working hours (time flexibility), but also flexible workers (functional flexibility), adaptable to the new production models and working relationships of neoliberalism. At this point, it is important to remember that neoliberalism tends to make labor regulation more flexible, or preferentially, to deregulate it. This “means to change, in some way, the criteria and conditions already established for the exercise of labor activity, to remove *in totum* or in part the previous established legislation”. It means removing historically acquired labor rights; in short, it means creating new conditions for extracting the surplus value (Dal Rosso, 2017: 65).

In *The Right to Be Lazy*, Lafargue (1983) calls out to the workers: to limit their working hours to three hours a day, to celebrate, to proclaim the “Rights to Laziness”. The author demonstrates that human productivity is not directly related to working hours, on the contrary, it would be necessary to reduce working hours and multiply holidays - this would guarantee not only production equivalent to that of normal weeks, but less worn out workers and also a new consumer audience for the goods produced.

Thus, more than ever, the importance of organizing and strengthening the working class is reiterated. The definition of the journeys was, throughout capitalist history, a direct implication of the class struggle and, therefore, Marx (2012: 346) calls:

For protection against “the serpent of their agonies”, the laborers must band together and, as a class, compel the passing of a law, an all-powerful social barrier that shall prevent the very workers from selling, by voluntary contract with capital, themselves and their families into slavery and death.

### 5.1. Prolongation of working hours on cruises

Klein (2003: 17) believes that “simply stated, the modern cruise ship resembles a sweatshop”. Sweatshop is, in a literal translation, a “sweat factory”, but it would be better translated as an “exploratory factory”. The term is used to characterize industries in peripheral countries, such as India and Bangladesh, that subject their workers to extremely precarious and inhuman working conditions, with wages below the minimum for survival (Snyder, 2010; Smith, 2016). Mather (2002) performs a play on words, mixing sweat and ships, to describe the reality below the deck, “sweatships”, and explains that long and strenuous journeys are among the reasons why cruises can be so characterized.

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Authors such as Klein (2006) and Chin (2008a) claim that the average weekly working hours of cruise ship crew members is 100 hours, and the daily working hours are more than 10 hours (Llangco, 2017), which can reach 14 (Mather, 2002; Oyogoa, 2016), 16 (Lee-Ross, 2006) or even 17 hours a day (Sehkaran & Sevcikova, 2011). "On a practical level, this means [...] that the person serving you in the dining room or navigating on the bridge may have had a break of only six hours since last finishing a work shift" (Klein, 2002: 122).

The long working hours of the crew, can vary between 11 and 14 hours a day, with no weekly rest.

The literature is consensual about the long working hours of the crew, which can vary between 11 and 14 hours a day, with no weekly rest. In addition to the mentioned studies, no others were found that detail the composition of the workday or discuss reasons for extending the workday. I present below two hypotheses that may explain the verification of long journeys on cruise ships.

### FIRST HYPOTHESIS

#### The confinement in the space of the ship, in which work and home coexist, impacts the extension of the journeys.

According to Sehkaran and Sevcikova (2011), the administration has full control over the time and space of the crew in this type of environment. The division between the public and private is practically indistinguishable, both between the crew and between the crew and their supervisors. Housing on the ship causes extensive work hours, in addition to the abuse of the amount of overtime practiced.

This type of closed environment is defined by Goffman (2015: 11) as "total institution", that is: "place of residence and work where a large number of individuals with a similar situation, separated from the wider society for a considerable period of time, lead a closed and formally managed life". The closure of institutions to the outside world is one of its main characteristics and, in the case of vessels, the physical barrier that separates the confined from society is the sea itself.

The extension of working hours occurs as the working time "invades" the free time of the confined worker. There are several testimonies from crew members who would be called to work by the cabin telephone or via a beep, even during moments of rest and leisure. Dauer (1995), who characterized the merchant marine vessels as a total institution, describes that it is very common for the crew to perform overtime work, because the distance between their cabin and the workplace can be covered in a few minutes, differently from working in land, which requires public transport to go from home to work, for example.

The free time, by the way, is badly used when analyzing the leisure practices of the crew. This time is used, for the most part, for rest or re-establishment of sleep. "This is linked to the fact that the sailor is not always able to sleep enough hours in a row and then spends a few hours lying down, even if he does not sleep" (Dauer, 1995: 141).

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This “invasion” of working time in rest periods is a typical phenomenon of contemporary times, which is marked by flexible working hours (Dal Rosso, 2017). Labor lawyers have highlighted the importance of guaranteeing the full right to rest, modernly called the “right to disconnect from work<sup>13</sup>” (Almeida & Severo, 2016):

The worker has the right to remain off or 'disconnected' from the employers' pole and the requirement for services in their rest periods, notably due to the possibility of interference by the service provider in these lapses of time in the face of new technologies, such as beeps and cell phones. Now, if the doctrine recognizes the right to disconnect the worker who goes home every day at the end of his workday, with greater reason he must recognize the right to disconnect the waterway worker and the worker who works on board vessels as a whole, since these workers do not even have the right to enjoy rest between two working days in their own home and in the company of their family.

*(Gondim, 2014: 149).*

**SECOND HYPOTHESIS****Shipowners take advantage of a legal loophole and use the maximum limit allowed for daily and weekly working hours.**

The analysis of an employment contract concluded between a shipowner and a crew member can contribute to this analysis (see [Annex 2](#)). The document, according to Botelho (2018: 225), is “extremely lacking”, with clauses “covered with the mantle of obscurity”, and violates the principle of contractual good faith, that is, behavior guided by honesty, transparency and respect to the expectations of the covenants, removing the abuse of contractual freedom.

Botelho (2018) clarifies that the contract under analysis also violates the principle of the social function of the contract, as far as its clauses attack minimum dignified working conditions. At this point, it is important to highlight some elements about working hours:

- there is no objective provision for weekly rest in the employment contract;
- the weekly 40-hour workday is not consistent with the amount of the monthly remuneration paid to the worker, which makes it possible to deduce that the crew member meets weekly much more than initially planned;
- overtime is a recurring practice, as it is contracted, with a minimum monthly stipulation, in the contract itself.

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13 Almeida & Severo (2016: 39) argue that the right to disconnect in social labor relations concerns the dignified condition of the worker's life. The guarantee of limiting working hours and the right to rest is “indispensable for a man to have a healthy and pleasant life”.

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In the same line, it is advisable to analyze a manual accessory, the Crew Guidebook, a document delivered by the same shipowner whose contract was analyzed by Botelho (2018). In this guide, there are general instructions for boarding and working on the ship. In the first pages of the document, it is warned that the rules and regulations provided are in accordance with the protocols and requirements of MLC 2006. In relation to working hours, it is necessary to:

Your working hours and overtime are explained in your contract. We have introduced a quick, accurate way for you to record the actual hours you work and the hours you rest. [...] You will generally work 10 to 11 hours every day, seven days each week - but if you incur any overtime, it will be automatically recorded for payment in the electronic time-card system. [...] The minimum hours that you can rest will not be less than 10 hours in any 24-hour period, and 77 hours in any seven-day period. You will be required to take part in lifeboat drills, firefighting exercises and musters required by national laws, but these will be conducted in a way that minimizes your disturbance of rest periods and they will not induce fatigue.

(MSC Cruises, 2015)

If in the work contract analyzed, the work hours actually practiced are not properly presented (Botelho, 2018), this is not true for the crew guide, who reproduces *ipsis litteris* the maximum hours limits authorized by MLC 2006.

Despite the important advances and guarantees of MLC 2006, becoming an important instrument to ensure social responsibility in the cruise industry (Milde, 2011) and a set of minimum rights to seafarers from all over the world (Terry, 2017), it is necessary to highlight that the international normative "provides only a modest benefit to seafarers" (Bauer, 2008: 644)<sup>14</sup>, in addition to being excessively "tolerant" with regard to the flexibility of the crew's working hours, through the permission of maximum work limits (14 hours/day or 72 hours/week).

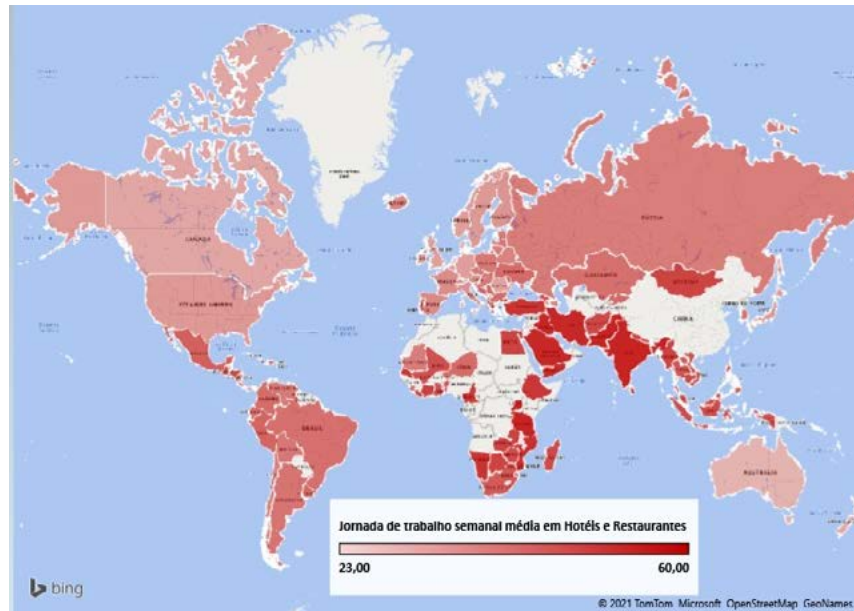
The flexibility, in the view of Dal Rosso (2017: 266), "proposes an inverse policy of removing regulation and labor rights, which 'face' the value of workforce". The workday of 72 hours per week exceeds, at least, 24 hours, the normal working day provided in the international regulations and in the labor laws of several countries, considering the normal 48-hour workday (ILO, 2021).

In addition, it also exceeds the average weekly working hours in hotels and restaurants (subsector of the economy equivalent to work on land cruises) in all countries studied (ILO, 2021). Lee, McCann & Messenger (2009) stress that average working hours in the subsector are particularly long compared to other sectors. However, even in the cases of countries with the highest average working days verified (India, Pakistan, Tanzania, Uganda, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Bangladesh, Yemen and Mozambique), between the years 2010 and 2019, none of them exceeds the maximum limit foreseen in the international normative for maritime work.

14 See the severe criticism of the *Maritime Labor Convention* in Bauer (2008).

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Figure 3.  
**Average weekly workday in hotels and restaurants**



Source: OIT (2021). Organized by the author (2021).

As the MLC 2006 stipulates a normal standard of 8 hours in a working day, the practice of overtime and/or the use of the maximum limit of the permitted workday should be the exception - mainly to guarantee the safety of the ship, the passengers or the load, according to MLC standard A2.3.14<sup>15</sup> -, and not the rule. Raymundo and Romay (2014: 175) recall that "any day that exceeds eight hours a day must be considered exceptional, extraordinary and in this way remunerated". However, the material reality has pointed in another direction: the normality of exceptionality, the normality of weekly working hours of 72 hours. Botelho (2018: 227) is categorical: "if from the beginning it is already known that the weekly duration will not be limited to forty hours, it is not possible to consider extraordinary what is ordinary".

Also, it is worth remembering the essential guarantee of rest or paid weekly rest, provided in the normative A2.3.3 of the MLC. The right to a weekly rest of at least 24 consecutive hours is also present in other international regulations and in labor laws from almost all over the world (Lee, McCann & Messenger, 2009). It was introduced into the International Labor Organization by the Weekly Rest Convention (Industry) No. 14, in 1921, and expanded to other sectors through the Weekly Rest Convention (Commerce and Offices) No. 106, in 1957.

<sup>15</sup> In such cases, the MLC recommends that the granting of an adequate rest period should be ensured as soon as it is feasible.

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In addition to weekly rest contributing to the restriction of weekly working hours – “reductions in working hours can be achieved by extending weekly rest periods, an approach that has a history adopted to reach the 40-hour limit” (Lee, McCann & Messenger, 2009: 18) –, it is fundamental to guarantee the health and safety of the worker, and this is particularly important for the seafarer, due to the nature of his work.

The monetization of the excessive working hours carried out indiscriminately and routinely puts the health and safety of workers at risk.

Gondim (2014) explains that the shipowners consider the payment for overtime or work done on a weekly rest day to be sufficient to compensate seafarers. However, in truth, the monetization of the excessive working hours carried out indiscriminately and routinely puts the health and safety of workers at risk and, for this reason, the author is objective: health is not commercialized.

There would be enough fair value to pay for the rest day worked?

The allowance for overtime or rest days to be compensated by the corresponding payment, even though higher than what is paid for the normal working day, for Gondim (2014: 153), “only resolves the financial issue, remunerating the labor rendered in excess, without any concern for the health of the worker and without an express constitutional provision to reduce the hard-won labor rights”.

Therefore, again, it is reiterated to the danger of making exceptionality normal, either by extending the daily or weekly working hours, or by not granting weekly paid rest. In the end:

If the employer daily needs his employees to work beyond eight hours a day, the problem must be solved by hiring new workers and not simply by overtime during all months of the year, as long as there is payment for overtime worked or indemnity for weekly rest not taken.

*(Gondim, 2014: 153)*

The statement by Dal Rosso (1996: 344), regarding the limit of working hours, seems to be a utopia in view of the scenario of work on ships. "I can affirm without fear of error that economic conditions exist in companies to support a reduction of the workday until forty hours, in the short term, and even to levels below this". It is evident that, in the case of millionaire multinational organizations, and with relevant technological innovation, as is the case of ships, there is economic and organizational feasibility for the reduction of journeys. There is no interest in that.



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## SLAVE WORK ON A CRUISE SHIP IN BRAZIL

The first case of slave labor on a cruise ship in Brazil occurred during the 2013/2014 season, when the ship was subject to inspection by labor tax auditors. On April 1, 2014, 11 Brazilian crew members were rescued in conditions similar to that of a slave in the port of Salvador / Bahia. The crew acted on the ship as assistant waiter (2), buffet boy (1), chamberlain (5) and chamberlain assistant (3) (Teberga & Herédia, 2020).

The labor tax auditors found exhaustive working hours, which characterizes, in Brazil, the crime of work analogous to slavery. The “employees worked in exhaustive working hours, with signs of moral harassment, in disrespect to the fundamental human rights ensured by the Brazilian constitutional system and by international treaties, agreements and conventions to which Brazil is a signatory” (Brasil, 2014: 1).

In Brazil, exhaustive working hours can characterize slave labor, according to Art. 149 of the Penal Code, which provides a penalty of 2 to 8 years and a fine for those who “reduce someone to a condition analogous to a slave” (Brazil, 1940). In the case of exhaustive working hours, these are found when “the daily work takes the worker to complete physical and psychological exhaustion and the impossibility of having a social life, given the intensity and duration of the exploitation, putting their health and life at risk” (Sakamoto, 2020: 10).

Among the infractions<sup>16</sup> found by the GEFM (Special Group for Mobile Inspection), I highlight those that are more directly related to the verification of exhaustive working hours among the victims:

- Do not grant a weekly rest of 24 (twenty-four) consecutive hours;
- Do not allow a rest or meal break of at least 1 (one) hour and, at most, 2 (two) hours, in any continuous work whose duration exceeds 6 (six) hours;
- Do not grant a minimum period of 11 (eleven) consecutive hours to rest between two working hours;
- Extend the normal working day, beyond the legal limit of 2 (two) hours a day, without any legal justification.

The exhaustive working hour was confirmed and justified by the defendant, claiming that “the weekly rest of a day, in an integral and uninterrupted manner, is incompatible with the activities conducted on cruise ships” (Brazil, 2018: 22).

<sup>16</sup> The twelve (12) infraction notices drawn up by the Labor Inspection Secretariat, made available by the Ministry of Labor through the Citizen Information Service - SIC (supported by the Access to Information Law - Law No. 12,527 / 2011) were analyzed.

## 5.2. Survey data on the prolongation of working hours

The survey results show that crew members work, on average, 10.8 hours a day and 6.3 days a week. Considering only respondents with lower hierarchical occupation (crew), the average number of working hours increases to 11.3 hours per day and 6.97 days per week. The crew members' weekly hours are, on average, 67.8 hours and the crew's working hours are, on average, 79 hours. The main differences in the working days are due to the hierarchical position, but there are also subtle differences according to age group, gender and shipowner.

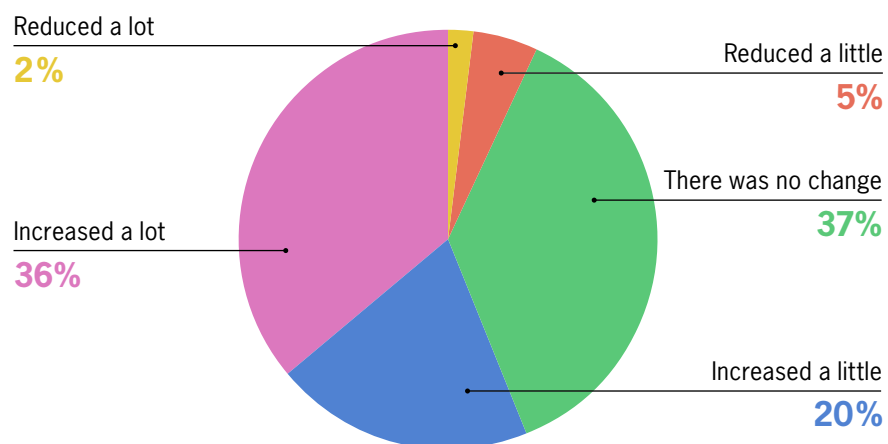
The alignment of the bibliographic research data with the results of the questionnaire confirms the hypothesis that **long working hours are the *modus operandi* of work on cruise ships.**

### WORKING HOURS OVER TIME

Excluding the responses of those interviewees who concluded only one employment contract - and therefore cannot assess changes over time - it appears that for 37% of the crew there was no change in the work day over time. For 56% of respondents, there was an increase in the work day over time.

The reasons for increasing the working hours were varied, but in general, the main reason is the increase in the amount of work. One of the interviewees reports: "Even if I can get my work done in less time, managers will keep adding more".

Graph 4.  
**Perception of change in working hours over time.**



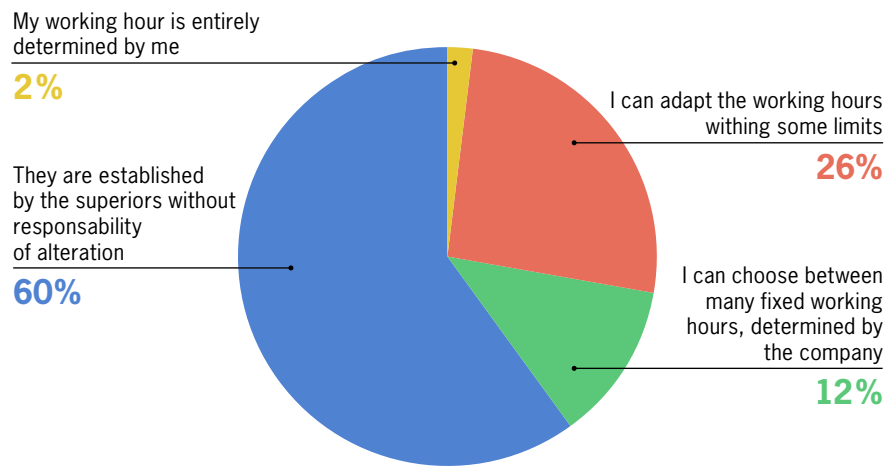
Source: self elaboration (2021).

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ESTABLISHMENT OF WORKING HOURS

The results indicate that the majority of respondents do not determine their working hours. Although some of them have some flexibility in relation to the establishment of working hours, only 2% can fully determine their working hours.

Graph 5.  
**Possibility of establishing working hours**

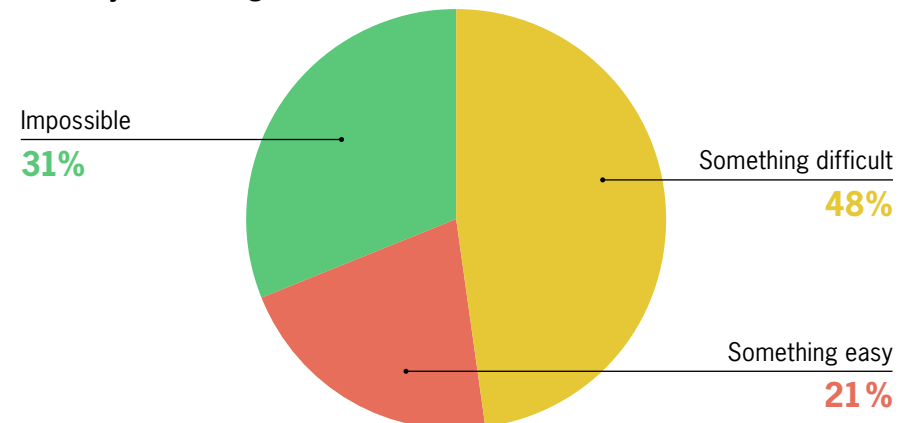


Source: self elaboration (2021).

POSSIBILITY OF OBTAINING WORK BREAK SCHEDULE

The rigidity in fixing working hours is confirmed when there is the possibility of obtaining work break schedule. The chance of being able to take an hour or two during working hours to deal with personal or family matters is difficult for 48% of respondents and impossible for 31% of them.

Graph 6.  
**Possibility of obtaining work break schedule**



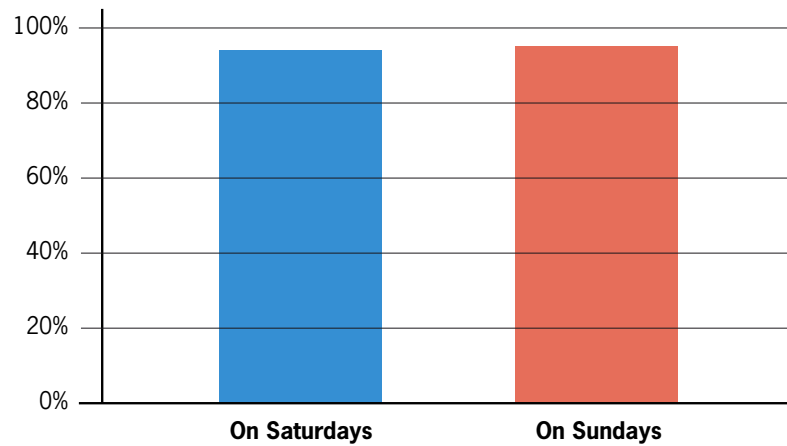
Source: self elaboration (2021)..

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WEEKLY DAYS OFF

There are formally no consecutive 24-hour breaks for the crew, although some respondents report getting a few hours off during a working day (half day off). The operation of the services on the ship does not depend on the day of the week and local holidays, and this implies that the crew normally works on the conventional days of weekly breaks (Saturday or Sunday).

Graph 7.  
**Work on weekends**



Source: self elaboration (2021).

FACTORS THAT PROLONG THE DAILY WORKING DAY

Although the average workload is 10.8 hours per day, there are factors that prolong, or eventually reduce, the crew's daily workload. For each of these most cited factors, the respondent was asked to indicate the degree of agreement with the influence of this situation for the prolongation of their working hours. There are important differences in the responses on this topic due to the department in which the responding crew members work, but the two factors that showed the highest levels of agreement were: navigation days and monitoring of safety training for passengers (muster drill).

It is estimated that the ship is at full capacity on sailing days, and this impacts the perception of all respondents regarding the extension of their daily workday. In the specific case of store workers (gift shops and duty-free shops) and casinos, this factor is even more felt, as these sections are only open to the public during the cruise navigation period.

The workday increase also occurs when the crew member is scheduled to accompany the drill or perform some training. Contrary to what was presented in the Crew

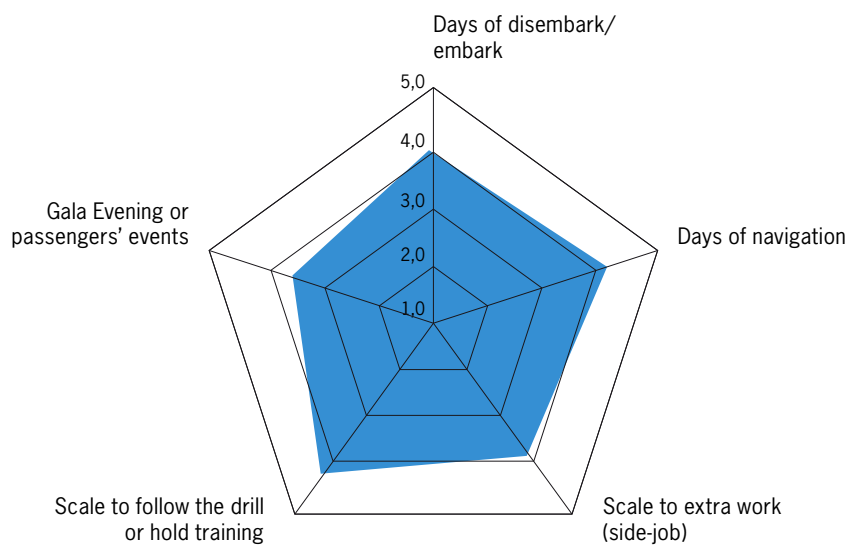
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Embarkation Guide earlier, regarding respect for the crew's rest period with the objective of "not inducing fatigue", this activity usually happens exactly during the rest period, and not during the normal working day.

Passengers' days of disembarkation/embarkation, in which the exchange of passengers in the cabin occurs, have greater weight for the crews of the governance department. This is because, in addition to cleaning the cabin is more detailed these days, most chamberlains need to transport passengers' bags at dawn the day before they disembark from the cabin deck to the exit deck for the port, and also redo this same work on "d-day", transport the new passengers' bags from the port deck to the deck of their cabin.

The scale for extra work (side job), that is, when there is accumulation and deviation of the function designated in the employment contract, is most felt by restaurant waiters. Some crew members cite as an example the fact that many of the waiters, after finishing dinner time, had to clean the floor, polish the stair handrails and perform other tasks related to cleaning the restaurant.

Graph 8.  
Factors that prolong the daily work shift



Source: self elaboration (2021).

# 6.

## INTENSITY OF WORKING DAYS

In an effort to expand surplus-value at different levels, the capitalist spares no effort to, in addition to extending working hours, or even when he is compelled to reduce them, increase the exploitation of labor through its intensification. The intensification of work, whether through technological advances or organizational mechanisms that make it possible, occurs with a view to the so-called **relative surplus-value**.

Dal Rosso (2008: 23) calls work intensification “the processes of any natures that result in a greater expenditure of the worker’s physical, cognitive and emotional capacities in order to increase quantitatively or qualitatively improve the results”. Dal Rosso and Cardoso (2015: 636) consider that “intensity is the effort made by workers to meet the constraints of work organization over a unit of time”.

The intensification of work appeared in the economic history of humanity, especially at times of capital expansion or at times when legislation imposed limits on working hours. If there is time constraint and it is necessary to achieve the same or better results of production, the capitalist uses greater degrees of labor intensity. The intensity varies, according to Dal Rosso (2008: 23) according to criteria such as “the degree of the worker’s involvement, his commitment, his personal energy consumption, his effort developed to account for the extra tasks”.

The author recalls that Marx does not use the term increase in labor intensity, but “reduction of porosities at work”. “Porosities” are moments of non-work in the workday, moments when the worker does not produce value. By intensifying the workday, applying more workload, the existing “pores” are reduced proportionately, or wasted time for production (Dal Rosso, 2008).

The labor intensity from the worker’s point of view is also explained by Marx as: “increased labor expenditure in the same time interval”, “high tension of the workforce”, “filling the intervals of the working days”, “condensation” and “labor density” (Dal Rosso & Cardoso, 2015: 633). The quali-quantitative expansion of workers’ work results is the objective to be achieved by increasing labor intensity, the degree of which represents an important accumulation mechanism.

The evolution of production techniques, together with the development of automation of work activities, directly impacts the degree of work intensity. After all, if there are

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limits to the length of the working hours, the technology will be the instrument used to guarantee the increase in productivity, making it work more intensely in shorter intervals of time. About this, Pinto (2013) states that:

If certain activities such as loading excessive weights or handling toxic products were performed by electromechanical machines, the control of the execution work by the administrators was expanded, since automation, in addition to gradually incorporating the workers' technical knowledge, directly intervened in the pace and in the intensity of the activities performed by them.

(Pinto, 2013: 21)

If technology has historically been the main ally in increasing the intensity of work, the truth is that it does not operate alone. On the contrary, it advances, *pari passu* to the rationalization of work, which is explained by the growing control, improvement and specialization of functions, in order to make the production process more and more efficient and cheap (Pinto, 2013).

For this, aiming at cost reduction, strategies for organizing work were developed throughout the history of capitalism, and in a more structured way in the 20th century. Knowledge about the organization of work and, more precisely, about the increase in productivity has become a priority subject of capitalists in order to guarantee maximum profit (Pinto, 2013).



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Among the objectives of the organization of work are the increase of the scale of production, the standardization of quality and the reduction of costs.

Among the objectives of the organization of work are the increase of the scale of production, the standardization of quality and the reduction of costs. For Pinto (2013: 19), the different production organization strategies reached “the cruelest stage of control over human labor employed in production”. In this context, mechanization / automation acts both in the incorporation of the worker's technical knowledge, as well as in the direct intervention in the cadence and intensity of the work.

Three systems of work organization in the automobile industries have become better known and widely reproduced on a global scale. They are: Taylorism, Fordism and Toyotism. Each method can be considered an “evolution” of the previous one, although each historical period has engendered the determinations that made the development of the system possible.

The **Taylorist system** is considered to be a pioneer in the rational forms of work organization. Developed by Frederick Taylor (1856-1915), at the end of the 19th century, its main objective was to increase productivity (and with it business profits), through the detailed quality control and the time used for the development of each work task. The hyper-specialization of all functions and activities was the fundamental purpose of Taylor, who believed that speed and precision in the fulfillment of tasks were mandatory to increase productivity (Pinto, 2013).

The **Fordist system** takes its name from its creator Henry Ford (1862-1947), globally known for the creation of the automobile brand of the same name. The objective continued to be to increase productivity, but in this model the idea is to produce on a large scale, that is, to produce as much as possible to lower the unit costs of the product. The novelty introduced by Ford in the factory plant is the series production line, whose objective is to raise “the control of the work rhythm to a unique and previously determined cadence for thousands of hands” (Pinto, 2013: 40). The idea of mechanical automation is precisely to reduce the “porosity of work”.

It should be remembered that the Taylorist-Fordist models were conceived within a growing international economy and had a promising consumer market, both domestic and foreign. But, from the second half of the 20th century, especially in the 1970s, global economic instability slowed investments in industry and mass and large-scale production became a “straitjacket” (Pinto, 2013) for the economic growth, which makes the systems run out of breath and other alternative forms of production.

In this context, a new model emerges, known as the **Toyotist System**, developed at the Toyota Motor Company, in Japan, and led by Taiichi Ohno. In this system, unlike the previous ones, the objective is to produce several product models on a small scale. The order-production-delivery regime, with the formation of small inventories in companies, was called just-in-time, that is, production on demand by the client and for the moment when it is demanded (Pinto, 2013).



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The industrial plants were reorganized, aiming at the production of the main product and, for that, by reducing workplaces, increasing the “multifunctionality” of the jobs that remain and subcontracting companies that supply products and activities. The control and intensification of work, in this system, are guaranteed by the “unspecialization” of workers, demanding polyvalence and undermining any negotiation initiatives by the most qualified (Pinto, 2013).

Harvey (1993) calls the new regime of capitalist accumulation on a global scale “**flexible accumulation**”. The flexibilization is, in fact, the emphasis of the Toyotist system: flexibilizing production, flexibilizing labor laws, labor markets and working hours, flexibilizing commercial barriers and State interventions. Next, the author presents the most structural differences between Fordist and Toyotist production on labor relations.

Table 3.

**Contrast between Fordism and flexible accumulation in labor relations**

Fordist production (based on economies of scale)	Toyotist production (based on economies of scope)
Single task performance by worker	Multiple tasks
Payment per rate (based on job design criteria)	Personal payment (detailed bonus system)
High degree of job specialization	Elimination of job demarcation
No or only little on the job training	Long job training
Vertical labour organization	More horizontal labour organization
No learning experience	Job learning
Emphasis on diminishing worker's responsibility (disciplining of labour force)	Emphasis on worker's coresponsibility
No job security	High employment security for core workers (life-time employment) and no job security and poor labour conditions for temporary workers

Source: Harvey (1993: 167).

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The intensification of work in the Japanese system is promoted by, among other things, the greater involvement of the worker with work, inside and outside the productive spheres, which results in a “capture of the subjectivity of work” (Alves, 2011), which it is essential for accumulation. Unlike previous regimes, the Toyotism seeks to integrate the worker in an “organic” way into work, and this involves not only his physical and mechanical abilities, but also psychological, affective, communicational and intellectual ones.

### 6.1. Intensity of working hours on Cruises

The reference of intensity patterns, although it is extremely important for the definition of the maximum intensity limit used in each activity by the worker, it is usually rare and more difficult to measure when compared to the patterns of working hours, for example. But, like the working days, the degrees of intensity are the object of eternal dispute between capitalists and workers and are, in most cases (at least in heteronomous work), defined by the capitalist unilaterally (Dal Rosso, 2008).

Studies on labor intensity have historically focused on material work, especially in the industrial and metallurgical sectors. The idea is to measure how much workers produce, maintaining the conditions of production and working hours. It is known, of course, that the intensity of work crosses the frontier of the materiality of the merchandise and the productive sector, being used as a mechanism of recurring precariousness in various activities, as it is the case of work in tourism. The increase in the proletariat of services in the 21st century shows the urgency of studies that can measure the intensity of work in this sector. This is because the intensification of work in the service sector implies physical and psychological wears of different natures to those of the industrial sector (Dal Rosso, 2008).

Although Marx defends the thesis that “the intensification is subject to empirical demonstration” (Dal Rosso, 2008: 54), in practice, **measuring the degree of work intensity of the ship’s crew is an arduous task**. First because the type of activity, and consequently the degree of intensity, varies considerably in each sector of the tourism area (hotels, restaurants and entertainment). Even in each sector, there is a wide variety of activities carried out. In the hospitality industry, the chamberlain's work intensity is different from that of the receptionist, for example. In the restaurant, the kitchen assistant's work intensity is different from that of the waiter. We would have to make more specific cuts to measure the degree of intensity of each activity performed on the ship.

Secondly, in the case of activities linked to the tertiary sector of the economy, measuring production is very complex. How to measure, for example, the work intensity of a ship receptionist? What is achieving more or better results for this function? There is, therefore, a typical problem in the production of the service sector. Because, if the degree of intensity of a job is measured fundamentally through the reason of commodity produced by working time, the formula becomes impractical for the situations of immaterial production, which occur to a large extent in this sector.

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As an example, the following spreadsheet shows how some occupations characteristic of cruise ships could have their degree of intensity measured in relation to the time available for carrying out the activity.

Table 4.  
**Examples of measuring the degree of intensity of selected jobs**

<b>Housekeeping Cabin and Assistant Housekeeping Cabin</b>	Number of clean and tidy housing units (UH) in relation to working time
<b>Dining Room Waiter and Assistant Waiter</b>	Number of guests attended and served by station of passenger tables in the restaurant (the number can be defined according to the evaluation of the previous cruise) in relation to the working time
<b>Bar Waiter</b>	Number of beverage packages sold (sales targets are set for each cruise) in relation to working time
<b>Cook</b>	Number of meals prepared in relation to working time

Source: organized by the author (2021).

However, for this research, I tried to problematize, in general, the intensity of work of the ships' crew. The intention is to understand how work intensification on ships is expressed from an estimate that measures the degree of the crew's involvement with the work. Thus, if the core of the crews' work of the tourism sector is the service to the passenger/traveler – be it in the hotel industry, hosting him; at the restaurant, feeding him; or in entertainment, entertaining him –, the objective is to estimate the degree of the crew's ability to serve passengers on board and to analyze the implications of this estimate.

For this, I reproduce the formula that measures the passenger/crew's relationship<sup>17</sup>. In the following formula, the numerator is the number of passengers (pax) of the ship using its total capacity; the denominator is the number of the ship's crew members. Thus, the smaller the number of crew members, the greater the "i" value (Pax/T). The "i" value estimates the degree of work intensity. If this value on a particular ship is high, it means

17 This formula is already used to measure the luxury of the ship, because the lower the passenger/crew relationship, the more exclusive and personalized the customer service is. The passenger/crew relationship on luxury ships is 1.4 to 1.6; on premium ships is 1.8 to 2.3; on contemporary ships is 2.2 to 2.6; and on budget ships, is more than 2.6. To better understand the relationship of "Coef<sub>SERV</sub>" with the category of the ship, see UNWTO (2008: 63-69).

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that the same crew member must serve a greater number of passengers and, therefore, perform a greater amount of work.

$$i \text{ (Relationship Pax/T)} = \frac{\text{Pax (No. of Passengers)}}{\text{T (No. of Crews)}}$$

This formula represents an estimate and has some limitations. First of all, because the number of crew members available per ship encompasses the entire crew, including engineering and safety functions, which are not the object of this research. Second, because some functions studied do not intensify according to the ship's occupancy rate, that is, the number of passengers.

For this report, I carried out exploratory research on the number of passengers and the number of crew members of all shipowners: Carnival Cruise Line (18), MSC Cruises (19), Norwegian Cruise Line (15), Princess Cruises (14) and Royal Caribbean Cruise Line (21), launched between 2001 and 2020. The selected shipowners are the most mentioned in our survey. The numbers of passengers and crew members were obtained from the Cruise Mapper website (2021). The data were tabulated and applied to the developed formula. Next, I analyze the data according to the following variables:

- evolution over time and
- size of the ship.

There have been substantial differences between the companies as well, but the goal here is to understand the trends in the cruise market.

These variables were chosen due to the reflection proposed by Mather (2002) on the passenger/crew member relationship. In his opinion, larger ships - megaships have a capacity for more than 2,000 passengers, according to Najafipour, Marzi & Mohammad (2014) - have proportionately less crew members aiming at reducing the costs of the operation, as well as making travel cheaper for the consumer market, through the massification of production, as in the Fordist regime. Chin (2008b) noted that older ships are refurbished or redesigned to compete with more modern ones, confirming that the size of cruise ships directly impacts on revenue growth: while cargo capacity expands, operating costs remain relatively stable – crew's costs increase only marginally, according to Zhao (2002).

The size of the largest companies is growing, and so are the number and size of the ships. [...] The larger and newer ships offer lower running costs per passenger, with a passenger: crew ratio of 3:1 compared to the traditional 2:1. [...] The number and size of new ships on order suggest a continuing problem of over-capacity and price wars to attract clientele. The scene is set, then, for an even greater squeeze on cruise ship seafarers.

*(Mather, 2002: 08-09)*

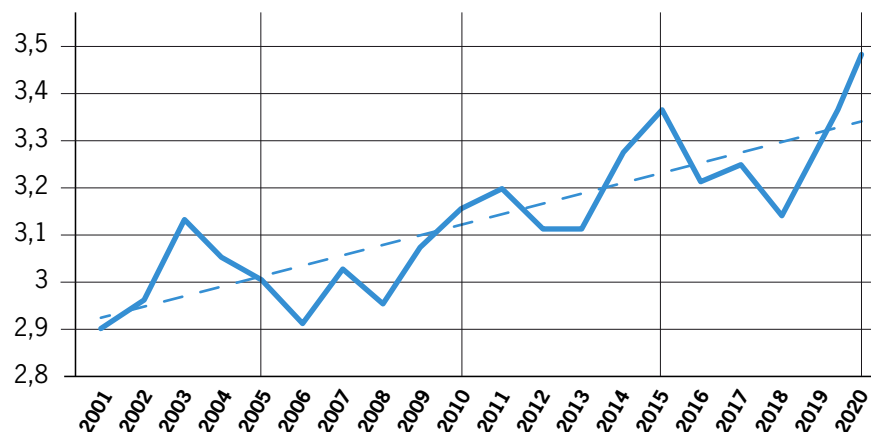
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Zhao (2002) had also observed that the passenger/crew relationship increases as the size of the ship increases. Traditionally, the typical relationship was 2:1 to 2.5:1, depending on the quality of the ship; in the early 2000s, the proportion of 3:1 or even 4:1 was verified in most ships. “What does this mean to seafarers? It means that the seafarer has to clean more cabins, remember more names and smile to more passengers” (Zhao, 2002: 23).

Megaships have proportionately less crew members aiming at reducing the costs of the operation, as well as making travel cheaper for the consumer market.

Following the same line of reasoning, I found that there is actually a time trend to increase the amount of work done by the crew. The value *i* varied, in the period analyzed, from 2.89 (ships launched in 2001) to 3.47 (ships launched in 2020) - and, therefore, above what Mather (2002) and Zhao (2002) predicted at the beginning of the millennium -, despite the clear year-on-year fluctuations, as shown in the graph below.

Graph 9.  
Relationship (*i*) by year of ship launch

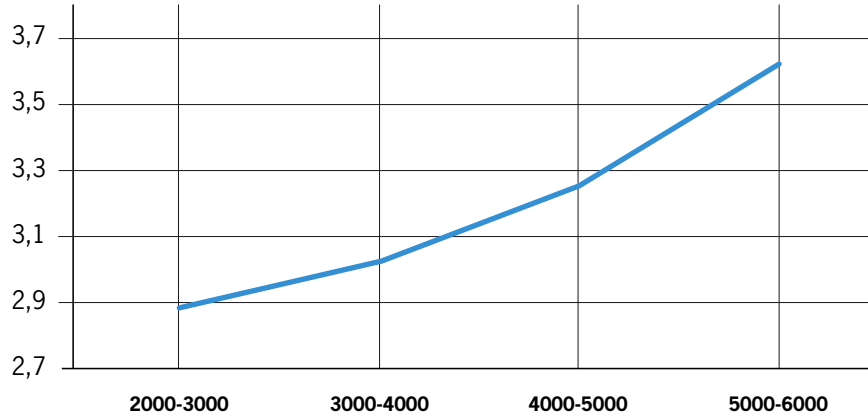


Source: self elaboration (2021).

Analyzing according to the size of the ship, the correlations seem even more evident. Larger ships, with a greater number of passengers, have the highest *i* value. The averages ranged from 2.88 for ships with a capacity between 2,001 and 3,000 passengers to 3.60 for ships with a capacity between 5,001 and 6,000 passengers. These data demonstrate that the capacity of ships, which has increased significantly over time (UNWTO, 2008), directly impacts the intensity of the crew's work.

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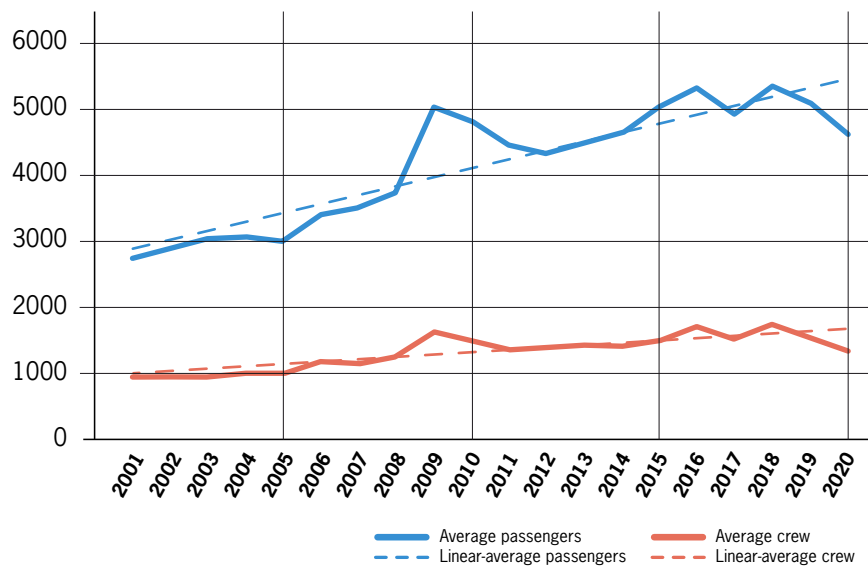
Graph 10.  
Relationship (i) by ship size



Source: self elaboration (2021).

The previous and following data confirm the hypothesis that the increase in the capacity of the ships over the years has not been accompanied by the respective increase in the crew. From 2001 to 2020, the number of passengers per ship grew, on average, by 3%, with the cumulative percentage change being 60% (trendline angle of 17 °). In the same period, the number of crew members per ship grew, on average, by 2%, with the cumulative percentage change being 44% (trendline angle of 5°).

Graph 11.  
Evolution of the number of passengers and crew per year of launch of the ship



Source: self elaboration (2021).

### 6.1.1. Technology and intensification of work on cruises

Pace and intensity of work are impacted by the evolution of technology, as explained previously. In reality, the investment in technology in capitalism has pointed to the verification of two scenarios: a) mechanization to increase the pace of work and, consequently, the productive capacity<sup>18</sup>; and b) automation that removes workplaces through the autonomy of the machine and intensifies the work for the workers who remain. The history has shown that the scenario B is temporally more modern than A, although they can occur concurrently nowadays.

In the case of hotel maids, Cañada (2018) observed that, in contrast to technology replacing human labor or possibly even reducing labor intensity, it actually contributes to intensification, as well as to the physical and mental exhaustion of female workers. An example of innovation in this sense is the implantation of motion sensors, which, in addition to optimizing the maids' work, avoiding unnecessary stops or deviations in the work, also serve as an instrument to control the time and the location of the workers by their superiors. This understanding is of the utmost importance: the strategic objective of automation is always the control of work (Festi, 2020).

In fact, investment in technology is a historical trend in capitalism to increase productivity and reduce costs (and consequently capitalist competitiveness), but it is necessary to consider that it reaches productive sectors at different times and in different political contexts. There are factors that prevent or hinder the entry of mechanization in a given productive sector, which are:

- The bourgeois economy is hostile to the mechanization of sectors, such as services, which historically have offered cheap and productive labor. Pinto (2013: 77) clarifies that the Japanese creators of the Toyotista system understood that automation should be considered the last option in a company, at least while workers produced more and better. "What matters is the fact that the productivity of a machine is static, while the capacity for creativity - and therefore, productivity - of a human being is infinite";
- The robotization of certain functions is still an expensive technology and with little expectation of massification. In fact, the expected levels of automation of occupations are overestimated because they neglect the difficulty of introducing technology, "as well as the adaptability of jobs to digital transformation and technological developments and their widespread" (Albuquerque et al., 2019: 29);

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18 Festi (2020: 154) explains that, when automation arrived in the industry in the middle of the 20th century, "contrary to the initial promise, the work acquired greater intensity, since, with automation, a fluid factory was implemented functioning 24 hours a day, which further increased the control over workers".

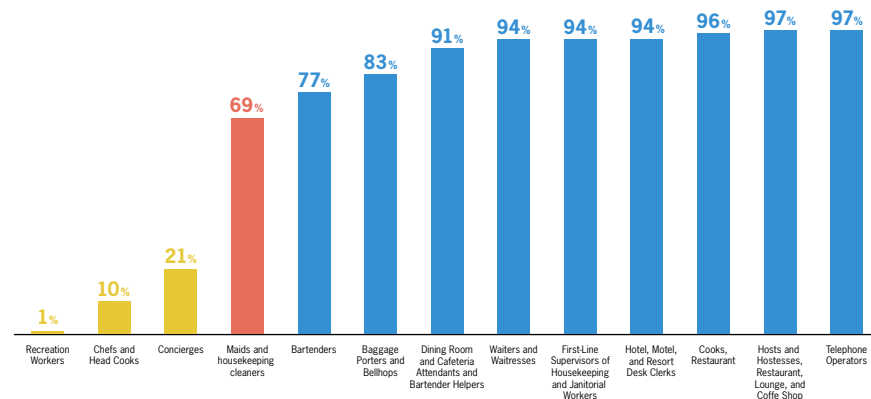
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- Definition of working hours and intensification of working hours remain a direct result of the tension between bourgeois and working class, and hence the importance of organization and strengthening of the working class (Marx, 2012; Netto & Braz, 2012).

The graph below shows the probability of automation of occupations characteristic of work on cruise ships, according to the experiment by Frey & Osborne (2013) on the reality of occupations in the USA (as explained above, these data are overestimated).

Graph 12.

**Probability of automation of occupations characteristic of work on cruise ships**



Source: Frey & Osborne (2013). Organized by the author (2021).

The graph shows that occupations such as recreational, chef and concierge present a low risk of automation (probability of automation  $\leq 30\%$ ); chamberlain and cleaner have a medium risk of automation ( $30\% < \text{probability of automation} \leq 70\%$ ); and bartender, messenger, waiter, housekeeper, receptionist, cook, maitre and telephone operator are at high risk of automation (probability of automation  $> 70\%$ ).

Tasks related to values such as creativity, empathy and care are less likely to be automated.

The methodology used to estimate the indices of probability for automation of occupations considers the set of activities characteristic of each occupation. Therefore, there are activities more or less amenable to automation. Tasks related to values such as creativity, empathy and care are less likely to be automated, even though there is a rise in associated technology, as it is the case with those related to recreational, chef and concierge occupations.

In addition to the issue of job losses, the introduction of AI in tourism, a sector based on live work, was reflected and criticized by Korstanje (2020: 8), who classifies it as

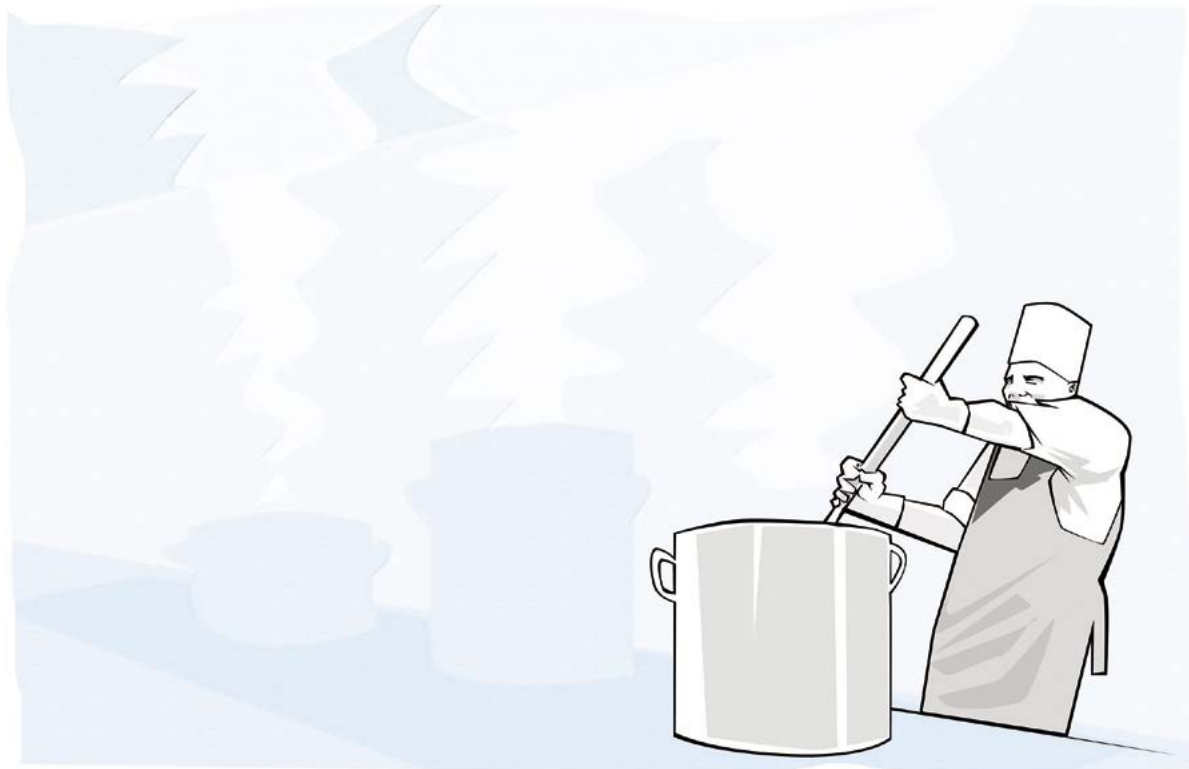


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the “death of hospitality”. In the author's opinion, the creation and use of robots would be dehumanizing the social relations typical of tourism, or even providing “the inevitable death of hospitality as a relational entity between two beings on equal conditions<sup>19</sup>”.

In addition, there is a possible problem to be faced with the introduction of certain technologies on ships: user's acceptance. Wiegard, Guhr and Breitner (2012) researched the passengers' acceptance and satisfaction and found that users of mobile services on cruises can be grouped into three different groups: the enthusiastic, the indifferent and the critics of the adoption of technology.

Examples of innovations that promote the substitution of human labor on cruise ships (eliminating traditional functions in the sector)<sup>20</sup>:



19 Original text in Spanish: “La inevitable muerte de la hospitalidad como entidad relacional entre dos seres considerados en igualdad de condiciones”.

20 At the time of the COVID-19 pandemic, technology experts have said that IA will contribute to the safe resumption of cruise operations. Hinojosa (2020) cites three priority areas for investment in technological development: a) creation of contactless technology tools (call center, smartphone apps, wearables); b) enhancement of artificial intelligence to improve marketing actions; and c) digitalization of operations.

6.  
INTENSITY  
OF WORKING  
DAYS

Table 4.  
**Technological innovations that replace employment on cruises**

Shipowner	Ship	Innovation	Replaced occupation
Celebrity Cruises	• Celebrity Edge (2018)	Check-in through facial recognition	Check-in attendant
		Silent Disco (earphones with selection of personalised music)	DJ
MSC Cruises	• MSC Bellissima (2019)	Voice-activated virtual assistant (Zoe) in passengers' cabins	Telephone operator, receptionist
	• MSC Virtuosa (2021)	Robot bartender "humanoide" (Rob)	Bartender
Royal Caribbean Cruise Line	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Quantum of the Seas (2014)</li> <li>• Anthem of the Seas (2015)</li> <li>• Ovation of the Seas (2016)</li> <li>• Harmony of the Seas (2016)</li> <li>• Symphony of the Seas (2018)</li> </ul>	Robot bartenders located in the Bionic Bar	Bartender

Source: Celebrity Cruises (2021), MSC (2019; 2021) and Royal Caribbean Cruise Line (2021). Organized by the author (2021).

## 6.2. Survey data on the intensity of working hours

The intensity of working hours is perceived in different ways by the interviewees, according to gender, age group and nationality, although there are certain patterns verified with the research, and here it is important to understand these patterns. The data obtained from the survey confirm that, in addition to working hours being extended, the pace of work is also accelerated in order to meet the work demand assigned to each crew member.

6.  
INTENSITY  
OF WORKING  
DAYS

In addition, it is also noted how much production in the context of cruise ships absorbs the main characteristics of the three productive models (Taylorist, Fordist, Toyotist), making them seemingly homogeneous. As an example, while the chamberlain is required a hyper-specialization in his role and clean 25 or more booths at a “Taylor-Fordist” pace of production; for the shore excursion agent, a significant polyvalency is required, with activities ranging from the sale of sightseeing tours, of which there is a goal to be reached monthly, to the passengers’ monitoring on land, following a “toyotist” style of production. The intensification of working hours on cruises, therefore, can be explained according to the basic principles of each studied system.

A. AMOUNT OF WORK OVER THE TIME

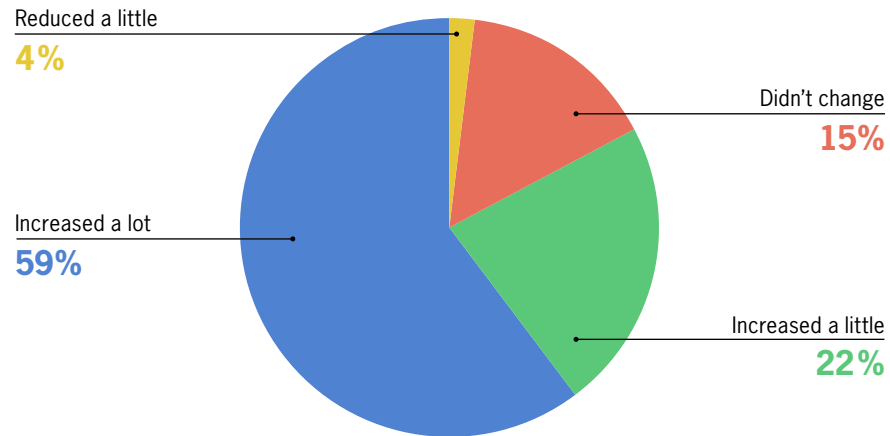
Excluding the responses of those interviewees who concluded only one employment contract – and therefore cannot assess the changes over time – it appears that for 15% of the crew there was no change in the amount of work over time, but for 81 % of respondents had an increase in tasks and duties.

As well as for working hours, the reasons for increasing the amount of work were varied, but they are cited especially: itineraries of the ship, insufficient number of crew members and abuse of management in the productive organization.

G

Graph 13.

**Perceived change in the amount of work over time**



Source: self elaboration (2021).

6.  
INTENSITY  
OF WORKING  
DAYS

B. ESTABLISHMENT OF WORK PACE/SPEED

The following data are intended to measure the pace of workers' labor. As previously seen, the pace of work is dictated by the expectation of productivity, and may depend on several boosters, depending on the level of mechanization of production or the organizational system of work.

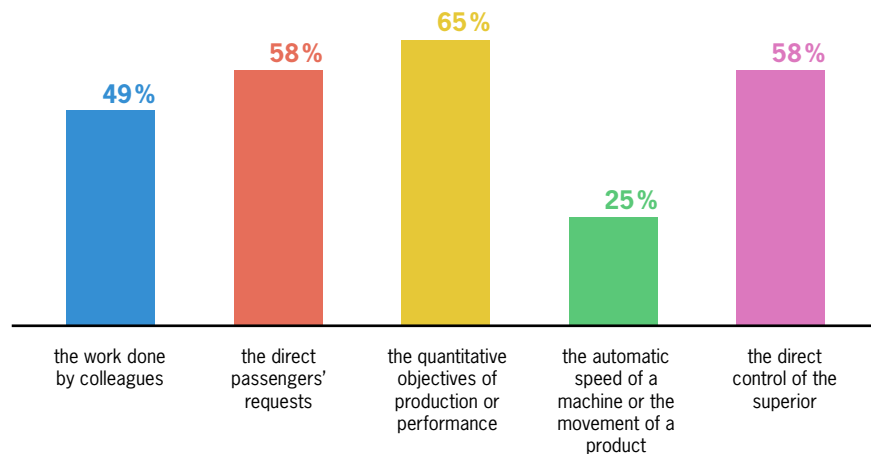
The automatic speed of a machine is the element that least influences the crew's work rhythm, but it appears as the main booster for tasks performed in the laundry sector (machine speed for washing, drying and ironing the layette articles of passenger cabins) and cleaning the galley (speed of the dishwasher, cutlery and other kitchen utensils).

This indicates that, despite recent innovations, the mechanization of production on cruise ships is insignificant, as it is common in the service sector as a whole.

Despite recent innovations, the mechanization of production on cruise ships is insignificant, as it is common in the service sector as a whole.

The quantitative objectives of production or performance appear as the element that most influences the work rhythm of the crew, in all sectors of the ship, followed by direct requests from passengers and direct control by the management<sup>21</sup>.

Graph 14.  
Pace/speed of work due to different causes



Source: self elaboration (2021).

21 Dal Rosso and Cardoso (2015: 641) consider that the worker himself is not mistakenly mentioned in this question by the European Working Conditions Survey, as if he had no influence on the rhythm of his work. This omission "should be assessed as a way of impoverishing data collection and a problem in conceptual treatment".

6.  
INTENSITY  
OF WORKING  
DAYS

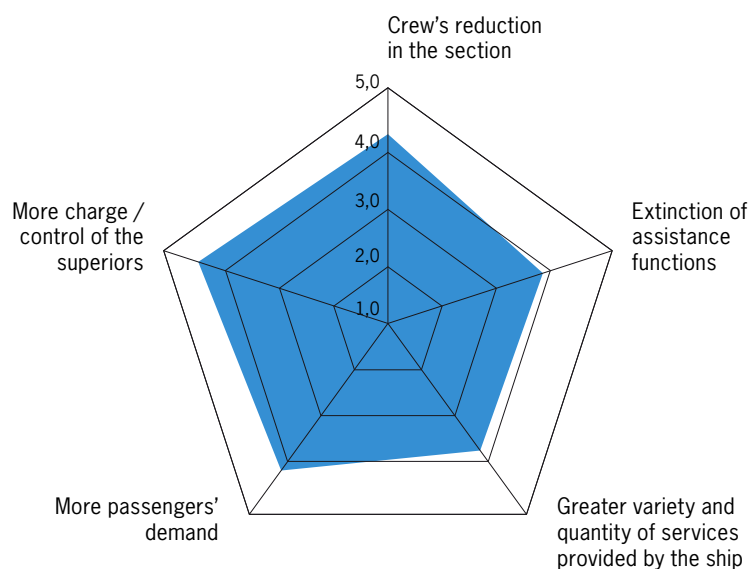
C. FACTORS THAT INTENSIFY THE WORKDAY

The data in this section are intended to understand the elements that directly interfere with the intensity of work on the ship. As in the case of working hours, the respondent was asked to indicate the degree of agreement with the influence of each factor for the intensification of their working hours. Again, there are important differences in the responses to this topic due to the department in which the responding crew members operate.

All factors had similar levels of agreement, but what appears to be the biggest influencer for the intensification of the working day is the collection and control of the superiors. The detailed control of the quality and the time used for the development of each work task is a fundamental principle in the Taylor method and, on the ship, it is exemplified by the careful requirements, often accompanied by moral harassment and humiliation, by the hierarchical supervisors of each function. Some crew members report, for example, that they are controlled even in the time destined for using the toilet during the work period.

The reduction of crew members in the section, along with the extinction of assistance functions, are factors that impact the intensity of work. In the case of restaurants, there has been a reduction in the number of waiter assistants in several shipowners over time, and those who remain need to assist two or more waiters in the task of transporting the kitchen trays to the work section in the restaurant lounge. The same was mentioned for the function of chamberlain in relation to his assistants.

Graph 15.  
**Factors that intensify the workday**



Source: self elaboration (2021).

6.  
INTENSITY  
OF WORKING  
DAYS

Finally, it is worth mentioning the influence of the greater amount of passengers' demand and the greater variety and quantity of services offered by the ship to verify the crew's work intensity. This is especially applicable for those functions that have direct contact with the passenger, because the crew member's work is evaluated at the end of the cruise trip by the guests. According to Weaver (2005: 19), a crew member who receives "poor" or "mediocre" criticism from tourists can be reprimanded, have his function demoted or even fired.

The intensity of work influenced by the diversity of services also changes according to the passenger's nationality and the trip location of the cruise.

The intensity of work influenced by the diversity of services also changes according to the passenger's nationality and the trip location of the cruise. As an example, a restaurant crew member explains that it is mandatory to include one more daily meal when a good part of the passengers are British, it is the "tea time", a mini meal traditionally served in the mid afternoon in England.



# 7.

## TO (NOT) CONCLUDE

“I feel good at the margin of the obscenity of these ships”.

*(Zizek, 2020: 27)*

The grandiosity, luxury and ostentation of cruise ships are classified as obscene by Zizek (2020). In fact, the construction and operation of increasingly large vessels is a trend in the cruise market. Large capacity ships are a market necessity for reducing unit costs (the daily rate for a cabin) and increasing the profitability of cruise lines. Larger ships are also more attractive to the public, as they may have a much more diversified entertainment facility (UNWTO, 2008).

The operation of mega-cruises intensifies the negative impacts generated by this industry, which are already well known worldwide: emission of pollutants into the atmosphere and sewage discharge into the oceans (Klein, 2010; García, 2016), irregular disposal of solid waste (Butt, 2007; Brida & Zapata, 2010), accelerated transmission of infectious diseases between passengers and crew members (Teberga & Herédia, 2020), mass tourism in port cities (González, 2018), traffic jam on the roads and increase in small crimes in port cities (Brida et al., 2012), acceleration of gentrification in the historic center of port cities (González-Pérez, 2019), among other effects.

Here I add that **the grandiosity of the ships generates another symptom that has not yet been studied: the exploitation of the crew members' work, through obscene journeys and workloads**. It cannot be conceived that work on ships is treated as decent when the material reality has pointed to another path, a crew's physical wear<sup>22</sup> (Dahl, Ulven & Horneland, 2008; Radic, 2018) as the most evident consequence of “overwork” (Marx, 2012).

The capital finds in cruises the perfect space for extracting the absolute surplus-value (through the prolongation of working hours) and relative surplus-value (through the increase in productivity without the corresponding payment), as explained by Martoni (2019: 199) about the sector tourism: “sector unique in the extraction of surplus-value”. Moreover, there is a special bonus: the maximum limits of working hours, historically defined due to physical and moral limits, do not suffer any interference from international labor legislation - which, on the contrary, endorses them. It does not have to be said of

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<sup>22</sup> I will specifically explore the effects of exhausting working hours on the crew's health in an upcoming article.

7.  
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illegality or impunity in the case of ships, but only in obscene flexible legislation under the neoliberal ideology. “What’s different about the cruise industry is you have the same kind of exploitative conditions going on, but they’re all lawful” (Nielsen, 2000).

Cañada (2021) makes an important reflection on the forecasts for the future of tourism work, which are perfectly current and applicable to the cruise industry. The use of **obscene mechanisms to increase corporate profits** is already and will remain a reality:

- **Greater pressure to reduce labor costs:** low wages for low-level occupations, from peripheral ethnic groups or without union/class power (Klein, 2001; Chin, 2008b), non-payment for vacation, medical leave and social security and reduction of the number of crew members on the ships;
- **Monopolization of cruise lines:** business concentration is an important feature of this industry, with three large groups (Carnival Corporation & PLC, Royal Caribbean Cruises Ltd. and Star Cruises) representing 88% of the market (UNWTO, 2008), and these make strategic investment decisions in order to prevent the entry of new competitors (Brida & Zapata, 2010). The consolidation and merger of companies in the sector also favor cost reduction (Najafipour, Marzi & Mohammad, 2014);
- **Acceleration of digitization, automation and robotization processes:** investment in technology and robotization has grown in the last decade in the cruise industry, especially with regard to the improvement and diversification of the service provided to passengers and communication at sea, via satellite (UNWTO, 2008). However, for the crew, these processes appear both in the sense of replacing human work, and in increasing control over work;
- **Measures that hinder the capacity of union organization:** as it happens with tourist companies (Cañada, 2019), the anti-union action on cruise ships is even more pronounced and the use of convenience flags contributes to avoid the action of unions (Klein, 2001; Chin, 2008b), making their transnational organization even more difficult (Koch-Baumgarten, 1998). Furthermore, there is no protection in MLC 2006 to the right to strike for maritime workers (Bauer, 2008).

Long and intense work hours are a fundamental Marxist category for those who study precarious work.

Finally, it is important to remember that long and intense work hours are a fundamental Marxist category for those who study precarious work. Because, if moral and sexual harassment and food and housing conditions can characterize social work relationships and the work environment, respectively, they do not really explain the vital principle of exploitation: the extraction of surplus-value.



7.  
TO (NOT)  
CONCLUDE

In the case of cruises, the critical look at the stipulation of working hours is even more important and urgent, since the materiality of “overwork” is much more striking and uncontroversial. According to the analysis carried out in this research, tourist cruises are the ideal laboratory for the consolidation of productive workers – who are not, as warned by Marx (2012), lucky, but extremely unlucky.

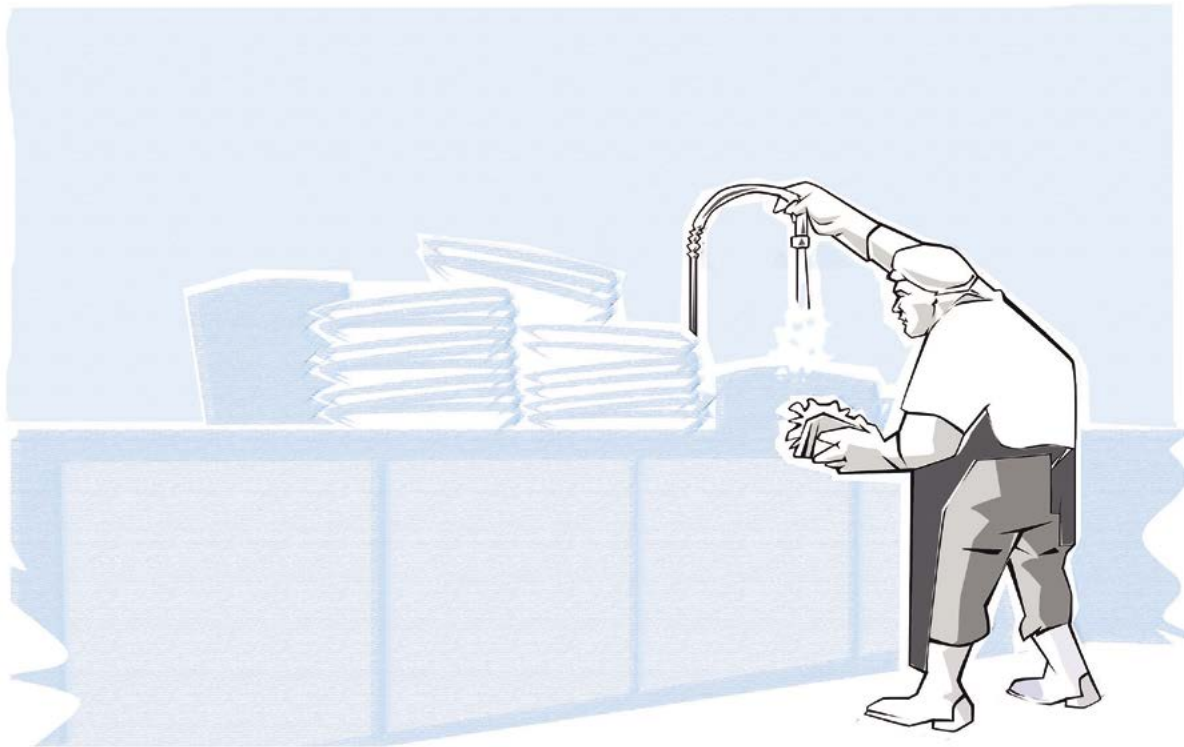




Photo: Angela Teberga

## Annex 1. Table of main occupations

Department	Occupation	Description
Food & Beverage	Food & Beverage Manager	Management and supervision of everything related to food and beverages
	Assist. Food & Beverage	Assistance to Food & Beverage Manager
	Maitre	Restaurant management, training and supervision of employees
	Assist. Maitre	Assistance to the Maitre
	Dining Room Hostess	Passengers' reception in restaurants and administration of special requests and deliveries to cabins
	Dining Room Head Waiter	Supervision of attendance and service at a passengers' desks station in the restaurant
	Dining Room Waiter	Attendance and service at a passengers' desks station in the restaurant
	Assist. Waiter	Assistance to the Dining Room Waiter
	Bar Manager	Management and accounting of bar sales, training and supervision of employees
	Assist. Bar Manager	Assistance to the Bar Manager
	Bartender	Preparation of alcoholic beverages
	Bar Waiter	Attendance and beverage services
	Bar Boy Bar Utility	Cleaning of the lounges and replacement of bars with glasses or drinks
	Sommelier	Attendance and service of wines

(cont.)

Department	Occupation	Description
<b>Galley (Kitchen)</b>	Executive Chef	Management and supervision of the kitchen
	Assistant Executive Chef	Assistance to the Executive Chef
	Chef de Partie Station chef	Chef responsible for specific restaurant station
	First Cook	Cooking and meal preparation and supervision of Second Cook, Third Cook and Pastry Cooks
	Second Cook	Cooking and preparation of meals
	Third Cook	Cooking and preparation of meals
	Pastry Chef	Chef responsible for confectionery
	Assist. Pastry Chef	Assistance to the Pastry Chef
	Pastry Man	Creation and preparation of confectionery foods
	Baker Supervisor	Supervisor responsible for the bakery
	Assist. Baker Supervisor	Assistance to the Baker Supervisor
	Baker	Creation and preparation of bakery food
	Galley Cleaner Dishwasher	Maintenance and cleaning of the kitchen
	Provision Master Storekeeper	Supervision, storage and distribution of supplies in the kitchen
	Assist. Provision Master Assist. Storekeeper	Assistance to the Provision Master

(cont.)

Department	Occupation	Description
Housekeeping	Chief Housekeeper Housekeeping Manager	Supervision of cleaning, staff and services of the governance department
	Assist. Chief Housekeeper Assist. Housekeeping Manager	Assistance to the Chief Housekeeper
	Floor Supervisor	Supervision of maintenance and cleaning of floors
	Head Room Steward Housekeeping Cabin	Cleaning and maintenance of cabins of a designated section
	Assist. Cabin Steward Assist. Housekeeping Cabin Floor Runner	Assistance to the Head Room Steward
	Bell Boy	Cabin delivery service, cabin service, suitcase loading
	Room Service Operator	Management of cabin orders
	Cleaner Utility Cleaner	General cleaning of common areas
	Laundry Supervisor	Management, control and supervision of laundry and staff
	Assist. Laundry Supervisor	Consultancy to the Laundry Supervisor
	Laundry Man Linen Keeper	Execution of tasks in the laundry
	Pool Attendant Pool Boy	Cleaning and maintenance of swimming pools

(cont.)

Department	Occupation	Description
<b>Cruise Staff</b>	Cruise Director	Coordination and implementation of entertainment activities, master of ceremonies at gala events
	Assist. Cruise Director	Assistance to the Cruise Director, support in the creation and development of the entertainment activities programming
	Social Hostess	Conducting social activities and events
	Cruise Activities Staff	Organization of passengers' recreational activities
	DJ	Music selection, mixing and playback at disco or social events
	Youth Activities Coordinator Youth Counsellor	Organization and execution of recreational activities for young people
	Children Animator	Organization and execution of recreational activities for children
<b>Entertainment</b>	Production Manager Musical Director	Management of main productions and shows
	Assist. Production Manager Assist. Musical Director	Assistance to the Production Manager
	Dancer and Singer	Dance and singing in main productions and shows
	Sound & Light Technician	Execution of lighting and sound of main productions and shows and maintenance of equipment
	Musician	Execution of songs (singing, musical instrument) in the ship's lounges and other events

(cont.)

Department	Occupation	Description
<b>Gift shop / free shop</b>	Gift Shop Manager	Supervision and management of store operations
	Assist. Gift Shop Manager	Assistance to the Gift Shop Manager
	Gift Shop Sales Associate	Organization in store windows and sales of store goods
<b>Casino</b>	Casino Manager	Management of operations, accounting and supervision of Casino's employees
	Assist. Casino Manager	Assistance to the Casino Manager
	Casino Dealer Croupier	Management of the gaming tables in the Casino
	Slot Technician	Maintenance and repair of Casino equipment and machines
	Cashier	Accounting and turnover of the Casino accounts
	Casino Hostess	Passengers' reception at the Casino and direction to the gaming tables
<b>Photography</b>	Photo Manager	Management of the Photography department
	Assist. Photo Manager	Assistance to the Photo Manager
	Photographer	Execution, printing and sale of photographs
<b>Shore excursion</b>	Shore Excursion Manager	Organization and promotion of excursions offered on port days
	Assist. Shore Excursion Manager	Assistance to the Shore Excursion Manager

(cont.)

Department	Occupation	Description
Spa	Beauty Salon Manager SPA Manager	Management of Spa and Beauty Salon and staff supervision
	Assist. Beauty Salon Manager	Assistance to the Beauty Salon Manager
	Beauty Therapist	Execution of aesthetics and skin care services, makeup, waxing
	Hair Stylist Hairdresser	Execution of hairdressing services: cutting, brushing, dyeing
	Massage Therapist	Execution of massage therapy services: professional massages and body treatments (relaxation, sports, lymphatic drainage)
	Nail Technician Nail Stylist	Execution of manicure and pedicure services: cutting, painting
	Aerobic & Fitness Instructor	Supervision of the fitness center and execution of Personal Training services

Source: self elaboration (2021).



Annex 2.

**Example of maritime labor contract (MSC Cruises)**

**SEAFARER'S EMPLOYMENT CONTRACT**

Place:  
Agreed to be effective from: \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_

This Employment Contract is entered into between the Seafarer and the Owner/Agent of the Owner the Ship M/V (hereafter called the Company)

**THE SEAFARER**

Surname: \_\_\_\_\_ Given Names: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Full home address: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Position: \_\_\_\_\_ Medical Certificate issued on: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nacionally: \_\_\_\_\_ Passport: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Plave and Date of birth: \_\_\_\_\_ Seaman's book: \_\_\_\_\_

**OWNER OF THE VESSEL**

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ IMO N° \_\_\_\_\_  
 Flag: \_\_\_\_\_ Port of Registry: \_\_\_\_\_

**TERMS OF CONTRACT**

Perlod of employment:	Wages from and including:	Basic hours of work per week: 40
Basic Wage:	Minimum Fixed Overtime:	Overtime rate of hours worked in excess of xxx hrs:
Sat/Sun Holidays:	Leave Compens:	Total Cash:
Bonus: extra wages will be regulated as per Company procedure.		

**PAYMENT**

X	Cash	Amount:
	Monthly allotment by agent	
The seafarer will be entitle to take advances against earned wages excepting leave pay and pay bonus payment upto maximum of 70% until such time when the seafarer pay off, at time which balance of wages will be paid less any deduction which can be made in accordance with the Collective Agreement.		

1	The current ITF Collective Agreement shall be incorporated into and to form part of the contract.
2	The Ship's Articles shall be deemed for all purposes to include the terms of this Contract (including the applicable ITF Agreement) and the Company shall ensure that the Ship's articles reflect these terms. These terms shall take precedence over all other terms.

3	I authorize the Agent and the Company to use my personal data according to the law of privacy.
4	I have read, understood and agreed to all terms and conditions of employment as identified in the Cruise Collective Bargaining Contract Agreement.
5	Any eventual subsequent changes to the service terms & conditions done in future, shall be duly notified and applied to the proper rank.
6	I have read, understood and agreed articles 14, 15, 16 regarding the Medical Assistance cover by MSC.
7	I received a copy/took vision of the contract, standard procedures and privileges list.
8	I have followed in my country a training course concerning: Safety, Vessels familiarization and Standard MSC procedures.
9	A probatory period of three months, starting from the date of Agreement's signature, will be supported by newcomers seafarers.
10	The MSC will pay all expenses to cover the travelling costs to embark and disembark (when you comply the contract) from your nearest airport that is: ____
11	It is forbidden to use the logo of MSC Crociere, MSC Company and brands in operation not related to the duty.
12	It is forbidden to divulgate/use the MSC standard procedures, protected data (according to the SP 30.03.10) and manuals in operation not related to the duty.
13	It is forbidden the inappropriate use of images regarding MSC vessels and property.
14	The seafarer is informed that, if required by the Ship's command or by the Crew office, he will be submitted to alcohol and drugs test.
15	I have read, understood and agreed to all the terms and conditions regarding the "T.A.C. (Termo de Ajuste de Conduta) Brazilian law". Just for Brazilian Seafarers.

### CONFIRMATION OF THE CONTRACT

On behalf of Employer:                      Signature of Seafarer:                      Ship Command:

Source: Botelho (2018).

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