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(出版者 / Publisher)

法政大学国際文化学部

(雑誌名 / Journal or Publication Title)

異文化. 論文編 / 異文化. 論文編

(巻 / Volume)

13

(開始ページ / Start Page)

117

(終了ページ / End Page)

182

(発行年 / Year)

2012-04

(URL)

<https://doi.org/10.15002/00007847>

Is There a ‘Slow Travel’ Alternative to Intercontinental Flight?

国際線の代わりとなるスロートラベルは存在するか？

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Abstract: Until the late 1950s most intercontinental travel was slow, i.e., by ship rather than airplane. This paper looks into the cultural and economic changes that led to the rise and fall of the long distant passenger ship industry. Then it reviews the development of the leisure cruise ship industry that succeeded ocean liners. Finally the cultural movements know as ‘slow’ are examined, and cruise ship travel as a potential form of ‘slow travel’ is discussed.

[要約]

1950年代まで多くの海外旅行は飛行機の代わりに船を利用する等スローなものでした。この論文では文化的、そして経済的な変化によって導かれた長距離旅客船産業の浮き沈みについて調べました。さらに、レジャークルーズ船の成長によって成功した定期船についても再調査しています。

最終的には‘スロー’として知られている文化的な動きについても調べ、‘スロートラベル’となりうる可能性のあるクルーズ船の旅行についても論議しています。

Prologue: My Modern Travel Dilemma

It may be safe to say there really would not be much need for Intercultural Communication if people could not travel very far away from where they were born. Of course, people would still need to have interpersonal communication skills, but there would probably be fewer envi-

ronmental, social or religious differences within a localized community to overcome. "Cultural Differences" as we think of them in the modern globalized world would not really be of great concern although they would undoubtedly exist at some level. Noticeable cultural differences really become apparent only when people start traveling greater distances and experience social practices truly different from what they have grown accustomed.

Although I was born in the United States, I have been working in Asia and traveling internationally for over 25 years. International air travel has been a constant reality for me during that time. No doubt without it, I could not have had so many varied experiences and such an interesting international working life. Moreover, my interests involving teaching intercultural communication and my needs for practicing intercultural communication may have never developed without affordable international air transport.

Despite the benefits of speed and convenience air travel has provided me, I must admit I have grown tired of flying. It is no longer the joyful exhilarating means of transport it once was for me. Long haul, economy class, intercontinental trips across the Pacific have become especially torturous over the last few years as airlines have continued to squeeze more passengers on planes to increase revenues while cutting amenities to reduce costs.

Due to the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, the airline industry has suffered extensive financial hardships. Those attacks crushed consumer confidence with fears of terrorism, which effectively suffocated airlines with empty seats in the months that followed. Initially national governments stepped in with financial assistance for most airlines, but fewer passengers and higher fuel prices caused a number of bankruptcies. Ever since there has been relentless pressure for the greatly weakened survivors to pursue industrywide consolidations through direct mergers and cooperative alliances.

Now flights are usually packed to capacity since the total numbers of flights have been cut to save costs as the airline industry has attempted to maximize total capacity utilization through code-sharing. Extra

charges have been used to generate additional revenues and reduce expenses. Simple amenities once considered part of the ticketed fare such as checking in baggage, drinks and food can be subjected to fees, and are estimated to “add up to \$12.5 billion in 2011 for major U.S. airlines.”¹ As a result, traveling by air in the post-9/11 environment has become a much less pleasant and often a much more costly means of travel than it once was. So after 25 years of transoceanic flights, my feelings about airplanes could be summed up in a paraphrase of Peter Townshend’s lyrics from 1978 “11 hours in a Tin Can, God, there has got to be a better way.”²

I. In Search of An Alternative

It was this hectic and increasing unpleasant international travel environment that first made me ask one simple question: Even if it is slower, is there a less stressful travel option to international flight? In other words, is there what might be called a “Slow Travel” alternative? I had read a few newspaper articles about the ‘slow movement’ over the years and seen the term ‘slow travel’ in the popular press of the internet, but as a concept, not to mention, as a real travel choice it seemed underdeveloped and therefore ripe for academic research. After all, one could not just walk across the ocean, so what I and perhaps many people needed to know was rather simple: Were there any reasonable ‘slow travel’ substitutes to international flight?

Of course, international train travel in Europe is not only possible, but quite convenient as it has been within Japan for almost 50 years and may be soon in more parts of China. However, other parts of the world like Africa, the rest of Asia, Australia, North America and South America where distances between destinations tend to be much greater have much fewer passenger rail lines in comparison. It is still possible to travel from Europe across Asia on the trans-Siberian railway through Russia. There are also four active passenger rail routes across North America (one in Canada and three in the US), and one across southern Australia. However, there is nothing remotely comparable in Africa, and the trans-

Andean passenger rail crossing between Santiago and Buenos Aires that used to transport South Americans like Pablo Neruda across the continent in the early twentieth century no longer exists.

Although the debate regarding the cost effectiveness of building more high speed fixed rail passenger lines on land in the future continues on,³ rail travel is not likely to provide a transoceanic alternative to international flight without major tunnel and bridge networks anytime soon no matter what. So rail transport offered no real alternatives to the long haul transpacific flights I had come to dread.

Ocean surface travel by ship seemed to be the only realistic option. After all, ships had been used to transport people and products for centuries. It was how people had first explored and mapped the world. The great harbor cities such as Hong Kong, New York, Sydney and Venice are classic examples of cities with thriving water-based passenger transport as a useful albeit aging component of their mass transit systems. Ferries still connect the main islands of Japan to its smaller outlying islands and to China, Korea and Russia as well. Ferries also serve the fiord towns along Norway's coastline and cities in and along Alaska's inland passage in North America. Moreover, ferries serve many sea crossings in Europe such as those in the Baltic and Mediterranean Seas as well as across the English Channel and onto Ireland. However, for the most part the water-based passenger transport mentioned so far are essentially commuter transport routes serving local areas, where the water has always been the easiest and the most direct route to move material cargo or human passengers and alternative land, bridge or tunnel routes either don't exist or were late entries to the market. Of course, these ferries also serve seasonal and tourist travelers, but they are not a realistic substitute to long distance transoceanic international flight either.

Historically, all transoceanic ships could and would transport both material cargo and human passengers for the right price. So the use of any ship bound for a desired destination might have been a possible means of transport until fairly recently. Now apart from illegal human-trafficking and 'boat people' seeking asylum in a foreign country, 'cargo ships' seldom transport passengers, just crew members, and crew mem-

bers tend to be professional sailors. There are a few cases of what are known as freighter cruises, where passengers can book private rooms on a limited number of cargo ships.⁴ It is also possible to get a working passage on a private yacht with the right connections and/or training. However, for most practical purposes there really is a distinction between cargo ships and passenger ships on long distance routes now.

Long distance transoceanic passenger ships were once called passenger liners or ocean liners, ships that kept a regular schedule between ports and transported people rather than freight. Indeed, ocean liners, until the 1950s, were the principle means of transoceanic international travel. The problem is this form of travel barely exists in the twenty-first century. Cunard, the grand old passenger liner firm, still runs seasonal passenger journeys across the Atlantic Ocean in the summer, but all comparable passenger transport across the Pacific Ocean disappeared in the early 1970s.⁵

There are still large oceangoing ships that carry passengers though. Moreover, these new ships truly dwarf even the largest of the passenger liners built in the first half of the twentieth century for transoceanic passenger markets. However, these new mega ships are now called 'cruise ships' rather than ocean liners. Could these 'cruise ships' provide the 'slow travel' option I was searching for?

II. Establishing an Analytical Framework

That was what I hoped to find out, but to do that I needed a framework, which could account for two seemingly very different occurrences. The first occurrence appeared to be an economic one namely the virtual disappearance of passenger liners and their replacement with cruise ships. The second occurrence seemed to be primarily a cultural movement called 'Slow' involved in the resistance to what was being called the 'Fast Life' that apparently came along as a side effect of the process of globalization.

Change seemed to be the key to each issue, and both Cultural Studies and Economics have theories to account for change. In cultural

studies, there are three major forces that change culture: invention, diffusion, and calamity.⁶ In economics there are three factors that influence supply; changes in: technology, government regulation, and input prices, and three forces that affect demand; changes in: income, the prices of other goods, and consumer tastes and preferences.⁷

Obviously, there are some similarities here. Invention is largely synonymous with changes in technology; moreover, invention in cultural studies also includes the ideas of conceptual or institutional change, which could account for changes in government regulation, i.e., laws. Diffusion is simply the spreading between cultures of previously unknown ideas, techniques, and products, which could account for changes in: input prices, incomes, the prices of other goods, and consumer tastes and preferences. Furthermore, calamities such as natural disasters or wars could potentially affect any of the three factors known to influence supply or the three factors known to affect demand.

So cultural and economic change, or the resistance to economic or cultural change would be the real story behind many of the events and trends I would have to come to grips with to answer what I had first thought were simple questions like: How did ocean liners develop? Why did ocean liners all but disappear as a travel choice? How did the cruise ship industry develop? What makes cruise ships so different from passenger liners? What does it really mean to call something a 'slow' alternative? What is slow travel? And finally, do cruise ships have the potential to be "slow travel" substitutes to international flights? These were the questions I would have to answer in a journey to find out if there is a 'Slow Travel' alternative to Intercontinental Flight.

III. The Rise of Passenger Lines: Technology & Migration

Although I first thought of oceangoing passenger ships as slow, at the time of their inception in the early 1840s, they were very much part of a broader fascination with time and speed that had begun almost 500 years earlier. Key to this fascination with time and speed that would continue to spread around the world was several earlier technological

innovations that we often take for granted. The first of these was the development of mechanical clocks that first entered the public space with the erection of the first public clock in Cologne, Germany around 1370 CE.⁸ Since speed is a function of time whether one is measuring distance moved or the amount produced, to accurately measure speed one needs a tool to precisely measure time. Hourglasses would continue to be used on sailing ships for several more centuries due to their reliability in rolling seas, but sundials, hourglasses, and the like were inadequate when counting minutes and seconds became more important. The second of these developments were the magnetic compass and sextant, the essential tools in determining one's direction of movement and current position when terrestrial reference points are not available. The third of these developments was the printing press, which allowed for the mass production of printable materials such as almanacs, maps and star charts used in navigation. The printing press also made possible the mass production of books that was the underpinning of ever-increasing literacy rates that no doubt spread knowledge of and interest in the wider world beyond one's place of birth. It is also noteworthy to point out one of the first items to come off Gutenberg's press even before his famous Bible was a calendar of 1448.⁹ Calendars and clocks are both essential for making detailed schedules, and scheduling would become "a way of life from the Industrial Revolution"¹⁰ onward.

The use of machine power in particular the steam engine was perhaps the greatest and most exciting game changer though. Its application to both land and sea transport would usher in a whole new era in both human transportation and international communication as this description makes so clear:

When the world's first passenger steam train took its maiden voyage in Yorkshire, England, in 1825, it was greeted by a crowd of forty-thousand and a twenty-one gun salute.¹¹

The application of steam power to oceangoing passenger ships would not receive nearly as much fanfare initially. Nevertheless, their

introduction would be even more important in making international communications a more regularized and scheduled events, not to mention, creating the environment in which rapid mass migration was only not only possible, but a reality, where people from different cultures could suddenly find themselves together spawning the need to use a common language and for intercultural communication as never before. As one writer so succinctly put it:

These new vessels shrank the world in their day as radically and as suddenly as the Internet has our own.¹²

The first steam-powered transoceanic passenger ships were actually contracted mail carriers for the British government hence the RMS classification, Royal Mail Ship. The North American Royal Steam Packet Company (later renamed the Cunard Line after its founder) started carrying the Royal Mail, and passengers as an additional source of revenue, across the Atlantic from Liverpool, England to Halifax, Canada and then on to Boston, Massachusetts in 1840. The company's primary goal was to have ships that left and arrived on schedule,¹³ something that even the best wind-powered clipper ships could not guarantee. Cunard's first four wooden paddle-wheeled steamers were all designed to carry 115 passengers along with the Royal Mail. Safety, speed, and reliability were the main concerns. Passenger comfort was also important, but "only after the first three conditions had been satisfied."¹⁴ Charles Dickens, one of Cunard's earlier noteworthy salon passengers, would, no doubt, have agreed if this quotation from his *American Notes* referring to his stateroom on the RMS *Britannia* in January 1842 is any indication: "nothing smaller for sleeping was ever made except coffins."¹⁵ Despite Dickens disappointment with his first class shipboard accommodations, his experience must have been quite pleasant in comparison to the poor emigrants in the lower class berths known as steerage, who crossed the Atlantic in sailing ships, which "earned the nickname of 'coffin ships,' for their death rates of 10 percent or higher among their steerage passengers."¹⁶ Although the romanticized popular image of ocean liners is the grand elegance of

the great ships like the ill-fated RMS *Titanic*, in truth “it was poor immigrants who drove the ‘Golden Age’ of passenger shipping.”¹⁷

According to its first census in 1790, the population of the United States stood at approximately 3.9 million people. It has been estimated that less than 1 million people crossed the Atlantic in the two centuries leading up to independence, therefore the bulk of the population was due to natural increases in the colonies rather than foreign-born immigration.¹⁸ Over the next 30 years the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars would tend to limit emigration despite America doubling in territorial size due to the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. From the 1820s onward the conditions began to change. In 1820, 8385 souls were known to have arrived in eastern ports, in 1830, the number of new arrivals almost tripled to 23,322, in 1840 the number of immigrants had nearly quadrupled to 84,066, and by 1850 the figure had more than quadrupled again to 369,980.¹⁹

Between 1820 and 1860 some 5,000,000 immigrants crossed the seas surpassing in four decades the total 1790 population it had taken nearly two centuries to achieve.²⁰

In spite of the American Civil War, which began in 1861, and the Long Depression that started in 1873, another 2.3 million arrived in the 1860s, followed by 2.8 million more immigrants in the 1870s.²¹

First aboard sailing ships, then on paddle-wheeled steamers and finally on the early versions of the modern propeller-driven ships, they made the journey by the millions, or died trying.²²

By 1880 the population of the United States was just over 50 million. It would grow by fifty percent by the end of the century standing at a bit over 76 million in 1900 and increase to over 92 million by the 1910 census.²³ US immigration would peak in 1907 with “a total of 1,285,349 persons entering the country.”²⁴ At the heart of this mass migration was

America's open-door immigration policy, at least on the Atlantic coast, and the drive for bigger and faster ships, which brought in sky rocketing profits for their owners since these newer ships not only carried more people, but also made more journeys in less time.²⁵ Transatlantic business and leisure travel would also grow throughout this period among the more well-to-do "as schedules became more reliable and the crossing on bigger ships grew safer and more comfortable."²⁶ In the early years of the industry, however,

passenger shipping was largely a fixed-cost business where expenses like fuel, the captain and crew—and indeed the ship itself—had to be paid for whether there was one paying passenger or one thousand. The real profit, therefore, lay not in the consumers of grandeur above, but in maximizing the cheap passages.²⁷

Over the 44-year period from 1880 to 1924 nearly 26 million men, women, and children would be carried to American shores²⁸ in ocean liners. In the ten-year period between 1905 and 1914 alone, 10 million immigrants arrived and settled mostly in major American cities.²⁹ This great influx of people changed the demographic face of American culture leading not only the population to be over 10 percent foreign born, but also the country to become an urban nation for the first time in its history by 1920.³⁰

In 1914 passenger shipping came to a temporary halt with the outbreak of war as many ocean liners were converted to military use either carrying troops or war supplies.³¹ It was widely assumed that the immigrant trade would get back to normal after hostilities ceased, and it did briefly until 1924 when new immigration quotas capped overall immigration at 164,000 less than 20 percent of their prewar levels.³² By 1931 annual immigration dropped below 100,000 and remain there until 1946.³³

Wars are calamities that can change cultures as mentioned earlier. Wars can bring short-term profits for some and lasting economic and social upheavals for others. The Great War, the War to End All Wars,

known now as the First World War, was no exception to this since it forced the rapid diffusion of technological and institutional changes on many societies and their cultures.

The application of twentieth century technology to battles fought using nineteenth century military tactics brought death and casualties in unimaginable numbers in a fairly short time. By the war's end, Britain and France would still have their empires, but be greatly weakened. The Russian Empire would disappear, and become a vast communist state know as the Soviet Union. Germany would lose its colonial empire outside of Europe, and become a much weaker republic while the Austro-Hungarian Empire would be broken up into a series of smaller nations in Eastern Europe. The Turkish Ottoman Empire would also cease to exist and become a secular republic while much of its former territories outside the Turkish homeland became protectorates of France and Britain.

On the surface, the United States would be the only nation to emerge from the conflict relatively unscathed.³⁴ However, America's first involvement in a European war after avoiding such entanglements for over a century combined with massive levels of immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe in the early years of the twentieth century, which did not blend into America's Culture landscape as easily as earlier generations from Northern and Western Europe, would have divergent consequences that would affect the nation, as well as, the passenger shipping industry.

Almost any event can be experienced as a cultural calamity depending on one's perspective, if it disrupts the local culture in a significant way. Rapid economic change brought on by the Industrial Revolution was undoubtedly experienced as cultural calamity for many people in the nineteenth century. Just as some people view aspects of Globalization as a cultural threat now.

Mass emigration is usually a result of some human induced calamity such as famine or political oppression that drives people to move from the home country to a new place. Much of Irish immigration to America in the mid nineteenth century is a classic example, and so is the migration of Jews out of Russia at the end of the nineteenth century. Calamities

like these helped mold the development of the passenger liner industry. Any large-scale immigration, however, is bound to create some cultural conflicts since culture almost by definition is ethnocentric.³⁵ Therefore, the receiving country may experience large influxes of “foreigners” as a threat to the local culture, a potential cultural calamity in the making, if you will. This fear of cultural calamity seems to be especially strong in America perhaps since “Americans have no enduring sense of pure blood or culture.”³⁶ This quotation from the book *Hellfire Nation* seems to sum up the issue quite well.

Every immigrant generation changes the face of the nation; every shift in suffrage threatens the political order. Without a stable cultural archetype to determine who belongs, Americans measure one another by a vaguely delineated, highly moralistic code of conduct. Flunk and you’re un-American. A society on full boil keeps stirring up the same tribal fears: These others do not share our values. They do not understand our religious traditions. They will subvert the virtues that made us rise and prosper.³⁷

America’s experiences with European war and mass immigration created a cultural backlash, which caused the US congress to pass legislation to cleanse the nation of both undesirable people like communists and undesirable and immoral acts like drinking alcohol in an attempt to reassert America’s unique moral position as ‘the City on the Hill’³⁸ while protecting that position from outside contamination. In other words, the nation still had the desire to continue to be Lady Liberty’s beacon of light, but was much less committed to taking in the world’s “tired and huddled masses.”³⁹

Earlier in my research, I had wondered why transpacific passenger liners had completely disappeared by the early 1970s; whereas, the transatlantic passenger trade still has a minor presence even now. One explanation is distance, but it appears the main reason is the immigration trade never really developed any scale on the Pacific coast as it did

on the Atlantic. Fairly early on any large scale Asian migration was perceived as a potential cultural, economic or moral threat and laws were passed to limit it.⁴⁰ The lack of immigration passengers meant a much smaller market, and lower profitability, restraining expansion. This limitation along with the greater distances would account for the significant difference in the number of ocean liner carriers on the two oceans with the larger Pacific Ocean only having three major carriers and the smaller Atlantic Ocean having upwards of a dozen major carriers.⁴¹

The increased desire to limit the numbers of all immigrants from 1917 onward would be a body blow to the ocean liner industry as congress passed even more legislation to restrict immigration. The moralistic urge would lead to the passage of legislation to amend the US constitution, the 18th Amendment, which prohibited the manufacture and sale of alcohol throughout the United States.

In the end, these types of regulations would lead passenger shipping away from being a transportation business supported by mass immigration passengers to a transportation industry targeting business and leisure travelers as its main clients in a much smaller market.

IV. Passenger Lines in Transition to a Leisure Model

From the 1920s onward ocean liners entered their greatest years of glory or a final period of slow decline depending on one's perspective. The immigration quota systems first started with the Emergency Quota Act of 1921 and strengthened by the Immigration Act of 1924 would end the mass immigration trade on the industry's most profitable North Atlantic route.

Fortune and the same forces of change mentioned earlier would make post-WWI America a prosperous country at least until the Crash of 1929. After the austere years of war when some rationing had been required to support the war effort, the Roaring Twenties was a time of plenty, where mass production produced more of everything especially consumer goods. As immigration quotas began to dry up the passenger

ships traditional source of customers, it also reduced the supply of cheap immigrant labor and increased wages creating more demand within the US, which in the end made most industries more profitable. Economic prosperity was uneven though, since the industrial areas, cities, and the upper economic classes would benefit most from this growth, while rural areas generally experienced lower prices for farm produce and higher operating cost. This disparity left many of the rural lads who had crossed the Atlantic in former ocean liners serving as troop carriers to defeat the Kaiser in Europe during the Great War with little other choice than to stay down on the farm.⁴² However, it did present the passenger ship industry with a greater opportunity to entice more of the American middle and upper classes in the cities to go see the Gay Life and Lights of Paris.

Ocean liners at end of the great emigration boom were known as the greyhounds of the sea. Speed and volume had been at the heart of the ocean liner business based on immigration. They were built for speed since "speed sold more ticket than comfort back then."⁴³ Faster ships equaled more trips and more profits. Speed would continue to be important for prestige and ticket sales, but some adjustments for comfort was necessary to draw in a new class of customer in a more leisure oriented travel market. Demand would need to shift from one-way tickets west bound leaving from Europe to more round-trip tickets leaving from North America. To do this the old steerage compartments needed to be reconfigured into something more suitable for a new type of nonimmigrant customer. "The lines came up with a new designation of 'tourist third class' for the upgraded facilities,"⁴⁴ and started marketing the new tourist class tickets for \$80 round-trip. An innovation that would prove to be quite successful at starting a market for budget leisure travel for the young especially students, teachers, and others who could afford more time than expense to see for themselves the parts of Europe that they had recently viewed on wartime newsreels.⁴⁵

This new tourist class, which included more bars, better food and more access to deck and public spaces must have been a great improvement over the almost total lack of amenities in the old steerage compartments. It was not a complete democratization of the ocean liner

though, which was still strictly divided by classes usually, first, cabin, and tourist.⁴⁶ The tourist class did open up a new market segment, which allowed more aspiring people to see the world, but even then tourist accommodations were hardly more than dormitories so “unless you were in first class, the only reason to board an ocean liner was to get from one place to another.”⁴⁷

It was first-class passengers who provided the glamour of ocean travel though, and they were the main focus of the press and extensive coverage of the arrival and departure of ocean liners and their lists of first class passengers eventually made ocean travel the ‘fashionable’ thing to do. “Transatlantic voyages in this era attracted the hoity-toity, the creme-de-la-creme, the rich, the powerful, and the famous from all over the world.”⁴⁸ It was quite an amazing transformation in perception since only a couple of decades earlier overseas voyages were feared and something to be avoided, and now they were symbols of the high life people wanted to attain.

As mentioned earlier calendars and mechanical clocks were the essential tools of scheduling from the beginning of the industrial age. Of the two, calendars were invented much earlier on to help people keep track of the seasons and the best times for planting, harvesting and fighting wars. When you get right down to it though, even today all businesses are seasonal to some degree.

Leisure industries are no exception to this seasonality, indeed they tend to be most seasonal dependent of any type of business. The British government mail carrier contracts had provided the financial incentive to provide regular mail, and thus scheduled passenger transportation first across the Atlantic and later around the world throughout the year without too much regard for the seasons. However, once the contract stipulated scheduled deliveries were met, there would be no requirement to provide additional scheduled trips, if the passenger demand, i.e., potential profits did not warrant it.

Improving steamship technology had made the year around service possible, but seasonal conditions would still affect the potential danger and relative smoothness of the journey. Journeys across the Atlantic

could still be decidedly less smooth in winter, and so winter in the northern hemisphere was the off peak season when extra tonnage could be redeployed to more seasonable and profitable uses.

Major Atlantic passenger carriers initially used off peak season cruising in the warmer and calmer seas of the Mediterranean and Caribbean to gain a little extra cash flow from aging ships before they were sold off or scrapped. As the number of transatlantic passengers continued to decline during the 1920s, the number of ships employed in the off peak season world cruise and regional cruise markets increased.

The first single ship around the world cruises began in the early 1920s using smaller ships that normally served the transatlantic market in the peak summer season. These world cruises no doubt provided some shorter transport in the cabin and tourist classes along the way, but their main clientele would have been first class passengers who stayed onboard for the whole voyage. The world cruise is truly the highest expression of wealth and leisure even today, since those who can afford it can literally unpack their baggage, relax, and let their hotel take them to “all those far away place with strange sounding names.”⁴⁹

Prohibition would also foster the development of shorter types of cruises for the less affluent just outside American waters. The 18th Amendment, which outlawed the manufacture, sale and distribution of alcohol throughout the United States was squarely aimed at saving people from themselves, effectively banned consumption of alcohol in public and hindered American citizens to do so in private within their own country. Criminalizing alcohol ultimately drove production and consumption either underground were it was illegal and dangerous, or offshore were it was legal and relatively safe.

The drying up of American through prohibition created a new reason for Americans to leave their country for a short period to imbibe on the so-called “booze cruises” or “whoopie cruises,” which helped soak up some of the higher disposable income of US prosperity. A number of ports just outside US waters were within easy steaming distance from US shores. Havana, Cuba and Nassau in the Bahamas off the coast of Florida were common destinations in the southern-booze-cruise circuit;

whereas, Halifax, Canada and Bermuda were the main ports of call on the northern-whoopie-cruise runs.⁵⁰

Prohibition ended in 1933 and by that time the full force of the worldwide depression, which had started with the crash of the New York Stock Market in 1929 was being felt everywhere. Economists have long known the protectionist trade policies most national governments pursued during the Great Depression made the economic downturn much longer and worse. Memories of the Great War were not forgotten nor were how important shipping had been in the defeat of the Central Powers. It was in this economic environment that national governments invested in public works projects and local industries to maintain employment.

The great “Ships of State” were part of the economic nationalism that led up to the Second World War. Steel and shipbuilding were primary industries that could call on government support during the Depression since they not only provided employment, but also maintained industrial capacity useful in both peace and war, i.e., dual-use technologies as they are called today. The two British lines Cunard and White Star were merged at the request of the British government in 1934 to put the Clydebank shipyards back to work. The *Queen Mary*, the largest and most powerful passenger ship of the era was launched in 1936 and became Britain’s symbol of power at sea. The *Normandie*, France’s ship of state, reportedly the most elegant ship ever built, was constructed with French government subsidies. The *Normandie* never was profitable in her short career, but served as a symbol of national hope in a time of depression. Germany, Holland, Italy, and Japan would also use government subsidies to encourage their local shipbuilder to turn out flagships for themselves, and for other countries like Norway, Poland and Sweden as well. Even the United States, which historically had only used public funds to build navy ships, became involved in this kind of public works projects through the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. The United States’ flagship, the *America*, was launched by Eleanor Roosevelt in 1939 just before Germany attacked Poland. However, due to the outbreak of hostilities, she would spend her first years cruising in the Caribbean until the

attacks on Pearl Harbor. As the whole world was dragged into war all civilian shipping would stop and eventually all ocean liners became naval assets until the war ended and most overseas troops from North America and Oceania were returned home in 1946.⁵¹

The final glory days of ocean liners opened in the autumn of 1946 when the RMS *Queen Elizabeth* was at last able to sail on her maiden voyage to New York. The *Queen Elizabeth* had been ready for launch in 1940, but was refitted for naval use before she took her first voyage as an ocean liner. The *Queen Elizabeth* was joined by her sister ship the RMS *Queen Mary* in the late summer of 1947. Cunard's Queens, both over 80,000 gross tons, were the largest passenger ships in the world and would hold that distinction until cruise ship companies started ordering much larger ships in the 1990s. With these two super liners, Cunard was finally able to attain an old goal of a weekly transatlantic express system with only two ships. At the turn of the century, the Cunard lines had used six ships to carry the same number of passengers.⁵² Now they could do the same volume in a much more luxurious environment advertising: "Getting there is have the fun ... go Cunard."⁵³

As Europe began to rebuild, shipbuilding would again be a preferred and subsidized industry and new European liners would continue to join the transatlantic market into the 1960s. The Second World War like the First World War had proven the worth of ocean liners that could be easily converted to troop transports. With fears of the Cold War turning hot, the United States would also provide some subsidies to maintain a few American built and owned ocean liners for potential troop transport purposes. The ultimate ship of state in terms of power and speed, which was launched in 1952 and became the final ocean liner to hold the Blue Riband prize for crossing the Atlantic in the shortest time, would be the SS *United States* designed by a naval architect with troop transport fully in mind capable of crossing the Atlantic at 40 knots.⁵⁴ The number of passengers making the transatlantic crossing would continue to grow until its peak in 1957.⁵⁵ However, two watershed events, one on the sea in 1956 and one in the air in 1958, would change the future of transoceanic shipping completely over the next ten years.

Of the two the modern cargo container invented in 1956 was much less heralded since its full ramifications were not as noticeable to the average landlubber. Although ocean liners had been primarily for passenger transport, they still had the capacity to carry some freight and mail just like passenger airlines do today adding a potential stream of profit if needed. By the late 1960s, "lift-on and lift-off" (lo-lo) container boxes and crane systems, which loaded these boxes on top of container cargo ships rather than inside like traditional ships, would revolutionize cargo shipping allowing for seamless transport of cargo containers on both sea and land increasing the speed of loading and unloading while reducing the time in port and the amount of labor required. Moreover, containerization would lead to the need for larger deeper water ports for cargo, and the almost complete separation of long distance cargo shipping from passenger transport.⁵⁶

The second, Pan American Airlines first nonstop transatlantic flights using Boeing 707 jets in 1958 is much more widely known.⁵⁷ Ocean liners had seen some challenges from the air before. It was widely assumed that airships or seaplanes were their closest potential competitors in the late 1930s. The Hindenburg disaster in 1937 ended the airship challenge for safety reasons. Seaplanes could not match liners on size or distance, although their speed had been recognized and seaplanes had been launched from ocean liners to speed up mail delivery in the late 1930s.⁵⁸ If the profitability of ocean liners had been about speed, volume and the number of trips over the shortest period in a fixed cost business, then they had finally met their match in the jet airplane, and so speed would no longer be "a factor in passenger ship's future development"⁵⁹ eventually making sea travel almost "a quaint relic of a slower time."⁶⁰

Change may be an inevitable constant, but it is not always noticeable for those in the slowly heating pot along with the frog. From 1959 onward year after year more passenger lines decided to retire ships, cut back numbers of crossings, or discontinue their transatlantic routes entirely. "From 1966 onward, New York was slowly and inexorably losing its grip as the number-one passenger port in the United States."⁶¹ Cunard's legendary Queens were retired in 1967 and 1968 respectively.

The *Queen Mary* left on her final voyage from Southampton in 1967 to the song "California, Here I Come." Quite appropriately it seems since she was heading to Long Beach, CA to start a new career as a floating hotel there.⁶²

Cunard had decided to build the *Queen Elizabeth II* as a replacement for the *Queen Elizabeth* in 1964. The *QE2*, launched in 1969, was designed for cruising as well as a seasonal role in the transatlantic passenger market though.⁶³ The *QE2* continued do transatlantic passenger crossings as well as worldwide cruising from 1969 until her retirement in 2004. From 1983 Cunard chartered the British Airways' Concorde, the fastest commercial jet ever, as a partner in combined sea and air travel packages until the Concorde was retired in 2003.⁶⁴ Between 1969 and 1975 all other carries discontinued their transatlantic passenger routes.⁶⁵ It did not happen, but it would have been fitting if these ships had been sent off to the tune of "Way down upon the Swanee Ribber"⁶⁶ Florida's State Song. Since Miami would become the number-one passenger port in the US in 1974, an honor it still holds. Even in more recent tumultuous times, Florida's position as the cruise capital of the world has continued to strengthen even after 9/11, which encouraged the demand for more cruise ship departure ports within driving distance of more North American homes.⁶⁷

V. The Development of Cruising

The transition from passenger ship industry to cruise ship industry was not a smooth linear one. It seems only three passenger lines were able to adapt sufficiently enough to survive the full passage and its many tests though time from the nineteenth century into the twenty-first century.

The most famous was the Cunard line, which starred in the previous two sections. Cunard moved from mail carrier to King of the migrant trade. After the immigration quotas, Cunard moved on to being the Queen of the luxury transatlantic liners, and then cruising the world sometimes in conjunction with the Concorde as mentioned above.

The second survivor was the Holland American Line, which started out in the 1870s and gained a healthy share of the migrant trade. As the flag ship company of the Netherlands, Holland American Line survived through the mid twentieth century in a less prominent but similar role to the Cunard line.⁶⁸ However, in 1971 HAL withdrew from the transatlantic market completely, moved its headquarters to Seattle, Washington and bought the controlling interest in the Alaskan tour company Westours.⁶⁹ Holland America would be one of the first major companies to provide regular cruises along Alaska's inland passage along North America's northwestern coast.

The third survivor of the early days of passenger shipping was Peninsular and Oriental, P&O Lines, which never was a part of the transatlantic trade. It got its start in steam shipping like Cunard by transporting the mail. However, due to the different seasonal weather patterns and a much smaller migrant trade going through the Mediterranean to Asia and Oceania, P&O started offering cruise style travel much earlier and it is therefore credited with offering the first cruises.⁷⁰ P&O bought Princess Cruises, the pioneer of west coast Mexican Riviera cruises departing from Los Angeles in 1974.⁷¹

The pioneers, some might call them pirates, that turned Miami into the new passenger port capital of North America by 1974 were never part of transatlantic market either. They were risk-takers who in at least two cases were able to convince the right Norwegian shipping magnates to back their new ventures.⁷² These new companies would establish a new year-around leisure cruise market in a relatively small underdeveloped warm water port on the edge of the Caribbean, Miami, Florida. They had no interest in maintaining the status quo that was slipping away up north. Moreover, most of them had no qualms about buying up the excess shipping capacity from others who had held on too long in the declining transatlantic passenger market. The only exception to this was the Royal Caribbean Cruise Line, which entered the market at the premium end in late 1970 with one purpose built cruise ship, and then added two others by 1972.⁷³

Other cruise ventures from the 1950s onward bought up aging

small to medium-sized ships in Europe. These ships were refitted and repainted for the warmer Caribbean market until the end of the 1970s when the supply of such ships was seriously dwindling. Perhaps, the last instance of this was Norwegian Cruise Lines' acquisition of one the last great ocean liners the SS *France* in 1979. When this ship was relaunched as the *Norway* in 1980, it became the world's largest cruise ship at 66,000 tons. It was also the first cruise ship to feature "a five-hundred-seat, three-story theater capable of mounting full-scale stage productions."⁷⁴ Something that would become part of the standard entertainment across the industry as cruise ships increased in size.

Ted Arison was the first to find Norwegian backers. Ted served as the booking agent for Norwegian Cruise Lines from 1966 when NCL enter the Miami cruise market until his acrimonious break up with NCL in early 1971 over who should control of what was know as "the booking float," i.e., cash held as deposits until the cruise was finally completed.⁷⁵ After the breakup, Ted found an older ship in Greece, renamed it the *Mardi Gras*, and reestablished an old relationship with Meshuluam Riklis. Riklis, an old schoolmate from Tel Aviv, was now a financier with a colorful background and varied business interests including a travel agency and eventually the Riviera Hotel and Casino in Las Vegas.⁷⁶ By late 1971, Ted was heading up the Carnival Cruise Lines "as a subsidiary of the Boston-based American International Travel Service, AITS."⁷⁷ Carnival was on the bottom tier of the Miami market and still struggling until 1973 when Riklis, the owner of AITS, installed Bob Dickinson as CEO.⁷⁸ Arison was not happy about bringing in Dickinson and losing operation control, but Dickinson proved to be just the medicine Carnival needed.

Over the next two years, Dickinson completely reorganized the company's marketing focus and sales staff including hiring, Micky Arison, Ted's son. The aging *Mardi Gras*, the largest cruise ship in Miami, that had still not to been totally refitted due to a lack of funds was repackaged with the advertising slogan: "A Bigger Ship Makes a Big Difference."⁷⁹ Then while the competition emphasized their high-class image and formal night dining, Carnival went for the flip side of the market with its "Fun Ship" appeal to a more casual mass market audience.⁸⁰ Key

to being the modern “Fun Ship” though was providing games of chance, an important attraction for most potential cruisers just like alcohol was during Prohibition. Gambling is legal, or at least beyond the regulatory control of any government in international waters outside the twelve-mile sovereign limit most countries claim. Although the Nevada Gaming Commission technically had no jurisdiction, they would not have “allowed an unregulated casino to be owned the Riviera.”⁸¹ Seeing this potential conflict ahead of time and being much more interested in owning a large casino than a small-fry cruise ship company Riklis sold his share of Carnival to Ted for one dollar in 1974 supposedly telling him: “if you ever make any money, send me a present.”⁸² Apparently, Riklis over the ensuing years did, indeed, receive quite a few presents after Carnival made its first profit in early 1975.⁸³ He probably would not have received so many presents though, had it not been for what is now known in the academic literature on tourism as cinema tourism or movie-induced tourism.⁸⁴

Until the mid 1970s the cruise ship industry was still a relative small market and was little known in the American heartland. The majority of passengers were still from coastal areas just as they had been during the Prohibition era “whoopee cruises.” To grow the industry would need a much wider customer base to draw from, but that would require spending profits on advertising rather than new capacity. The industry was never forced to make such a choice between investing in advertising or ships though.

The Love Boat, an American made for TV movie special that was first aired in 1976, became the industry’s virtual brochure. The special had used a Princess Cruises’ ship, the *Pacific Princess*, as a backdrop and the show proved to be so popular that it was follow up with a second special *The Love Boat II* in early 1977. *The Love Boat* was then turned into a regular TV series that ran almost 10 year. It has been argued that this successful TV series may have created some false expectations or even turned people away from cruising.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, it definitely brought the idea of cruise ship vacations to the world, and provided credence to “the ship is the destination”⁸⁶ marketing that followed. Therefore as a virtual brochure, it was probably more effective than any large-scale

advertising campaign could ever have been, and it was free of charge.⁸⁷

Of course, Princess Cruises was the main beneficiary of this notoriety being able to pipe in *The Love Boat* theme song as their new passengers boarded, but the whole industry grew too as more Americans decided to try a vacation at sea. New demand led almost everyone to buy up more secondhand ships, which were still relatively abundant and cheap due to the collapse of the traditional liner trade. Carnival still the bottom-feeder of the industry followed suit bringing Carnival's *Festivale* to Miami in 1978, but later that year Ted Arison also announced he had contracted to have a new ship built in Denmark.⁸⁸ Ted had figure out how to make European government subsidies meant to save labor-intensive shipbuilding jobs work best for Carnival. The Danish shipyard had given Carnival a low-interest loan for the ship, which Carnival used to buy a series of high-interest special issue Danish government bonds. These bonds were then matched to the payment schedule for the ship. The net result was that the \$100 million project really only cost Carnival \$40 million.⁸⁹

The downside of building lovely new ships was that it would make your older ships look tired and shabby. By the mid 1980s the two largest players in the industry, Carnival and NCL, were realizing they needed to expand and replace older tonnage. This type of expansion would require serious capital though, and loans could only finance a couple of ships perhaps three at the most. Carnival had managed that feat already by persuading banks to treat their new ships like buildings and finance them with long term mortgages. This method had built them a trio of super liners after the Danish financed the *Tropicale*,⁹⁰ but Carnival wanted more. Between 1977 and 1987 the American cruise industry as a whole had expanded by around nine percent annually from just short of 1 million passengers a year to nearly 2.5 million. During the same period, Carnival had grown by nearly 20 percent on a yearly basis being able to carry just under 600,000 passengers a year by 1987. In ten short years "Carnival had transformed itself from the industry's inside joke into its benchmark."⁹¹ It was now time to go to New York and apply for the most potent elixir of the capital markets, the IPO, the Initial Public Offering, and that is exactly what Carnival did in the earlier summer of 1987.

By any standards, Carnival's IPO on the American Stock Exchange was a success. It netted the Arisons close to \$400 million and still left them with control of eighty percent of the voting shares. Some of the proceeds were used to pay off the long-term debt accumulated in buying new ships while the remainder was reserved for future expansions. Norwegian Cruise Lines, Ted Arison's former partner and Carnival's fierce rival, would not be so lucky. NCL had scheduled its own IPO for Tuesday, October 20, 1987. However, the day before would go down in history as Black Monday when the Dow Industrial Average lost over twenty percent of its value in a single day. In the ensuing panic, NCL's IPO would have been dead on arrival before it even reached the trading floor so the offer was withdrawn. It would be six more years before another major cruise line went public.⁹²

Flush with its new IPO cash Carnival went looking to expand in an up market direction in 1988. Carnival could have used its IPO money to build a new brand, but their logic to future expansion was quite simple. "Why build a reputation, after all, when you can buy one?"⁹³ Initially, they were interested in Holland America, a premium brand, which also owned a specialty cruise ship line called Windstar. However, Holland America's Dutch owners were not interested when first approached.⁹⁴

Another opportunity soon appeared though. One of Carnival's main competitors the Royal Caribbean Cruise Line, which entered the market with a purpose built cruise ships in the early 1970s, was owned by three partners. RCCL's founders were a trio of Norwegian shipping family firms, Skaugen, Wilhelmsen, and Gotaas-Larsen. Gotaas-Larsen had been acquired by an American holding company in the mid 1970s, which had later spun off Gotaas-Larsen and moved it to the tax haven of Bermuda.⁹⁵ By the late 1980s its owner, Jack Seabrook wanted to sell out. RCCL had originally been formed as an equal partnership, which had initially required unanimous decision although this requirement had been dropped when the company had been reorganized as an offshore firm under a Liberian parent company in 1985.⁹⁶ Seabrook had approached the Arisons to buy him out, but the deal was to go through various twists and turns before it ended. Arison's controversial break up with NCL in

the 1970s had led Wilhelmsen to strongly oppose the deal and “exercise their right of first refusal.”⁹⁷ After Wilhelmsen was able to find a white knight in the American tycoon, Jay Pritzker the deal finally fell through in November 1988.⁹⁸ After that, RCCL and Carnival would become even more intense rivals than they were before.

Although the \$550 million deal fell through, it was probably the best thing that could have happened for Carnival. The size of the proposed deal had changed Holland America Dutch owners’ perspective on selling the firm. Negotiations went through quickly at the end of 1988, and Carnival acquired Holland America Line and its Westours for \$625 million in January 1989.⁹⁹ As Carnival began to expand its portfolio of brands the acquisition of Holland America with its up market standard and holdings in Alaska “complimented Carnival’s mass-market, entry level product perfectly.”¹⁰⁰

The market for cruises would continue to grow throughout the 1990s. The old days when almost anyone could buy an old ship spruce it up and enter the business were history now. Newer and bigger ships were the main attractions and second tier companies had trouble financing them. So they would either be acquired by larger firms, if they had potential, or allowed to go bankrupt. By 1992, almost half of the total North American cruise traffic was controlled by nine companies and more consolidation was yet to come.¹⁰¹

Carnival Cruise Line changed its name to Carnival Corporation to reflect its expanding portfolio in 1993 after buying 25% of Seabourn, an ultra luxury cruise line, specializing in cruise yachts with less than 300 passengers in suite accommodation.¹⁰² Carnival would continue with a light touch approach to its new acquisition and tie-ups. It seems to have eschewed the doctrine of synergies in favor of maintaining brand value. Their golden rule being closer to if “subsidiaries were performing well, it was gospel not to meddle in their affairs.”¹⁰³

Further expansion would require new destinations, and the Mediterranean held promise in the aftermath of the first Gulf War. The 1985 *Achille Lauro* cruise ship hijacking by PLO terrorist was becoming a distant memory. Moreover, the argument that Carnival’s investment bank-

ers had used to persuade investors that the future of cruising was in the Caribbean not Europe¹⁰⁴ did not matter now that the PLO was involved in the Middle East peace process and Carnival wanted a foothold in the Mediterranean market.

Europe had two middle tier cruise lines with potential, Italy's Costa Crociere (Cruises) and Celebrity Cruises, which had been launched in 1989 by an old Greek shipping firm, Chandris Lines. Royal Caribbean moved first and approached Costa, but in the end decided Costa's debt burden was a bit too large to be taken on.¹⁰⁵ Carnival walked in to fill the vacuum and in 1997 agree to take on Costa as a 50-50 joint enterprise with the British firm Airtours, which Carnival had acquire a stake in 1996.¹⁰⁶ Carnival later bought out Airtours' shares in 2000.¹⁰⁷

Celebrity Cruise also merged with Royal Caribbean in 1997, but the process may have been less than ideal. Royal Caribbean paid \$1.3 billion for Celebrity and attempted to recoup part of the expense in cost reductions like closing Celebrity's European sales office. Although Celebrity had been Miami based too, John Chandris, who had started Celebrity, had conceived of the company as anything but mass market. Chandris had targeted a young upscale market that could truly appreciate the onboard menus designed by world-class chefs, the latest interactive television technology in cabins, and museum quality art all on a cruise ship. After the two companies offices were consolidated in Miami and Celebrity's name was no longer on the building, it supposedly lost some of its identity and brand distinctiveness.¹⁰⁸

By the mid 1990s, Cunard the proud old passenger liner firm, which had been the Queen of the seas was in shambles. In December 1994 it had allowed a less than fully renovated *Queen Elizabeth 2* to limp across the Atlantic with bursting pipes and erupting loos. To be a Mickey Mouse operation had long been a derogatory and condescending epitaph in the British vernacular. So the irony must have been inescapable when the new Disney Cruise Lines was quoted in Britain's *Financial Times*: "We have no interest in Cunard or the *QE2*. It is seen in the industry as something of a liability."¹⁰⁹

Cunard had first gone on the auction block in 1996 after its par-

ent company, Trafalgar House PLC, had been acquired by Kvaerner. Kvaerner was a Norwegian shipbuilder that had bought Trafalgar for its engineering and construction business and Cunard did not fit into its core business.¹¹⁰ Later in 1998 a different Micky, the President of Carnival had decided Cunard was a brand worth having for less than the price of a new ship.¹¹¹ The 1997 blockbuster hit *Titanic* had apparently created new interest in the old passenger ship lines producing yet another movie-induced tourism effect to benefit the cruise industry.

By late 1999 there were only four major players remaining Royal Caribbean, P&O Princess, NCL, and Carnival, the carnivore, which was still hungry. Carnival first approached NCL directly with a buyout offer and was turned down.¹¹² Then in early December 1999 Carnival made “an unsolicited, all-cash tender of \$1.7 billion to NCL Holdings to add Norwegian Cruise Line to its fleet.”¹¹³ Within two weeks, the largest cruise line in Asia, Star Cruises of Singapore bought over twenty percent of the NCL Holdings’ stock.¹¹⁴ Many observers could not see the logic of it, but the move eventually caused Carnival to withdraw its offer and NCL stayed independent. Star Cruises remained a major shareholder, and Carnival eventually sold its shares in NCL to Star.¹¹⁵

P&O Princess Cruises would be the final prize in the game of consolidation, and they knew it. Princess had grown steadily without acquisitions under its parent, P&O Lines, but was finally spun off as a separate company, and listed on the London Stock Exchange in 2000.¹¹⁶ Carnival had gone public in New York in 1987 and Royal Caribbean had done the same in 1993. However, the majority of Carnival and Royal Caribbean shares were tightly held by a few investors, who were closely connected to their respective managements. This made any attempt at a hostile takeover bid from outside virtually impossible for them.

On the other hand, P&O Princess Cruises was 100% publicly owned with the largest shareholder owning only four percent making it very vulnerable to potential bidders. Another major difference was many of P&O Princess investors were UK pension funds and institutional investors, which were required by law or their own policies to invest only in British-based companies. The logic of mergers dictates there will be a

future benefit for existing shareholders. If a P&O Princess merger turned the new enterprise into a non-British firm, some institutional investors would be forced to sell their shares in the market at whatever price was available. In other words, the P&O Princess board of directors would not be protecting the shareholder's value of all of its current owners. Something the P&O Princess board of directors was legally and duty-bound to do, and existing shareholders would insist on before approving any merger.¹¹⁷

The final issue affecting any potential merger was related to anti-trust law. Past mergers had made Carnival, Royal Caribbean, and P&O Princess, the first, second, and third largest firms in the cruise industry respectively. They could be considered an oligopoly already, meaning a merger of any two of them could potential give the new firm serious monopoly power over the entire market. However, that really depended on how one defined the market. Should the market be based on the total of national, regional, or international cruise passengers? Alternatively, should the cruise market be considered just a segment of a much large market for vacations?¹¹⁸

P&O Princess had consider all these issues carefully and decided a merger of near equals with Royal Caribbean was their best prospect by the summer of 2001.¹¹⁹ As fate would have it, their first negotiation was schedules in Miami for 9:00AM, Tuesday, September 11, 2001.¹²⁰

An inauspicious date to say the least, but the disaster and subsequent fear of how negatively the terrorist threat would affect the world economy and the cruise industry ultimately gave the negotiations a sense of urgency. In the days that followed the calamity when all commercial flights in and out of North America were cancelled the two sides laid out the basis for a merger. There were two sticking points though one for each side. Before Royal Caribbean could commit to any deal, they would need some form of protection against a counteroffer from Carnival, which they knew was bound to come. While P&O Princess needed some way to protect their shareholders that avoided forcing them to sell their shares in the post-9/11 bear market effectively locking in shareholders' losses not profits, if the merger with Royal Caribbean went through.¹²¹

A solution to the latter point was easier to find in a seldom-used merger technique known as a DLC, dual listed company. A DLC allows two companies to merge while technically staying independent. It makes it possible to list the merged enterprise under two slightly different names on two different stock exchanges simultaneously. At the same time, the two nominally independent entities are bound together by a series of legal agreements that merge their respective cash flow, management, and shareholders' voting rights allowing the two to function as one governed under separate boards of directors, which are really identical. It was perhaps a radical solution, but one that the Anglo-Dutch Shell Corporation aka Royal Dutch Shell had used effectively since 1907 when it joined forces to battle J.D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil.¹²²

Royal Caribbean issue was quite a bit trickier. American companies often devise what is known as a "poison pill" strategy to ward off unwanted bids against publicly held corporations. However, the practice is frowned on in the UK and could be disallowed by its Takeover Panel.¹²³ An additional subsidiary venture between Royal Caribbean and P&O Princess was devised to mimic a poison pill and prevent Carnival from interfering with their merger, but it had an expiration date of January 1, 2003.¹²⁴

The friendly merger of equals between Royal Caribbean and P&O Princess valued at \$3 billion was announced in November 2001. In December 2001 Carnival issued a counteroffer worth \$4.6 billion for all of P&O Princess shares. The offer had several preconditions including the deal being able to pass all antitrust hearings in Europe and the United States. The P&O Princess board of directors rejected the offer and set February 14, 2002 as the date for an extraordinary general meeting of shareholders to approve the merger between Royal Caribbean and P&O Princess.¹²⁵

The poison pill strategy had two possibly three flaws, once Carnival had made a superior offer. The first was the poison pill upset P&O Princess shareholder who viewed it as a mean of usurping their rights. The second was its expiration date and the antitrust ruling dates would both come fairly quickly in less than a year. The third was all stock mar-

kets were down and investors would have every incentive to wait for a higher price if they could.

In other words, if the P&O Princess shareholders simply refused to vote on the Royal Caribbean offer, the deal could be frozen until the results of the antitrust rulings were known. Once Carnival saw that they made every effort to exploit shareholders' angst toward the poison pill and convince them they should wait to see if the Carnival offer was legally feasible. A week before the Valentine's Day vote Carnival also raised its bid to \$5.34 billion. It was a long and dramatic extraordinary shareholders meeting, but when the tally was done the shareholders had voted to adjourn without voting on Royal Caribbean offer by a significant margin.

It was widely assumed that since Royal Caribbean was smaller, its bid would have an easy time passing through any regulatory review. Their bid was only reviewed in the UK and Germany since they really did not have a strong market presence in Europe outside those two countries. Carnival, on the other hand, had to go before the EU Competition Commission in Brussels, which had expressed doubts about the transaction. Initially it looked like the hearing would go against Carnival, but just before Carnival's hearing a high court in Brussels overturned one of the commissions earlier decisions against another tourism industry merger. This change of political wind along with the almost identical market shares for Carnival and Royal Caribbean in the UK, and Germany where Royal Caribbean's deal with P&O Princess had already been approved led the commission to let Carnival's bid pass as well.

In October 2002 the American Fair Trade Commission let both merger proposals pass effectively saying that neither merger would have a more significant affect on competition than the other. Shortly after that P&O Princess entered talks with Carnival. On October 25, 2002, the P&O Princess Board of Directors dropped their recommendation for the Royal Caribbean merger. They then paid Royal Caribbean a standard \$62.5 million breakup fee and quietly waited for the poison bill to dissolve without being swallowed on New Year's Day 2003. In April 2003, the shareholders of both companies approved the deal to become a dual listed company

Carnival Corporation on the New York Stock Exchange and Carnival Corporation PLC on the London Stock Exchange.¹²⁶

VI. Cruising: Going Beyond Borders¹²⁷

There have been no more major cruise line mergers since 2003. There were no good economic reasons for them and regulators would have opposed them if they had been attempted. So the international cruise market has settled into its oligopoly of brands. Carnival and its portfolio of brands have almost fifty percent market share. RCCL and its stable hold just under twenty-four percent. NCL has around seven percent and a number of specialty brands and regional lines make up the rest.¹²⁸

Most consumers are totally unaware that many different lines have the same corporate owners. For example, Carnival Corporation markets its portfolio of Carnival, Costa Cruises, Cunard, Holland America Line, Princess Cruises, and Seabourn in North America as the World's Leading Cruise Lines. However, at first glance most people would not notice that these lines are really part of the same conglomerate. There is a huge amount of brand loyalty among cruisers and repeat customers are a high percentage of passengers. This could become a major problem in the future since the industry is introducing new larger ships every year and will need to find new customers to fill them.¹²⁹

Historically the cruise industry has had a strong alliance with travel agents, which became even stronger after airline deregulation in the US.¹³⁰ After deregulation started in 1978, airlines were forced to compete directly on price. Ticket prices fell dramatically with discounting and special fares, so they cut travel agents commission on ticket sales. The airlines have continued to squeeze out travel agents, and now you usually have to pay a booking fee to use a travel agent to get an airline ticket. Airlines have invested heavily in Information Technology to make it "easier" for their customers to do everything online including buying tickets, checking in, confirming reservations and using air miles accumu-

lated on past flights. In most cases, if you don't use these "convenient" online services, an airline will actually charge you more to use one of their representatives or a travel agent.

Deregulation also put airlines and cruises lines at odds. Before deregulation cruise lines could reserve large blocks of discounted tickets to make sure their passengers could get to departure ports with easy. Now with fewer flights, airlines can use their pricing power to charge cruise lines more for tickets since they know when ships sail and only a limited number of flights arrive in time to make cruise ship departures.¹³¹

All cruise lines have online information and booking too, but they still rely heavily on travel agents and telephone based sales representatives. Cruise companies still pay travel agents good commissions on sales. Perhaps, because much of the traditional cruise market is made up of older repeat customers, or new potential customers in regional rural areas tend to be less interested in or adept with internet-based technologies. Also if, one were interested in using the Internet to book a cruise, one would probably visit a site that offers steep last minute discounts.

The Golden Rule of cruise ships is the ship should sail with all its cabins full. Any empty berths at sailing time will be empty throughout the voyage, and vacant cabins represents not only lost revenue from ticket sales, but also from on board spending. Cruise ships are largely fixed cost businesses just like ocean liners were. Ticket sales will cover the fixed cost even if some fares are heavily discounted. A cruise ship's real profits come from onboard expenditures.¹³²

Cruises are sometimes thought of as all-inclusive vacations. Strictly speaking an all-inclusive vacation would include everything: all accommodation, food, drink, and entertainment. One might say cruises are semi-inclusive vacations. Basic accommodation, food and entertainment are included in the ticketed fare, but gratuities, bar drinks, specialty foods and excursion trips are separate onboard expenditure.

In the earlier days of cruising all ships were cash-based societies where passengers were expected to pay cash for extra excursions, drinks and tips. Nowadays cruise passengers are issued cruise cards when they check in for the cruise. The cruise card serves as a door key

to the passenger's cabin and can be used to make onboard purchases since all passengers must leave a credit card on file to pay for any onboard expenses incurred. Gratuities have always been an important part of service staff remuneration since regular salaries are quite low. Before cruise card systems were implemented passengers would normally give tips to their dining room waiters and housekeeping staff in cash based on guidelines provided by the cruise line. Now cruise ships simply charge a standard daily service fee for all hotel and restaurant services, which usually runs around US\$ 11 per passenger per day, to the passenger's onboard expense account. Bar service is additional and a 15% service charge is added to the drink's base price when charged to the onboard expense account. Cruise ships offer a number of excursion trips at each port of call and passengers can book these through the ship's tour office and the fee is charged to the onboard expense account. Now adult passengers can even use their cruise cards to play games of chance in the casino while under-aged passengers can use their cards to play video games. There are satellite telephone and Internet connections available too, which passengers can conveniently charge to their onboard expense account.¹³³

The real key to cruise line profitability lies in their tax-free status. The three largest cruise lines in the US market mentioned above, all have their corporate headquarter in the US. Even though they are all listed on the New York Stock Exchange, all of them are foreign-registered corporations, which exempts them from federal and state corporate income taxes.¹³⁴ Moreover, almost all cruise ships sail under what are known as FOCs or "flags of convenience."¹³⁵ Flying a flag of convenience allows ship owners to avoid many of the taxes, labor laws and safety regulations of the ports they sail, even though these ships may cater almost exclusively to passengers from those very same countries. For example, all deep-water cruise ships that sail from the world's cruise capital in Florida to various destinations around the Caribbean are registered in other countries.

The main justification for using flags of convenience is they allow cruise lines, as well as most cargo shipping companies to have much

more flexible labor arrangements, i.e., lower labor cost. If the ships sailing out of Florida were registered in the US, all the ships licensed officers would have to be American and three-quarters of the unlicensed crew would have to be as well. This would, of course, mean higher labor costs and US citizens may not be interested in doing many of the jobs a variety of different nationality fulfill on cruise ships now. Captains and officers often come from Great Britain, Italy, Norway, and Greece all countries known for their nautical traditions and licensing standards. Dining room managers and chefs often come from Austrian, France, Germany, and Italy. Waiters, stewards, kitchen staff, deck and engineering crew and many other jobs from entertainers and beauty specialists to natural science lecturers and teen club supervisors literally come from all over the world.¹³⁶ In a very real sense, cruise ships crews are floating global villages.

An interesting corollary to using FOCs is that almost all cruises leaving US ports are international trips due to cabotage laws. Cabotage refers to the transport of goods or people between two ports in the same country. The Passenger Vessel Services Act of 1886 prohibited foreign ships from transporting passengers between US ports. The law has been modified over the years, but it still means that all foreign-flagged cruise ships sailing from US ports must, at least, stop in one foreign port during their voyages. In its current form the law allows for round trip cruises from US ports by FOC cruise ships because they stop in Mexico, Canada, or any of a number of Caribbean countries. US cabotage laws are also sometimes cited as the main reason why most Alaskan cruises begin or end in Vancouver, British Columbia rather than Seattle, Washington.¹³⁷

As alluded to earlier, the first stage of passenger shipping before the First World War was part of an earlier form of globalization. A globalizing of the world economy through largely European controlled shipping and overseas empires enabled by passport free migration and economic opportunities supported by an expanding worldwide capitalist system. The second stage of passenger shipping after the Great War was more reflective of national aspirations in a world of nation-states, national markets and international conflicts, where passports and visas became

an essential part of international travel.¹³⁸ Cruising has developed in the shadows of these previous phases, under the national and international legal frameworks established in those earlier stages of passenger shipping. It appears, however, cruise passenger shipping represents a completely new stage of globalization and global enterprise. If the two earlier stages were about transportation between countries, i.e., crossing borders, then cruise passenger shipping is really about “going beyond borders,”¹³⁹ out beyond the 12-mile limit of national sovereignty to the open ocean where all governments have difficulty exercising legal authority.

VII. The Rise of Slow Food: the Critique of the Fast Life

It is almost impossible to talk about the development of any of the recent ‘slow movements’ in a coherent way without first understanding the development of the “Slow Food” movement, which began in Italy in the 1980s. Slow Food started ‘slow’¹⁴⁰ and has the most comprehensive and consistent outlook. Its early members were all left leaning political activists from the city of Bra in the Langhe wine growing area, part the Piedmont region of Italy, who had affiliations with the Il Manifesto group, and its newspaper that had split from the Italian Communist Party in 1969. The slow movement also has its roots in the Italian cultural and recreational association of the Left known as Arci (Associazione Ricreativa Culturale Italiana). Italy has many Arci with different interests, and in the early 1980s the Langhe Arci “became increasingly focused on local culture, driven by a growing desire to reconnect with the traditions of the area,”¹⁴¹ especially the preservation and development of local folk music, food, and wine.

In 1982, Carlo Petrini and some other members of the Langhe Arci visited Montalcino in Tuscany for a festival. During their visit, they stopped for lunch at the local Casa del Popolo, Workers’ Social Club. They were apparently all quite appalled by the quality of the meal served there. After returning to Bra, Petrini wrote a strong letter of complaint to the Casa del Popolo and the secretary of the Tuscany Arci group¹⁴²

accusing them of serving meals unworthy of an extremely beautiful Casa del Popolo in the heart of Italy's most famous wine producing area.

Following Petrini's letter a debate soon broke out in the communist newspaper, *L'Unita*, and later in public meetings concerning the relationship between gastronomic traditions and Marxist oriented institutions like the Casa del Popolo. According to Petrini, the communist party's stance at the time was to view pleasure generally and good food in particular as one of the seven deadly sins of capitalism.¹⁴³ Whereas, the younger activist associated with *Il Manifesto* had an expanded more personal views of politics that were

bound up with questions of freedom, leisure, artistic appreciation and quality of life. The quality of cultural life, including access to, and appreciation of food and wine, was a democratic question. The pursuit of pleasure was everybody's concern, and was not to be left to hedonists and elitists.¹⁴⁴

Out of this soul searching dialogue would come the gastronomic associations of the left. Two cultural calamities would assault Italy and Europe by mid 1986 and give urgency to gastronomic cultural politics. One was a man-made calamity based in capitalist greed, and the other, a man-made calamity caused by communist arrogance. The first was an Italian scandal involving wine from the Piedmont region that had been infused with methanol to raise the alcohol content, which caused 19 deaths and seriously damaged the image of local wines. The second was the international crisis caused by the explosion at a Soviet nuclear power plant in the republic of the Ukraine near Chernobyl, which spewed radiation and contaminated wide areas and agricultural produce across Europe.¹⁴⁵

By July 1986, *Arci Gola*, later simply *Arcigola*, was established, and Carlo Petrini became its first president by unanimous vote.¹⁴⁶ The real calamities mentioned above are what inspired the founders of *Agri-cola* to expand beyond their initial interests in the pleasures of food and wine and onto the issues of product quality. However, it was another

perceived cultural calamity in the making, which had both resonating issues of food quality and cultural pride, that would first spur Agricola into political action against a symbol of everything their movement would eventually come to oppose. In 1986, Arcigola organized protests against the proposed site of a McDonald's Corporation restaurant near the Spanish Steps in Rome. An event that is often seen as one of the early proxy battles between local and global interests, I believe.

The Arcigola organized protests against the fast food chain would end up providing the association and the movement it created with its new name "Slow Food." Over the next year the Italian writer Folco Portinari would work on the *Slow Food Manifesto* that was first published in November 1987. The *Slow Food Manifesto* would turn the "Slow Food" idea into a global movement that was formally launched at a meeting of Slow Food delegates in Paris, France in December 1989.¹⁴⁷

The use of the English name "Slow Food" so easily juxtaposed with "fast food" as a symbol of Americanization, and eventually Globalization, must have help generated international interest. However, the manifesto's critique of modern "fast life" gave it intellectual muscle. Key to its argument against the "fast life" was a simple observation that the modern obsession with speed, which has been increasing ever since the development of mechanical clocks, has led many to the point to where they really cannot distinguish between frenzy and efficiency.¹⁴⁸

Put another way, the "fast life" is a state where time and money are both wasted in the inefficiency of frenzy, i.e. meaningless frantic action. An observable modern reality whether it is the driver frantically passing other cars only to become the marginal leader of the pack at the next red light, or an ever increasing volume of financial transactions that become completely disconnected from the underlying economic assets they were supposed to represent and ultimately destroy when the market crashes.

To quote Portinari's original manifesto directly:

The culture of our time rests on a false interpretation of industrial civilization; in the name of dynamism and accel-

eration, man invents machines to find relief from work but adopts the machine as a model of how to live his life.¹⁴⁹

The paradox of machines that were supposed to give humans more leisure time, but did not, is well known. It also has a less well-known corollary peculiar to the idea of efficiency, which defines productivity in units produced divided by hours worked that has led to higher unemployment overall while requiring those left working to produce more.

Portinari's argument against the "fast life" is really quite powerful although perhaps not intuitively obvious. Any 'fast' process is an industrial process that requires the standardization of its component parts, or the efficiency of large-scale mass production cannot be achieved. It also requires some degree of specialization, or the breaking down of large tasks into a series of smaller tasks that can be performed in standard ways using standard components. Application of "fast life" industrial standardization to human interactions on a large scale is now known as bureaucratic or corporate management, where every "fast life" institutional procedure has a prescribed form to fill out followed by a set process for approval and implementation. At the extreme in a system like this people end up becoming the proverbial number, or an interchangeable standardized component.

Applying "fast life" industrial processes to food production, and distribution eventually leads to monocultural farming. Then the specialization in only a few crop types results in a loss of crop diversity. This is followed by the large scale manufacturing of processed foods, and an ever-increasing number of people obtaining their food from supermarkets. Taken to its logical conclusion all nonstandard processes and products would be eliminated, and regional varieties could easily be wiped out by the tide of standardization we call globalization.

According to slow food activists, global capitalism and the "fast life" mode of living that it engenders have

had a devastating effect not only on food, but also on land-

scape, community, biodiversity, local tradition and knowledge, the distinctiveness of taste, the environment and quality of life.¹⁵⁰

The Slow Food movement now has over 84,000 members in some 120 countries,¹⁵¹ which is quite an achievement for an organization whose main purpose was getting gastronomic pleasure (enjoying good food and wine) by supporting local artisan food culture mainly small restaurants, at least in the beginning. The ethical pursuit of pleasure has been an enduring theme and organizing principle of the Slow Food movement. As the saying goes all politics are local, and Slow Food has expanded globally in an almost organic fashion through its local chapter system known as the 'convivium,' a Latin word used to denote a banquet or convivial meeting of members around food.¹⁵² The members of the local convivia will determine local activities and goals independently of the national convivium office in each country and International Office in Bra, Italy.

The loose convivium structure allows different convivia to have slightly different foci at the local and national levels. Italy is still the largest national convivium with the most local convivia chapters. With many local food and wine traditions that needed nurturing their main focus has been on preserving and enjoying traditional food culture. In countries where food was already more industrialized like Germany, the US, and UK the focus has been more on developing local organic produce, farmers markets, and culinary classes. In recent years, other new convivia outside of Europe and North America have been started to help producers in these relatively less developed countries maintain their traditions and stay economically viable in the face of global forces.

Throughout its evolution Slow Food has maintained its roots in local identity, knowledge, and the shared enjoyment of food culture as the best means to establish a more virtuous form of globalization. A vision voiced below in this quotation from Massimo Montarari's book *Food is Culture*:

Every culture, every tradition, every identity is dynamic,

unstable product of history, once born of a complex phenomena of exchange, interaction and contamination. Food models and practices are meeting points amongst diverse cultures, the fruits of man's travels, of commercial markets, techniques, and tastes from one part of the world to another.¹⁵³

In the earlier years after its manifesto was first released the Slow Food movement was still primarily an Italian phenomenon, which produced Italian wine and restaurant guides. In 1990 the Slow Food Editore, publishing house was set up and the first Slow Food International Congress was held in Venice. In the early 1990s new *convivia* in European countries close to Italy like Germany, and Switzerland began to appear. In 1996, Slow Food would become a legal entity, and start developing a new international and environmental focus after it set up its International Office in Bra, Italy. The same year, it issued its first trilingual (Italian, German, and English) edition of *Slow* magazine, and started its Ark of Taste.¹⁵⁴ The Ark of Taste was an idea to preserve a few local products and their distinctive tastes. In 1996 these Ark products went on display at the Salone del Gusto (Halls of Taste), food fair held in Turin. The Ark products sold out and many visitors wanted to meet the producers.¹⁵⁵ In 1999 the idea of the Ark was expanded and a protocol for a new Presidium, or "garrison" of products was outlined, "according to which they had to meet the criteria of being endangered, having deep historical connections to a local place and local identity, and being of distinctive quality."¹⁵⁶ Many new Slow Food Presidia approved products were on display at or the 2000 Salone del Gusto. Slow Food also issued its first "Slow Food Award for the Defense of Biodiversity," recognizing and rewarding small farmers and producers that use traditional methods to defend and produce quality products in 2000.¹⁵⁷

The success of the Italian Presidia products would bring in new financial support from the Italian government and European Union, and build deeper connections with the academic community. In 2003 the Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity was established, and the next year the

University of Gastronomic Science was opened in Pollenzo, Italy. In 2004 the first Terra Madre, “World Meeting of Food Communities” was also held in Turin.¹⁵⁸

From the first Terra Madre onward, Slow Food would no longer be just a series of gastronomic dining clubs in wealthier countries. It would become a globalized environmental movement embracing agricultural producers in the developing world as well as consumers and producers in developed countries, and cooks and academics from around the world. It would remain anchored in the cultural pleasures of gastronomy, but expand its focus into a new eco-gastronomy to account for its every expanding commitment to sustaining the diversity of good taste often endangered by the expansion of industrial agricultural production.¹⁵⁹

These new organizing principles were first outlined at the 2004 Terra Madre meeting under the banner of “good, clean, and fair” and were the basis of Petrini’s book published in 2005 “Buono, pulito e giusto.”¹⁶⁰ It may not be possible to explain all the nuances Petrini intended. However, Buono—good covers the ideas of good natural tastes and the right to maintain unique cultural flavors, knowledge and pleasures. Pulito—clean entails sustainable natural production processes rooted in local knowledge and traditions that do not damage the environment along their paths from the field to the table. Giusto—fair means that the people who have the knowledge and provide the labor to turn nature into food are socially respected and economically compensated in a manner that maintains social justice and allows the food production system to be sustainable over the long run.¹⁶¹

The critique of the “fast life” as essentially an industrial processes that destroys local cultures and foods can also be replaced with a striking metaphor of the “fast life” as a global virus spread by standardized products and corporate practices that crowd out and eventually destroy local cultures and food.¹⁶² Again all politics are local, and so rediscovering the local is if not a complete cure at least a logical means of battling the virus.

The problem most local areas and towns face though is frequently the same. All too often these places don’t have the means to keep their

local economies viable without bringing in the very forces that would develop their life styles out of existence. The “cittaslow” or slow city designation was first set up in Italy in 1999 to provide an alternative for cities with less than 50,000 inhabitants. It was hoped that these towns where ‘good living’ was still possible could maintain their regional character by promoting responsible tourism, which emphasized local hospitality and good eating. The ‘slow city’ takes Portinari’s stance to its logical conclusion, where there can be “no slow food without slow life, meaning we cannot influence food culture without changing our culture as a whole.”¹⁶³ The criteria for becoming a ‘slow city’ were established to make this idea a reality. It involved making a strong commitment to

an environmental policy which protects the local natural resources, encouraging the use of eco-friendly initiatives, preserving the typical produce of the locality, protecting local architecture and raising awareness amongst local citizens, through education and public events, of what it means to live in a slow town.¹⁶⁴

The network of cittaslow has expanded well beyond the four cities including Bra that started it in 1999. There are now more than 80 slow cities worldwide. The majority is still in Europe, but the network has expanded as far as Oceania. Perhaps, emblematic of the whole cittaslow concept is the fishing community of Sokndal, Norway, which proudly boasts it doesn’t have any visitors, but receives many guests.¹⁶⁵

According to Andrews the cittaslow network is fairly independent of the Slow Food movement, but has promoted a similar alternative philosophy that opposes

the impact of global tourism by articulating a view of place which is rooted in specific cultural and local traditions and forms of hospitality which help foster greater understanding of local history and food.¹⁶⁶

VIII. Evaluating Cruise Ships as a Form of “Slow Travel”

After a very long journey through over a hundred and seventy year of cultural and economic change we are finally at a point where we must ask one simple question. Are cruise ships a bona fide intercontinental “slow travel” alternative? On the surface,¹⁶⁷ it would appear so, after all a cruise ship is a passenger ship that only travels around 20 knots on average and the passenger ship is considered to be “a quaint relic of a slower time.”¹⁶⁸

As I mentioned in the first section when I started this research project “slow travel” was not well defined. It had a number of possible connotations including cultural tourism, ecotourism, low carbon tourism, sustainable tourism, and just traveling at a slow pace. It seemed whether cruise ship travel could be considered ‘slow travel’ or not really depended on how one defined both ‘slow’ and ‘travel’ separately and together.

For example, one early description of ‘slow travel’ that can be found online is an article entitled “The Slow Travel Manifesto” published in March 2009 in the 25th Issue of the *Hidden Europe* magazine. This article almost seems to create more ambiguity than clarity on the subject. The introduction to the article describes “slow travel” in the following way:

Slow travel is about making conscious choices, and not letting the anticipation of arrival undermine the pleasure of the journey. By choosing to travel slowly, we reshape our relationship with place and with communities through which we pass on our journey.¹⁶⁹

There is nothing on the surface of this statement that would seem to preclude cruise ships on the ‘slow’ issue, but one can see ‘travel’ may have a broader meaning than simply transport or even tourism since “relationship with place and communities” could hardly be produced by merely passing through.

In the first academic paper I could find that referenced “slow travel” as a key word the authors cited this definition of “slow travel” from the Australian Macquarie Dictionary:

1. travel conducted at a slow pace to enjoy more fully the places visited and the people met. 2. such travel seen as environmentally friendly through its lack of reliance on air transport [modelled (sic) on slow food] (Tourism Victoria, 2008).¹⁷⁰

These definitions of slow travel also seemed to support my first impression of cruise ship travel as a potentially ideal form of slow travel. However, as my research into to cruise ships progressed, I found out cruise ships were not nearly as environmentally friendly as I had expected. I would like to set that issue aside for the moment and examine what limitations may result if slow food is used as model for slow travel or slow tourism.

As mentioned in the previous section the slow city networks were meant to be models of the slow life, and thus destinations where tourists could come and experience slow life and slow food firsthand. Therefore, it is not surprising many of the activities that are considered to be means of slow travel or components of slow tourism such as cycling, hiking, kayaking, mountain biking, rowing, and walking¹⁷¹ can both be done in or around slow cities and have almost no carbon impact. However, these types of tourist activities are not particularly new even though they can be done greenly in a green environment and do release the stress acquired in fast life urban settings as this passage from Honore’s book seems to suggest.

The urban desire to spend a little time resting and recharging the batteries in Arcadia helped bring about the emergence of modern tourism. By 1845, there were more tourists than sheep in Britain’s Lake District.¹⁷²

My point here is that tourism and leisure travel are really by-products of industrialization and the increased pace of life it brings. The ocean liner was mainly used as just a means of migrant transport until the 1920s, but early forms of mass tourism began appearing in Britain about the same time Cunard was making its first scheduled mail crossings carrying passengers. Thomas Cook is considered to be the father of the package tour and by extension the grandfather of mass tourism since he was the first to apply the standardization principles of industry to leisure travel. Cook organized the first one-day return tour between Leicester and Loughborough, England for 570 temperance campaigners in 1841, and five years later he put together a complete package tour to Scotland including accommodation and sightseeing for 500 passengers.¹⁷³ So one could say that mass tourism and the type of slow tourism mentioned above really began almost at the same time although the terminology for each was coined in very different times.

The Slow Food critique of the fast life essentially opposes all standardized industrial forms, especially in food production. As a result, we should expect anything mass produced including mass tourism to be outside of the 'slow' profile. In other words, one could assume slow tourism and mass tourism would be opposites almost by definition.

What I found really amazing was that although mass tourism was considered to be "one of the most important concepts in the academic field of tourism management,"¹⁷⁴ no actual definition of mass tourism currently exists anywhere.¹⁷⁵ Andreas Hauser, the writer that pointed this out went on to devise a simple four point system to determine if a location that hosts tourism could be considered a mass tourism destination. An interesting exercise that seemed to allow mass tourism itself to remain undefined while making the mass tourism destination mostly dependent on tourists' "intention to learn about history, culture, and people"¹⁷⁶ at the destination. The island of Barbados, a popular shopping stop on Southern Caribbean cruises was thus deemed to be a mass tourism destination since it could be assumed that less than fifty percent of cruise ship visitors were truly fascinated with the local culture and people.¹⁷⁷ By extension most forms of mass tourism probably cannot be considered cul-

tural tourism either in the strictest sense even if they have components of cultural tourism in the itinerary.

One possible reason why mass tourism has never been defined completely is that although tourism is usually referred to as an industry, “tourism cannot be identified in terms of the supply of particular goods/services.”¹⁷⁸ Most industries are defined by what they produce and supply, i.e., in supply side terms, but “tourism is defined in terms of a particular type of consumer, that is in demand side terms.”¹⁷⁹ In other words, tourism is defined by the activity of consumption by visitors (consumers defined as visitors) and purchases made on behalf of those visitors.

Slow Food really emphasizes the small-scale non-corporate production of local and traditional food products. In the slow city and slow tourism interpretation of slow travel, visitors are expected to enjoy the slow life by purchasing and consuming those local and traditional food products while taking part in the slow tourist activities mentioned above.

This interpretation of slow travel would almost automatically exclude cruise ships as a means of slow travel for a number of reasons. First cruise ships are large-scale operations owned by corporations. Although every cruise ship prepares and serves a huge amount of food each day, all ingredients are technically food exports, coming from global supply chains on land that make preparing a large variety of standard quick dining and gourmet meals possible in a wide number of shipboard locations around the world.¹⁸⁰ Small-scale artisan food products could not possibly fulfill the needs of these types of operations although some of the boutique items like wine or cheese might find their way into ships' stores.

As Kevin Meethan noted the McDonald's fast food chain is “the perennial whipping boy”¹⁸¹ in many globalization versus local culture discussions in social science and tourism literature. Cruise ships, of course, exhibit many of the uniformity and rationality characteristics of George Ritzer's famous McDonaldization thesis as any large scale operation offering a wide variety of consumable items probably would. However, as Adam Werner pointed out Ritzer's thesis

does not discuss the way in which many institutions that possess such qualities actively strive to offer variety and choice.¹⁸²

Cruise ships often cater to a fairly wide demographic from small children to seniors on many cruises. They need to have a rather wide variety of entertainment, food and leisure activities to keep passengers from getting cabin fever between ports of call. This is not done without waste though since it has been estimated cruise ships are “responsible for 25% of all waste generated by merchant vessels”¹⁸³ even though they represent less than 1 percent of all merchant ships globally.

Even in this context, there is little doubt that cruise lines would still insist they provide a service product that is good, clean and fair. Nonetheless, their definition of what good, clean, and fair entail would certainly be somewhat to extremely different to those put forth by Slow Food or other more socially and environmentally conscious individuals or groups.

The cruise line industry has had many detractors over the years. With good reason too since at times some of the industry’s business practices have truly been downright bad, unclean, unfair and even unsafe. The Canadian researcher, Ross Klein has written two books documenting the underside of the cruise line industry and its malpractices.

On the issue of fairness, Klein has concluded that cruise ship workers have very few means of redressing any complaints or problems, even if industry labor practices are not exactly unfair or illegal due to the FOC status of most cruise ships. On the whole, workers are paid much lower wages, have much less rest time than one might expect, and they often work without a day off for most of their typical 10 month contracts at sea.¹⁸⁴

In his second book, “Cruise Ship Squeeze,” Klein discusses how much market power cruise lines have in dealing with local tour operators, vendors and even governments. Apparently, there is always a risk for local entities that try to raise prices, fees, or taxes for any reason even to pay for the bigger facilities that the newer larger cruise ships

require. There is an asymmetry in power based in the perception that cruise lines can literally just sail their business away if they wish. It leads to a divide and conquer strategy that forces ports and other providers to compete against each other giving cruise lines a tremendous advantage in negotiating with local entities.¹⁸⁵ A situation that could hardly be described as fair either.

Safety and cleanliness could be different issues or sides of the same coin. Despite the floating hotel resort image cruise ships are designed to invoke, life at sea is never perfectly safe. Rogue waves can surprise even the best seamen without warning and this seems to be why cruise ships tend to stay as close to land as possible most of the time. Fire and other accidents have always been the greatest dangers at sea. Considering the volume of passengers and constant sailing of these ships, the overall accident record isn't too bad; however, almost any inspection by maritime authorities will always find deficiencies.¹⁸⁶

When cleanliness is considered as part of safety then cruise lines have a much more checkered past. Onboard viruses and bacteria have literally plagued the cruise industry for decades. In one sense, the typical gastrointestinal viruses, *Escherichia coli* and *Salmonella* bacteria that are the causes of widespread illnesses on ships are also common to similar illness on land. The extremely close cooking, dining and living environments on ships just make them that much easier to spread and more difficult to contain once they break out.¹⁸⁷

Good is always a relative term if one stops to consider good for what or whom. The FOC or flag of convenience status that most cruise line ships sail under have always been good for cruise line profits and good for keeping costs down. This status is not necessary good for anyone else though. As Garin points out in his book *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*:

Flag of convenience shipping is one of the least regulated commercial activities on the face of the earth; every tension of capitalism is intensified as the decent and unscrupulous alike make their business decisions without genuine con-

strait of law.¹⁸⁸

Within territorial waters maritime authorities can and often do catch cruise ships polluting the sea, but as the saying goes “it may be only a drop in the ocean” compared to what goes by unnoticed.¹⁸⁹ The cruise line industry through its industrial association, the ICCL, International Council of Cruise Lines has made great efforts to present itself as a green industry that wants to protect the pristine places it visits¹⁹⁰ and make sure it maintains largely self-regulated status.¹⁹¹

Overall the cruise line record on pollution is deplorable even if one might be willing to concede it is better than it once was. With this in mind, one can truly understand when researchers make statements like this:

By its very nature cruising cannot be classed as a sustainable form of tourism because these vessels are incapable of functioning without outside intervention and use significant amounts of resources; consequently they exert great pressure on and generate great impacts on the places they visit.¹⁹²

If cruise ship travel cannot really claim to be a form of cultural tourism due to its status as a purveyor of mass tourism then it is hard to imagine the industry could rightfully be considered as form of ecotourism either. There is no doubt that cruise ships often have forms of ecotourism like glacier viewing, nature walks, tropical canopy tours, as well as penguin and whale watching on their scheduled travel itineraries or excursion lists. Nonetheless, it is difficult to claim the ecotourism mantle without also being a sustainable form of tourism even if the two terms are not technically synonymous.

That only leaves the question of whether cruise ships produce less carbon than other means of travel. I readily assumed cruise ships would produce less carbon than airplanes since they were slower, but that is not necessarily the case. Measuring carbon output is a fairly intricate

process especially since it depends not only on the type of ship and fuel consumption, but also the number of people transported as passengers. Cruise ships usually transport a rather large number of crew involved in the hotel, catering, and entertainment functions of the ship. Crew is not counted as passengers, and the energy consumption of the hotel and resort functions on ship is not easily measured directly and so is normally estimated. As a result the published studies on carbon emission of cruise ships have a rather wide variation.¹⁹³

I suspect most of these estimates are a bit on the high side. It would be preferable to include the crew in the total number of people transported and to measure the energy consumption used in the hotel, catering and entertainment functions on a direct comparison basis of what the ship consumes for these functions while hooked into the power grid in ports. Despite these objections, I can see no reason to reject the latest results I could find that estimate cruise ship emissions.

The emission factor of 390 g CO₂ per p-km was found to be three to four times higher than the emissions factors relating to international aviation, and therefore cruising was confirmed to be a more carbon intensive mode of international transportation than aviation.¹⁹⁴

IX. Conclusion

So, do cruise ships have the potential to be “slow travel” substitutes to international flights? I would still like to think they have the potential, but at the current juncture I have no evidence to support that only a hope that one day it might be so. Apparently, as fuel costs have risen some cruise lines have begun to actively look into biofuels.¹⁹⁵ Given the amount of food and solid waste a cruise ship produces there could be significant possibilities to not only reduce the amount of effluents discharged into the ocean, but also reduce carbon emissions by using these waste products in biofuel production. An avenue I hope all cruise lines

will pursue in the future. I am afraid for now though I would have to agree with Dickinson and Lumsdom's conclusion.

Thus, we exclude from slow travel the three main transport modes associated with contemporary tourist development: the car, the cruise liner and the aeroplane (sic), as they are major users of finite resources and generate CO₂ emissions and other pollutants in an unsustainable manner.¹⁹⁶

This, of course, means that there are currently no slow travel options for intercontinental transoceanic travel at all. According to Dickinson and Lumsdom, trains, buses and ferries are appropriate means of slow travel;¹⁹⁷ however, as outlined in the first section these forms of travel have their limits. They are primarily commuter systems that can be useful forms of international travel in some regions that are compact like Europe, but really provide no hope as a means of slow travel in a long distance transoceanic travel environment.

Epilogue: South to Alaska and Beyond

It would have been easy to just say air travel killed the passenger liner trade somewhat like the musical claim "video killed the radio star,"¹⁹⁸ but there was a bit more to it than that. Airlines may eventually face the same dilemma that ocean liners faced by the 1920s. Few people really enjoy being cramped up in an airplane now, just as few people really enjoyed being cramped up in a ship then. In either case, the journey could be just something to be endured, and so if a less unpleasant alternative appeared, one would certainly take it.

Of course, in both cases purchasing a first class ticket could provide more comforts and distractions to modify the environment and make it more like being on land. Nevertheless, in the end it is really not possible to get away from the fact that one is just trapped in a tin can whether it is on the ocean, or in the sky. In both cases, the tin can,

whether it is a ship or a plane, can be tossed around with the vengeance of the elements of wind and water according to the vagaries of ever-changeable weather without much prior notice.

Probably, Howard Frank, Carnival Corporation's Vice Chairman made the most interesting claim about the cruise ship industry I have ever heard: "this is not the shipping business, this is the vacation business."¹⁹⁹ Of course, one can still use cruise ships as transportation, it is just not as easy to do as it would have been 50 years ago when an international passenger ship system still existed.²⁰⁰

I was quite unaware of most of the details above when I started this research project. Cruise ships simply seemed to be the most likely 'slow travel' substitute to international flights available in a very limited field of choices.

I was having trouble booking round-trip air tickets, which were valid for more than three months when I was preparing to leave for a sabbatical year outside of Japan. I was able to find round-trip air tickets from Tokyo to Anchorage via Taipei that were valid for one year. Since we had to visit family in Alaska anyway, we decided to fly south to Alaska and then try our first 'slow travel' journey on a cruise ship from Anchorage, Alaska to Vancouver, Canada in the summer of 2009. We really enjoyed the experience, and three months later we traveled from Los Angeles, California to Buenos Aires, Argentina on what is known in the cruise industry as a repositioning cruise. In total we spent over five weeks aboard ship, stopped in 10 countries, and traveled over 6000 nautical miles between August and December 2009.

Upon finishing what we felt was a 'slow travel' journey to South America by ship, we were fortunate enough to have the time and money to visit two UN World Heritage Sites: the historic fort town of Colonia del Sacramento in Uruguay, and the spectacular Iguazu Falls on the border of Argentina and Brazil. I had hoped to travel back to North America by ship as well, but that proved impossible since the next repositioning cruise back to North America was beyond our time constraints, so we ended up having to fly back to the US.

Cruise ship owners' sometimes claim a cruise ship is truly a des-

tainment in itself. I cannot deny that or how relaxing traveling by cruise ship can be. At this point, I can only hope that the owners of cruise ships will make every effort to redesign their ships to pollute less, so they may yet become a truly environmentally sustainable 'slow travel' alternative one day.

Notes

- 1 Jad Mouawad, "U.S. Airlines pursue the holy grail of smoother boarding," *International Herald Tribune*, 2 Nov. 2011, 15.
- 2 "Who Are You?" Written by Peter Townshend and recorded by the "The Who" in 1978. Exact quotation: "11 hours in a Tin *Pan*, God, there has got to be a better way".
- 3 *The Economist*, "The great train robbery," 3 Sept. 2011, 14.
- 4 Freighter World Cruises, Inc., "Worldwide Listings," www.freighterworld.com/general.html, (accessed 24 Oct. 2011).
- 5 The Ocean Liner Museum, "The Trans Pacific Liners 1867 -1973," www.oceanlinermuseum.co.uk, (accessed 24 Oct. 2011).
- 6 Larry A. Samovar and Richard E. Porter, *Communication Between Cultures* (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1991), 59.
- 7 Any standard Microeconomics text will mention how income, price level, and tastes will affect demand, and technology and input prices affect supply. Laws, government regulations, and taxes are not always mention at the same time since in the theoretical free market such things are assumed to not interfere in the market. In truth, markets are always constrained to some degree by the existing cultural, legal and political environment in which they exist. As a result market purists have often argued for the deregulation of markets to promote efficiency that in theory would benefit both consumers and producers.
- 8 Carl Honore, *In Praise of Slowness: How a Worldwide Movement Is Challenging the Cult of Speed*, (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2004), 22.
- 9 Honore, *In Praise of Slowness*, 22.
- 10 Honore, *In Praise of Slowness*, 23.
- 11 Honore, *In Praise of Slowness*, 23.
- 12 Kristoffer A. Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea: The Dreams, Schemes and Showdowns that Built America's Cruise-Ship Empires* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2005), 13.
- 13 Bob Dickinson and Andy Vladimir, *Selling the Sea: An Inside Look at the Cruise Industry, Second Edition* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2008), 1.
- 14 Dickinson and Vladimir, *Selling the Sea 2nd Ed.*, 1.
- 15 Dickinson and Vladimir, *Selling the Sea 2nd Ed.*, 1-2. Source: Charles Dickens, *American Notes* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1896).
- 16 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 13-14
- 17 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 13.
- 18 Allen L. Damon, "A look at the Record: The Facts Behind the Current Controversy Over Immigration." *American Heritage Magazine*, Volume 33, Issue 1, December 1981, 2. www.americanheritage.com. (accessed 16 Oct. 2011).
- 19 Damon, "A look at the Record," 2.
- 20 Damon, "A look at the Record," 2.

- 21 Damon, "A look at the Record," 2.
- 22 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 14.
- 23 US Census Bureau, *Table 16 Population 1790 to 1990*, www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/files/table-16.pdf, (accessed 24 Oct. 2011).
- 24 Damon, "A look at the Record," 3.
- 25 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 15.
- 26 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 15.
- 27 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 13.
- 28 Damon, "A look at the Record," 2.
- 29 James A. Morone, *Hellfire Nation: The Politics of Sin in American History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 302.
- 30 Morone, *Hellfire Nation*, 302 & 306.
- 31 Dickinson and Vladimir, *Selling the Sea 2nd Ed*, 14.
- 32 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 16.
- 33 Damon, "A look at the Record," 3.
- 34 Japan was also undamaged by the conflict itself and benefited by receiving many of Germany's former colonies in Asia after the WWI, but the post-war recession would lead to other negative effects on the country.
- 35 Samovar and Porter, *Communication Between Cultures*, 61.
- 36 Morone, *Hellfire Nation*, 12.
- 37 Morone, *Hellfire Nation*, 12.
- 38 Morone, *Hellfire Nation*, 35-36. The Puritan Leader John Winthrop first outlined the idea in the great migration of Puritans to the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The concept can be seen in both America's zeal to help the world beyond its shores and abstain from interaction with it. The missionary zeal to make the world its own image was probably a later addition with the original conception being something like this: "The city on the hill would be the exemplar, the model to be copied if New England (and, later, the United States) got its society right, others would see the great success and want to emulate it."
- 39 Paraphrase of the inscription on the Statue of Liberty, i.e., Lady Liberty.
- 40 Most notably law such as the Page Act of 1875, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, The Geary Act of 1892, and The Immigration Act of 1917.
- 41 The Ocean Liner Museum, "The Transatlantic Lines 1867- the Present," "The Trans Pacific Lines 1867-1973," www.oceanlinermuseum.co.uk. (accessed 1 Nov. 2011)
- 42 Paraphrases of the 1918 song by Joe Young, Sam M. Lewis with Music by Walter Donaldson. "How 'Ya Gonna Keep 'Em Down on the Farm? (After They've Seen Patee). Source <http://www.firstworldwar.com/audio/howyagonna.htm>. (accessed 6 Nov. 2011).
- 43 Dickinson and Vladimir, *Selling the Sea 2nd Ed.*, 10.
- 44 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 17.
- 45 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 17. Dickinson and Vladimir, *Selling the Sea*

- 2nd Ed., 15.
- 46 Even as late as the early 1960s many ocean liners still had the 3 levels. The Ocean Liner Museum, "1962 Interchange Lines Worldwide Sailing Schedule." (accessed 2 Nov. 2011).
- 47 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 18.
- 48 Dickinson and Vladimir, *Selling the Sea 2nd Ed.*, 16.
- 49 Lyrics from the song "Far Away Places" by Dean Martin later covered by Willie Nelson, and others.
- 50 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 18, The Ocean Liner Museum, "The Transition to Cruising 1891 - the Present." (accessed 6 Nov. 2011).
- 51 Dickinson and Vladimir, *Selling the Sea 2nd Ed.*, 18. The Ocean Liner Museum, "The Transition to Cruising 1891 - the Present." (accessed 6 Nov. 2011).
- 52 The Ocean Liner Museum, "The Transatlantic Liners 1838 - the Present." (accessed 1 Nov. 2011).
- 53 The Last Ocean Liners, "Cunard Line," www.jastoceanliners.com, (accessed 2 Nov. 2011).
- 54 Dickinson and Vladimir, *Selling the Sea 2nd Ed.*, 19, and The Ocean Liner Museum, "The Transatlantic Liners 1838 - the Present." (accessed 1 Nov. 2011).
- 55 Dickinson and Vladimir, *Selling the Sea 2nd Ed.*, 20.
- 56 The Ocean Liner Museum, "The Ocean Liner Virtual Museum," (accessed 2 Nov. 2011).
- 57 Dickinson and Vladimir, *Selling the Sea 2nd Ed.*, 20.
- 58 The Ocean Liner Museum, "The Transatlantic Liners 1838 - the Present," (accessed 1 Nov. 2011).
- 59 The Ocean Liner Museum, "The Transatlantic Liners 1838 - the Present."
- 60 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 19.
- 61 Dickinson and Vladimir, *Selling the Sea 2nd Ed.*, 20.
- 62 Allan Jordan, *National Trust for Historic Preservation*, "Boarding There Is Half the Fun." www.preservationnation.org/magazine/story-of-the-week/2009/queen-mary-long-beach.html. (accessed 2 Nov. 2011). Song by Al Jolson from the Broadway Musical "Bombo."
- 63 The Last Ocean Liners, "Cunard Line." (accessed 2 Nov. 2011).
- 64 The Cunarders, "The *QE2* and Concorde" www.thecunarders.co.uk, (accessed 6 Nov. 2011).
- 65 The Ocean Liner Museum, "The Transition to Cruising 1891 - the Present," (accessed 6 Nov. 2011).
- 66 The song "The Swanee River" By Steven C. Foster.
- 67 Dickinson and Vladimir, *Selling the Sea 2nd Ed.*, 30-31.
- 68 The Last Ocean Liners, "Holland American Line," (accessed 20 Nov. 2011). Apparently, the Holland American Line actually had ninety percent tourist class berths on its transatlantic crossing from 1959.
- 69 Holland American Line, "History," www.hollandamerica.com. (accessed 20 Nov.

- 2011).
- 70 Dickinson and Vladimir, *Selling the Sea 2nd Ed.*, 2.
- 71 Princess Cruises, "The History of Princess Cruises," www.princess.com. (accessed 20 Nov. 2011).
- 72 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 12-70. Both Norwegian Cruise Lines and Royal Caribbean Cruise Line have their financial roots in Norway.
- 73 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 62.
- 74 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 125.
- 75 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 42-70.
- 76 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 71-75.
- 77 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 76.
- 78 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 85.
- 79 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 88.
- 80 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 87-88.
- 81 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 88.
- 82 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 89.
- 83 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 89-91.
- 84 Loylie Lomine and James Edmunds. *Key Concepts in Tourism*, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 125-126. This concept refers to the fact that successful films and TV shows can influence the choice of tourist destinations.
- 85 On false expectations see Ross A. Klein, *Cruise Ship Blues: The Underside of the Cruise Industry*, (Gabriola Island: New Society Publishers 2002), 11-15. On turning people away see Dickinson and Vladimir, *Selling the Sea 2nd Ed.*, 159.
- 86 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 204.
- 87 Overall effect see Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 92-111.
- 88 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 126.
- 89 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 127.
- 90 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 140.
- 91 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 141.
- 92 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 145-147.
- 93 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 159.
- 94 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 159.
- 95 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 153.
- 96 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 157.
- 97 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 165.
- 98 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 166-178.
- 99 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 178-179. Holland American Line, "History," www.hollandamerica.com. (accessed 20 Nov. 2011).
- 100 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 159.
- 101 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 216-218.
- 102 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 222.
- 103 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 219.

- 104 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 144-145.
- 105 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 231.
- 106 Nigel Cope, "Carnival gains Airtours stake." *The Independent*, 23 Jan. 1996, www.independent.co.uk/news/business/carnival-gains-airtours-stake-1320561.html. (accessed 21 Nov. 2011). Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 231.
- 107 Costa Cruises, "The Company History," www.costacruises.com. (accessed 20 Nov. 2011).
- 108 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 231-242.
- 109 Edwin McDowell, "Chief's Strategy for an Ailing Cruise Line," *New York Times*, 6 Aug. 1996, www.nytimes.com. (accesses 20 Nov. 2011).
- 110 McDowell, "Chief's Strategy for an Ailing Cruise Line."
- 111 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 241-242. Apparently, the founder of Carnival, Ted Arison, had help Kvaerner out with financing in 1987, and so they owed Carnival a favor even though others may have been interested in Cunard by 1998.
- 112 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 208-243. Carnival is a Carnivore.
- 113 Bloomberg News and Reuters "Carnival Floats \$1.7 Billion Bid for Norwegian," *Los Angeles Times*, 2 Dec. 1999, <http://articles.latimes.com>. (accessed 22 Nov. 2011).
- 114 Tom Stieghorst, "Star Buys 20.6% of NCL," *SunSentinel.com*, http://articles.sun-sentinel.com/1999-12-16/business/9912151053_1_carnival-s-bid-star-cruises-ncl-shares. (accessed 22 Nov. 2011).
- 115 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 303.
- 116 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 298-300.
- 117 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 301-303.
- 118 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 327-335.
- 119 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 302. In 1999 Carnival and a group of investors had offered to buy all of P&O outright for \$7 billion, but the offered was considered to low and rejected.
- 120 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 307.
- 121 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 308-309.
- 122 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 308-309.
- 123 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 314-315.
- 124 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 312.
- 125 Suzanne Kapner, "End Is Seen to Long Battle for Cruise Line," *New York Times*, 25 Oct. 2002, www.nytimes.com. (accessed 20 Nov. 2011). Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 312-316.
- 126 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 316-326. Kapner, "End Is Seen to Long Battle for Cruise Line."
- 127 CNN (Cable News Network) uses this phrase as one of their promotional themes to mean something like expanding one's horizons. I will be using the term in a completely different way entirely.

- 128 Cruise Market Watch, "Market Share," www.cruisemarketwatch.com/blog1/market-share/. (accessed 25 Nov. 2011).
- 129 Dickinson and Vladimir, *Selling the Sea, 2nd Ed.*, 128-145.
- 130 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 212.
- 131 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 213-214
- 132 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 213.
- 133 Field research onboard cruise ships in 2009.
- 134 Ross A. Klein, *Cruise Ship Squeeze: The New Pirates of the Seven Seas*, (Gabriola Island: New Society Publishers, 2005), 47-49. Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 203
- 135 Flags of convenience or "open registries" means that in exchange for registration fees the ship owner has the right to do business as a "corporate citizen" of that company effectively renting the sovereignty of that country and obtaining the right operate in accordance with that countries laws under International conventions. This also exempts these foreign-flagged ships from US tax even if they operate in US waters. Panama and Liberia has had thriving business in "open registration" since the practice was first used by the US government to help Britain during the early stages of WWII before America's formal entered the war after Pearl Harbor. Also during the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988) Kuwaiti oil tankers where reflags as US ships, so they could be afford protection from Iranian attack. Offshore oil drilling rigs like the Deepwater Horizon responsible for the huge oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico in 2010 also use flags of convenience.
- 136 Dickinson and Vladimir, *Selling the Sea, 2nd Ed*, 63-64. Field research onboard cruise ships in 2009.
- 137 Klein, *Cruise Ship Squeeze* (2005), 53-54. Dickinson and Vladimir, *Selling the Sea, 2nd Ed*, 65-66. Apparently, the only exception to foreign registry is some Hawaiian Island cruises offer by NCL America. NCL America got special exemptions when it was set up as a US subsidiary since it is foreign owned and sails foreign built ships that would not normally be able to obtain US registry.
- 138 The standard national passport was a direct result of The League of Nations Passport Conference held in Paris in October 1920. <https://bl-libg-doghill.ads.iu.edu/league-web/book/p63.html#>. (accessed 14 Nov. 2011).
- 139 I mentioned earlier CNN (Cable News Network) uses this phrase as one of their promotional themes. It seems the phrase also describes well the almost stateless nature of Cruise Shipping.
- 140 No pun was intended here either.
- 141 Geoff Andrews, *The Slow Food Story: Politics and Pleasure*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 7.
- 142 Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, 8.
- 143 Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, 8.
- 144 Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, 9.
- 145 Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, 10.

- 146 Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, 9. Gola means appetite.
- 147 Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, 9-12. Slow Food, "History," www.slowfood.com/about_us/eng/history. (accessed 2 Dec. 2011).
- 148 Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, 30.
- 149 Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, 30. Source translation of the 1987 *Slow Food Manifesto*.
- 150 Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, 41.
- 151 Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, 16.
- 152 Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, 41.
- 153 Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, 130. Source Massimo Montarari, *Food is Culture*, (Columbia University Press 2004), 139.
- 154 Slow Food, "History," www.slowfood.com/about_us/eng/history. (accessed 2 Dec. 2011).
- 155 Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, 155.
- 156 Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, 156. Apparently, Slow Food's President, Carlo Petrini initially joked that they would need a garrison to keep globalization at bay and the result was the Presidia or a garrison of products.
- 157 Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, 48.
- 158 Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, 22.
- 159 Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, 48-57.
- 160 Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, 56.
- 161 Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, 56-57.
- 162 Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, 29.
- 163 Folco Portinari cited in Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, Page 39.
- 164 Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, 41.
- 165 Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, 138-139.
- 166 Andrews, *The Slow Food Story*, 142.
- 167 This was not meant to be a pun.
- 168 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 19.
- 169 *Hidden Europe* 25, "Slow Travel Manifesto," March 2009, www.hiddeneurope.co.uk/a-manifesto-for-slow-travel. (accessed 1 Nov. 2011).
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- 171 Janet E. Dickinson and Les Lumsdom, *Slow Travel and Tourism*, (London: Earthscan, 2010), 35 & 69.
- 172 Honore, *In Praise of Slowness*, 45.
- 173 Lomine and Edmunds, *Key Concepts in Tourism*, 36.
- 174 Lomine and Edmunds, *Key Concepts in Tourism*, 123.
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- 177 Hauser, "What is Mass Tourism?"
- 178 World Tourism Organization, *Technical Manual No 2, Collection of Tourist Expenditure Statistics* (1995), 2. (downloaded 9 October 2011)
- 179 World Tourism Organization, *Technical Manual No 2*, 1.
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- 181 Meethan, Kevin., *Tourism in Global Society: Place, Culture, Consumption*, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2001),122 .
- 182 Adam Weaver, "The McDonaldization Thesis and Cruise Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 32, No.2, (2005), 355.
- 183 Nickie Butt, "The impact of cruise ship generated waste on home ports and ports of call: A study of Southampton," *Marine Policy*, Vol. 31, (2007), 591.
- 184 Ross A. Klein, *Cruise Ship Blues: The Underside of the Cruise Industry*, (Gabriola Island: New Society Publishers 2002), 117-144.
- 185 Klein, *Cruise Ship Squeeze* (2005), 89-121.
- 186 Klein, *Cruise Ship Squeeze* (2005), 173-175.
- 187 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 261-264. Klein, *Cruise Ship Squeeze* (2005), 173-183 and 223-228.
- 188 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 185.
- 189 Klein, *Cruise Ship Blues* (2002), 83-87. Klein, *Cruise Ship Squeeze* (2005), 135-143.
- 190 Klein, *Cruise Ship Squeeze* (2005), 143-159. Klein describes it as Greenwashing.
- 191 Garin, *Devils on the Deep Blue Sea*, 256. Only 2 out of 111 US Coast Guard referrals to FOC nations concerning illegal dumping in international waters between 1989 and 1992 resulted in fines.
- 192 Butt, "The impact of cruise ship generated waste on home ports and ports of call," 593.
- 193 Oliver J.A. Howitt, Vincent G.N. Revol, Inga J. Smith, and Craig J. Rodger., "Carbon emissions from international cruise ship passenger travel to and from New Zealand," *Marine Policy* 38 (2010). 2552-2553.
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- 195 Veronneau & Roy, "Global service supply chains: An empirical study of current practices and challenges of a cruise line corporation," 4.4.1. Fuel Purchasing.
- 196 Dickinson and Lumsdom, *Slow Travel and Tourism*, 6.
- 197 Dickinson and Lumsdom, *Slow Travel and Tourism*, 87 & 159.
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