

**How the Intersections of Age, Gender, Ethnicity and Class Influence
the Longevity of a Hospitality Career in New Zealand**

Shelagh Mooney

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Attestation of Authorship

“I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the qualification of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning, except where due acknowledgement is made in the acknowledgements.”

Signed:

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Shelagh Mooney', written in a cursive style.

Shelagh Mooney

February 2014

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Abstract

Literature on the hospitality career often portrays hospitality work as physically hard, dirty, stressful and badly paid. Much hospitality research is descriptive in nature and neglects aspects such as power relations and gender. In recent years, critical researchers have investigated the conditions of hospitality work. Their conclusions have been that, in the main, those disadvantaged in terms of employment opportunities, the young, the old, women and migrants populate hospitality employment.

This study investigated the career experiences of long-term hospitality workers. The aim of the research was to find out why people build and maintain long careers working in the hospitality industry. An intersectional methodology explored how age, gender, ethnicity and occupational class processes affected career longevity. Three memory-work sessions were held with hospitality academics that had previously held operational positions in hospitality. Nineteen semi-structured interviews with current hospitality employees followed.

Findings show that in many respects the hospitality career shows characteristics of a boundaryless career model, for example, a wide network of industry contacts facilitate career advancement. It is also clear that boundary enablers and constraints, such as geographical mobility, regulate hospitality careers. Two careers paths in hospitality were found. There is an accelerated career path for men and women who conform to the industry-wide male hetero-normal beliefs established by the industry gatekeepers, such as general managers. The rewards associated with this career path are high status, excellent remuneration and a wide network of industry contacts. Then there is a more limited career path, for those who do not progress past the boundary gatekeepers. The rewards associated with this path are strong work-based social connections, the respect of their peers and adequate financial compensation. Both career paths provide a high

level of job satisfaction, expressed by the participants as a ‘passion’ to ‘do the job’ well. At all levels of the hospitality hierarchy, from General Manager to Kitchen Porter, this passion ensures career longevity.

The contribution of this study is that, firstly, it extends the use of intersectionality beyond the investigation of oppression, to an understanding of the complex interplay between privilege and penalty. Secondly, it reveals that an intersectionality paradigm can combine with other frameworks, such as career theory, to enrich understanding of how organisational processes confer privilege in the workplace. Thirdly, the focus on why people *remain* in a hospitality career, rather than a focus on why they leave, enables a clearer vision of what is required to ensure a more equitable workplace for all employees. A career construct model based on the study findings illustrates how variables such as age, gender, ethnicity and class influence the pace of career progression for individual workers. Further longitudinal and critical research could fill the remaining gaps in our knowledge about the longevity of hospitality careers.

Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

This study explores the career longevity of hospitality workers by investigating their career experiences over a long period of time. Despite the prevailing view that hospitality work is an unwise career choice associated with a lack of alternative employment opportunities, many people spend long periods working in the hospitality industry. An intersectional methodology was used to investigate how age, gender, class and ethnicity influence individuals' motivation to remain working in the industry. This chapter introduces the research topic and background to the research, and then outlines the aim and scope of the study. An examination of the theoretical context follows and the significance of the study is explained. The methodological approach taken to achieve the aims of the research is presented and the chapter concludes with a clarification of terms of reference and thesis overview.

1.1 Background of the study

The hospitality industry employs a significant number of people, approximately 8.3% of total employment opportunities exist in the worldwide travel and tourism industry (Schlentrach, 2008, p. 192). The profile of the hospitality workforce is characterised as youthful (Lub, Bijvank, Bal, Blomme, & Schalk, 2012), includes a high proportion of women (Baum, 2007, 2013) and is multi-culturally diverse (Janta, Lugosi, Brown, & Ladkin, 2012).

In spite of the high numbers that the industry employs, hospitality work is generally described in unflattering ways. It has long been portrayed as physically hard, dirty, stressful and badly paid. Although Orwell is better known for his dystopian novels (*Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty Four*), he also wrote about his experiences as a pot-washer in Paris prior to the Second World War (Orwell, 1933). He portrayed a working environment characterised by abuse, drunkenness and job insecurity in vivid detail.

However, the working conditions that Orwell describes were associated with his time and one would logically expect that in the intervening years, both the conditions and negative perception of hospitality work have changed for the better.

That, unfortunately, does not appear to be the case. Popular media is at least partly responsible for the disenchanted yet romanticised portrayal of hospitality. Many aspiring actors/actresses have worked at one stage or another in hospitality, frequently successful stage performers buy hotels, for example U2 (the Clarence in Dublin) and Madonna (the Delano in Miami). Dissonance exists between the cult of the celebrity chef promoted by popular TV programmes (Lynch, Molz, McIntosh, Lugosi, & Lashley, 2011) and the gruelling physical demands of working in a ‘real’ kitchen (Murray-Gibbons & Gibbons, 2007; Young & Corsun, 2010). Cockburn-Wooten (2012, p. 217) asserts that people remain working in the industry “either due to limited escape routes or because they can tolerate the organisational culture”. Whether hospitality work can ever be satisfying is a question that continues to be asked (McIntosh & Harris, 2012).

It is uncommon to find positive scholarly research on any hospitality occupation except that of hotel manager. In academia, employment in hospitality remains overwhelmingly couched in negative terms. Hospitality work is described as temporary (Harris, 2009), seasonal, convenient, physically hard (Lee-Ross, 1999), part-time, low skilled, feminized (Adib & Guerrier, 2003; Korczynski, 2002). As a career option, hospitality is associated with poor status (Baum, 2007; Reichel & Pizam, 1984; Sandiford & Seymour, 2010; Yamashita & Uenoyama, 2006), low pay and long hours (Acker, 2006a; O’Neill, 2012a; Purcell, 1997), precarious employment practices (McNamara et al., 2011), low trust working practices (Timo & Davidson, 2002) and relentlessly high staff turnover (Deery, 2008; Hinkin & Tracey, 2000; Williamson, Harris, & Parker, 2009).

The hospitality career is therefore positioned as the career choice for those with few possibilities in the labour market and associated with the least advantaged, women with family responsibilities, the young, and migrants (Brotherton & Wood, 2008; Guerrier, 2008). There are logical grounds for believing that these groups are disadvantaged due to prevailing age, gender and cultural stereotypes that regulate employment opportunities for such workers in the hospitality industry.

“Social attributes such as class, gender and ethnicity are both the basis for and are maintained and reconstructed by labour market practices, both in general and at individual workplaces, through legislative frameworks, hiring and firing practices, differential treatment, unequal pay and daily social relations’ (McDowell, Batnitzky, & Dyer, 2007, p. 4).

Discrimination on the basis of age, gender and ethnic background is suggested in hospitality employment practices. Although a good appearance and youth are viewed as desirable attributes, ageist attitudes stereotype workers as too old or too young for particular jobs (Davidson & Wang, 2011). Gendered stratifications of hierarchy are reflected in hospitality employment. For example, women are concentrated in lower paid hospitality jobs, such as housekeeping (Campos-Soria, Ortega-Aguaza, & Ropero-García, 2009). Ethnic minority groups are less likely to have desirable guest contact positions and migrants form a high proportion of workers in the lower levels of work in hospitality (Janta et al., 2012; Joppe, 2012). Consequently, a career in hospitality is generally not regarded as an aspirational career choice.

Generally, the literature reflects a research focus on the reasons why people leave the industry, rather than looking into the reasons that people might want to build a career in hospitality. There does not seem to be a prevailing counter discourse. There is a paucity of literature that examines the other side of the hospitality career story, in spite of the fact that individuals with lengthy hospitality careers appear not to be exceptional. In New Zealand, hospitality organisations such as the Grand Chancellor hotel group have

well supported recognition programmes for their long-serving employees (New Zealand Department of Labour, 2011).

There are positive reasons why people remain working in hospitality. They include the 'cool' party atmosphere (Choi, Kwon, & Kim, 2013), swift promotion (Carbery, Garavan, O'Brien, & McDonnell, 2003), prestige and financial rewards for senior managers (Baum, 2007), flexible hours (Deery & Jago, 2009) and close personal relationships (Onsøyen, Mykletun, & Steiro, 2009). However, a problem with many organisational studies is they tend to focus on an employee's loyalty to one organisation, rather than loyalty to an industry. Age, life stage, gender, ethnicity and occupational class influence individual career motivations. Aspects of socially ascribed dimensions of difference, for example, age and gender, also interact in a particular way in certain hospitality environments and affect career longevity. However, hospitality career research frequently neglects the effects of such demographic differences on individual careers.

1.2 Aims and scope

The overarching purpose of this study was to discover what motivates hospitality workers to build long careers in hospitality, in the face of the body of research that appears to confirm the transient nature of hospitality employment. By exploring the career experiences of hospitality workers through the perspectives of age, gender, ethnicity and class, the study aimed to shift hospitality research beyond superficial, descriptive and empirically based norms to one where power relations are placed at the forefront. The research sought to fulfil this objective by posing two research questions.

1. What are the career constructs of hospitality workers?

Firstly, in order to establish the reasons that hospitality workers have for staying in jobs that society generally does not value, the study had to determine the specific career

constructs of hospitality workers. In the context of this study, the career construct is understood to be a synthesis of hospitality workers' subjective interpretations of their careers, based on their memories, current employment situations, and ambitions for the future, (Savickas, 2013).

2. How do intersecting dimensions of age, class, ethnicity and gender influence the longevity of hospitality careers?

Career longevity refers to a lengthy period spent in one career. At the onset of this study, a 'long' hospitality career was understood to be a period of minimum of 10 years spent working in the hospitality industry. In reality, the average time spent by participants was 25 years.

The New Zealand context of the study

The study is situated in New Zealand, a geographically isolated nation of almost 4.5 million inhabitants, which is located in the South West of the Pacific Ocean. As New Zealand is a traditional settlement country, there is a high proportion of foreign born nationals, and immigration levels remain high (Joppe, 2012). The hospitality industry is a significant employer in the New Zealand labour market, for example, the bars and restaurant sector alone employs 4% of the country's 2,194,000 employees (Neil, 2013; "Statistics New Zealand," 2013b).

The New Zealand hospitality workforce reflects international employment trends; the cohort is young, multi-cultural and contains a higher proportion of women.

Demographic statistics of the hospitality workforce in NZ show nearly 40 % percent of hospitality employees are under 25 years of age, 62 % are female; in terms of ethnic origin, New Zealand European (52%) form a majority, followed by Asians (16 %), Maori (11%) and Pasifika who compose 4% of the hospitality workforce (Stokes, Norman, & Nana, 2010). Women in general (59.9% in 2009), but in particular Pasifika

and Maori disproportionately, are concentrated in lower paid sectors and organisations (Parker & Arrowsmith, 2012).

1.3 The theoretical context of the study

The study synthesised perspectives from three disparate fields of academic research; career theory; hospitality research, and critical organisational theory. Career theory encompasses an extensive and diverse body of knowledge (Inkson, 2007; Schein, 2007) which initially caused difficulties in pinpointing a theoretical framework to illuminate hospitality career patterns. However, tracking the transition of the traditional career concept to new career theory provided valuable direction. Building on prior scholarship and recognition of the contextual changes in the face of neo-liberalism, boundaryless career theory was justified as an appropriate way to better theorise longevity of a career in hospitality. The boundaryless career concept has evolved from being considered a 'type of career' to a boundaryless career dynamic that influences careers (Inkson, Gunz, Ganesh, & Roper, 2012). This new understanding provided an entry point to explore the structure of hospitality careers.

Further structural aspects of hospitality careers were revealed by studying the extensive body of hospitality research. However, according to more critical hospitality researchers, the value of this contribution is reduced by numerous deficiencies, such as the superficial nature, focus on empirical research, and neglect of power relations demonstrated by many studies (Airey, 2008; Lynch et al., 2011; Riley, 2008). While these criticisms are valid, the studies enabled the career histories of the research participants in New Zealand to be silhouetted against a backdrop of international hospitality employment practices.

The shift of direction to critical hospitality research that has occurred in more recent years proved of greater value in illuminating issues germane to the study. Nonetheless,

I argue, in common with the growing number of critical researchers who examine work practices across the hospitality sector (Lugosi, Lynch, & Morrison, 2009, p. 1465; McIntosh & Harris, 2012), that more attention must be paid to the ways that age, gender, ethnicity and class influence hospitality employment. Even where critical research in a hospitality space is undertaken, gender is generally positioned in terms of women's disadvantages; in critical studies men's positioning is generally represented as privileged (Ozbilgin, Beauregard, Tatli, & Bell, 2010), as if all men (pot-washer or manager) are the same.

Critical research by economic geographers which is located in a hospitality space provided another source of theoretical framing for the study. In particular, research into migrant workers (McDowell, Batnitzky, & Dyer, 2007; McDowell et al., 2007; Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011) exposed how the industry's human resource management practices have changed in response to apparently irresistible global neo-liberal economic forces. This enabled the study to synthesise new meanings of the boundaryless career dynamic and the hospitality career construct in the context of labour market stratification.

Finally, the study drew from the field of critical organisational theory for theoretical underpinning. Embedded organisational processes perpetuate a system of privilege and penalties in the workplace, for groups of workers differentiated by age, gender, ethnicity and class (Acker, 2006a, 2006b; Dhamoon, 2011). There is intersection points where the privileges associated with one category of difference, may be mitigated by the penalty associated with another category of difference. For example, the career privileges associated with gender may change with ageing.

Socially ascribed categories of difference are imbued with different connotations depending on the perspective of the researcher. In this study, the meanings associated

with the category of age were interpreted as 'body-age' (Winker & Degele, 2011). The understanding of gender in this study was associated with the differing social roles expected of men and women in the workplace, which affected how their performance was viewed (Broadbridge & Simpson, 2011; P. Lewis & Simpson, 2010). The category of ethnicity was interpreted as a cultural marker of difference (Anthias, 2013; Atewologun & Singh, 2010; Lutz, Vivar, & Supik, 2011) and class was interpreted as occupational class, embedded in organisational processes (Scully & Blake-Beard, 2006).

1.4 Significance of this research

This research makes significant contribution to extant knowledge, empirically, theoretically and methodologically. Empirically, the study provides data on the outline of a hospitality career and fills the research gap in hospitality career knowledge by proposing a career construct model, which builds upon hospitality research traditions. The second contribution of the study to hospitality career research is that it fills in the gaps of previous research in a hospitality environment by allowing consistent meanings about the reality of gendered, classed and ethnic based processes in hospitality to become apparent. The third significant contribution to hospitality research is that the study highlights the centrality of good social relations in long-term hospitality careers, thus advancing previous knowledge (Heimtun, 2012; Rydzik, Pritchard, Morgan, & Sedgley, 2012; Wilczek, Donnelly, & Freedman, 2009) about the importance of social connectivity for all hospitality workers, not only migrants.

Theoretically, the study adds a significant contribution to career theory, specifically, boundaryless career studies; how interpellation affects career trajectories; and how socially defined categories of difference affect careers. This study used boundaryless career theory to interpret the career patterns of hospitality workers at different hierarchical levels. The study responded to Roper, Ganesh, and Inkson's (2010) request

for boundaryless career researchers to look at the role of agency in career patterns. It contributes to a more contemporary understanding of boundaryless careers in action. The study also fulfilled the demand from career scholars, for boundaryless career research that treats the boundaryless career as a career dynamic rather than a career 'type'.

Secondly, this study makes a significant contribution to our understanding of how organisational processes unfold to create industry wide meanings. It synthesises the theoretical construct of the interpellation process that defines the ideal hospitality workers (N. Davis, 2012; McDowell et al., 2007), and notions of performativity expressed through age, gendered and ethnicity based norms (Broadbridge & Simpson, 2011; P. Lewis & Simpson, 2010; Winker & Degele, 2011) which are embedded in and reproduced through organisational processes (Acker, 2006b; Scully & Blake-Beard, 2006).

Methodologically, the contribution of this study is two-fold. Practically, it has extended the use of an intersectional framework by showing how an adaptive approach can overcome methodological challenges. It advances the use of an intersectional approach beyond the investigation of oppression, to an understanding of intermingled privilege and penalty in the workplace. This study demonstrates that an intersectionality paradigm can realistically combine with other conceptual frameworks, such as career theory, to enrich understanding of how organisational processes confer privilege and penalty.

1.5 The methodological approach to the research questions

The methodology that shaped this research employed an interpretative approach informed by feminist theorising. Feminist research aims to expose hidden problems in social processes (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006), such as employment practices

commonly observed across the hospitality industry that regulate the age, gender and ethnicity of the 'ideal' employee for a particular role. At the core of this study was the intersectional research paradigm which allowed me to explore how the analytically distinct, yet interlinking, socially ascribed categories of age, gender, ethnicity and class influence career choices and decisions to remain in a hospitality career. Essentially, intersectionality looks at the experiences of individuals who belong to groups differentiated by categories of difference, for example, chronological age or gender.

To meet the objective of meaningful career and critical research (Gunz, Peiperl, & Tzabbar, 2007), the study needed to reflect organisational and cultural context (Ozbilgin, Beauregard, Tatli, & Bell, 2010; Sullivan & Baruch, 2009), in this case, the New Zealand hospitality industry. Accordingly, the composition of the sample needed to include participants of both genders, from a variety of age groups and ethnic backgrounds. The selection criteria stipulated participants who had spent many years working as hospitality professionals. A purposive sampling approach was used to find participants with the "core experiences" of a lengthy hospitality career (Patton, 2002, p. 234) at various levels and departments.

Participants meeting the selection criteria were drawn from two sample populations. The first group was composed of hospitality academics, who had worked for a minimum of ten years in hospitality. The second group of current hotel employees had spent a minimum of 15 years in hospitality careers, working in different departments at various hierarchical levels. The average career length of the combined groups was 25 years and their shared hotel background allowed career patterns to be discerned during analysis of the data.

Memory-work and semi-structured interviews were used as instruments for data collection and analysis. Memory-work is a potent research method that unleashes the

conscious memories on a given topic of common interest (Ingleton, 2007b). Participants initially write memories individually and in subsequent group discussions, they discover collective meanings. In total, three memory-work sessions took place with 12 hospitality academics. Following the memory-work analysis, 19 semi-structured interviews with current hospitality employees followed.

1.6 My positioning in the research

As academics, we do not randomly choose our research topics. The researcher's own experience gives an entry point for reflexive research in organisational settings (Holvino, 2010; Yost & Chmielewski, 2013). I chose this topic because, prior to entering academia, my previous career in the hospitality industry spanned 24 years. My international hotel career in many ways followed the boundaryless career pattern described by Arthur and Rousseau (1996) and hospitality career researchers. There were career moves across Austria, Germany, the United Kingdom and New Zealand, with changes of departments and hierarchical levels on average every two years (Wang, 2013). If the desired position did not eventuate, I switched to another organisation and deliberately sought out interesting new career assignments (Volmer & Spurk, 2010).

Most of my career opportunities were gained through industry contacts, frequently outside the employing hotel (Yamashita & Uenoyama, 2006). That is how I progressed, according to an internal blueprint, its outline shaped by communication with my colleagues, superiors and suppliers. My social life was industry based; work gave me a strong sense of professional identity, fulfilment, challenge and complexity. Therefore, exploring career constructs and career longevity in hospitality appeared a natural progression after my transition to an academic role in New Zealand.

The choice of a feminist research approach for this study was profoundly influenced by my career positioning in the past and currently, as simultaneously penalised and

privileged professionally. During my “lived experiences” (Haug and Others, 1987, p. 15) of being an insider/outsider, I encountered the intersection of privilege and penalty in both my career paths. In Europe, as a senior executive manager, I was privileged by my white European ethnicity, my middle aged and middle class status, but penalised by being the ‘wrong’ gender (Höpfl, 2010) in an industry where the upper echelons of management were predominantly male. In my ‘second’ career as an academic, while I continue to be privileged by my educated European ethnic origin, there are career penalties associated with being an ‘older’ entrant to a new career (therefore less professionally qualified), a woman, and a migrant.

1.7 Overview of the thesis

This chapter outlines the scope of this research. There are two literature review chapters. Chapter Two explains how career concepts have evolved from the notion of a traditional career, based on a lifetime’s service in one organisation, to new meanings of career. Neo-liberal market forces significantly changed the ways that careers are viewed in all industries, including hospitality.

The first part of Chapter Three explores the hospitality industry’s working practices; the second part explains how critical perspectives of age, gender, ethnicity and class can illuminate hospitality career experiences. Chapter Four examines the wide breadth of intersectional research practice and details how the research was carried out. Chapter Five presents the findings and discussion from the memory-work and interview data relating to the hospitality career construct. Factors such as education and experience that influence careers at various career stages are identified. Additionally, the extent to which individuals may influence the direction of their career is queried.

Chapter Six explores how age, gender, ethnicity and class influence the longevity of a hospitality career. Chapter Seven draws the two chapters together and concludes the

reasons that people remain in hospitality are due to the complexity of hospitality work, autonomy, a high degree of social connectivity and adequate financial compensation.

1.8 Terms of reference

Throughout this thesis, the terms ‘tourism’ and ‘hospitality’ employment are substituted for one another. The fragmented nature of the hospitality industry (Baum, 2007) means that it is often broken into subdivisions of hotels, restaurants, cafes, bars, motels, resorts and leisure complexes. Consequently, there is no one source of labour data across the sector. In New Zealand for example, data provided by the Restaurant Association for the ‘hospitality’ sector only applies to bars and restaurants (Neil, 2013).

Different terms are employed in the literature to encompass the breadth of hospitality-based employment. Some researchers refer to hospitality as a broad umbrella term (Davidson, McPhail, & Barry, 2011; Joppe, 2012; Nickson & Warhurst, 2007a). Other scholars consider hospitality as part of the wider tourism industry (Baum, 2007; Deery & Jago, 2009; Janta, Brown, Lugosi, & Ladkin, 2011; Riley & Szivas, 2009). Yet another research perspective suggests hospitality work is part of the leisure industry (Hausknecht, Rodda, & Howard, 2009).

Due to the significant vocational mobility between the various divisions of the tourism sector (Baum, 2007); this thesis regards hospitality employment as part of the wider field of tourism and/or leisure employment. In this study, the terms ‘worker’ and ‘employee’ are also used interchangeably. They are not intended to differentiate between permanent or casual worker. The terms ‘contingent labour’ and ‘casual labour’ and ‘hourly paid employees’ are interchangeably used to refer to non-permanent employees with no minimum guarantee of hours.

The terms migrant and ethnic minority proved more challenging to define. New Zealand attracts many migrants (Joppe, 2012). In this country, as in many Western economies,

migrants and ethnic minorities are disproportionately represented in hospitality work (Parker & Arrowsmith, 2012), the terms may be considered as having the same meaning. However, the two terms are not viewed as synonymous in this research. The term 'ethnic minority' has been adopted in the study to describe a demographic minority in New Zealand, as defined by the New Zealand Census: "‘Ethnicity' is the ethnic group or groups that people identify with or feel they belong to". It is considered a measure of cultural affiliation, as opposed to race, ancestry, nationality or citizenship. Ethnicity is self-perceived and people can belong to more than one ethnic group" ("Ethnicity - Statistics New Zealand," 2013).

The 2013 Census reveals the ethnic composition of the total New Zealand population of 4,242,048 people as follows: Māori 14.9 %, Asian 11.8 %, European 74% and Pacific 7.4 % (Statistics New Zealand, 2013a). All minority populations are expected to increase by 2020 ("National ethnic population projections statistics New Zealand," 2010).

Chapter 2. REVIEW OF THE CAREER LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

Chapter Two discusses the context of a hospitality career. This chapter deals firstly with the way in which our present career perspectives have been informed by earlier career theory, for example, a traditional career suggests a working lifetime typically spent with one organisation, whereas newer career models, such as protean careers and boundaryless careers, are based on more short term transactional relationships between employer and employee. The second section discusses the hospitality careers literature. Finally, issues raised in the chapter are summarised.

2.2 The characteristics of a traditional career

Traditional career theory appears to have left an enduring legacy in how understandings of contemporary careers are framed. However, while the traditional career is often referred to in career literature, a ‘traditional career’ does not appear to be clearly defined. An early definition of career explained a career as “the moving perspective in which persons orient themselves with reference to the social order, and of the typical sequences and concatenation of office” (Hughes, 1937, p. 404). A later definition from the 1960s expressed the career as “a succession of related jobs, arranged in a hierarchy of prestige, through which persons move in an ordered, predictable sequence (Wilensky, 1960, p. 554).

Traditional career theory appears to describe features associated with earlier career research, rather than define a specific career type. The ‘traditional career’ showed individuals advancing in well planned career stages with incremental status, prestige and salary (Ackah & Heaton, 2004). Such careers were characterised by a full-time long-term relationship with one organisation (Cabrera, 2009). The traditional career is often viewed as synonymous with an ‘organisational’ career; the employee’s primary

purpose was to fulfil the organisation's objectives. Although traditional career theory linked personal fulfilment with a career, organisation priorities frequently dictated individual career directions (Arthur, Inkson, & Pringle, 1999).

Vocational slant

Prior to the Second World War, career theory typically demonstrated a vocational slant that focused on the provision of labour for various employment sectors. The vocational slant has persisted in some sectors of the economy, for example, hospitality (Baum, 2002; Riley, 1990). Holland's (1959) idea that different personality types are suited to certain occupations echoed this vocational focus. His main premise was that those that encounter a good fit between their personality type and occupation will achieve greater job satisfaction (Arnold, 1997). This concept still appears to hold some validity; however, further research has failed to establish consistent links between personality type and job satisfaction (Arnold, 2004). The effect of personality on career success is a theme that continues to be echoed in hospitality career literature (Akrivos, Ladkin, & Reklitis, 2007; Baum, 2002; O'Neill & Xiao, 2010; O'Neill, 2012a).

The vocational slant of traditional careers was challenged by Super (1957) who envisioned a career as a development cycle. He broke the span of a person's career into differentiated periods, a concept he proceeded to refine over subsequent decades (Salomone, 1996). Levinson (1978) also developed the theory of 'seasons of a man's life' and refined it over later years (1986). Levinson's original theory was broadly similar to Super's model, although a major difference was the inclusion of a 'midlife crisis' stage.

The development cycle theories provided a general template for careers, although the sequential nature of the stages fail to offer the flexibility and 'nimbleness' required for competitive advantage in contemporary organisations (Inkson, 2007). Super's

collaboration with Savickas (Super, Savickas, & Super, 1996) later provided a platform for a more flexible career construction theory. This theory states that “individuals construct their careers by imposing meaning on their vocational behaviour and occupational experiences” (Savickas, 2005, p. 43) . Rather than being viewed objectively, as a sequence of jobs held over time, the career is seen as a cohesive whole subjectively woven from past memories, current work experience and future aspirations. Career construction theory is helpful in discerning common threads in apparently disparate career histories. The idea of ‘stages’ continues to infiltrate current thinking, even if stages are no longer sequential or related in many individual careers.

The view of the traditional career was also influenced by sociology driven research, for example, research from the Chicago School of Sociology in 1930. Their main contribution lay in explaining the importance of context, relationships and chronological factors in an individual’s career (Adamson, Doherty, & Viney, 1998). The individual’s career identity is important, even if unconventional (Barley, 1989). Further research also suggested that external factors, such as parental success, influenced a child’s later career achievements (Moore, Gunz, & Hall, 2007, p. 20). A picture was emerging that acknowledged the importance of both individual identity and societal influences (Arthur et al., 1999).

At this period, the notion of career still focused on the organisation as driving career decisions for the individual, although individual capabilities were considered important. Schein (1978) built upon Holland’s (1959) earlier personality type research which explored the matching of talents with occupations. The opportunity to develop or use ‘expert’ technical competencies (career anchors) influences people’s job decisions. He argues that because people are anchored by their competencies, they are attracted to jobs that favour their areas of expertise in organisations (Schein, 1978).

Schein's work on areas of expertise that keep an individual grounded in one area of work endeavour was based on interviews with executives exploring the nature of the subjective career (Moore et al., 2007). An 'objective' or 'subjective' career orientation links with the idea of success. Objective careers are defined by a public facade (Barley, 1989) tangibly displayed in job title, status and salary. A person with objective career orientation seeks the public affirmations of success, the corner office, for example, or an imposing company car. Individuals with a subjective career orientation consider the career path within organisations to be of lesser importance; the working environment has a greater influence on attitudes towards their job (Briscoe, Hall, & Frautschy DeMuth, 2006; Weick & Berlinger, 1989). Schein's research contribution is significant because he made the connection between an individual's abilities and organisational fit (Inkson, 2007).

2.2.1 Drawbacks of the traditional view of the career

An enduring hangover from traditional career norms, from the 1950s onwards, was that career success remained associated with ascending the career ladder in one organisation. Whyte (1956) expressed early concerns about the dominance of the 'organisational man' career model of his time. He argued that the mind-set of 'belonging' to the organisation, rather than merely working for it, was harmful to individuals. Randall (1987) further argued that over-commitment to the organisation held significant disadvantages for the individual in terms of work/life conflict. An overly committed workforce also had negative repercussion for the organisation, reducing its flexibility and creativity.

Critics of traditional career theory (for example, Pringle & McCulloch Dixon, 2003; Sweet & Meiksins, 2008) additionally contend that earlier career models failed to reflect the reality of women's working lives. However, previous career perspectives reflected the social situation at the time. Women were not presumed to have careers. Before and

after the Second World War, in the Western context, the ‘male as breadwinner’ was the prevailing social norm for middle and working class families (Acker, 2006a; Strachan, 2010) and women’s responsibilities were believed to lie in the home, not the workplace.

The Second World War caused a dramatic shift in employment patterns as women were required to fill large numbers of jobs vacated by men who had gone to war (Goldin, 1991). However, when the men returned, they wanted their jobs back; exceptionally high female participation in the workforce was presumed to be temporary and acceptable only because of urgent defence imperatives.

The employment ‘ideal’ of full time work for all men persisted into the 1950s and beyond. In Australia and New Zealand, for example, legally imposed sanctions effectively segregated women into low paid and low status occupations (Ellem & Franks, 2008; Strachan, 2010). It was not only women that were discriminated against. In New Zealand, occupational segregation into the lowest paid jobs extended to ethnic minorities such as the indigenous Maori people (Nolan, 2007).

2.3 The change from traditional to new career theory

A decisive step forward in career theory arrived with the realisation that careers were not immune to social upheaval and change, as a consequence of the social turbulence of the late sixties and early seventies (Sundby & Derr, 2007). At the time, Driver was one of the most important career theorists of his generation. His research into the ways that individual career motivations influence career decisions (Driver & Mock, 1975) led to the development of his ‘career concept’ theory (Driver, 1980). His conclusion that career motivators relating to personality types drive individual career preferences helped to shape enduring paradigms about careers and leadership (de Janasc, 2007).

Driver’s collaborations with other influential researchers, for example, Hall and Brousseau, led to a rich creative environment for new career theory (Briscoe &

Finkelstein, 2009; Brousseau, Driver, Eneroth, & Larsson, 1996; de Janasc, 2007). The new career perspective stressed the role of the individual in moving their careers forward (Arthur et al., 1999). The principle that careers are driven by individuals themselves rather than by organisations (Briscoe et al., 2006; Gunz & Peiperl, 2007) has profoundly influenced contemporary understanding of careers.

Career perspectives moved from a focus fixed on the individual's worldview to investigating how opportunities within societal contexts influenced individual career constructs (Arthur et al., 1999; Kanter, 1977, 1989). Up to the early 80s, career perspectives were centred on the individual's worldview. Kanter (1989), an economist, further widened this lens by examining the relationship between opportunity within a society and the varying structure of career constructs. She suggests that career patterns derive from three major forms of opportunity; bureaucratic by advancement in an organisation; professional, based on occupational skills; and entrepreneurial, adding value through following original new directions.

In the mid-1980s and 1990s there was an upsurge in the economic prosperity of most Western countries, due to the changes in government regulations that facilitated international trade (Adler & Adler, 2004; Arthur et al., 1999; Casey, 2004; Sweet & Meiksins, 2008). The neo-liberalisation of economies from the 70s onwards led to restructuring across all industrial sectors to embody "flexibility, contingency and rapid response to market environments" (Casey, 2004, p. 608). The 'new' economy, focused on cost effective manufacturing, evolved into the 'knowledge' economy based on technology based processes and products (Cortini, Tanucci, & Morin, 2010; Gunz et al., 2007).

Traditional approaches to careers recognised the link between careers and personal fulfilment and early research on careers was powered by practical organisational and

societal requirements (Arthur, et al., 1999). The desirable worker is seen as passionate about their job (Caproni, 2004) and fully committed to the corporation, giving it their full attention. Workplace norms continue to penalise those who do not conform to the image of the traditional worker, where paid work is prioritised over all else. Failure to show the required dedication through long hours and high visibility has negative consequences for career advancement (Acker, 2006a; P. Martin, 2003; Williams, 2013).

McDowell, Batnitzky & Dyer (2007, p. 5) extend the meaning of the term ‘interpellation’ to explain the approach that employers and managers use to “construct idealised or stereotypical notions of idealised workers”. The interpellation process was first conceptualised by Althusser (1972) to describe the process whereby power relations of domination and subjection, between individuals and systems, is perpetuated by individuals’ complicit recognition that they are subjects. What is especially interesting about the interpellation concept is that the outward identification of these ideal workers by managers is internally justified by workers and they conform to this perception. In another perspective of the contemporary worker, Touraine (1995) argues the employee is not just economically driven but fuelled also by desires of self-fulfilment.

The modern worker’s aspirations for a better quality of life are therefore not merely dependant on material success. Work/life balance as well as personal goals and growth are important (Casey, 2004). This helps to explain the attraction of certain careers over others. Many workers choose the fields of hospitality, for example, as it gives them the flexibility to combine a job with certain lifestyle choices (Baum, 1998; Lashley & Rowson, 2007; Purcell, 1996).

2.3.1 The effect of changing labour markets

The contemporary career must be seen in the context of changes in the labour market caused by globalisation and the rise of deregulated economies described previously in this chapter. A labour market is described as segmented if there is little or no movement between different levels of workers. In modern post-industrial economies, there are pronounced differences in job security and pay between people on the highest and lowest tiers of employment (Häusermann & Schwander, 2012). McDowell, Batnitzky, & Dyer (2007, p. 4) consider that:

“social attributes such as class, gender and ethnicity are both the basis for, and are maintained and reconstructed by, labour market practices, both in general and at individual workplaces through legislative frameworks, hiring and firing practices, differential treatment, unequal pay and daily social relations”.

In New Zealand, demand-led economies have also transformed the nature of employment practices. Current research indicates that the New Zealand labour market is weak and fractured, with pronounced disparities between the incomes of those at the lowest and highest levels of employment (Foster, Rasmussen, & Coetzee, 2013).

In the 1980s, at a time when most Western economies removed barriers against imported goods to facilitate international trade, New Zealand also discarded regulatory barriers that protected domestic manufacturing. The Labour government removed subsidies, floated its currency and liberalised international trade policies (Bray & Walsh, 1998). The subsequent struggle to retain market share provoked extensive restructuring of labour. In New Zealand, there is now a variety of non-standard types of employment, which have the effect of increasing labour flexibility and decreasing labour costs (Spoonley, 2010).

Spoonley (2010) classifies non-standard work in New Zealand into the following categories; part-time workers who work less than 30 hours a week, either temporary or

casual; direct employment or through an agency, without a formal contract promising continuous employment; multiple job holding part-time or full time, with two or more employers; own account self-employment but not employing any other employees. The notion of non-standard employment is linked with precariousness of employment by many commentators and the argument about ‘good’ and ‘bad’ jobs. Spoonley (2010), in common with career theorists (such as Inkson et al., 2012), makes the point that the literature that champions the idea that non-standard work is rewarding both in terms of job satisfaction and financial reward is seen from the perspective of the skilled professional.

Non-standard work has further evolved into the concept of a ‘zero-hour contract’, where the worker is tied to one employer with no guaranteed minimum hours of work (McDowell, Rootham, & Hardgrove, 2014). In the United Kingdom, there are an estimated one million workers employed on ‘zero-hour’ contracts, in the hotels, catering and leisure sector, education and healthcare (Goodley & Inman, 2013). Non-standard work is associated with the idea of jobs at the low end of the labour market (Acker, 2006a) and with precarious employment. Offe and Standing (2011) refer to those without formal employment contracts as a new marginalised underclass, bereft of a work identity or job security. It appears that new working arrangements benefit only the employer, not the employee (Williams, 2013).

Theoretical framings for careers have therefore changed to reflect new employment patterns. The contemporary perspective positions careers as driven by individuals themselves rather than corporations (Briscoe et al., 2006; Gunz & Peiperl, 2007). More individualistic employment arrangements replaced the traditional ‘organisational’ career (Stone, 2000), however these may not necessarily be the employee’s choice. New career theory that reflects the changed circumstances of employment includes the portfolio career (Platman, 2004), the protean career (Hall & Moss, 1998; Hall, 1976), the

boundaryless career (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996), the Multi-Directional career path (Baruch, 2004) and the Kaleidoscope career (Mainiero & Sullivan, 2005). In new style careers such as the protean, individuals are responsible for their own up-skilling and job changes may be made for subjective reasons, such as lifestyle or personal values (Briscoe et al., 2006; Hall & Moss, 1998; Mallon & Walton, 2005). Consequently, there have been major shifts in conceptualising how individual careers develop.

2.4 New career theory

A widely accepted definition of the contemporary career is ‘the evolving sequences of a person’s work experiences over time (Arthur et al., 1999, p. 3). The sequence includes many stages with more intense learning cycles during the duration of a person’s working life (Arnold, 1997). The problem with career definitions is that they frequently reflect the complexity of academic perspectives about individual careers, emphasising features that are only associated with specific types. The independent nature of the boundaryless career is captured by Defillippi and Arthur’s (1994, p. 116) definition of career as a “sequence of job opportunities that go beyond the boundaries of single employment settings”. Sullivan and Baruch’s (2009) definition widens the breadth of the different experiences that individuals encounter in their working life. They describe the career as “an individual’s work related and other relevant experiences, both inside and outside of organisations, that form a unique pattern over the individual’s life span” (2009, p. 1543).

Organisational careers are no longer seen as long term and may not involve hierarchical movement or clear steps (Adamson et al., 1998). The relationship between worker and employer is generally presumed to be of a short term transactional nature, driven by the employer’s need for skills and the employee’s desire to leverage the greatest advantage from a contract (Briscoe et al., 2006; Hall & Moss, 1998). There are exceptions; models

for women's careers (for example, Mainiero & Sullivan, 2005; Pringle & McCulloch Dixon, 2003) propose a more relational rather than linear career path.

The dynamic and fluctuating economic cycles of the global economy continue to influence labour markets and profoundly affect contemporary career constructs.

Economies continue to evolve. The creation of the new economy (Arthur, Inkson, & Pringle, 1999) has further developed into the "knowledge" economy (Gunz et al., 2007, p. 2, 2007) based on technology based processes and products. The certainty of a predicable job possessed by preceding generations of workers and managers has irreversibly changed (Gunz & Peiperl, 2007; Offe & Standing, 2011; Stone, 2000; Williams, 2013). A lifetime job spent with one employer no longer appears to exist for the large majority of workers.

2.4.1 Drawbacks of new career theory

New career theory, however, cannot entirely explain new work arrangements. While contemporary organisations may implement work intensification practices, and view workers as expendable (Acker, 2006a; Bohle, Quinlan, Kennedy, & Williamson, 2004; Stone, 2000), organisational 'fit' continues to underpin current thinking on employee engagement and motivation (Briscoe & Finkelstein, 2009; de Lange, Bal, Van der Heijden, Jong, & Schaufeli, 2011). Although new careers are defined by their lack of allegiance to one employer (Sweet & Meiksins, 2008), the notion of the (over) committed 'organisational man' remains enduringly relevant (Burke, Jeng, Koyuncu, & Fiksenbau, 2011; Houran, Lange, & Kefgen, 2012; Randall, 1987). Work appears to take precedence over other areas of an individual's life, and over-commitment is a reality for workers at many levels, for managers especially (Knights & Tullberg, 2014).

The neo-liberalisation of labour markets has affected how those employed in full time jobs perceive their work. Work "consumes" rather than "engages" individuals (Casey,

2004, p. 621). Because the demands of work are more vaguely couched than previously, there is spill-over between previously delineated boundaries within the workplace (Naswall, Hellgren, & Sverke, 2008). The concept of liquidity has come to signify an advanced erosion of the boundaries between work and home life, they leak into one another (Bauman, 2007). This leakage is reflected in the notion of the boundaryless job; Allvin (2008) argues that the flexible conditions of work and redefining of working conditions and job content have resulted in jobs that have no boundaries.

Rather surprisingly, the perception of an organisational career continues to be associated with 'men's work' (Acker, 1989, 2006a; Anthias, 2013; Sweet & Meiksins, 2008), although due to changes in the labour market, the male as family breadwinner theory appears as irrelevant in New Zealand as in Australia (Ellem & Franks, 2008; Strachan, 2010). The intersecting influences of class, economic and employment/organisational circumstances continue to affect career choices (Clarke, 2013, p. 687). Sabelis and Schilling (2013, p. 128) suggest that disruption to linear career paths is normal and refer to the career patterns experienced by workers attempting to manage contemporary life styles as "frayed careers". Although both men and women experience difficulty in reconciling home and work life (Kesting & Harris, 2009), women continue to experience the greater share of the domestic burden. Cha (2013) argues that women who work in excess of 50 hours a week find it practically impossible to meet the competing demands of organisation and family.

Exacerbating this position is the perception that contemporary career paths are a great improvement for workers, although the extent of the benefit remains unclear (Roper et al., 2010). The profound disadvantages for individuals engaged in poorly paid precarious work (Offe & Standing, 2011), for example, migrants or women, appear to be sidestepped. As noted earlier, non-standard types of employment now comprise the highest proportion of New Zealand employment arrangements (Spoonley, 2010). This

has great resonance for the study of a hospitality career, as many hospitality workers are engaged in poorly paid casual jobs (Baum, 2007; McIntosh & Harris, 2012; Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011).

In order to explore career pathways in hospitality, a theoretical basis was needed that would allow career patterns in the industry to become visible. Despite its limitations, the boundaryless career model has been chosen because it provides a foundation to explore how age, gender, ethnicity and class affect career constructs.

2.5 New career theory offers a way forward

It is beyond the scope of this literature review to cover the various types of new career theories in depth and detail, as the field of contemporary career theory has become almost unmanageably vast (Schein, 2007) . However, two career theories are widely promoted as reflecting the changing circumstances of contemporary employment relations are 1) the protean career and 2) the boundaryless career.

The protean career concept originated by Hall (1976) and further refined by Briscoe and Hall (2006) assumes that individuals take responsibility for their own career. People following a protean career model market their employability by possessing relevant skills and constantly up-skill to meet marketplace needs. A person in a protean career is presumed to be independent of outside career influences and fuelled by notions of subjective success and feelings of self-fulfilment (Briscoe & Finkelstein, 2009). Jobs may be taken because they fit in with the workers' values and lifestyle wishes (Briscoe et al., 2006; Hall & Moss, 1998).

One critique of this career type is that it has generally been associated with professional occupations rather than the working lives of more ordinary workers. Another critique is that more studies should have reviewed the disadvantages of a protean career, the

rhetoric emphasises winners, or those with a “calling’ or those who have found a new identity (Sullivan & Baruch, 2009, p. 1550).

The second theory to dominate career studies since 1994 is the theory of the boundaryless career (Briscoe & Finkelstein, 2009). Boundaryless careers are perceived as offering career advantages not confined to one particular employer (Arthur, Khapova, & Wilderom, 2005). The first characteristic of a boundaryless career is that the individual is not dependent on a career path in one organisation, an employee moves frequently between different employers (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996). The worker bears the responsibility for developing his or her career; career development occurs across many employment experiences and moves are frequently made for subjective reasons (Mallon & Walton, 2005). Mobility refers to both physical and psychological mobility (Sullivan & Arthur, 2006); an individual with a boundaryless career outlook relishes new experiences and projects outside their current organisation (Volmer & Spurk, 2010).

The second characteristic is that the boundaryless career is both authenticated and promoted beyond the limits of the present employer (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996). The importance of external relationships appears to be reflected in hospitality employment patterns. A transactional relationship is often associated with hospitality work and individual workers who move frequently between different employers (Hausknecht et al., 2009; Rydzik et al., 2012; Wildes, 2008). The third aspect of a boundaryless career is the career is endorsed by external communication systems (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996), for example, a real estate agent relies on listings provided by contacts outside the employing organisation for career success.

The fourth characteristic that identifies a boundaryless career is that it goes beyond traditional organisational career boundaries, particularly conventional lines of command

and career structures (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996) . Although people in boundaryless careers recognise the significance of organisational position, mobility, flexibility, the work environment and the opportunity structure, the literature suggests they have a lesser emphasis on career paths within one organisation (Briscoe, et al., 2006).

A fifth characteristic of this type of career is that the individual may choose not to accept promotional opportunities for their personal reasons (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996).

The final signifier of a boundaryless career links with the previous observation. Career possibilities are not defined by the current organisation. The literature observes that often hospitality workers base their occupational decisions on life-style grounds (Lashley & Rowson, 2007) and opportunities are often provided by outside contacts.

The following table summarises these six boundaryless career features (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996, p. 6).

Table 1: Features of a boundaryless career

Feature	Example
The ability of the individual to move from organisation to organisation without penalty	Worker in the Information Technology industry
Career validation does not depend on the current employer	University lecturer
Communications networks independent of the current employer promote the reputations and career advancement of boundaryless career individuals	Property sales person
Goes beyond traditional organisational career boundaries	Engineer on a flexible contract
Individuals may refuse apparent career advancement opportunities for private reasons	Manager who refuses a transfer to stay in the same location
Present organisational boundaries or structures do not constrain or define future career possibilities.	Currently a pastry chef, later may be a teacher

There has been a tendency in the careers literature to establish links between the boundaryless and protean career theories in recent years. Career scholars have attempted to separate the two concepts by highlighting the characteristics associated with each theory (for example, see Briscoe & Finkelstein, 2009; Briscoe et al., 2006; Briscoe & Hall, 2006). Much of the research has focused on the difference between the protean

career attitude and the boundaryless career attitude. Segers, Inceoglu, Vloeberghs, Bartram and Henderickx (2008) found strong support for Briscoe and Hall's (2006) understanding that the protean career attitude is self-directed and values driven. Volmer and Spruch (2010) looking at the association between career success and career attitudes, found there are correlations between protean career attitudes and subjective career success. Boundaryless career attitudes were more associated with objective career success; people who moved frequently from organisation to organisation gained higher rewards. However, in spite of such efforts, it is generally acknowledged that confusion remains on how both theories are applied and interpreted (Arnold & Cohen, 2008; Roper et al., 2010).

Before reviewing the appropriateness or otherwise of contemporary career careers models that may best fit a hospitality career, it is necessary to review what a career in hospitality looks like. Thereafter, the suitability of a particular model may be more realistically assessed.

2.6 The hospitality career path

Contemporary career theory emphasises the importance of context in meaningful career research. Baum (2002) argues it is precisely the 'context' and 'combination' of skills in hospitality work that shape understandings of a hospitality career. However, the varying contexts of hospitality employment and seasonality (Baum, 2007; Janta et al., 2011) make it difficult to find a common career construct. The diversity of hospitality enterprises means that researchers frequently locate their research in specific sites, for example, food service (Wildes, 2008), kitchens (Styles, Daly, & Woods, 2010) or the hotel sector (Kong, Cheung, & Song, 2011; Yang, 2010), although there is vocational mobility between the various divisions of the industry (Ayres, 2006; Baum, 2007).

2.6.1 The traditional hospitality career

Traditionally, the role of hotel manager was the principal focus of vocational education in a fragmented industry (Riley, 1990). Therefore, it is useful to look at this career in some detail because there is little consistent information about careers in other sectors of the hospitality industry.

In common with many other industries and professions, hotels use a competencies based approach to measure work related skills and abilities. Although the competency model has been criticised as inadequate to assess the skills and attitudes required in hospitality (Chapman & Lovell, 2006), many hospitality organisations, such as the Intercontinental Hotels Group, base their recruitment, promotional and development processes on a competency system (Jauhari, 2013).

A career in hotel management exhibits features of a traditional employment model (Boxall & Purcell, 2003). Hotel managers' career paths are linear and individuals progress through different departments and properties (Ladkin, 2002). The literature suggests that the ideal hotel manager develops competencies across a variety of hospitality departments, while generally retaining technical 'career anchors' (Schein, 1978), such as Food and Beverage (Beck & Lopa, 2001; Kong et al., 2011; Wang, 2013; Yamashita & Uenoyama, 2006).

There is no universal profile for hospitality competencies, although the competency system is extensively used in large hospitality organisations in the United States (Chung-Herrera, Enz, & Lankau, 2003), India (Jauhari, 2006), Australia (Deery, 2008), China (Kong et al., 2011; Yang, 2010) and Taiwan (Wang, 2013). Chung-Herrera et al. (2003) consider that individuals need to learn career management competencies to advance in hospitality management careers.

More recently, Wang's (2013) study of 250 hotel workers in Taiwan concludes that an effective career competency approach should include separate career development, career adjustment and control, communication and networking, and workplace attitude proficiencies. The successful mastery of these competencies should lead to career satisfaction. However, not just technical competencies are considered important. Wang's (2011) model acknowledges the need for more complex competencies, for example, the ability to manage work/life balance at different life stages.

The vision of a successful hospitality manager has moved beyond the previous focus on technical competencies (Beck & Lopa, 2001; Nebel, Braunlich, & Yihong, 1994), to an appreciation that advanced social skills and attitudes are an essential component of career success (Akrivos et al., 2007; Mkono, 2010). Research in diverse cultural milieus, for example, Zimbabwe and the United States, indicates that an extrovert personality style may be linked with high career achievement (Akrivos et al., 2007; Mkono, 2010; O'Neill, 2012b), however, further research is necessary to confirm such correlations (Wang, 2013).

2.7 Is a hospitality career boundaryless?

This discussion has indicated that there are boundaries in a hospitality career. The first part of this chapter has looked in detail at the new career theories that define work in contemporary organisations. The following section noted that, despite the fragmented nature of the global hospitality industry, certain attributes of 'hospitality' careers such as mobility and the importance of networks in facilitating promotion are characteristics of a boundaryless career.

There are conflicting conclusions that may be drawn from the literature about the career model that best appears to describe hospitality careers. The hospitality careers literature does not suggest that a hospitality career follows a protean orientation, possibly due to

the fact that this career model is based on notions of self-fulfilment. However, there appears to be some validation for the notion that the hospitality career is boundaryless (Kong, Cheung, & Song, 2012; Wang, 2013), although this point is debated. For example, Garavan, O'Brien, & O'Hanlon (2006) consider careers for European hospitality managers tend to follow bounded lines rather than a boundaryless model. Although hospitality careers demonstrate features associated with new careers, such as high mobility (Ayres, 2006), other research suggests a pattern more typical of organisational careers. Although Chinese hotel workers display great mobility, promotion tends to be internal (Kong et al., 2011). This idea is supported by other studies that suggest hospitality managers at certain career stages stay with their organisations if there is no comparative advantage to be gained by moving to another employer (Hausknecht et al., 2009; Walsh & Taylor, 2007).

This literature review suggests the hospitality career path follows an upward, rather traditional career trajectory, from entry-level worker to senior manager. Yet, the careers of many hospitality workers at lower levels in the hierarchy, for example, room attendants or kitchen porters, are not portrayed or indeed visualised as careers in their own right. Rather, such hospitality work is frequently considered temporary work (Harris, 2009), without a recognized career path. To focus solely on a hospitality management career would be to leave the careers of a large swathe of hospitality workers uncharted and those workers voiceless, perpetuating a tradition of career research that neglects the voices of the marginalized.

The ways in which career paths work across hospitality are still not entirely clear; the point at which some hospitality workers develop into managers is blurred. The context of hospitality work influences the career construct. Many seasonal, contingent hospitality workers have a succession of low paid hospitality jobs (McIntosh & Harris, 2012) that do not lead to higher ranked jobs in the hierarchy (Heimtun, 2012; Joppe,

2012; Lee-Ross, 1999). Career advantages linked with a boundaryless or protean career concept may only apply to the elite professional, not for those in casual or low skilled jobs. As observed earlier, workers on a minimum wage experience only uncertainty with the lack of a formal contract. At the lowest levels of hospitality work, mobility may be a disadvantage rather than a career advantage.

However, after taking these various academic perspectives into account, it appears that the critical factor which most characterises hospitality workers' career patterns is movement from job to job, both inside and outside employing organisations, at all levels of hospitality work (Baum, 2007; Houran et al., 2012; Rydzik et al., 2012). Therefore, the following discussion will review contemporary perspectives on the boundaryless career to see if it is a suitable framework to explore hospitality careers.

2.7.1 Criticism of boundaryless career theory

In spite of its apparent universal appeal, boundaryless career theory has received significant critique. There is growing disquiet about the ease with which it seems to have been accepted as a mirror of our times (Roper et al., 2010). There are three main criticisms. Firstly, boundaries are difficult to measure. Secondly, the underlying theorising supports neo-liberal market forces. The third, and most critical, issue is that boundaryless career theory excludes the ordinary worker. These assessments will be evaluated in turn.

Measurement is difficult

Firstly, measurement of the 'boundaryless-ness' of the boundaryless career is obviously difficult. Not only are the distinctions between the six defining characteristics (see Table 1) blurred but it is difficult to see what exactly constitutes a 'bounded' or boundaryless career (Inkson et al., 2012; Tams & Arthur, 2010). Therefore, evaluating success in a boundaryless career is not easy to qualify or quantify.

Defillippi and Arthur (1996) argue that social competencies related to motivation and identity, skills and expertise, relationships and reputation are integral to the notion of a successful boundaryless career. However, even at the best of times, career success is a tenuous concept. To attempt to conceptualise the success of a boundaryless career within a shifting framework of boundaries is just not possible (Tams & Arthur, 2010).

In an overview of contemporary career theory, Sullivan and Baruch (2009) acknowledge issues with both clarity of the boundaryless career concept and how exactly mobility should be measured. Clarification of 16 dimensions of the boundaryless career, further to the initial conceptualisation, has undoubtedly helped to establish whether boundaries are physical or psychological (Briscoe et al., 2006). However, assessing the nature and location of boundaries remains problematic due to individual researcher subjectivity. For example, one career researcher might see an individual's movement from one organisation to another as the crossing of a physical boundary. However, another, such as Clarke (2013) may view the same move, as psychological rather than physical, reflecting the worker's desire to escape an organisation rather than their search for new experiences.

Theory supports neo-liberal ideology

The second point made by critics of boundaryless theory is that boundaryless career theory supports neo-liberal ideology. The neo-liberal rhetoric disguises the implacability of market forces governing careers, particularly for those marginalised in employment (Tams & Arthur, 2010). In the same way that organisations blame overwork on an employee's failure to exercise good work/life balance choices (Caproni, 2004), the conviction that an individual is responsible for their own boundaryless career ignores contextual influences or constraints on individual agency, for example, a hiring freeze.

Roper et al. (2010, p. 66) regret that the promotion of the boundaryless career model has supported rather than challenged the increasing “dominance of neo-liberal ideology”. The boundaryless career is a reality for many workers in Western economies. Large numbers of workers exist in low paid casual ‘precarious employment’ in Europe (Offe & Standing, 2011), Australia and New Zealand (Wilson, 2013) and the United States (Acker, 2012; Cascio, 2006; Williams, 2013). An analysis of academic articles on boundaryless careers from the main academic databases (education, psychology, business studies, and social science) argues that boundaryless career literature fails to adequately reflect these realities (Roper et al., 2010).

The move to a market driven economy is evident in current labour market practices in New Zealand. Prior to the deregulation of the economy, the protected domestic manufacturing sector provided a variety of career opportunities for semiskilled workers. Vocational career structures were profoundly disturbed by fundamental changes to the labour market, health and education systems (Pringle & Mallon, 2003).

The dramatic shift from manufacturing goods to providing services has resulted in a proliferation of low paid, monotonous service sector jobs in areas such as hospitality (Parker & Arrowsmith, 2012; Rasmussen & Anderson, 2010). Migrants, ethnic minorities and women are all disproportionately represented in these lowest level jobs (Nolan, 2007). In low paid service sectors, such as aged care, wage discrimination due to gendered occupational segregation still persists, in spite of legislation enshrining equal employment opportunities (S. Collins, 2013b).

Boundaryless career theory does not reflect the career experiences of ordinary people

The third criticism of boundaryless career studies is that they have mainly focused on understanding the careers of the elite (Pringle & Mallon, 2003; Roper et al., 2010; Sullivan & Baruch, 2009). The seductive language (Inkson et al., 2012) used to describe

the boundaryless career ignores the concrete disadvantages visited upon disadvantaged workers noted earlier, such as older workers, migrants and women seeking part-time work.

Roper et al. (2010) consider that the sheer volume of boundaryless career articles ‘normalises’ the boundaryless career within a post neo-liberal agenda. Pringle and Mallon (2003, p. 842) agree that “career theory has tended to construct women, ethnic minorities, blue collar workers, the poor and uneducated as the other, as deviations from a dominant pattern”. Critical career studies remain an exception within the boundaryless career paradigm (Roper et al., 2010; Sullivan & Baruch, 2009; Sullivan, 1999).

2.7.2 The way ahead in boundaryless career research

The preceding section has described how boundaryless career theory fails to adequately reflect the working arrangements of all sections of society. However, this may not be a fair representation. The problem may lie in how a boundaryless career is perceived, rather than the notion of a career with no boundaries. It appears that new research directions are required to overcome some of the shortcomings highlighted.

As indicated earlier, the boundaryless career model appears to be accepted as a substitute for the traditional or organisational career path in modern society. However, employment statistics fail to support this assumption (Inkson et al., 2012). Sullivan and Baruch (2009) also caution that while older career research presumed that traditional careers were being followed, in like manner contemporary career researchers should not assume that people are following non-traditional career patterns. They point out that “some firms, for example, may encourage more traditional career attitudes, behaviours and expectations through such policies as reliance on promotion from within and benefits from associated with seniority or firm specific training” (p.1562).

Clarke (2013) argues that rather than the organisational career being dead (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996); it is merely in need of redefinition. Younger generations are presumed to be in a transactional relationship with their employer (Zopiatis, Krambia-Kapardis, & Varnavas, 2012). However, Clarke (2013) suggests that such groups still appear to value the structure of a career in one organisation. She maintains that the notion of an organisational career should not be dismissed as irrelevant as there is still a place for the traditional career described earlier. In her opinion, the rigorous promotion of new career models has led to their disadvantages being downplayed and the richness and complexity associated with an organisational career has been forgotten. Clarke (2013) proposes a 'new organisational career' that combines elements of traditional and new career theory.

Boundaryless career theory may provide a viable framework to study a contemporary hospitality career. Tams and Arthur (2010) highlight the significance of a worker's individual agency, whereas Inkson et al. (2012) focus on the boundaries that still exist in any 'boundaryless' career. Both approaches can help to track the progression of a hospitality career, by illuminating the contextual enablers and constraints that punctuate progression.

Identifying boundaries

Inkson et al. (2012, p.327) view the boundaries themselves as central to career studies, careers cross boundaries rather than being boundaryless. Research should centre on the "multiplicity of processes including, for example, boundary construction, boundary acceptance, boundary celebration, boundary defence and boundary shifting that take place, along with boundary crossing, at one time or another in most careers" (Inkson et al., 2012, p. 331). Gunz et al. (2007) identify occupational gatekeepers of a career, for example, hotel general managers, in positions of power who assess aspiring candidates to see if they can be promoted. However, Inkson et al. (2012) caution that a focus on

gatekeepers can lead to an emphasis on the boundaries themselves instead of the boundaryless career.

Inkson et al. (2012) see research on boundaryless careers fruitfully evolving in four areas. The first focus recognises that boundaries are ‘social creations’ (ibid p.333) that individuals themselves are partially responsible for developing. The second focus of research is that boundaries constrain careers, and restrict the kinds of changes that people can make, for example, certain professions keep people out by clear delineation of who is acceptable at certain levels. To illustrate, Nickson and Warhurst (2007) show how, in hospitality and retail businesses, the socially ostracised inhabitants of the Glaswegian slums can never aspire to entry positions, due to such social markers as a ‘Gorbals’ accent which immediately identifies its owner as disadvantaged (Nickson, Warhurst, Cullen, & Allan, 2003; Nickson & Warhurst, 2007a).

The third aspect is how boundaries ‘enable’ a career by structuring career passages. Inkson et al. (2012) argue that a focus on the boundaryless career as an outcome rather than boundary crossing (‘being’ the career) means the social context is frequently neglected. My research attempts to fill the gap in the hospitality career literature. The fourth direction that Inkson et al. (2012) suggest refers to the events that signify boundary crossing; markers that indicate the acceptance into desired social groups. The “*punctuating* role of boundaries” (p. 334) is highly significant as such punctuation points reveal career structures and flows across different institutional, occupational and social contexts.

Gunz and Mayrhofer (2011) also argue that a “more contextualized view” of career is called for. Meaningful career research, while recognising “the centrality of work, must also consider its social boundaries and ‘embedded-ness’ in time, i.e. past experience” (Gunz & Mayrhofer, 2011, p. 254). This is important factor in analysing how hospitality

careers unfold and Chapter Three will explore the background of hospitality employment in order to give the context of career paths across the industry.

As indicated, the name ‘boundaryless career’ is misleading. Inkson et al. (2012) and Tams and Arthur (2010) are all saying that boundaries do exist. Future directions in boundaryless career success must emphasise not the lack of boundaries in contemporary career constructs, but highlight the overwhelming significance of boundaries in describing career constructs and, by definition, career success in hospitality. If the boundaries and enablers that punctuate a hospitality career are identified, it may then be possible to see how individual differences such as age affect career progression and career longevity. In the following section, research into hospitality career patterns will be explored.

2.8 Summary

This chapter has looked at the meaning of a contemporary career and reviewed a number of career definitions. The first part of this chapter explained traditional and new career theory. The second section of this chapter outlined current views on the hospitality career path as a linear upwards progression to senior management positions. The third section discussed how new meanings associated with boundaryless career theory can help to illuminate the shape of a hospitality career. In order to establish the context of such careers, it will be necessary to clarify the employment background; Chapter Three will explain how the status and conditions of the hospitality industry affect workers’ career constructs and career longevity.

Chapter 3. THE CONTEXT OF A HOSPITALITY CAREER

3.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter outlined some of the major influences on career theory and reviewed the hospitality career specific literature. Some of the more recent studies on hospitality careers suggest a career pattern based on the attainment of competencies which facilitate upwards progression on a management career track (Kong et al., 2011; Wang, 2013). In common with other fields of career research, the career experiences of non-managerial employees do not appear to have been studied to the same extent, with notable exceptions, such as Adler and Adler's (2004) ethnographical study of resort workers in Hawaii and Adib and Guerrier's (2003) intersectional research on London hotel workers.

To gain an insight into how the career in hospitality unfolds at all levels of the hierarchy, it is necessary to understand employment practices in the industry. Chapter Three reviews the context of hospitality careers in two sections. The first part sets the scene by examining background factors influencing hospitality careers. The second section of the chapter explains how an intersectional lens may be used to explore theoretical perspectives of age, gender, ethnicity and class in hospitality careers. A concluding summary about the longevity of hospitality careers will draw upon both sections.

3.2 The background of a hospitality career

The hospitality career is characterised by vocational mobility (Baum, 2007). Therefore, to appreciate the career constructs of hospitality workers, it is crucial to identify the extent to which individuals dictate their own career moves. Tams and Arthur (2010, p. 630) define career agency "as a process of work related social engagement, informed by past experiences and future possibilities, through which an individual invests in his

or her career”. They recognise that agency is socially constructed; career decisions are affected by individual differences derived from socially ascribed categories of difference such as gender, class or ethnicity. These dimensions will be discussed in more depth at a later stage in this chapter. Inkson et al. (2010) observe how social class, gender, ethnicity, education and government regulation may constrain even the most ambitious individuals (Inkson et al., 2012).

Contextual constraints significantly affect all careers (Briscoe & Finklestein, 2009; Pringle & Mallon, 2003; Roper et al., 2010; Sullivan & Baruch, 2009; Tams & Arthur, 2010). As observed in Chapter Two, in order to be meaningful, contemporary research approaches to boundaryless careers need to consider how varying societal and organisational contexts may change boundaries (Tams & Arthur, 2010). Therefore, the industry’s organisational and societal boundaries need to be acknowledged and the next section will reveal how examples of such boundaries play out in a hospitality career.

3.3 Employment in hospitality

The focus of this section lies in providing a broad outline of hospitality employment. At the onset of this overview, it is important to note that hospitality work provides significant employment opportunities in both Western and developing economies, approximately 8.3% of total employment options or 220,568,000 jobs are located in the world travel and tourism industry (Schlentrach, 2008, p. 192). In New Zealand, approximately four of every five people are employed in the service sector (Parker & Arrowsmith, 2012). The bars and restaurant sector employs 4% (Neil, 2013) of the country’s 2,194,000 employees (“Statistics New Zealand,” 2013b).

Although globalisation has led to increased diversity in the scale of operation, diversity of guests and employees (Riley & Szivas, 2009; Testa, 2009), the hospitality industry is highly vulnerable to economic pressures because of inconsistent demand (Baum, 1998,

2007). Individual sectors such as hotels offer unpredictable as well as seasonal fluctuations in revenue and return on investment (Lo & Lamm, 2005; Yu, 2008). In common with retail organisations (Cascio, 2006), sectors of the hospitality industry, for example, hotels, struggle to deliver competitive returns to institutional shareholders (Jones Lang LaSalle, 2013).

Chapter Two discussed how market-led economic forces have led to significant changes in international internal and external labour markets, reflected in hospitality employment patterns. Zampoukos & Ioannides (2011) contend that the neo-liberal doctrine that allows market forces to regulate the economy has substantially changed the way in which hospitality businesses attempt to remain competitive. Globally, hospitality organisations have flattened their organisational structures, removed tiers of middle management, outsourced departments such as housekeeping and ‘casualised’ much of their workforce (Bernhardt, Dresser, & Hatton, 2003; Davidson et al., 2011; Knox, 2014; Lai, Soltani, & Baum, 2008).

As the hospitality sector remains labour intensive (Dipietro & Condly, 2007), there is a constant search to reduce labour costs and increase productivity. This has resulted in the wide scale adoption of flexible work practices and use of technology across the sector (Davidson et al., 2011; Hinkin & Tracey, 2000; Kusluvan, Kusluvan, Ilhan, & Buyruk, 2010). However, technical advances have had variable impact on a largely skills-based industry; the majority of jobs remain physically demanding, essentially requiring some degree of emotional, social, technical and physical skill (Bernhardt et al., 2003; Furunes & Mykletun, 2005; Powell, 2002).

However, in many Western countries, such as the United States and Australia, hospitality skills are not highly regarded (Chappel, 2002; Ehrenreich, 2001; Knox & Walsh, 2005). Labour market changes detailed earlier have led to generic rather than

specific skills training across the industry (Baum, 2002; Bernhardt et al., 2003; Piso, 1999), resulting in a reappraisal of the skills required for successful completion of tasks in hospitality work. In the United Kingdom, for example, Felstead, Gallie and Green (2002) assert that “the hotel and restaurant industry has very low skills demands, indeed 50% of jobs in the industry require no qualifications for entry, 64% need no training whatsoever and 48% can be taught to be done well in less than a month” (p. 30).

Baum (2002) observes that the perception of low skills refers either to an evaluation of low value or low technical competencies; hospitality work conforms to both of these preconceptions, although it also depends on who carries out the appraisal. Definitions of the skill levels in hospitality work are not objective (Brotherton & Wood, 2008; Lashley, 2001), they may be influenced by a worker’s gender or ethnicity. Migrants appear to be concentrated in jobs regarded as unpleasant and unskilled (Janta et al., 2011), such as public cleaning (Simpson, Slutskaya, Lewis, & Höpfl, 2012). Another subjective facet of skill determination is gendered; a masculine orientation may define what work is skilled, jobs considered as women’s work are frequently regarded as unskilled (Powell, 2002). Specialist hospitality skills may be further devalued by the fact that, in some cultural contexts, employers value attitudes more than skills, for example, in Australian hotels (Cheng & Brown, 1998).

The perception of some hospitality jobs as ‘dirty’ work may help to explain why this type of occupation is associated with low skills. Anthias (2001, p. 381) remarks that:

“symbolic aspects of work relations include ideas that some jobs are clean and some are dirty, the former often being seen as more desirable, irrespective of the economic rewards entailed as in the different valuation of white-collar versus blue-collar work or non-manual versus manual work”.

Dirty work positions its workers so that they are seen as of lesser social value (Simpson et al., 2012) and women in particular are engaged in the ‘dirty jobs’ of housekeeping

(Adib & Guerrier, 2003; Harris, Tregidga, & Williamson, 2011; Purcell, 1997).

Additionally, some jobs are perceived as morally tainted and further stigma attaches to jobs associated with handling bodily fluids (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999, 2013; Tracy & Clifton, 2006). Work in the industry as a whole appears to suffer from ‘taint’, even if some of the diverse occupations within it, such as Executive Assistant Manager, Financial Controller and Chief Engineer, are highly esteemed and well remunerated in other business sectors. Baum (2007) suggests that *only* (my italics) the occupations of general managers of large luxury hotels and airline pilots possess high status rankings commensurate with desirable occupations outside the tourism industry.

A note of caution is advisable when considering the universal status of hospitality work. Context is important and overall perceptions of the status of hospitality work are subjective judgements (Brotherton, 2012). In developing countries, hospitality employment may be valued as offering better work prospects than other options (Guerrier & Adib, 2002), although Burns (1997) observes that in some tourist destinations, such as Fiji or the Solomon Islands, Western-centric attitudes about the ability of local people to perform hospitality tasks, means that management jobs tend to be occupied by expatriates. On the other hand, hospitality work may also be perceived as compatible with local culture, for example, the offering and receipt of hospitality is integral to cultural identity in Mauritius and consequently well regarded (Lee-Ross, 2005). However, much of the literature suggests that hospitality work is generally associated with low skills and the result of this perception is a lack of status.

3.3.1 The status of hospitality work

There are recurrent themes in hospitality research that may affect the status of hospitality careers. The following characteristics are frequently associated with employment in the industry and each aspect will be discussed in turn:

- Low entry barriers (Baum, 2007)
- Long hours (Altman & Brothers, 2013)
- Low pay and precarious work (Janta et al., 2011)
- High turnover (Davidson, Timo, & Wang, 2010)

Low entry barriers

Due to the perception of hospitality work as unskilled, the industry has low entry barriers to employment (Lai et al., 2008). Because so many migrants are engaged in hospitality jobs, it can be perceived as “only for these groups, as ‘servile’ ‘dirty’, low-skilled, low-status and low-paid work” (Guerrier, 2008, p. 263). One London hotel Human Resources Manager commented that hospitality work in general was not even noted as a career choice in schools (McDowell et al., 2007). In the United Kingdom, hotel management as a career may no longer offer enough financial reward or status for the middle classes (Brotherton & Wood, 2008). Increasingly, higher proportions of women study hospitality management and the women form the majority of such undergraduate cohorts (Chuang & Dellmann-Jenkins, 2010). The interlinking perception that hospitality employment is associated with women’s work will be explored at a later stage in this chapter.

Long hours

Long hours appear to be intrinsic to hospitality, (Burke et al., 2011; Mkono, 2010; Murray-Gibbons & Gibbons, 2007). Additionally work intensification appears to have affected hospitality work practices (Yamashita & Uenoyama, 2006), for example, the number of rooms that housekeeping staff clean per shift has increased (Onsøyen et al., 2009). Not only frontline employees work long hours. Managers are required to be visible to guests and staff for long periods of time, which causes conflict between family and work obligations (O’Neill, 2012a). In the traditional career ladder departments of Food and Beverage and Front Office, the unpredictability and

irregularity of shifts is associated with stress and burnout in workers (Chuang & Dellmann-Jenkins, 2010; Knox & Walsh, 2005; Kong et al., 2011; Yang, 2010).

However, the literature indicates that a worker's place in the organisational hierarchy moderates the effect of long hours for hospitality employees. Although general managers are also required to work long hours, they appear to experience less stress because they have more autonomy (Cleveland et al., 2007). Burke et al.'s (2011) research into the hours worked by hotel managers in China suggest that it is not the number of hours spent at work that is important, but the reasons underlying what appears to be overwork. Managers who work long hours because they enjoy their jobs appear to have a positive outlook, whereas managers who are driven by a fear of failure are observed to be less motivated and suffer more job related stress.

The literature notes the high prevalence of work/family conflict in hospitality work, due to the unpredictability of shift work. Such imbalance is considered to be a major contributor to high turnover (Blomme, van Rhee, & Tromp, 2010b; Deery & Jago, 2009). Conversely, the perception that hospitality is a "fun" industry contributes to long hours spent at work. O'Neill (2012a) observes that the 'partying culture' in hospitality work involves a high degree of work related socialising, frequently in bars. The problem caused by the industry norm of long hours is compounded by the low remuneration offered to many workers at the lower levels of hospitality work.

Low pay and precarious work

Hospitality work is perceived as low paying; entry level jobs are regarded as unskilled and are minimum waged throughout the world (for example, Bernhardt et al., 2003; Yamashita & Uenoyama, 2006). Many of these jobs are occupied by the marginalised, such as migrants, students or women seeking flexible hours (Guerrier, 2008). Although service work in areas such as hospitality may offer flexibility, the disadvantages are the

precarious nature of work arrangements, unpredictable shifts, low wages and poor benefits (Acker, 2006a; Lo & Lamm, 2005; McIntosh & Harris, 2012; Parker & Arrowsmith, 2012; Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011).

The effects of labour market forces appear to impact on hourly paid workers, rather than permanent workers, in particular sectors of hospitality work. For example, when journalist Ehrenreich (2001) worked undercover in the fast food service sector in the US, she found that her low pay did not cover basics such as decent accommodation, a varied diet or health care. Hotels, by comparison, offer a superior financial ‘package’ to fulltime employees. Regrettably, this positive situation may not continue, as the quest for greater profit has led hotels to hire workers on a casual basis rather than full time (Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011), reducing job security and financial benefits.

Hospitality unions are defending their workers’ rights vigorously. In US hotels for instance, union backed strikes and boycotts forced hotel chain Hyatt to reconsider proposals to put workers on temporary contracts that removed subsidised health care and job security (The Associated Press, 2013). In Australia and New Zealand, falling union membership has ensured minimum wages and a shift to hourly paid contingent work throughout the hospitality industry (Davidson & Wang, 2011; Poulston, 2009). Unfortunately, the New Zealand “Living Wage” campaign for an increased hourly pay rate does not appear as successful as union activism in the US. Most restaurants and hotels believe they would be unable to provide an increase in pay much greater than the minimum wage (S. Collins, 2013a).

Consequently, publicity given to such issues reinforce the perceived inadequate rewards of a hospitality career. In addition to the poor conditions and low status of hospitality work that negatively affect hospitality career decisions, further dimensions influence individual employment opportunities, such as the aesthetic and emotional

labour requirements of service employment. Not surprisingly, the industry has a very high turnover rate.

High Turnover

Managers regard high staff turnover as an inevitable aspect of hospitality employment. It appears to be a universal norm in a wide variety of diverse hospitality environments (Anvari & Seliman, 2010; Chalkiti & Sigala, 2010; Lub et al., 2012). It is difficult to see whether high turnover is fuelled by seasonal aspects of the industry, by high vocational mobility or poor human resources management practices, or a combination of these characteristics.

Chapter Two revealed the high levels of mobility in hotel careers. In addition to factors encouraging high turnover, such as workforce mobility, training and promotional needs, a search for better working conditions, hotels have traditionally acted as a central conduit for hospitality vocational training (Francis, 2012; Riley, 1990). The New Zealand industry youthful employee profile (just under 40%) leads Poulston and Jenkins (2013) to deduce that youth is both cause and effect of turnover; older workers are inclined to have a longer tenure in hospitality jobs. For example, in the Australian tourism and leisure sector, managers consider that encouraging junior employees to be mobile is “good practice” (Ayres, 2006, p. 119).

Younger hospitality workers are frequently viewed as temporary workers by their employers (McIntosh & Harris, 2012). This assumption is not supported by research into the work motivations of generation Y (born in the early 1980s to the early 2000s). Studies show this generation is highly motivated by career advancement opportunities (Lub et al., 2012; Terjesen, Vinnicombe, & Freeman, 2007). One restaurant study indicates that 70% of the age cohort under 36 years of age were intending to depart from the industry in the next two years as they do not feel hospitality offers a valid career

path (Wildes, 2008). Hjalager and Andersen (2001) suggest that tenure of staff with dedicated professional training is shorter in hospitality than other professions, although Yang (2010, p. 610) links hotels in particular with a 'turnover culture'.

Negative repercussions of turnover are its associated tangible and intangible costs, such as losses in productivity and guest loyalty (Deery, 2002; Lashley, 2001; Michel, Kavanagh, & Tracey, 2013). The end result is a shortage of trained staff (Baum, 2007; Chon, 2005; Wildes, 2008; Young & Corsun, 2010), particularly chefs (Robinson & Barron, 2007; Styles et al., 2010), placing further pressure on remaining employees.

In common with multinational companies in other industries (Udo Zander, Zander, Gaffney, & Olsson, 2010), talent shortfall is cited as a major human resource problem in hospitality, especially in hotel chains (Anvari & Seliman, 2010; Enz & Siguaw, 2000; Enz, 2009). In New Zealand, high staff turnover is the principal human resources management problem identified by hospitality managers (Cockburn-Wooten, 2012; Neil, 2013; Poulston & Jenkins, 2013; Williamson et al., 2009).

Not surprisingly, therefore, low levels of job satisfaction, motivation, and engagement are revealed in a comprehensive overview of Human Resource Management (HRM) practices in the hospitality industry (Kusluvan et al., 2010). In hotels, for instance, poor HRM practices are visible in many Western contexts, such as the United Kingdom (Knox & Walsh, 2005) and the United States (Hinkin & Tracey, 2000). In Spain, many hotels practice a 'hard' HRM approach that focuses on minimising labour costs, as opposed to a more humanistic human resources approach emphasising team work and employee commitment (Marco-Lajara & Úbeda-García, 2013). The side effect of such practices is the work intensification referred to earlier, a lack of job security and less time for socialising on the job (Piso, 1999; Yamashita & Uenoyama, 2006).

Human resources practices in hospitality reflect both the fragmentation of the industry and the unpredictability of demand. Research suggests that the tendency for many hospitality organisations to see their employees as costs rather than assets, creates a negative work environment (Baum, 2007; Davidson & Wang, 2011). The poor pay and conditions are a source of dissatisfaction for many hospitality workers and are believed to contribute to high turnover by many sources (Hinkin & Tracey, 2000; Kuria, Wanderi, & Ondigi, 2012).

In developing countries, attention paid to HRM practices that encourage employee commitment and engagement, such as diversity management strategies, is variable. Some state run hotels in China (Kong, Cheung, & Zhang, 2010) show advanced human resources management practices, however in other developing countries such as the Cameroons (Karatepe, 2012) and Turkey (Pinar, McCuddy, Birkan, & Kozak, 2011), the hospitality industry has a focus on minimising labour costs rather than generating long term employee satisfaction.

Earlier research from the United States suggested that talented individuals were more likely to depart the hospitality industry and those who stayed remained because they had few other options (Hinkin & Tracey, 2000). However, these views are contested by Hausknecht et al. (2009), who concluded in a large US survey of hospitality and leisure employees (24,829 participants), that there was no connection between poor performers and their propensity to stay in hospitality employment. Although further research indicates that hospitality executives who changed organisations frequently have more successful careers (Houran et al., 2012), Hausknecht et al. (2009) observe that high performers frequently stay with their employers, as there are no financial or status advantages to be gained from moving, especially at higher levels. Where working conditions are good and positive relationships exist in the workplace, there is every reason to remain within the organisation.

3.3.2 Relationships in hospitality

It is important to consider relationships when reviewing factors that affect the length of a hospitality career. Dermody, Young and Taylor's (2004) study of hourly paid restaurant workers in the US suggests that although this group initially join the industry for money, reasons such as good relationships with co-workers and a professional atmosphere motivate them to stay. Young and Corsun (2010, p. 82) observe that cooks' "self-esteem, self-identity and pride in their work" are increased by working in a professional environment.

Close personal relationships with co-workers can help to overcome the stigma of dirty jobs in hospitality (McDowell et al., 2007; Onsøyen et al., 2009; Wildes, 2005). The sting of being perceived of lesser social value is humiliating (K. Lucas, 2011), yet Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) observe how the negative self-perception of those engaged in 'dirty work' can be transformed by the positive feeling of solidarity and collegiality with fellow workers. Korczynski (2002) also explains how close attachment networks among those engaged in service work enables staff to overcome unreasonable treatment from customers. In some hospitality departments, strong social bonds between workers mean that altruism and loyalty may attach to the collective group, rather than to the organisation (Lee-Ross, 2005; Onsøyen et al., 2009).

As noted previously, migrants form a high proportion of workers in the lower levels of work in hospitality (Baum, 2007; Joppe, 2012; McDowell et al., 2007; McIntosh & Harris, 2012). Hospitality work is more beneficial for migrants than other areas of employment, as it offers more social integration than, for example, factory work (Heimtun, 2012; Wilczek et al., 2009). A study of Polish tourism migrant workers in the United Kingdom indicated that workers developed strong co-national ties (fostered by workplace practices), both with co-workers and guests within the host community (Janta et al., 2011). However, it is not only relationships with their fellow workers that

are important, relationships between management and employees also affect workplace integration.

Relationships with Supervisors

Good supervisory relationships can ameliorate the effects of stressful working conditions across different cultural and hospitality work settings. Sherman (2007) observes two contrasting aspects of the management/worker relationship in hotels; the positive side is a building of community and empowerment, the 'darker' side of the management/worker relationship manifests itself in authoritarian practices.

Positive relationships with co-workers and supervisors appear to be universally linked with organisational commitment and career longevity. Michel's et al.'s (2013) research in US supermarkets indicates that supportive managers assist co-operation between staff in service environments. Consequently, employees become more self-reliant which increases their desire to stay with the organisation (Michel et al., 2012). Hospitality studies also link increased organisational loyalty with good people management practices across diverse cultural contexts.

An American study of 400 hospitality workers indicates that perception of organisational support increases workers' motivation to remain with the organisation (Cho, Johanson, & Guchait, 2009). A further study of 221 hotel and restaurant full time workers, also in the United States, suggests that good quality supervision increases employees intentions to stay (K. Kim & Jogaratnam, 2010). Positive work relationships and autonomy in work groups are also linked to job satisfaction in Taiwanese hotels (Yang, 2010). In the Cameroons, perceived organisational support increases career satisfaction; participation in decision-making and mutually agreeable work arrangements are regarded as evidence of good supervisory relationships (Karatepe, 2012).

Although the constituents of a good supervisory or management relationship may vary, the literature observes that good interpersonal relations are based on the employee's perception of fair treatment from supervisors (Poulston, 2009; Upchurch, DiPietro, Curtis, & Hahm, 2010). With trust comes reciprocity, McDowell et al. (2007) describe good relationships between management and staff as "willing collusion...pleasure is to be found in an un-cynical collusion with corporate practices" (p.21). The reverse is also true, while good supervisory relationships increase the likelihood of employees staying in a hospitality organisation, bad relationships may cause employees to leave. Conflict between management and staff contributes to role stress and high staff turnover (Yang, 2010).

Unfortunately, the formal management structure observed in many hospitality organisations inhibits positive relationships between different levels of employees. The bureaucratic structure of service organisations frequently results in a hierarchical inflexible style of management (Korczynski, 2002), which is replicated in hospitality organisations across diverse contexts, for example, in Australia (Minett, Yaman, & Denizci, 2009; Timo & Davidson, 2002). Authoritarian management practices not only put a strain on relationships between workers and management (Onsøyen et al., 2009), but fuel workers' intentions to leave their employer for a more positive working environment.

Mentoring relationships

Mentoring relationships are a further dimension of social relations to consider when discussing career longevity in hospitality. Mentors play an important role in socialising newcomers into hospitality culture and can ease the 'reality shock' experienced by new entrants (Chuang & Dellmann-Jenkins, 2010; Yang, 2010). Mentors are generally older employees and a mix of employee age groups is necessary to enable close mentoring bonds to develop over time (Chan, 2010). Therefore, a workplace that is composed of

young employees is likely to be less stable. The presence of a trustworthy mentor considerably increases organisational loyalty in individual workers, as long as the mentor stays with the organisation (Yamashita & Uenoyama, 2006). When mentors move, those they have mentored frequently follow them to new organisations.

Clearly, not everyone has the same opportunities to build positive workplace networks and, increasingly the hospitality literature reflects how age, gender and cultural diversity may affect employment and promotion possibilities, and thus affect employees' decisions to leave the industry. There is a great deal of occupational role stereotyping which is reflected in employment practices. The emotional and aesthetic labour requirements of the industry that drive these practices are explored in the next section.

3.3.3 Aesthetic and emotional labour

The term 'aesthetic labour' is used to describe how an ideal worker should look, speak or act and it encompasses dimensions of a worker's appearance that management value. 'Looking the part' is integral to the service product; speech, emotions and appearance are part of management's locus of control (Lucas, 1993). In service organisations, employees form an extension of brand identity (Nickson & Warhurst, 2007b). Front-line employees are particularly important in hospitality organisations as they provide the interface between customers and the organisation (Crick & Spencer, 2011; Magnini, Baker, & Karande, 2013). Employers therefore attempt to reinforce required behaviours by selecting and training employees who embody desired traits in service interactions (Goodsir, 2009; Korczynski, 2002; Nickson et al., 2003).

The idea of emotional labour encompasses the positive interactions with customers that employers expect employees to maintain, such as smiling at guests. Therefore, management seek to control how employees express their feelings (Hochschild, 1983; Korczynski, 2002), in much the same way as appearance is regulated. Desirable

emotional displays are often divorced from the actual emotions that a worker portrays, and the intensive work practices in the hospitality environment frequently exacerbate dissonance between genuine and feigned social expressions in the workplace. Therefore the emotional labour requirements in hospitality frequently cause role ambiguity, stress and ‘burnout’ in hospitality employees (Chuang & Dellmann-Jenkins, 2010; Lo & Lamm, 2005; Yang, 2010).

Willams (2003) indicates that occupations involving emotional labour, while at times difficult, may also be very satisfying. Hospitality employees can gain great fulfilment from dealing with customers (Mkono, 2010). However, the hospitality worker’s role is ambiguous as customer expectations are subjective and unpredictable (Jani, 2013). Role ambiguity is compounded by employees trying to reconcile potentially competing requirements of management and customers (Yang, 2010). Such stress is felt more acutely by women (B. Kim, Murrmann, & Lee, 2009), due to the differences in social role expectations of women compared to men.

A small Canadian study of Front Office workers showed that strategies employed by staff to deal with complaints from guests were detachment and de-personalisation; however, these defences could not be sustained long term (Watts, 2007). Lee and Ok (2013) suggest that the way in which managers regulate their employees’ emotional displays can have a positive effect on employee well-being and potential burnout. If strategies for dealing with difficult customers are effective, then employees will suffer less frustration and therefore less dissonance. Not only will the guest experience be more positive, but also the worker’s job satisfaction and intention to stay in a hospitality career will be enhanced.

The significant repercussion of employee disassociation on guest satisfaction explains why hospitality employers regard a ‘good attitude’ towards work and customers as

crucial. It further illustrates why presentation and communication skills are regarded as more important than education and experience by hospitality employers in some countries, such as the UK (Baum, 2002) and Australia (Davidson & Wang, 2011). Nonetheless, it is difficult to separate a worker's attitudes from appearance (Nickson & Warhurst, 2007a, p. 106). Hence, the delineation between emotional and aesthetic labour is frequently blurred.

Sheane (2012) suggests that the overlap between the aesthetic and emotional skills required for successful service relationships should be described as "presentational labour" (p. 156). Nickson and Warhurst (2007a) regard these social skills sought by hospitality or retail employers as typified by 'middle class' students; youth is an advantage in terms of desirable appearance and the high levels of energy required for hospitality work (Furunes & Mykletun, 2005). McDowell et al. (2007, p. 5) apply the term 'interpellation' to describe the approach that employers and managers use to 'construct idealised or stereotypical notions' of ideal workers. Individuals of a specific gender, appearance or age are considered appropriate for particular jobs. The prevalence of occupational stereotyping in the hospitality industry is the subject of the next section.

3.3.4 Occupational stereotyping

Age stereotyping

The previous review has noted the high proportion of young people employed in the hospitality industry, particularly at entry-level jobs. In a Dutch study, Lub et al. (2012) analysed the workforce age across the sector. Baby boomers (born 1945-1964) formed 35% of the general workforce, but in hospitality they made up 15% of the total employees. Generation X (born 1965-1980) are described as a smaller cohort.

Generation Y (born after 1980) formed 65% of the workforce. The authors believe that these proportions are representative of many Western contexts. Their research is borne out by Adler and Adler's (2004) study, which showed that resort workers formed an age

pyramid, with a very small group of older workers (more than 40 years old) at the apex, less middle-aged workers in the centre, and a bottom layer, consisting of numerous younger workers at the bottom.

Although all organisations seek healthy and fit employees, in the hospitality industry good appearance and youth are viewed as desirable attributes. Appearance can be used in discriminatory ways resulting in ageism and lookism (Warhurst, Broek, Hall, & Nickson, 2009) or a combination of both. Ageist attitudes stereotype workers as too old or too young for particular jobs in hospitality (Davidson & Wang, 2011) and older workers are not regarded as physically able as younger ones (Furunes & Mykletun, 2007).

British research showed that, while attitudes towards older workers had improved, they were inclined to receive less training and were regarded as more inflexible (R. Lucas, 2007; E. Martin & Gardiner, 2007). Although managers in the US restaurant sector hold positive stereotypes about older workers, nevertheless there appear to be few proactive approaches to hiring them (Dipietro & Condly, 2007).

Gender stereotyping

As well as age typecasting in the hospitality industry, embedded gendered practices appear to stereotype the roles for which men and women are suitable. Occupational gender stereotyping is complex and contextual, for example, studies in South Africa (Booyesen & Nkomo, 2010) and Egypt (Elsaid & Elsaid, 2012) reveal that both gender and race affect perceptions about women's suitability for managerial positions.

Gendered stratifications of hierarchy in the wider world, where women and men specialise in different types of work (Broadbridge & Hearn, 2008), are also reflected in a diverse range of contexts across the hospitality sector. For example, women in hospitality employment consider they receive fewer opportunities to supervise others in

Jamaica (Spencer & Bean, 2011) and the United States (Lee and Lee, 2012). Horizontal and vertical segregation is clearly illustrated in the hierarchical structures of hotels globally (Baum, 2013), for example, in Hong Kong (Ng & Pine, 2003), New Zealand (Mooney & Ryan, 2009), Australia (Knox, 2008) and the UK (Guerrier & Adib, 2002; Guerrier, 2008). Many studies note women's concentration in lower paid hospitality jobs, such as housekeeping (for instance, Campos-Soria et al., 2009).

Hospitality work appears to be perceived as 'feminised' work, a logical extension of women's reproductive work (Harris et al., 2011; Heimtun, 2012). From an emotional labour perspective, women are viewed as more suitable for service work due to their innate nurturing characteristics (Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011). They tend to be more favoured for customer interactions, for example, in the retail sector, women are observed to show more customer orientated behaviour than men (A. Kara, Andaleeb, Turan, & Cabuk, 2013). However, appropriateness for a role may not only apply to gendered norms and employers link an individual's appropriateness for a job to other dimensions such as ethnicity or English language ability.

Cultural stereotyping

There seem to be prevailing cultural or ethnically situated stereotypes that regulate employment opportunities for different types of hospitality work. Adib and Guerrier (2003) examined the associated expectations implicit in hotel employment; ethnic minority women were not as likely to be in hotel guest contact or Front of House jobs. In a study of London hotels, McDowell et al.(2007) observed that management assumed all local young men, regardless of ethnicity, were unable to show the required deference to guests. They were only employed in the Security Department, whereas Indians who embodied the desired aspects of submissiveness were employed in guest contact service areas or as management trainees. Adler and Adler's (2004, p. 215) resort study reveals gendered ghettoization and stratification of ethnic groups into

various departments and jobs, with “women and people of colour filling the lower positions while the better paying jobs with privilege and power went to white men”.

In New Zealand, those aged 25 and under make up almost 40% of the hospitality workforce (Poulston & Jenkins, 2013). Women in general (59.9% in 2009) form a large number of minimum waged service workers, with Pasifika and Maori over-represented in their ranks (Parker & Arrowsmith, 2012). In hotels, Europeans are observed to occupy administration and higher management positions, Indians are concentrated in lower management jobs, Pacific Island workers are generally older women employed in housekeeping (Poulston, 2006). Such labour stratifications affect employment opportunities and career paths for diverse groups of hospitality workers.

3.4 Motivation to work in hospitality

Overall, the preceding review of hospitality employment seems to be negative, although the sociable nature of many of the jobs has been acknowledged. However, at this stage it seems reasonable to ask why many employees view hospitality as a viable and attractive career. The answers are multifaceted. The fun aspect of hospitality work is important to consider. Hospitality has long associations with enjoyment and socialising particularly for younger workers (Choi et al., 2013; Maxwell, Ogden, & Broadbridge, 2010; Wildes, 2008). More established senior managers are less inclined to engage in out of work activities (O’Neill, 2012b), however, for all employees, regardless of age, workplace fun and humour are regarded as an important element of hospitality work (Choi et al., 2013; Davidson & Wang, 2011; Wildes, 2008).

Yet it seems implausible that the social aspects can provide a full explanation for why people remain working in hospitality. It becomes important to explore what motivates people to make a life in the industry. While it is understandable that students and migrants drop in and out of hospitality employment, forced to accept whatever jobs are

available, it appears that, on the whole, hospitality work provides an inhospitable working environment (McIntosh & Harris, 2012). An understanding of positive psychological contracts and organisational commitment may help to establish the reasons for hospitality career longevity.

3.4.1 The psychological contract

The previous literature suggests a link between good relationships in hospitality employment and job satisfaction. The notion of the psychological contract is used to explain the complex web of expectations and beliefs that employees and employers have about each other's obligations (Stone, 2000). The concept was developed from social contract theory and Argyris (1960) and Levinson, Price, Munden, Mandl, & Solley (1962) are credited with introducing the term into organisational studies (Roehling, 1997). Schien (1965, 1980) expanded on their research, suggesting that convergence between management and employee beliefs would lead to the attainment of organisational goals. Since then research has evolved to reviewing how the psychological contract is linked to employee engagement and organisational commitment (for example, Bocchino, Hartman, & Foley, 2003; de Lange et al., 2011).

Trust between management and employees is regarded as particularly important in the achievement of a positive psychological contract in a service environment (B. Kim et al., 2009; H.-W. Lee & Liu, 2009). When management act in a way that contradicts employee perceptions, then the employment contract is perceived to be violated and the employee may leave. This effect appears to be more pronounced in managerial employees in hospitality, for example, hotel managers (Blomme, van Rheede, & Tromp, 2010a; Carbery et al., 2003). Traditionally, it was believed that workers enter hospitality employment for extrinsic motivational reasons, such as pay (Reichel & Pizam, 1984). Extrinsic factors were also considered the reason why managers left the industry at later

career stages (Ghiselli, Lopa, & Bai, 2001). However, subsequent research paints a more complex picture, where age interlinks with hierarchical position.

In one particularly large United States study, Hauseknecht et al. (2009) suggest beliefs about what the organisation owes to employees differ according to a worker's place in the hierarchy. Organisational prestige and advancement opportunities are more important for higher level job holders and higher performers who are often older. Age also influences employee expectations and performance. Extrinsic rewards appear to be more important for hourly-paid workers who are generally at lower levels. Nonetheless, although money may be a significant motivator, Upchurch et al. (2010) observe that financial rewards, viewed in isolation from other factors, fail to increase organisational commitment for restaurant workers.

3.4.2 Organisational commitment

Organisational loyalty appears to be low throughout the hospitality industry. The 'easy in easy out' temporary nature of hospitality jobs means that workers change jobs frequently, as one study of Central and East European women migrants in London indicates (Rydzik et al., 2012, p. 137). Many hospitality workers consider their jobs as short term stopgaps.

Unfortunately, hospitality HRM practices that depend on an hourly paid labour force and cost reduction are not likely to encourage a positive psychological contract (Davidson, Guilding, & Timo, 2006). In Japanese hotels, intensive work practices have led to cold impersonal working relationships and deterioration of loyalty to the individual employer. Workers consider themselves "a specialised occupational community in each division in the hospitality industry" (Yamashita & Uenoyama, 2006, p. 240).

In an Italian study, Buonocore (2010) highlighted that part-time hotel workers feel like outsiders, with no attachment to their individual property. She concludes that a human resources approach that does not discriminate between full-time and part-time workers is likely to lessen workers' sense of alienation. There may be little incentive for employers to increase casual employees' sense of belonging. Other literature suggests that despite workers' lack of identification with their employing organisation, they take pride in their work (Dermody et al., 2004; Lee-Ross, 2005; Lundberg, Gudmundson, & Andersson, 2009; Onsøyen et al., 2009).

Organisational commitment is additionally influenced by cultural factors. Western motivational theories such as the job characteristics model (Hackman & Oldham, 1980) are affected by context (Fried & Ferris, 1987). For example, Lee-Ross's (2005) cross-cultural study of hotel workers in Australia and Mauritius indicates that workers in both countries equally appear to enjoy their jobs. However, the level of autonomy recommended by the job characteristics model creates discord for employees accustomed to the patriarchal management style of Mauritian hotels. The research concludes that a management approach allowing employees greater autonomy in decision-making is better suited to the more egalitarian Australian workplace.

Workers' organisational commitment also changes according to age and life stage. Generational differences affect workers' expectations. Young people enjoy the fun aspect of hospitality work (Choi et al., 2013; Wildes, 2008) and are prepared to work hard for advancement opportunities (Chuang & Dellmann-Jenkins, 2010; Maxwell et al., 2010; Zopiatis et al., 2012). Young highly educated managers (Blomme et al., 2010a) require interesting and challenging jobs to encourage them to stay, whereas older workers are more concerned with job security (Wildes, 2008).

The industry appears to have problems retaining employees as they age (Ghiselli et al., 2001). Wilde's (2008) research observes that age has a great effect on whether individuals will stay in the restaurant industry. For all age groups, money is the greatest motivator. Both for the 18-25 age group and those in the 46-55 age group, a fun working atmosphere (2008, p. 290) provides the next greatest incentive. For those in the 36-45 age groups, the following highest motivators are health benefits and flexible hours. Those aged 26-35 years old found that a fun workplace, in addition to flexible hours, was very important. Although money was perceived as the most significant factor for the oldest age group (over 55 years of age), health benefits were the next significant influence on their desire to remain with their employer.

Life stage affects the perception of work/life balance and organisational commitment in hospitality. Although relationships with co-workers are very important to managers, when children arrive, the unpredictability of hours in the hospitality industry becomes a problem, as noted previously (Cleveland et al., 2007). The issue of work/life balance surfaces in all hospitality employment contexts, for example, in Australia (Deery & Jago, 2009), Switzerland (R. Lewis, 2010) and China (Zhao, Qu, & Ghiselli, 2011). It is regarded as particularly problematic for women trying to balance family needs with work in the sector (Baum, 2013; O'Leary & Deegan, 2005; Okumus, Sariisik, & Naipaul, 2010; Pinar et al., 2011).

3.5 Longevity of a hospitality career

As indicated in Section 3.4 of this chapter, research shows high labour turnover across the hospitality industry. The literature appears to paint a contradictory picture about how hospitality organisations may retain employees. It is somewhat disconcerting that HRM strategies designed to encourage employee engagement and higher productivity will not necessarily motivate people to stay with a hospitality organisation. Lee and Way's (2010) study of restaurant workers in the US reveals that increased job

satisfaction, while improving productivity, *does not* (my italics) increase retention. The authors argue that the factors affecting retention and satisfaction are not the same; they are influenced by such variables as the worker's department, number of years worked, hours of work and shifts.

Job satisfaction by itself is not strongly correlated with intent to stay working in a particular hospitality organisation (Chalkiti & Sigala, 2010; K. Kim & Jogaratnam, 2010) and is further influenced by gender. Organisational support such as good management practices and supervisory leadership will encourage retention and increase employees' propensity to remain in hospitality organisations (Cho et al., 2009; Yang, 2010). Additionally, strategies designed to improve work/life balance increase staff retention in hospitality organisations (Deery, 2008).

It is clear when discussing the motivation of hospitality workers to remain in the industry that age, life stage, gender, ethnicity and occupational class all affect career longevity. Dimensions of demographic difference can be seen to affect individual choices; however, the interactions between that may be associated with particular categories will be affected by the dynamics of a different environment. New Zealand has its own contextual factors which will affect hospitality workers' wish to remain employed in the industry.

The previous section has reviewed the saliency of age, gender, ethnicity and occupational class dimensions to the longevity of hospitality careers. A research approach needed to be found that would allow these interlinking aspects to be explored; the intersectional research paradigm outlined in the introductory chapter appeared to provide the answer.

Anthias (2013) describes 'intersectionality' as a tool for exploring social relations and inequality (p. 127) in different groups. An intersectional model that includes identity

categories can be useful to track career patterns while revealing the workings of power and influence within the economic context of an organisation (Udo Zander et al., 2010). These power dimensions may play out in different ways for hospitality workers, for example, age may intersect with both ethnicity and gender to affect the individual career experience for a Pacific Island room cleaner. Therefore, all the aspects must be simultaneously explored to enable an understanding of the longevity of hospitality careers. Chapter Four describes how intersectional methods were implemented in this research. The next section will clarify the meanings of age, gender, class and ethnicity that influenced the way that socially ascribed categories of difference were interpreted in this study.

3.6 An intersectional approach to hospitality career research

Chapter Two revealed how an individual's career agency is affected by their employment and occupational contexts. The first part of this chapter has highlighted how industry expectations and assumptions about age, gender and ethnicity exert a powerful influence on individual hospitality careers. The next section will examine understandings of age, gender, ethnicity and class.

3.6.1 Age

It is important in the context of this research to note how individual career experiences vary according to the age and life stage of individuals. This section will firstly look at age trends in the workplace. Secondly, age related norms in hospitality employment will be examined. Finally, the lens that will be used in this study will be explained.

Hospitality career opportunities must be seen in the context of age related demographic trends. There has been an ageing of the workforce throughout the world (Eichhorst et al., 2013) and New Zealand is no exception (Stokes et al., 2010). In terms of age-group shifts from 2006 to 2021 in the New Zealand labour market, the greatest decline has

been projected to occur in the 25-44 age group, with a smaller decline of people aged 15-24 (McPherson, 2009). Therefore, there are implications for hospitality employers; the report predicts that industries employing occupational groups with younger profiles, for example, Cafe/Restaurant Managers and Chefs, will be short of staff in the future.

Across industries, age-related norms describe what age and life stage an individual should be for certain positions (Perry & Parlamis, 2006). Consequently, age stereotypes exist across a wide variety of employment cultures (Hehman & Bugental, 2013; Iweins, Desmette, Yzerbyt, & Stinglhamber, 2013). While employees in late career stages are regarded as more stable, they can also be perceived as slower to learn (Baltes, Lindenberger, & Staudinger, 2007) and therefore less efficient and more expensive for the organisation ultimately (Inkson, 2007).

The preceding literature review noted the different expectations and assumptions associated with different age groups. Exacerbating the hospitality sector talent shortfall explained in the previous section, are the ageist attitudes evident in hospitality employment globally (Furunes & Mykletun, 2005, 2007; Iun & Huang, 2007) and in New Zealand (Poulston & Jenkins, 2013). Hospitality employees are described as old at a younger age than in other sectors of employment (Lucas, 2007); supervisors in trendy bars express the fear of being considered too old for the job at 30 years of age (Nickson & Warhurst, 2007b). Older people are seen as less suitable both for managerial work (Magd, 2003), and jobs with a high physical content (Martin & Gardiner, 2007) in hospitality.

The concept of age as 'body-age' was used as a lens to explore career experiences in this study. Winker and Degele (2011) recommend that the category 'body' should be added to the 'traditional trio of socially defined categories, race, class and gender' (p.56) normally explored in intersectional studies. They believe that to fulfil desired

conditions for labour, individuals are increasingly required to follow age, health and performance standards. 'Body-age' refers to an individual's chronological age and associated suitability for a particular job, in terms of desired appearance and life stage, expressed as a dimension of power relations between groups (Winker & Degele, 2011). Appearance is no longer a fact of nature; it is culturally manufactured to increase employability and forms a vital element of performativity.

The idea of body-age is useful to explore a hospitality career, not only because of the importance of aesthetic and emotional labour to the industry, but due to the high physical demands of many hospitality jobs (Rydzik et al., 2012). Performativity does not only apply to how an individual looks and performs physically, but also how they fulfil the socially ascribed expectations associated with the age band (Winker & Degele, 2011).

3.6.2 Gender

It is important in the context of this research to note how an individual's gender affects individual career experiences. This section will firstly look at how gender is expressed in the workplace. Secondly, gender related norms in hospitality employment will be examined. Finally, the lens that used to explore gender in my research will be explained.

The term gender is commonly only associated with women. Men are not perceived to have 'gender' and the word tends to be associated with biological factors (P. Lewis & Simpson, 2010). However, gendered processes affect both men and women in the workplace. There are now a higher proportion of women in paid employment, as noted in Chapter Two. In Western economies, dual career families at all levels of society are the rule (Cha, 2013; Strachan, 2010). However, gender equality in the workplace has yet to be achieved.

Research, both globally and in New Zealand, notes a gender pay gap and lower proportions of women in senior leadership positions (Brandt, 2011; Brown, 2013; Human Rights Commission, 2012). Additionally, although both men and women experience difficulty in reconciling home and work life (Kesting & Harris, 2009), it is logistically more difficult for women with children to combine career and family. In all cultures, women have much greater parenting responsibility than men, although to what extent varies according to cultural and economic context (Budworth, Enns, & Rowbotham, 2008; Raley, Bianchi, & Wang, 2012). Women also perform by far the greatest proportion of household labour (Knudsen & Wærness, 2008; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010).

The previous literature review has noted how relationship based, rather than linear career models, have evolved over time in an attempt to describe how women manage both family and career orientations (Mainiero & Sullivan, 2005; Pringle & McCulloch Dixon, 2003). However, the competing demands of ‘greedy’ family and work institutions can never be fully satisfied without self-sacrifice for women with children (Cha, 2013, p. 160).

As noted earlier, globally women hold jobs with lower prestige and pay (Acker, 2006; Anderson, Vinnicombe, & Singh, 2010; Williams, 2013). They are disadvantaged by being placed in certain sectors of the labour market, which “ghettoise them” (Anthias, 2001, p. 383). Jobs are seen as commensurate with the domestic skills that women are presumed to possess. Bordieu (2001) theorises that the restriction of career opportunities for women is associated with a lack of value placed on their activities, in either the home or workplace.

Gender cannot be explored in isolation from other environmental factors (Hyde, 2005). It is essential to consider local, organisational and industrial context when discussing the

effects of gender differences. To illustrate, the career experiences of women can vary according to where they are located, even within the same country. In Turkey, women working in city centre hotels are more highly educated and express higher satisfaction with their working conditions than their counterparts who work in isolated resort areas (Okumus et al., 2010). The previous literature review has revealed the embedded occupational stereotyping throughout the industry that shapes expectations of men and women's roles and careers in hospitality organisations. However, Adib and Guerrier (2003) note that very little consideration has been given to how individual aspects of ethnicity or class identity affect women's and men's career experiences in the hospitality sector.

This research takes three approaches to researching gender in the career constructions of hospitality workers 1) the social-constructionist view, 2) the view that sees gender as performance and 3) the view that gender research studies both men and women.

The Social-Constructionist View

Martin encapsulates the social-constructionist perspective. She defines gender as:

“a social structure and related practices with a history that entails opportunities and constraints and a plethora of meanings, expectations, actions/behaviours, resources, identities, and discourses that are fluid and shifting yet robust and persisting” (2003, p. 344).

Yuval-Davies (2006, p. 197) observes that identities are based on individual and collective narratives that help us to know who we are. Both Harding (1986) and Winker and Degele (2011) reiterate the significance of socially constructed individual identities in establishing a person's sense of self and where they believe they fit in society.

Identity links with agency and a clear sense of identity empowers individuals to reach goals and transcend the context where they are located (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009).

Identity can be expressed in symbols that workers use to represent embedded workplace norms, for example, the belief that hard work is recognised. Organisational structures

that reproduce privilege and penalty for men and women are revealed through these norms.

Acker (2012, p. 216) supports the notion that gendered identities are grounded in gendered processes, formed both by the individual and the workplace. She argues that it is problematic that the conceptualised “ideal worker” is both male and capitalist. Gender and class processes are inseparable, male (hegemonic masculinities) and racial privilege have shaped (and still shape) class structures (Acker, 2012). Pressure may be put on individuals to subvert their gendered identities in order to fit in with organisational or industry norms, embedded in the “organisational processes that mould and change the individual’s behaviour both consciously and unconsciously” (P. Martin, 2003). There are implications for how gendered processes reinforce power and inequality in hospitality organisational structures, for example, dictating who does dirty work.

Gender as Performance

Acker (2012) and Winker and Degele (2011) recognise the link between gendered identity and organisational processes. Gender is therefore a social practice manifested in performance. Broadbridge and Hearn’s (2011) definition of gender also links it with performativity. They explain that “doing gender involves the recreation and maintenance of difference in specific social and institutional contexts - creating grounds for conceptualisations of gendered identities” (2011, p. 471). Gender as performativity takes the perspective that particular social assumptions are associated with male or female roles; there are conscious and unconscious expectations that men and women will play specific roles in the workplace (P. Lewis & Simpson, 2010).

Gender research studies both men and women

The notion of gender has proven a contested construct evidenced by twenty years of debate and re-theorising (Acker, 2012; Broadbridge & Simpson, 2011). The discourse that framed the debate on women as victims has evolved from examining the symbols of female oppression and lack of opportunity in the workplace to one where the ways in which male privilege is propagated within organisations are also explored. Broadbridge and Simpson (2011) acknowledge that masculinity studies have shifted ‘gender’ from the static “category of the individual” (p.471) associated with much feminist research to focus on processes that create and reinforce organisational privilege and entitlement (Simpson et al., 2012).

Instead, linking with the idea of performance discussed earlier, gender is seen as embodied in doing and performativity. Dominant forms of masculinity associated with strategic management have been implicated in the “promotion of hetero-normativity and the corresponding subordination of feminine attributes and “non-homogenic masculinities” (Broadbridge & Simpson, 2011, p. 474). It is significant that successful men rarely question the various nuances of gender. Sexual orientation is seen as another aspect of performance; hetero-normativity is the prevailing societal expression of a heterosexual and “obvious” norm (Winker & Degele, 2011, p. 55).

3.6.3 Ethnicity

As Chapter One observed, in New Zealand the term ethnicity is used instead of race. Ethnicity suggests “an apparently equal, multicultural juxtaposition of cultures which tolerate and respect each other”, whereas race tends to be associated with historic norms of a racial hierarchy and inequality (Lutz et al., 2011, p. 8). It is important in the context of this research to note how ethnicity affects individual career experiences. This section will firstly explain why ethnic considerations are important in considering career

experiences of hospitality workers. Secondly, the lens used to explore ethnicity in this study will be explained.

Ethnicity is relevant to the career discussion due to increasing diversity in the workplace (Naswall et al., 2008; Oerlemans, Peeters, & Schaufeli, 2008). However, it is difficult to obtain an accurate breakdown of the ethnic composition of New Zealand workplaces (Human Rights Commission, 2012). Despite this, there is strong validation for research about how ethnicity works in hospitality careers. Increasingly, because of globalisation, there is a concentration of migrants at the lower end of hospitality employment (McIntosh & Harris, 2012) and in New Zealand, ethnic minorities form a greater proportion of the low paid service workforce, particularly women (Nolan, 2007; Parker & Arrowsmith, 2012).

Immigrants frequently regard hospitality as a temporary convenient first job, allowing them to assimilate into their new homeland (Baum et al., 2007; Joppe, 2012). Although improving the host language skills is often a reason given by migrants for entering tourism employment (Janta et al., 2011), those with good language or work skills are often excluded from “higher profile ‘Front of House positions (Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011). Migrant women who are unable to move from hospitality work into what they consider more desirable employment, report feeling marginalised and bereft of possibilities (Rydzik et al., 2012).

In New Zealand, the service sectors located in Auckland or Wellington provide the greatest employment opportunities for immigrants (Parker & Arrowsmith, 2012), particularly in the restaurant sector where there are an abundance of ethnic speciality restaurants. However, for migrants without the required working visas, there appears to be systematic abuse of their employment rights. Punitive (far below legal minimum

wage) pay rates and very poor working conditions have been exposed by journalists in certain Auckland restaurant chains (Lincoln, 2013).

Further career difficulties encountered by migrants in New Zealand are marginalisation, discrimination and exploitation (McIntyre, 2008; Pio & Essers, 2013). The New Zealand social norms which place individual needs above those of family and society, may be unfamiliar to migrant women in New Zealand workplaces (Nayar, Hocking, & Giddings, 2012). There are, therefore, implications for career longevity of migrant workers in hospitality.

As indicated in Chapter One, the term ethnicity denotes variances in “cultural markers such as language, values, traditions and national origin” (Atewologun & Singh, 2010, p. 334). This study will explore ethnicity as one of the demographic dimensions that affect a hospitality career. As is the case with careers research, the ‘soft lens’ approach that looks at how to ‘manage’ different ethnicities has its drawbacks. Rather than exploring disparity and inequalities in work situations, frequently studies focus on the management of diverse nationalities and cultures. It is difficult to see just how barriers to career progression play out for different ethnic groups in specific work contexts (Proudford & Nkomo, 2006), a research gap that this study aimed to fill. One way to extend understandings of ethnicity in organisational studies is through exploring socially constructed identities, in much the same way as suggested by feminist researchers.

Anthias’s (2013) perspective of ‘transnationalism’ connects linkages between ethnic identities and social class. She sees social and class identities as being formed from the experiences of “transnational migrant ‘others’ in particular localities”(Anthias, 2013, p. 124). Bearing in mind gender, age and ethnicity all interlink with class, the next section will focus on aspects of class in hospitality employment.

3.6.4 Class

The earlier review has revealed the contrasts between the high status occupation of hotel managers and the poorly paid monotonous work carried out by those in the lowest positions in hotels. There are a number of approaches to consider when considering how 'class' works in organisations. Adib and Guerrier's (2002) hospitality study illustrates that the context of a person's work identity is significant. Identities can and do shift; aspects of gender or class or ethnicity will be highlighted according to the requirement of the work environment at one precise moment in time.

Critical management scholars Scully and Blake-Beard (2006) suggest that class may be regarded in one of three ways; 'structure' or 'style' or 'process'. In their first perspective of class as structure, class is presented as a historical concept connected to Marxist theory, the workers are the economic underclass, and capitalist rulers maintain the status quo. Similarly, Weber (2001, p. 19) defines class as a hierarchical positioning "based on [one's] position in the economy, in the distribution of wealth, income and poverty: in the distribution of power and authority in the workforce".

In their second classification of class as 'style', Scully and Blake-Beard (2006) acknowledge the effects of social stratification. Class does not solely depend on one's position in the hierarchy. Anthias (2001, 2013) argues although individual outcomes appear to be random, in reality, opportunities and exclusions are based on a person's gender or ethnicity or class.

The third and final way of researching class, which was employed in this research, links with organisation processes, "where class is constructed and enacted *and* where the invisible work of marginalised classes is consumed by elites" (Scully & Blake-Beard, 2006, p. 446). The authors use the metaphor of class 'as a window' to observe how class is enacted in organisational practices. Acker (2006a, p. 109) echoes the importance of

social structures by further linking them to embedded gendered and classed organisational processes that perpetuate inequality. As observed earlier, successful (white) men rarely question the nuances of gender, the same complacency is evident in attitudes towards class processes. Acker (2006a) criticises researchers for overlooking the importance of masculine and white privilege in the historical development and contemporary functioning of class relations. Such inequality has led to domination and exploitation.

Occupational class is ubiquitous in career literature. In hospitality careers, advancement depends on a hierarchical system. Internal promotion, as favoured by many hotels, (Kemp & Dwyer, 2001; Kong et al., 2010), frees up positions for those below. Therefore, because class is so visible, it is normalised. Without hierarchical progression, there would be no hospitality career structure.

3.6.5 The case for intersectional research in hospitality

Intersectional research is needed to investigate why people choose to remain working in hospitality. This section has explained how using a critical lens can reveal how privilege and penalty are embedded in organisational processes. The preceding review of hospitality employment norms indicates that stereotyping on the grounds of age, gender and ethnicity is ingrained in hospitality employment processes. Yet hospitality research does not focus on the gender(ed), aged, ethnic and class(ed) power relations revealed through these working practices (Lugosi et al., 2009; Lynch et al., 2011; McIntosh & Harris, 2012; Riley, 2008).

Intersectional research can help to uncover how organisational processes influence career outcomes for hospitality workers. Holvino (2010) observes that the restriction of opportunity for women, and people of colour, both financially and socially, is obvious from their overwhelming concentration in lower level jobs. She argues that, because the

effects of gender, class and colour are inseparable, it is difficult to see exactly when the effect of class supersedes the influence of an individual's gender or colour. Hospitality work is a case in point. If women and migrants are concentrated in the lowest paid, lowest status dirty jobs in hospitality, why do they stay for years in such jobs? This study attempts to answer this question.

3.7 Summary

Much of the attention paid to hospitality employment is negative. In academia, a large body of literature focuses on job satisfaction, the psychological contract and its influence on employees' intention to stay in hospitality careers. As with much of the careers literature, hospitality research frequently reflects an organisational focus. It is not clear what motivates individuals to remain working in the industry.

The preceding section has suggested that it is important to examine organisational processes to uncover the reasons for hospitality career longevity. However, there may be a danger that in taking a critical perspective on how age, gender, class and ethnicity play out in hospitality careers, that the positives of hospitality employment will be neglected. There are good and bad aspects in all jobs. For example, in the low pay sector, hospitality work offers migrants more social integration than factory work (Wilczek et al., 2009) and flexible work practices allow financial independence (Rydzik et al., 2012). This literature review has sought to give an insight into the significance of contextual background and individual circumstances on the development of a hospitality career.

My research investigates what career experiences and career constructs underpin career longevity in hospitality, and how age, gender, ethnicity and class influence this longevity. As Chapter Two's summary concluded, in order to be meaningful, career research must reflect its societal and organisational environment (Briscoe &

Finkelstein, 2009; Pringle & Mallon, 2003; Roper et al., 2010; Sullivan & Baruch, 2009; Tams & Arthur, 2010). The first part of this chapter examined the literature that describes the context of a hospitality career. The second part explained critical perspectives on age, gender, ethnicity and class.

The way ahead for my research into hospitality careers is threefold; firstly, to study the role of individual career agency discussed in Chapter Two; secondly, to study boundaries and the boundary crossings that facilitate entry into desired social groups in hospitality; thirdly, and most importantly, to find out how age, gender, ethnicity and occupational class affect career longevity in hospitality, by using an intersectional approach.

There is a need to understand why people continue a hotel career. On the one hand, senior hotel management appear to have every reason to remain working in hotels. On the other hand, the less advantaged, ethnic minorities, migrants, part-time workers, the lowly educated and the lowly skilled have other (not necessarily negative) reasons to stay working in the hotel sector. My research project hopes to fill the gap. How the intersectional approach was used to investigate the longevity of hospitality careers will be explained in Chapter Four.

Chapter 4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The methodology that shapes this research uses an interpretative approach informed by feminist theorising. Interpretative research explores “multiple co-existing realities” (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006, p. 379) to understand the manner in which people within particular social environments strive to make sense of their daily lives (Nordqvist, Hall, & Melin, 2009). For example, it can reveal the connections between the different age-linked stages of an individual’s career journey and ‘new’ career theory, which might otherwise go unnoticed.

The chapter is structured as follows. Firstly, the feminist epistemology grounding the study is explained. Further justification for why an intersectional paradigm was chosen to explore the intersectionality of age, gender, class and ethnicity in hospitality careers follows. Thirdly, the rationales for selecting memory-work and interviews as methods for the collection and analysis of data are given. The final section summarises how the implementation of the intersectional methodology led to the findings and discussion in Chapters Five and Six.

4.2 A feminist approach

This interpretive research is based on a feminist epistemology. It takes a critical approach to investigate how organisational processes influence the longevity of a hospitality career. In general, feminist research is defined more by the purposes of the research rather than how it is studied (Stewart & Cole, 2007); the main aim is to achieve social justice. Feminist research aims to expose hidden problems in social processes (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006) such as the employment practices commonly observed across the hospitality industry.

A feminist perspective can be particularly valuable in examining hierarchies and the social relations that perpetuate inequalities within hierarchical bureaucratic institutions, for example, hotels. It entails asking meaningful questions about the power imbalances that are so prevalent in societal systems whether private or institutional (Calas & Smircich, 2009). Chapter Two suggested the boundaryless career concept does not offer a level playing field for all individuals. Workers in precarious employment have felt the detrimental effects of a neo-liberal market driven economy most keenly. Williams (2013, p. 625) argues that feminist research must extend beyond its previous focus on women and broadcast how neo-liberal policies have resulted in “exploitation and family hardship for significant numbers of workers in Western economies”, both men and women.

A cornerstone of feminist research is reflexivity. This is described as “a kind of disciplined self-reflection” (M. Crawford & Kimmel, 1999, p. 3). The interpretation of data is viewed as a genuine collaboration between the researcher and the researched (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003; Wickramasinghe, 2009). To signal the centrality of the participants in the research process, they are described as ‘subjects’ rather than ‘objects’ (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2007). Anderson (2006, p. 382) observes that the reflexive researcher consciously examines their understanding of meanings from dialogue between the researcher and the research subjects. Therefore, the researcher’s voice becomes an integral part of the feminist research process (Reinharz, 1992) and, frequently, the researcher’s own experience gives an entry point for reflexive research in organisational settings (Holvino, 2010; Yost & Chmielewski, 2013). My own satisfying 25-year long career in the hospitality industry prior to becoming an academic, motivated me find out why people stay rather than depart a hospitality career.

As Chapter Three observes, a significant development within the contemporary feminist approach to organisational research is that it does not necessarily focus exclusively on

women. A feminist lens can examine those who are privileged and those who are not, both men and women. Ideally, any research where the focus is diversity and difference should include men and women, as well as people of different ethnic backgrounds, otherwise diversity may be linked only with the marginalised as though “white heterosexual men do not have race, sexual orientation or gender” (Nkomo, cited in Tatli & Özbilgin 2012, p. 187). Broadbridge and Simpson (2011) consider a substantial challenge faced by gender researchers is how to give men a voice without further entrenching their privilege. My personal challenge was how to give men the opportunity to tell ‘their’ story, not ‘my’ interpretation of their story. My positioning in this research will be explained at a later point in this chapter.

This study draws from two feminist research traditions to varying degrees. One is socialist feminism, which argues that dimensions of difference, such as age, gender, ethnicity and class are the inseparable origins of inequality and the oppression of women (Kennedy, 2008). In contrast, a post-structural approach to studying intersections focuses on how individual identities, founded on class or ethnicity, affect how gender is perceived and performed. Gender is seen as embodied in performance and doing (Broadbridge & Simpson, 2011; Holvino, 2010, p. 11). An intersectional approach therefore offers what Davis (2011, pgs. 47-48) refers to as a “new twist” to feminist scholarship, a “new platform” to link “critical feminist theory and a critical methodology inspired by postmodern feminist theory” to address an old yet persistent problem of exclusion.

Feminist research incites strong reactions, and even its supporters consider that a feminist approach is very demanding (Calas & Smircich, 1996; Olesen, 2000).

However, I argue that a feminist approach is required in hospitality studies. Chapter One suggested that, although hospitality research has developed a more critical focus (Lugosi et al., 2009, p. 1465; McIntosh & Harris, 2012), there is still not enough

critical research into aspects of age, gender, ethnicity and class within employment practices across the sector. In addition, the experiences of women and ethnic minorities in hospitality only appear to be observed in negative terms. As noted earlier, an innovative methodology that may help to chart previously unexplored territory in hospitality research is an intersectional approach.

4.2.1 What is an intersectional approach?

Winker and Degele (2011) define intersectionality as:

“a system of interactions between inequality creating social structures, symbolic representations and identity constructions that are context specific, topic oriented and inextricably linked to social praxis” (p.54).

Essentially, intersectional research looks at individuals in groups differentiated by diversity categories, for example, chronological age or gender. These groupings by diversity categories are significant as people may perceive and experience discrimination or power inequalities at different times in the workplace. An intersectional approach reveals the “soft social underbelly of organisations” (U Zander, Zander, Gaffney, & Olsson, 2010, p. 462).

Nevertheless, this approach is not without problems. ‘Intersectionality’ whether ‘method’ or ‘paradigm’(Hancock, 2007), magnifies the difficulties and contradictions associated with feminist research (Olesen, 2000). There appears to be no way to formalise a concrete process for intersectional studies. To this extent, it may encourage the researcher to develop unorthodox or creative ways of conducting feminist analysis (K. Davis, 2011). However, the fact that intersectional research is so “messy” (Dhamoon, 2011, p. 239), frequently requiring a leap of faith on the part of the researcher, prevents the method being used more widely.

The term ‘intersectionality’ was introduced by Crenshaw (1991) when she discussed issues of black women’s employment in the United States. Intersectional research

originally explored the discrimination and oppression experienced by black women (Nielsen, 2013; Walby, Armstrong, & Strid, 2012, p. 20). In the same way that traditional career theory influences people's career expectations, a black feminist research perspective exerts a powerful effect on the debate that surrounds intersectionality and how studies drawing on an intersectional methodology are carried out (Nash, 2008; Yuval-Davis, 2006).

Feminist academics such as Hill Collins (1998), Nkomo (1991) and Acker (2012) argue that the ways women (and men) experience inequalities are shaped not only by gender, but interconnected to other social categories of difference. Gender cannot be studied in isolation, as this limited view does not provide a full picture of how an organisation works (Britton & Logan, 2008). If one looks at race and gender, for example, they are not experienced as separate or cumulative but linked and simultaneous (Hancock, 2007; Holvino, 2010; Proudford & Nkomo, 2006).

Yuval-Davis (2006) observes that, for ethnic and black feminist researchers, race (or ethnicity) and class and gender can be seen as a model of "triple oppression", although further categories such as age and disability may be added to the mix. Other researchers, such as Nash (2008), protest that intersectionality should be used to explore privilege and penalty. She argues that associating the method only with black marginalised women, is as blind as the white middle class feminist lens that dominated feminist research in the past. Hancock (2007) and Dhamoon (2011) argue that intersectionality has metamorphosed into an analytical paradigm that can be widely applied to explore the multifaceted relationships between social groups and structures, in varied contexts, beyond the limits of women of colour.

Intersectional scholars must grapple with further questions. Is intersectionality a process or a goal; is it something that is or something that we do? What does it help us to do

(Fletcher, Holvino, & Debebe, 2012)? The ongoing debate should be seen positively, as such questioning continues to elicit a reflexive response from feminist researchers about to carry out intersectional research in a way that maximises its unique contribution. For example, Williams (2013) argues that, in Western societies, the elite gain their privileges at the expense of the marginalized. However, viewing different categories of people as *only* attracting privilege or suffering penalty cannot capture the complexity of multiple intersections of points of difference.

The oppressor can also be oppressed (Dhamoon, 2011). For instance, a white woman may be both privileged and oppressed depending on her situation. Verloo (2013), Geerts and van der Tuin (2013) advocate that the concept of intersectionality needs to evolve still further to track the complex mix of disadvantage/discrimination and privilege/ domination in society. Therefore, the conceptual frameworks that researchers use are important. Critical feminist researchers argue that the majority of organisational studies originating from the United States are ethno-centric and inward-looking, and critically blinkered, but claim to be universal and objective (Calas, Smircich, & Holvino, 2014). To this end, Holvino (2010) urges that future intersectional research must explore work and careers using paradigms other than Western centric ones. In a sense, the intersectional discussion has come full circle. In common with Crenshaw's (1991) original thesis, a unifying belief among intersectionality scholars is the recognition that intersectionality cannot be separated from its history as a political project (Lutz et al., 2011).

The implementation of an intersectional approach

Despite the increasing popularity of the idea of intersectional research, there still remains a great deal of confusion in how to study it (Dhamoon, 2011; Hancock, 2007; Holvino, 2010; McCall, 2008, 2008; Tatli & Özbilgin, 2012; Walby et al., 2012; Yuval-

Davis, 2006). Although researchers have attempted to conceptualise a workable framework, for example, McCall (2005), there is no clear blueprint to go forward.

There appears to be disagreement among intersectional scholars whether to base intersectional studies on identity or structural processes. Because the origins of intersectional research are rooted in black feminist research, a great deal of previous intersectional research was based on identity design studies (Proudford & Nkomo, 2006). As Yuval-Davies (2006, p. 197) explains, “identities are individual and collective narratives that answer the question “who am/are I/we?”. The advantage of an identity-based approach is that it allows researchers to investigate two dimensions of identity simultaneously, without privileging one over the other. For example, identity work in an intersectional study can explore the ‘double bind’ encountered by women who combine gender and leadership roles (Fletcher et al., 2012).

However, McCall (2005) argues that a focus on identity in intersectional studies is not sufficient. Methodologically, there needs to be more attention paid to analysis at the structural levels of society. Acker (2006) also recommends a structural approach to intersectional researchers. She considers that inequalities in organisations are created by mutually “reinforcing or contradicting processes” (page 242). She warns that a focus on identity means the relationships between competing aspects of individual identity are difficult to establish and highly complex to track and link. Dhamoon (2011) also advises the researcher to focus on processes and systems instead of identities and categories; this approach ‘avoids reductive forms of analysis’ (p. 240). She prefers a matrix structure, with the terms privilege and penalty used to describe aspects of power relations.

Walby (2012) identifies several practical problems associated with intersectional research, which this researcher grappled with during the research design phase of this

research. They include such questions as how to design an intersectional study in a way that explores the privileged, as well those who are disadvantaged; how to achieve balance between categories (by not prioritising any one in particular); how to analyse class. She queries whether the researcher can ultimately pinpoint intersections as the intersections themselves change the nature of inequalities.

As observed earlier, researchers using emerging research methods may be more creative as they are not constrained by the existing protocols that surround some research methods. However, the flipside for this researcher was that making the decision about the most suitable approach caused intense soul searching. Ultimately, Winker and Degele's (2011) model of multi-level analysis was chosen because it appeared to provide the following solutions to many of the practical problems highlighted previously:

- The model offered a clear method of linking the intersecting points of social categories of difference to organisational processes and the structural framework of the hospitality industry.
- It offered a way to analyse age, gender, ethnicity and class in organisations
- It highlighted the dynamic nature of performativity standards (which appeared to change according to age, gender, ethnicity and class), that emerged as significant in previous studies of employment processes in the hospitality workplace.
- It allowed exploration of organisational processes that reinforce privilege and penalty

As is often the case with emerging research methods, the application of the model to this research proved more difficult than originally anticipated. Although Winker and Degele's (2011) model is one of the few approaches to intersectional research that offers a clear sequence of steps, there were essential questions to be resolved that only became apparent during the research process. There were two main issues that were a source of concern to the researcher, that were resolved through helpful clarification of

the model, received from direct communication with Professor Winker, and through discussion with other intersectional scholars.

Firstly, the perspectives used to explore social categories of difference needed to be clearly visible. In order to achieve methodological rigour, the approaches to age, gender, ethnicity and class also needed to be true to the social-construction ontological base of my research. The way each social category of difference is approached in this research was explained in Chapter Three. Some scholars, such as Anthias (2001, 2013) and U. Zander et al.(2010), do not consider that each category of difference requires a clear methodological foundation however, other intersectionality scholars do not share this opinion. In order to produce rigorous, meaningful intersectional research, a researcher is obliged to clarify their ontological position when carrying out research involving class, gender or race/ethnicity dimensions (Dhamoon, 2011; Walby et al., 2012; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Additionally, it is important to examine the processes of exclusion associated with each category rather than assuming together they acquire equal weighting. Such an approach can result in a re-centring, similar to the way gender has been criticised as holding the central position by some intersectional scholars, for example, Hancock (2007).

Secondly, Winker and Degele's (2011) model for carrying out intersectional research considers social identities, norms and the organisational processes that influence them. The basis of their method connects individual identities with organisational and societal structures. After much angst and experimentation, their model was adapted to focus on the study of organisational process in hospitality careers rather than focusing on individual identity. In line with Dhamoon's experience (2011), the conflation of identity rendered the data set unmanageable for this researcher. Therefore, this study focused on the organisational processes that appear to be associated with privilege or penalty in the hospitality workplace.

4.3 Data collection instruments

The previous section has outlined the various approaches to intersectionality. This section will review the data collection methods and how the analysis was carried out. Stewart and Cole (2007) suggest that using a combination of data collection methods gives a more complete picture of people's experiences. Two contrasting methods were chosen to provide a deep, complex, yet partial, understanding of the social construction processes that impact on the longevity of a hospitality career: memory-work and semi-structured interviews.

It is a condition of the university's research code that approval from the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) is required for any research involving human subjects. Accordingly, ethics approval was requested to carry out the research. Initially, AUTEC raised the concern that this 'insider research', which involved fellow academics during the memory-work process, could potentially cause a conflict of interest. To allay concerns and protect the confidentiality and privacy of participants, a recruitment and consent protocol for participants was developed, based on the principles of reciprocal care and understanding, "rooted in emotional experience", between the researcher and the research subjects (Christians, 2005, p. 151). Subsequently, the committee granted permission for the research to proceed and the approved protocol was followed during the memory-work and interview processes.

4.3.1 Memory-work

Memory-work is a group research method that involves the collective analysis of individual written memories (Onyx & Small, 2001). Put simply, a group of people with a common interest choose a particular topic to explore; develop a phrase or cue, then each write an individual memory. The significant contribution of this method compared to other group research methods, such as focus groups, is that meanings and simultaneous different identities in a particular social context are uncovered in the

subsequent group discussion of each written memory (J. Crawford, Kippax, Onyx, Gault, & Benton, 1990).

The origins of this method lie in a feminist collaborative writing project about women's bodies during the late 1970s in Germany. The collective's intention in writing stories about their bodies, and subjecting them to critical analysis, was to create a new practical theoretical discourse for themselves and those who read the stories (Haug & Others, 1987). The method has since been adopted as an insightful feminist research process. The aim of memory-work is to understand the participant's subjective experiences; individual meanings are believed to be attached to memories (Markula & Friend, 2005).

By asking participants to write a specific memory about a previous experience, the participant becomes aware of meanings associated with their story. During the discussion process, these individual meanings are transformed into mutual meanings and consequently, move beyond individual experiences (Hyle, Ewing, Montgomery, & Kaufman, 2008). It is the development of collective meanings that gives the method its richness in both collecting and analysing data. Memory-work crosses the gap "between theory and experience" (Haug & Others, 1987, p. 15).

The choice of methods

The employment of the memory-work method had a number of advantages for this research. Memory-work is particularly suitable as a research method for this study, as it originates from feminist, critical and social-constructionist perspectives (Onyx & Small, 2001). Haug (2008, p. 26) refers to the researcher who instigates the project as the "organic intellectual...who assumes the intellectual tasks for the group". She suggests that the voice is openly included in the research process as an equal member of the group. However, there are issues of power that need consideration.

Power and Reflexivity

One of the strengths of memory-work as method is that it is regarded as compatible with critical feminist approaches, therefore it is viewed as non-hierarchical and there should be no power differences (Small, 2007). While it is regarded as ideal if the researcher becomes a member of the research group (Haug & Others, 1987), it became clear from studying the experiences of other researchers using memory-work (for example, Small et al, 2007), that the approach to be adopted by the researcher depended on each unique research environment. In implementing an emerging research method, the researcher needs to have courage and flexibility in developing a process that ‘works’ but still remains true to the principles of the memory-work. The researcher also anticipates more rigorous questioning of novel research methods because they are less conventional. Hence, there is heightened associated anxiety for the researcher in making their own adaptations that when other more ‘tried and tested’ traditional methods are chosen.

Due to the feminist social constructions lens used in this study, an appropriate method was required to study how organisational processes influence hospitality career longevity. As noted previously, there has been paucity of critical approaches in hospitality studies (Lugosi et al., 2009; Morrison & O’Gorman, 2008). Consequently, hospitality research needs new analytical paradigms that offer fresh insights and interpretations of the power dynamics in hospitality work.

My long career in different hospitality organisations led me to consider using an auto-ethnographical method of research combined with memory-work and interviews at the onset of the study. Although the status of auto-ethnography as ‘proper research’ remains problematic and disputed, auto-ethnography also bridges the gap between theory and experience and offers a base from which to theorize about experience (Chang, 2008; Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2010; Holman Jones, 2005). The use of a third person voice could allow me, as a researcher, to stand back and theorize my own career

history. As my intention early into the study was to use auto-ethnography, I decided not to openly include my voice in the memory-work sessions.

At a later stage, due to the complex demands of combining three different analysis methods within an intersectionality paradigm, it was decided not to include an auto-ethnographical analysis in this study. However, in common with the experiences of other memory-work researchers (for example, Small et al., 2007), the decision not to include this researcher's voice in the memory-work-sessions allowed the voices of the participants to be heard more clearly. Although the power differential remains, participants are less influenced by the direction of the initiating researcher's memories.

A second advantage of using the memory-work process was it gave an entry point to connect hospitality career theory and the participants' "lived experiences" (Haug and Others, 1987, p. 15), by building a framework to study the intersection of diverse categories (Ryan, 2005). Academics with prior hospitality careers were invited to be memory-work participants, and the memory-work process gave the opportunity for a rich variety of hospitality career experiences at various hierarchical levels to be explored. Research with academics as subjects is believed to be particularly potent, as academics are familiar with the process of synthesising and analysing information from various sources (J. Crawford et al., 1990).

Memory-work is an emergent research method that illustrates how innovative ways of carrying out research tend to develop where other more established methods of research are unable to address contemporary gaps in knowledge (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006, p. xii). Although emergent methods develop from the desire for more sensitive research instruments, in order to be effective, novel approaches need to be founded on a strong theoretical foundation with clearly reasoned explanations of their epistemological base, methodology and method (L. Anderson, 2006, p. 391).

Scholars who believe that memories are inherently unreliable have challenged the use of memory-work as a research method. In response, Crawford et al. (1990) argue that it is the meaning attached to the memories, not their accuracy, that provides the basis of the memory-work method. Although there is a realisation that focusing on experience does not always reveal how the experience emerged (Olesen, 2011), the group discussion allows common understandings to be shared.

While memory-work is recognised as a collaborative method that allows collective discussions of topics chosen by the group, there are also opaque power issues with the memory-work process encountered by this researcher. In an illuminating memory-work project that explored the experiences of researchers using memory-work, Small et al. (2007) articulated the anxieties and power concerns felt by those who had led memory-work studies, for example, role conflict, hierarchical dynamics and worries about the implementation of the method. This researcher grappled with these issues.

I experienced conflict between fulfilling the role of ‘expert’ and ‘facilitator’. Although I had taken the decision not to contribute my voice to give others the chance to air their voices, I felt tensions between the group choosing its own direction and the assumption that I would lead. After all, the research would enable my doctorate, not further the research of my colleagues. As Small et al. (2007) observe “we feel responsible for the discussion but could not/ would not control the discussion” (p. 266). My uneasy position reflected the difficulties inherent in the memory-work method, where the researcher is the subject of her own research. However, Small et al. (2007) also discuss the deep emotional bond that forms from the common sharing of memories and a desire to nurture and protect the group members. In response to this emotional attachment engendered through the shared revealing of self, this researcher decided not to include all individual memories as they could potentially remove the anonymity of the participants.

Ingleton (2007a) suggests that one of the strengths of memory-work is that all members of the collective are equals and there should be no power differentials. In this study, although there were no overt power differentials between the researcher as facilitator and other group members, it was clear that some group members had more senior hierarchical positions than others and were rather critical, albeit in a jocular fashion, with more junior group members who contributed a great deal to the discussion at certain points. Again, this resulted in tension between the researcher's desire to rescue the situation and the compulsion to let the group decide the flow.

Power differentials appeared less 'raw' during the second meeting of Group A to discuss their memories. Participants had a chance to reflect on the first session and there were light-hearted remarks about the importance of listening to one another. In Group B, from the onset there appeared to be few visible power differentials and the group were less challenging to one another's memories. Throughout both groups, there was a dawning confidence in quieter participants. As the discussions proceeded they too recognised they could add a valuable contribution.

For this researcher, the tension between the necessity to have a collective discourse, that simultaneously fulfils the research objectives of the instigator, continued into the data analysis stage. As a collaborative analytical method, I questioned whether I should be the only one to analyse the themes. It was heartening to hear of similar dilemmas encountered and overcome by other researchers. Ingleton (2007) considers the instigating researcher's choice of themes to generate new theory, results in a loss of integrity on the part of the researcher. For every step of the memory-work project from inception to publication, a small part of the group's 'voice' is lost. She argues however, that it is important to explain the choices made, that in fact memory-work is more transparent than more traditional methods as memory-work researchers attempt to explain the reasons for their individual selections. They are more 'upfront' about whose

interests they are serving and ultimately, there is an element of subjectivity in all analysis processes, whether acknowledged or not.

Small (2005) also agonised over the dilemma of what to include and what to leave out. She notes that an interpretive approach simultaneously combines the development of theory with data collection and analysis. My analysis was inductive, I sought themes that would generate theory rather than looking for themes to support data. As Small (2005) notes, there are few guidelines in how to analyse memory-work data. Much as she felt, it appeared incongruous for me to code memory-work responses individually to each participant, therefore in the same way as Small (2005) describes, I chose the themes from memory-work and let the voices speak for themselves.

Small also explains how she used discourse analysis to ensure that she did not overlook minor themes. As I was additionally carrying out analysis of semi-structured interviews, I had the security of being able to cross-check themes that developed from the memory-work analysis with the themes that emerged during the intersectional coding process of the interviews. In this way, I could protect the “voices” of the memory-work participants, while ensuring that major and minor themes in the accounts of all the participants were cross referenced against one another.

As an ‘emergent’ method, there are practical difficulties with implementation. Haug’s own experiences with memory-work led her to state that there is no one correct way to carry out memory-work (Haug & Others, 1987; Haug, 2008). However, participants frequently do not follow writing guidelines and researchers must resist the temptation to give their own ‘trigger points’ for discussion, instead of allowing the group to develop its own direction (Ryan, 2009). The adaptation of the method by researchers particularly in Australia and New Zealand (Hyle et al., 2008), means that there is now a more

established framework for the process to follow, as will be explained at a later stage in this chapter.

The choice of methodologies and epistemological lenses is an intensely personal decision. Often as Ingleton (2007a) trenchantly remarks, it is not the choice that is difficult, but the justification of the decision to others. In feminist research, the trigger for investigation is frequently rooted in personal experience (Calas & Smircich, 2009; Olesen, 2011; Wickramasinghe, 2009), the aim of exploring situations is the researcher's desire to right the balance and achieve change where there is perceived injustice. In the case of this research, a critical feminist approach was the only approach that I could consider given my work history as a woman in a male dominated hospitality environment. The adoption of '*gendering organisations*' rather than a gender in organisations approach in this study allowed me to observe reflexively "how gender/sex inequality is *ingrained in the reproduction of a hierarchical power relations system* [in] organisations" (Calas et al., 2014, p. 29). Such a scrutiny not only reveals gendered organisational processes, but additionally exposes the power effects of classed and racialised performance norms in hospitality.

Thereafter, every step led inexorably to the choice of an intersectional paradigm as the only way to explore the four aspects of a hospitality career under scrutiny without privileging one dimension in particular (Dhamoon, 2011). By rejecting a "distancing conceptual abstraction" research methodology, the choice of memory-work and interviews as data collection methods "allowed closeness to the actual happening" and did not focus solely on the elite (Calas et al., 2014, p. 28).

The use of multiple methods is widely accepted as a process that ensures that meanings are clarified by using multiple perceptions- this can help to verify the 'repeatability' of an interpretation and can assist in identifying different realities (Stake, 2005). In the

case of this study, it was believed that using more than one method could encompass the complexities of intersectional research. The choice of methods seemed to be pre-ordained for the project. Once the decision was made to use intersectionality as a paradigm, it was a natural choice to consider research methods favoured by feminist researchers, such as interviews and memory-work (M. Crawford & Kimmel, 1999; Onyx & Small, 2001). As the advantages of the interview process in giving voice to the marginalized has long been recognised (DeVault & Gross, 2007), the following section will focus on the adaptation of memory-work as method in this study.

Memory-work proponents explain how the individual self and identity is revealed in memories, as “memory-work considers self a social product that arises from interactions with others and the focus is to uncover the social constructions of experiences as they contribute to self-identity” (Markula & Friend, 2005, p. 446). At one conference, I was profoundly influenced by hearing Dr Jennie Small speak about the value of memory-work as a method that helps to bridge the gap between theory and life experiences (Small, 2010). Her emphasis on the ways that group discussions created multiple layers of meanings convinced me to use memory-work to explore the subjective meanings of hospitality careers.

Methodologically memory-work is derived from two theoretical traditions; hermeneutics which assumes an interactive knowledge construction process, and phenomenology, which emphasises the importance of lived experience in knowledge construction; meanings and simultaneous different identities are created indirectly through a particular social context (J. Crawford et al., 1990). Adherents of hermeneutic approaches seek to understand the meanings objects hold for the perceiver(s) but they also seek to understand the relationships between them, including, tradition, culture, heritage, history and social settings (Pernecky & Jamal, 2010).

Memory-work is regarded as a particularly powerful method when participants come from disparate professional backgrounds and are academics (Haug & Others, 1987), as they are considered to be adept at analysing diverse situations to uncover common patterns and connecting them to theory. It made sense therefore to use the lecturers in the School of Hospitality as participants in a memory-work project. It would have been rewarding to also have used the memory-work method for current employees, however as participants came from different hotels it would have been logistically very difficult to co-ordinate and assemble groups for the periods of time required. The hierarchical differences would also have an inhibiting effect on those at lower positions. Therefore, the decision was taken to use semi-structured interviews for the current hospitality employees.

In terms of data collection, memory-work and interviews are two sympathetic methods commonly used by feminist researchers to allow the voices of the marginalized to be heard. Although the memory-work groups were composed of participants who had achieved managerial status, a strength of memory-work is that it allows the researcher to extract meaning from what is not said as well as what is said (Small, 2005). For example, the discussion around ethnicity by a group of privileged academics of European origin was illuminating as it charted the dawning realisation that, contrary to their opening statements, gender and ethnicity do ‘matter’. They came to understand that there were distinct outcomes associated with being a certain gender or belonging to an ethnic minority group in career terms, for example, their discussions explored the understanding that Indians were often employed in the wash up area and women segregated into housekeeping departments.

The limitations of the methodology and methods

One major limitation of using memory-work and intersectionality is because both methods are evolving research paradigms, there is no established protocol for

implementing them. This caused a great deal of internal debate for this researcher as there is added pressure caused by the desire to use the method correctly but feeling concern as there is no clearly charted process. The strongly opposing views on how to implement an intersectional approach adds to the intense anxiety documented by other researchers (Ingleton, 2007a; Small et al., 2007) and experienced by this researcher personally.

One overarching limitation of intersectionality as simultaneous methodology/ method is that it lacks a concrete ‘blueprint’ and appears chaotic (Dhamoon, 2011; Nash, 2008). This creates challenges for the researcher to present the findings in a way that makes clear connections between findings and conclusions. Alternative approaches that were considered were auto ethnography, as explained earlier, or using a simpler thematic (easier) approach towards analysing the data, rather than the decision to adopt Winker and Degele’s (2011) more complex model of multi-level analysis. While potentially rewarding, ultimately auto-ethnography as an additional research method would have presented a further and unwelcome layer of complexity and ‘murkiness’ (Nash, 2008) beyond the scope of this thesis. Discourse analysis was also considered for analysis of the memory- work sessions; however, this researcher felt that the interaction between the two methods and two complimentary analytical frameworks allowed the significant themes to emerge from the memory-work sessions and the interviews.

4.3.1.1 Criteria for selection of participants for memory-work

With the memory-work method, participants are sought because of their common interest in the subject under discussion (Haug, 2008). Participants were hospitality lecturers who had previously been employed within hotels for at least ten years. The Auckland University of Technology School of Hospitality and Tourism is the only dedicated hospitality degree and postgraduate school in New Zealand; consequently, many lecturers had expert professional hospitality experience before their alternative

career choice in hospitality education. A strength of Haug's original collective was its composition of various specialists in different fields (Hyle et al., 2008). In this study, the groups featured a cross section of people with past and present professional and academic interests, teachers, lecturers, restaurant managers, accountants, chefs, service staff, hotel duty managers and general managers.

In line with the purpose of the research, participants were sought by means of an advertisement within the School of Hospitality. Experience in hotels provided the common ground. A wide cross section of participants of different ethnic groups and varied occupational levels was also sought. Initially the advertisement attracted fewer female lecturers and all volunteers were European or European New Zealanders. In reality, the ethnic and gender composition reflected the demographics of the lecturers within the School of Hospitality. The demographic profile of all participants will follow in Chapter Five.

4.3.1.2 My positioning

As noted earlier, in both feminist methods and memory-work, the researcher is part of the research process. Both researcher positioning and ongoing reflexivity are of paramount importance in feminist research. The researcher is required to be mindful of how their age, gender, ethnicity and class may affect what is heard and interpreted during the research process. My position as a white middle class educated woman contributed to a privileged worldview, and 25 years of professional experience at various levels of hospitality work further influenced how the literature and research participants' careers were interpreted.

Academic life made me question hospitality-working practices that I had always taken for granted. It is accepted as part of the feminist research process that the researcher will have 'baggage' that must inevitably colour analysis (Olesen, 2011). Therefore, in

order to create trustworthy research, rather than searching for a subjective truth and validity, the reflexive researcher must consciously examine their understanding of meanings from dialogue between the researcher and the research subjects (L. Anderson, 2006, p. 382). In the light of this understanding, I decided not to contribute my own memory to the memory group sessions. The researcher's contribution to the memory-memory-work sessions lay in occasional prompts, observing body language and listening.

4.3.1.3 The memory-work process

The evolving nature of memory-work as a method means that it is now generally accepted that there are three stages or phases involved in the memory-work process (J. Crawford et al., 1990; Haug, 2008; Hyle et al., 2008; Onyx & Small, 2001). Onyx and Small (2001) outline a sequence of procedural steps which was developed from Crawford et al.'s (1990) experience of using memory-work. The first phase involves the writing and collection of stories about a particular topic. Participants are advised of specific guidelines, for example to write using a pseudonym and in the third person. This avoids prejudgment on the part of the writer about what to include or leave out in the story.

The second phase is the group memory-work session to discuss the individual stories. Participants read their memory aloud in turn. Commonalities and discrepancies are commented upon and everyone in the group contributes to the analysis and identification of particular significant phrases. In their analysis of the memory-work method, Markula and Friend (2005) make the point that boundaries to our identities are often set by communications with others and, in contemporary society, language and text are particularly crucial. This is a significant point, writing and analysing the memories in groups is an integral part of memory-work. The development of collective memories gives the method its richness as a means both to collect and to analyse data.

The third, and final, phase consists of appraisal of the memories and discussions to explore further theoretical connections. The analysis is generally carried out by one group member as part of an academic exercise, often a doctoral thesis (Onyx & Small, 2001). Phases One and Two will be described in this section; the analysis of both sets of data (memory-work and interviews) will be described later in the data analysis stage.

4.3.1.4 The method in practice

Twelve lecturers agreed to take part in the memory-work exercise. Because there were too many participants for one group, two groups A and B, were formed based on when people were available. Group A met twice, group B met once only, over a period of six weeks. Ideally, both groups would have met twice, but logistically this was not possible due to time constraints which made it difficult to coordinate the availability of all the lecturers at any one time.

Phase One

One week before each group met, they were each asked to write a short piece based on their memory of the time they had spent working in hospitality (see Appendix B Participant Information sheet). They were given the phrase ‘belonging in hospitality’ by the researcher as a cue (Onyx & Small, 2001) to base their written memories around the experience the cue prompted. Group A chose the phrase ‘moving on’ to trigger their memories of hospitality work for their second discussion.

Phase Two

The second Phase of the research involved the group meeting to discuss their recollections. Before the session began, food and drink was offered. Each person read their story out in turn, then to prompt discussion each group member was asked to contribute any thoughts or reflections that were inspired by what they had heard. Anyone was able to contribute or join the discussion at any time. Each session was

digitally recorded. In the weeks after the session, I transcribed the data and changed participant names to preserve anonymity.

There were some pitfalls encountered during the process. In line with the guidelines (J. Crawford et al., 1990), the participants were asked to write approximately one page about a specific memory. They were asked to write in the third person using a pseudonym, to prevent the judgement of events (Haug, 2008). In spite of this, some participants wrote a commentary in the first person, which they subsequently rewrote before the session. Another problem was encountered with the discussion appearing to go off in unexpected directions. During the memory-work discussion, the group decides how the conversation should proceed (J. Crawford et al., 1990). In common with the experience of others who have used the method (Ryan, 2005), the discussion on occasions went on a tangent that did not appear to be relevant to age or the other dimensions. However, in the subsequent analysis by the researcher, these apparently off-topic discussions provided the richest data.

The memory-work sessions were initially intended as a pilot study, to give the orientation of questions for the semi-structured interviews. However, the data were so rich and so revealing of attitudes about working in hospitality and career decisions that the decision was taken to use the memory-work transcripts as data in their own right. The process of analysis by the researcher that occurs in the third phase of the memory-work process will be described in Section 4.4.

4.3.2 Semi-structured interviews

Interviews are described as “research conducted by talking with people” (DeVault & Gross, 2007, p. 173). Interviewing is a technique frequently used by interpretative researchers; it is popular in career research as it allows individuals to tell their career journeys (Inkson, 2007). Additionally, interviewing the participants allowed the

researcher to examine the subjective meanings that participants ascribed to their career experiences (Savickas, 2005). As Chapter Two observes, a great deal of hospitality career research focuses on managers. Most of the memory-work participants had achieved management level positions some time previously, and given the purpose of the research, interviews appeared most appropriate to investigate the career experiences of individuals at various hierarchical levels. Being able to compare the view of people who had left the industry after a minimum of ten years hospitality careers versus those who spent at least 15 years working in hospitality was an added advantage.

To gain a contemporary picture of those who have worked in hospitality for long periods, semi-structured interviews were chosen for two reasons. Firstly, interviews aligned well with my research paradigm. Interviews give people who are often deprived of a voice, the opportunity to tell their individual stories while at the same time allowing them to divulge as little or as much as they wish (DeVault & Gross, 2007). Secondly, while unstructured interviewing has the advantage of allowing the interview to proceed freely in any direction (Ghauri & Gronhaug, 2002), a semi-structured approach is more helpful when analysing data as questions follow a similar logical sequence for each person (O'Leary, 2004). This was an important consideration, as teasing out relationships between social categories of difference in intersectional research is a complex process. Asking similar questions about the participants' career history made it easier to uncover common career patterns at the data analysis stage.

One disadvantage associated with semi-structured interviews is that the researcher is obliged to remain focused on drawing out the themes that contribute to 'rich data' and must keep the research question in mind throughout. This may result in a lack of spontaneity in following conversational directions that initially appear unrewarding. A further disadvantage is due to the personal nature of the questions, in-depth interviewing may be regarded as intrusive by participants (Patton, 2002). To overcome this barrier, it

is suggested that feminist researchers can establish trust and rapport by sharing their own personal experiences with participants during the interview process (Yost & Chmielewski, 2013). In this study, the researcher's prior knowledge of hospitality work in different departments assisted in gaining the trust of the interviewees.

4.3.2.1 Criteria for selection of participants

The sampling method used in this research was purposeful sampling. The advantage of this technique is that it enables researchers to establish specific criteria for participation (Merriam, 2009). Consequently, purposeful sampling allows the researcher to capture the desired "core experiences" of the participants being interviewed (Patton, 2002, p. 234). However, towards the end of the interview process, due to the difficulties in recruiting, additional participants that matched the selection criteria were enlisted through 'snowball' convenience sampling, where participants invite their friends and associates to be interviewed (Miner-Rubino, Jayaratne, & Konik, 2007).

The objective of the sampling process was to obtain a wide variety of participants from all levels of hospitality work, for example, chef, waiter, housekeeper and managers, with a minimum of 15 years working in hospitality. To gain a wide range of career experiences, the interview group needed to include participants with a variety of ages, a cross-section of roles within the occupational hierarchy, both genders, and different ethnic profiles. Recruitment initially targeted employees of four star business hotels (more than 100 rooms) across Auckland. The researcher believed that participants would be more accessible in hotels, and due to the vocation mobility in the industry, they could realistically be expected to have experienced a range of different hospitality roles in diverse types of hospitality operations.

It proved more difficult than the researcher anticipated to recruit participants. Initially, hoteliers and Human Resource Managers encountered in her academic capacity were

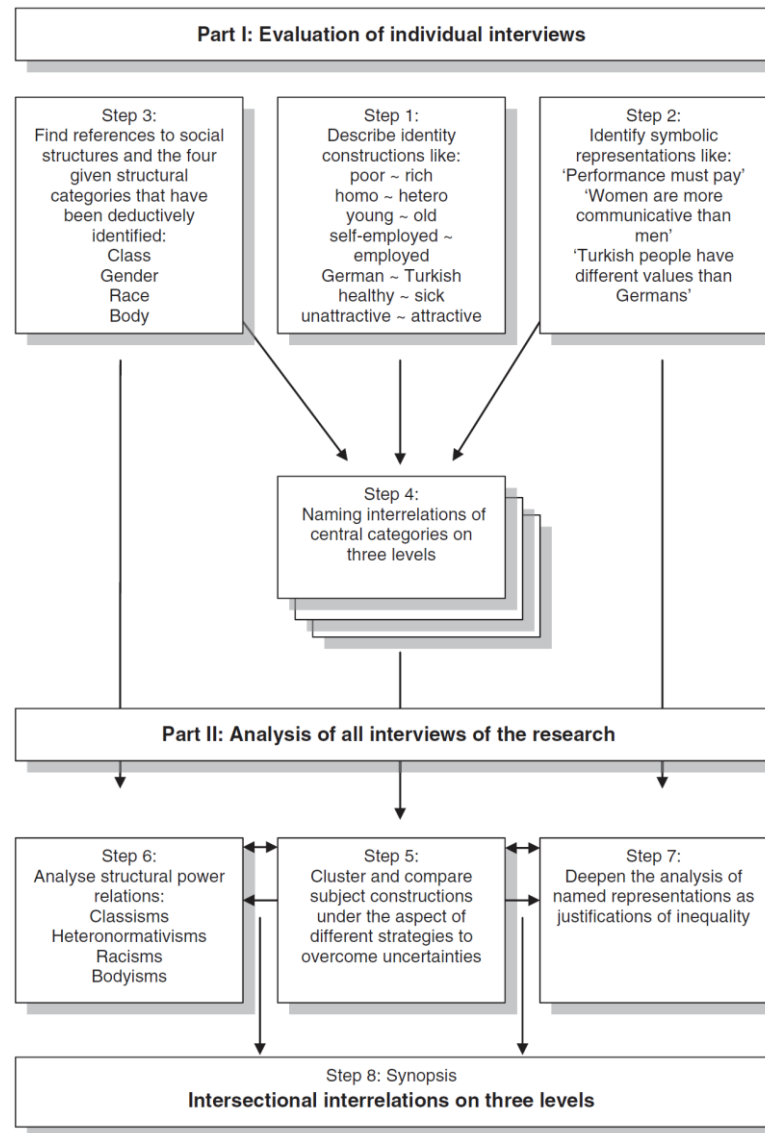
approached. Some were willing to place a recruitment notice on their staff noticeboard. However, no volunteers responded to the request for participants. Some hotels that seemed likely to field good interviewees failed to do so. Managers who approached long serving employees frequently gained a negative response. Fortunately, nearly all the managers that were approached were themselves willing to participate in the research, and met the criteria for selection. Their interviews eventually led to other staff at lower levels of the hierarchy volunteering as participants.

The researcher also contacted the professional hospitality associations dealing with hospitality trades, for example, chefs and service staff. This led to the recruitment of four further volunteers. In the end, a total of 19 interviewees who worked in nine properties ranging from small motels to large five star establishments, were recruited. Face-to-face interviews with all participants were planned. However, due to logistic constraints, five interviews were carried out by phone with participants in remote parts of New Zealand. Each digitally recorded interview lasted approximately one hour and, following transcription by a professional secretarial service. To gain familiarity with the data, the transcripts were read a number of times by the researcher and the main points summarised and written out before the researcher proceeded to the analysis stage. The following section will address the data analysis process.

4.4 The processing and analysis of data

Narratives are one of the four predominant objects or ‘texts’ of feminist review (Reinharz & Kulick, 2007, p. 258) and are present in the two methods used in this research. The feminist analysis process considers both how the texts are interpreted, as well as their wider socio-political environment (Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2007), recognising how context changes both meaning and interpretation. The value of an intersectional approach lies in the analysis of the data to reveal relationships and complexities between selected social categories (Ozbilgin et al., 2010, p. 13). For

analysis of the interview data, Winker and Degele's (2011) model of multi-level analysis (See Figure 1) was adapted. The way in which this model was followed will be explained in detail in Section 4.4.2.



(Winker & Degele, 2011, p. 63)

Figure 1: Model of Intersectional Multi-Level Analysis

In the absence of any other concrete procedure suggested by scholars for carrying out intersectional research into organisational procedures, Winker and Degele (2011) offered the only detailed method to analyse organisational processes. Although Acker (2012), Dhamoon (2011), Hancock (2007) and Holvino (2010) all suggest how intersectional research should function, they do not give any step by step guide to

implementing an intersectional study. They also did not suggest any data organisational tools that could help this researcher to cope with the complexity of tracking organisational processes that may be influenced by multiple intersecting aspects of demographic difference, along the dynamic path of a hospitality career.

Nevertheless, before proceeding with analysis using Winker and Degele's (2011) model two questions needed to be resolved. The first question was whether data from both data sets should be combined before the analysis commenced. Following the researcher's personal correspondence with Professor Winker (2012), clarification was received that the memory-work and interview data sets should be analysed individually. The researcher later reflected that separation of the memory-work and interview analysis processes would have been necessary in any case to retain the ontological integrity of the two research methods that had been chosen.

The second question was whether the separate categories of age, gender, ethnicity and class should be established before coding, which would mean that all data would subsequently be coded into those four separate categories. The Professor additionally specified that there should be no initial coding of the data into pre-assigned categories. When using the Winker and Degele's (2011) model of multi-level analysis, relationships between the socially differentiated categories should be allowed to emerge from the stories of the participants. This process allows the relationships between symbolic norms and social structures to be connected in advance of that process. However, this presented the researcher with the complex problem of how to untangle the labyrinth interconnections of age, gender, ethnicity and class. The succeeding sections detail the approach adopted by the researcher to uncover the intersectional relationships between the categories of difference that were relevant to the career longevity of all the research participants.

4.4.1 Analysing memory-work

A further strength of the memory-work method lies in the fact that there are two data sources; the individual written memories collected by the researcher and the group discussion of the memories. A number of the written memories were insightful and evocative accounts of careers in hospitality. In common with the experience of Markula and Friend (2005), the researcher observed that the group discussion provided a deep level of analysis. In this research, the discussions highlighted strong themes about belonging and transitioning through different career stages, which proved helpful in my subsequent review. Analysing the data thematically preserved the anonymity of the memory-work participants.

Winker and Degele's (2011) multi-level analysis model was not as well suited to memory-work as it was to the interviews; the group discussion that forms the basis of the method provides its own deep analysis. To have reduced the group memory-work discussion down to individual contributions would have been to devalue the principles on which the method is based.

Phase Three: Data analysis

The data analysis stage of memory-work is known as the third phase. As observed earlier, there appears to be no established concrete method of analysing memory-work. The analytical stage is the site of much unresolved tensions with the method, although the researcher may be fulfilling their doctoral commitment, the group does not necessarily have the same commitment or emotional investment (Cadman et al., 2007; Ryan, 2005). As observed previously, the researcher's decision about what material to include and what to discard is a source of tension (Small et al., 2007). The process of finding unintended meanings from the silences and omissions observed during memory-work discussions can feel a betrayal of trust; however, the underlying philosophy of feminist research protects the honesty of the researcher. Subconscious meanings *are*

revealed in memories and the *purpose* of the group is to uncover these hidden meanings, therefore in a sense permission has already been granted by the group. Additionally, as Ryan (2005) observes, there is an assumption that what is remembered and reflected upon is in some way problematic for the person who recalls the memory, therefore a kind of closure ensues from reflection and discussion.

All these dilemmas are exacerbated by the desire of the researcher to use an emerging research method with integrity; the drawback of course is working without the ‘safety net’ of being able to consult a long history of implementation by previous scholars.

Professor J. Pringle (Personal communication, 2012) observes that in order to be seen to have rigor, intersectional analysis methods must be true to the theoretical frameworks in which they are grounded. As this researcher was using memory-work in conjunction with a ‘new’ and therefore relatively untried analytical framework (Winker & Degele, 2011), it was a very grey area. The study however needed to reflect and preserve the epistemological and methodological foundation of both methods. I experienced the true murkiness and messiness of practicing intersectional research. The process followed is described below in some detail, in the earnest hope that it may provide guidance to researchers who wish to know more about the implementation of diverse methods within an intersectional framework.

Step One: Major and minor themes individually identified from each session

The researcher personally transcribed all the sessions, as a way to immerse herself in the data. A mind map was then produced which visually displayed the various themes that had emerged from the first session. Subsequently, in common with the analytical process followed by Small (2005) major and minor themes relating to hospitality career constructs were highlighted. Additionally, as suggested by Ryan (2005), rather than only prioritising the ‘collective subjectivity’, differences in individual’s opinion were also noted as signifiers of importance when they emerged. The conflicts between the

collective and individual meanings on occasion acted as a catalyst for the deepest levels of understanding and subsequent analysis. A major theme that emerged and generated great critical debate and analysis about its varied subjective meanings was ‘respect’. Conversely, a theme that additionally caused debate but proved to be a ‘red herring’ was the “opulence of 5* hotels compared to non 5*hotels”. The identical system of identifying major and minor themes was maintained during the process of transcribing and analysing Group B’s discussion, on the same topic of “Belonging in hospitality”.

The third and final discussion, by Group A focused on a new trigger “shifting in hospitality” which had been chosen by the participants at the end of their first session. This topic provided a spirited and at times intense emotional recollection of changing places and positions within and outside the hotel environment. As with the previous sessions, the researcher transcribed and analysed the final discussion to uncover fresh or reoccurring themes. The conclusion of this step led to the major themes from the three sessions being combined.

Step two: Combining the major and minor themes from each session

From the previous section, two broad groupings for manual coding were established as follows: 1) The career constructs and; 2) The career longevity of hospitality workers. Where possible, major and minor themes were linked to each category, many of course straddled both. Different sections of the discussion transcripts were then manually coded to the theme headings by the researcher.

Step three: Coding references to age, gender, ethnicity and class

At this critical juncture, the researcher manually coded aspects of age, gender, ethnicity and class that emerged from the analysis to the major themes.

Step four: Identifying symbolic representations in the data

In order to see uncover the structural power relationships within hospitality organisations, and find out the performance norms associated with age, gender, ethnicity and class, it was necessary to tease out some of the hospitality industry norms and values from the memory-work discussions. The identification of symbolic norms during the memory-work analysis by the researcher allowed themes to be cross-referenced to the symbolic norms that were uncovered during the interview data analysis process.

Step 5: Combining the analysis of both data sets

In the final step, both data sets were brought together. The next section outlines the analysis process that was followed for the interview data and how the data sets were connected.

4.4.2 Analysing the semi-structured interviews

This section will describe the analysis of the semi-structured interviews. As explained earlier, Winker and Degele's (2011) model of analysis was adapted to suit the requirement of the study and Table 2 outlines the sequence of steps that were followed in the analytical process. The computerised data management system NVIVO was used to organise the data during the complex coding process.

Table 2: Sequence of steps in the analysis process

Step 1	Symbolic representations in the interviews were identified and coded
Step 2	The social structures and institutions relevant to hospitality careers were identified and coded
Step 3	The points of intersection between the symbolic norms and the social structures were identified
Step 4	Aspects of age, gender, ethnicity and class at the specific intersection points of the social structures and symbolic representations uncovered during Step 3 were teased out

4.4.2.1 Step One: Identifying symbolic representations in the interviews

Winker and Degele's (2011) first step of analysis at the individual level was not used in this analysis, as the focus of this study was organisational processes, not individual identity. However, their second step of identifying symbolic representations gave an entry point to organisational processes, by revealing the industry norms that participants constantly referred to when discussing their careers.

The participants' symbolic representations identified aspects of hospitality careers that they considered important, such as their beliefs about requirements for promotion. The symbolic representational process is a basic cognitive process where symbols or phrases represent something else (Merriam-Webster, 1993), for example, a white feather signified cowardice during the Second World War. In this research, there was symbolic representation of industry norms that hospitality workers discussed as concrete facts of working life. Some representations of promotional processes were clearly visible, for example, "it's who you know that gets you the good jobs".

Less overt representations of participants' beliefs emerged gradually during the thematic analysis, for example, "you have to transfer to get the good jobs" was one phrase that participants used to indicate that it was necessity to have a breadth of different work experiences in order to achieve senior management positions. On occasion, it was challenging to unpick symbolic representations from the transcripts. For example, the comment "hard work is always rewarded" emerged from more than one interview conversation as a symbolic representation of promotional requirements, rather than a statement of fact about pay structures.

Initially, 50 symbolic representations emerged, and the interview transcripts were coded wherever these representations appeared. The symbolic representations were organised separately as, otherwise, there would be no way to link them to the social structures in

step three. Eleven main categories of symbolic representations that focused on the research questions remained at the conclusion of the coding process. The number of times that various participants referred to each symbolic representation is shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Identification and coding of symbolic references in the transcripts

Symbolic representations	Number of Sources	References
Age appropriateness: appropriateness of age bands to jobs	11	35
Career progression; the way that a hospitality career is normally expected to progress	19	203
Ethnicity does/doesn't matter in hospitality work	13	29
Gender does/does not makes a difference in hospitality work	10	31
General managers are all the same	16	87
Hospitality workplaces are social places	19	89
Hotels are family friendly	19	98
Hospitality work has variety	12	22
Hospitality work is badly paid	18	61
Passionate about job	19	134
Respect: hospitality work is respected and regarded as skilled and professional work	15	67

4.4.2.2. Step Two: Identification of social structures and institutions in the interviews

The next step was to identify the social structures, either organisational or institutional, for example, transfer or professional qualifications processes that influence hospitality careers. As social structures interact with the symbolic representations, “the resulting references, class, gender, race and body are deductively predetermined” at a structural level (Winker & Degele, 2011, p. 59). The transcripts were therefore coded at these social structure points to allow these linkages to take place at the third stage of the analytical process.

Table 4 that follows shows the social structures that emerged most frequently during this stage of the analysis. As was to be expected in a career study, the career path

process had the highest number of references. During this stage, aspects of age, gender, ethnicity and class were separately recorded if they pertained to any of the social structures.

Table 4: Identification of social structures in the transcripts

Social structures	Sources	References
Career path processes	19	287
Corporate structure of large hospitality organisations	18	54
Hospitality hierarchy How the hospitality hierarchy is constructed and organised, managers; assistant managers, supervisors and workers	18	115
Hotel pay structures	16	59
Hotels open 24-7	15	50
Joining/transfer process	18	103
Training and development process	18	97

4.4.2.3 Step Three: Connecting the interrelations of symbolic norms and social structures

The third step of the analysis involved the researcher recording the points where references to social structures and symbolic representations intersected. A high number of intersections highlighted the most significant aspects of participants' careers. By tracking the intersections of symbolic norms and social structures that occurred with the most frequency, organisational processes and factors that influence a hospitality career became visible, providing answers to the first research question posed by this thesis. In response to this question, the career constructs of hospitality workers are explored in Chapter Five.

Table 5: Intersections between social structures and symbolic norms

Social structure	Symbolic norms	Number of intersections
Training and development processes in hospitality	Career progression; the way that a hospitality career is normally expected to progress	41
The hospitality hierarchy	General Managers are all the same	35
Joining and the transfer system	Career progression	37
Hotels open 24/7	Hotels are family friendly	36
Career paths	Passionate about the job	27
Career paths	Age stereotyping	23
Career paths	Hotels family friendly	17
Hotel hierarchy	Career progression	16
Career paths	Respect and pedigree	15
Hotels pay structure	Hospitality work is badly paid	15

4.4.2.4 Step Four: teasing out the intersections of age, class, ethnicity and gender

The previous stage of analysis made it possible to examine if the significant intersection points of symbolic norms and social structures, outlined in Table 5, occurred at an institutional or individual level. Thus, it enabled the researcher to investigate aspects of age, gender, ethnicity and class in organisational and hospitality industry processes, which might have otherwise remained invisible. This final and critical fourth step of the interview analysis process addressed the second research question, which queried how these socially defined dimensions influence the longevity of a hospitality career, and completed the analysis of the interview data.

4.4.3 Combining the data sets

At the end of this process, the memory-work themes and interview data sets were both combined. The themes that had emerged following Stage Four of the memory-work analysis were manually linked to the intersections of age, gender, class and ethnicity identified in Step Four of the interview analysis. The findings are presented and discussed in Chapters Five and Six.

4.5 Summary

The chapter has outlined the feminist social constructivist epistemology on which this research project is based. Various approaches to handling the dilemmas faced by intersectional research have been explored and the practical difficulties of conducting such research have been described. The choice of the two methods used to collect data, memory-work and semi-structured interviews was discussed. As Winker and Degele's (2011) multi-level analysis model provides the only detailed guide to implementing an intersectional approach, the model was adapted for the analysis stage in keeping with the epistemological framework of this research.

Interpreting and applying an intersectional approach provided this researcher with many different challenges, at both theoretical and practical levels. However, exploring the issues raised in the intersectionality debate, such as the necessity to have a strong theoretical foundation, led to a deeper appreciation of the aims of excellent research. The goal of achieving a high standard of academic integrity in the study was a priority for the researcher. Only by ensuring methodological rigour can intersectional research successfully expose the hidden relationships between institutions and socially differentiated groups in specific contexts, especially the highly sociable hospitality industry.

This research endeavours to extend our incomplete knowledge about careers in the hospitality industry. An intersectional methodology was chosen to explore the career constructs of hospitality workers and investigate how intersecting dimensions of age, class, ethnicity and gender influence the longevity of hospitality careers. The benefits of using an intersectional approach to explore the career constructs of hospitality workers were two-fold.

Primarily, although the ‘messiness’ of implementing an intersectional approach (Dhamoon, 2011) became obvious during the course of this study, the rigorous intersectional analytical process adopted allowed common career patterns to shine through many diverse career experiences. Secondly, an intersectional approach uncovered the existence of complex but subtle relationships between organisational processes across the industry and social categories of difference, which appear to influence the career longevity of hospitality workers in unexpected ways.

The next chapters will review the common patterns teased out from participants’ experiences of long hotel careers uncovered during the analysis. Chapter Five outlines the hospitality career constructs of the memory-work and interview participants. The intersectional aspects of age, gender, ethnicity and class that influence the career longevity of hospitality workers are explored in Chapter Six.

Chapter 5. FINDINGS: THE SHAPE OF A HOSPITALITY CAREER

5.1 Introduction

Chapter Five addresses the first research objective of this research, which is to expand our current incomplete knowledge about hospitality careers. As observed in Chapters Two and Three, the fragmented nature of the industry, coupled with the tendency for hospitality work to be seen as unstable and short-term, means that a universal hospitality career construct is missing. There does not appear to be a generally accepted definition. The purpose of this chapter is to fill this research gap by suggesting that a common career construct exists across the hospitality industry.

The focus of Chapter Five is to outline the shape of a hospitality career that emerged from the analysis of the memory-work and interview data. The findings are supported by relevant quotes, extracts from the written memories and memory-work discussions. Direct quotes are represented in italics and participants are referred to throughout by pseudonyms to preserve their confidentiality. The first part of the chapter paints the broad brushstrokes of a hospitality career construct. It suggests that the employees' positive perceptions of career opportunities with the industry contribute to career longevity.

The second part of this chapter reveals that three further interlinked aspects are important for hospitality career longevity; the centrality of social relations; the aspirations of professional excellence, and the occupational complexity of hospitality jobs. In the third part of the chapter, links are made with career theory and the implications of the findings for hospitality career longevity are discussed. A summary at the end of this chapter draws the findings and discussion together. Chapter Six will

demonstrate how intersectional dimensions of gender, age, occupational class and ethnicity shape the pattern of career enablers and boundaries in a hospitality career.

5.2 Part One: The hospitality career construct

This chapter commences with a summary of the background of memory-work and interview participants. In order to explore why individuals worked in the industry, it was necessary to uncover their motivations for entry. Memory-work explored the memories of those who had moved from lengthy careers in hospitality operations (for example, chefs, waiters and hotel managers) into hospitality education (universities/polytechnics). All had worked their way up to managerial level in international careers spanning 14 to 35 years, with an average career length of 20.6 years. The group was educated and articulate, from European or New Zealand European backgrounds (with one exception), and were aged from 30 to 62 years old.

It is worth noting that, while many of the participants were educators, some were simultaneously engaged with hospitality operations. In addition to teaching, these lecturers had operational responsibilities in the school's commercial restaurants and participated in international industry competitions. One tutor returned to his prior career as a senior executive in hospitality shortly after the memory-work sessions. The group of academics possessed extensive hospitality career knowledge, although their perspective was generally a retrospective one.

In contrast to the memory-work group, the interviewees at the time of the research were all fully engaged with their careers within hospitality operations, having spent a minimum of fifteen years in hotel careers mainly in New Zealand and Australia. The length of participants' careers ranged from 16 to 41 years, with an average career length of 28.5 years among the group. Some participants also had extensive hospitality work experience outside Australasia. Roles held ranged from chef, kitchen porter, room

attendant, assistant housekeeper to a variety of managerial positions. The age span of the interviewees stretched from 38 to 70 years and ethnicities represented in the interview group included American, South African, New Zealand European, Maori, Pasifika (Fijian Indian, Samoan-Chinese, Samoan) and European.

The experiences of the two groups were all retrospective to some degree. Although still employed in the industry, the interviewees were also asked to recount their early career memories. However, it should be noted that both groups' perspectives reflected awareness of the contemporary hospitality scene. As observed in Chapter Four, symbolic representations of industry norms that hospitality workers discussed as concrete facts of working life emerged during the analysis process. Table 6 and Table 7 summarise the research participants' backgrounds:

Table 6: Background of interview participants

Interviews								
Participants	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Time span of hospitality career in years	Age at start career	Starting position	Highest hierarchical level achieved until now	Moves dept./ position/ location/ organisation
1.Amelia	F	68	NZ European	41	27	Entry level	Executive	6
2.John	M	66	NZ European	38	28	Entry Level	General Manager	5
3.Daniel	F	52	European (UK)	36	16	Entry level	Executive	15+
4.Sophie	F	53	NZ European	35	18	Entry level	Executive	5
5.Samuel	M	51	NZ European	35	16	Entry level	General Manager	15+
6.Lucy	F	50	NZ European	33	17	Entry level (admin)	Entry level	5+
7.Emily	F	50s	Sri Lanka	32	18	Entry level	Entry level	7
8.Scarlett	F	55	NZ European	30	25	Entry level	Entry level	1
9.Paul	M	50	NZ European	29	21	Entry level	General Manager	14+
10.William	M	51	North American	28	23	Supervisor (admin)	Executive	10+
11.Brody	M	44	South African	28	16	Entry level	Executive	5+
12.Levi	M	44	NZ European	28	16	Entry level	Executive	10+
13. Molly	F	51	NZ Pasifika	28	23	Entry level	Executive	5+
14.Matthew	M	47	Pasifika	24	23	Entry level	Entry level	4
15.Andrea	F	50	NZ Maori	23	27	Entry level	Dept Head	3
16.Justin	M	38	European(Aust)	21	17	Entry level	Executive	15+
17.Grace	F	50	Fijian Indian	21	29	Entry level	Dept Head	3
18.Eva	F	52	European(Aust)	16	36	Executive	General Manager	5+
19.Lauren	M	59	Chinese/ Pasifika	16	43	Entry level	Supervisor	5+

Table 7: Background of memory-work participants

	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Timespan of hospitality career in years	Age at start career	Starting position	Highest hierarchical level achieved until now
1.Allison	F	62	NZ European	35	22	Entry level	Supervisor
2.Thomas	M	40s	European (UK)	24	14	Entry level	Senior Executive
3.James	M	53	European (N. Europe)	24	16	Entry level	Area Manager
4. Liam	M	50s	European (N. Europe)	20	18	Entry level	Executive
5.Dominic	M	40s	NZ European	20	16	Entry level	Executive
6.Ella	F	40	European (UK)	21	14	Entry level	Executive
7.Dylan	M	45	NZ European	19	18	Entry level	Restaurant owner
8.Anna	F	40	Pasifika	20	18	Entry level	Restaurant owner
9.Luke	M	43	European (UK)	20	14	Entry level	Area Manager
10.Sebastian	F	46	NZ European	17	16	Entry level	Executive
11.Alexa	F	40	NZ European	14	18	Entry level	Department Head
12. Ryan	M	30	NZ European	14	14	Entry level	Senior Executive

5.2.1 Enablers and boundaries in a hospitality career

Rather paradoxically, the boundaryless career concept assisted in outlining career patterns in hospitality by identifying boundaries. It formed a framework to explore agency in a hospitality career and helped explain how agency affected a worker's decision to remain working in hospitality.

In Chapter Two, Tams and Arthur (2010) observe that career boundary related processes apply to most careers; they view the boundaryless career concept as a career dynamic rather than a particular type of career. While all careers are subject to transitions (Inkson, 2012, Clarke, 2013), the hospitality career is particularly difficult to track because it navigates across functional, occupational, geographical and societal boundaries.

Examining the hospitality career in terms of enablers and boundaries is one way to establish order from the intricacies of a hospitality career. Enablers are factors, such as education, that appear to facilitate entry or promotion in hospitality employment. However, for every boundary enabler, there appears to be an opposing side. This opposite side represents a 'boundary'. For example, while education is an enabler, a lack of education presents a boundary. Boundaries refer to the borders that punctuate or demarcate movement into different departments, jobs or hierarchical levels.

5.2.1.1 Hospitality career entry enablers and boundaries

Entry into hospitality employment is the first step in this exploratory process. If the reasons why people join the industry can be determined, then perhaps people's motivation to stay can be uncovered. The absence of entry barriers into hospitality employment (Baum, 2007; Wood, 1994) was revealed as a career enabler by participants. People frequently enter hospitality employment because it is convenient

(Guerrier, 2008; Rasmussen & Anderson, 2010). The link between convenience and the motivation to enter hospitality was borne out by the wide variety of backgrounds of the interviewees and memory-work participants. In New Zealand, 73.4% of all part-time workers are women (Parker & Arrowsmith, 2012). The majority of women who were interviewed, proffered flexibility of hours and consequent varied shifts as reasons for joining hotels, for example:

Molly (Operations Manager): “Yeah, so I think starting in hotels, which is probably going back to ‘83/’84, and it was just part-time work on the weekends. Because there wasn’t much, shopping malls weren’t opened really at that time, or just started on Saturdays, so I needed some income and still be home during the week, and not working at night which I didn’t want to do, so it was about four hours Saturdays and Sundays cleaning, and I loved it. I loved the physical side too.”
[Interview participant]

They noted that hotels had been one of the few workplaces that offered nonstandard working hours. The work was convenient because it was available part-time, or at night. Women with young families eased back into employment by getting a part-time job in housekeeping. Grace, Molly, Emily and Amelia are examples of women who took such jobs as hotel cleaners.

Convenience in terms of close geographical proximity or easy transport links to the job also proved a motivator to enter hospitality at the lower levels. Andrea, the part-time waitress, and Emily, the room attendant, referred to the fact that work was “*nearby, easy to get to*”. Convenience was also apparent in the availability of work with hospitality often providing the only employment opportunities during economic downturns.

William (Executive Assistant Manager): “And I got a job six months later after I graduated, in a hotel. I had tried all sorts of property management companies and banks and whatever, but nobody was hiring. There was just no jobs until my friend, as I said, came along with this opportunity to work at a hotel. I’d never thought about hotels.”
[Interview participant]

A significant aspect of convenience was the fact that high skills were not required from new entrants. Previous hotel experience or specific job based skills or qualifications were generally not necessary for entry level jobs such as kitchen cleaner, room cleaner, public area cleaner or junior waiter, as the following quote shows:

Andrea (Restaurant Manager): “She asked me if I had any training and I said ‘yes, just basic training’ I said, ‘but I’m very good with people, I seem to adapt to people very well’ and I said ‘and at the end of the day one day I’m going to be sitting in your chair’. And four years later I was, as restaurant supervisor.” [Interview participant]

Entry level jobs were regarded as accessible and straightforward, as this discussion indicates:

James: “I think you [everyone] went into hospitality because it is easy. That’s one thing that comes through. It’s an easy area to enter. Almost anybody can enter a hospitality career. It doesn’t at the beginning of the career demand very much of anything ...and once you are in you can go anywhere. And there’s all these other bits that people have talked about, about partying and ...all the other bits but to me the key thing here is easy to enter –that’s why I belong to it”.

Dylan: As long as you got there, it didn’t matter what state you were in...It’s easy, it’s easy work-it’s not too hard.” [Memory-work discussion]

Lastly, for those who had worked in related sectors such as commercial cleaning, hospitality work offered the possibility of more flexible working shifts in the future, typified by Lauren who had previously worked as an airport cleaner.

Lauren (Laundry Supervisor): “I wanted to stop the night cleaning and I applied here. My older sister’s friend used to be Executive Housekeeper here and she gave me the form. I said – any kind of job at night, so I applied for the night cleaner, because I still had my kids to look after and take them to school during the day.” [Interview participant]

Although low entry barriers mean that it is not difficult for inexperienced or unqualified individuals to find entry-level jobs in the hospitality industry, lack of qualifications could later prove to be a boundary constraint for individuals who wanted to progress

beyond low skilled jobs. Relevant qualifications were a career enabler for desirable higher-level jobs with clear career paths. As signalled in the literature (Ladkin, 2002), the interviewees recounted that, for the more desirable clerical based jobs such as Front Office or accounts, previous hospitality experience or a basic diploma were required.

5.2.1.2 Advancement enablers and boundaries

Pinpointing boundaries in hospitality work through organisational processes can assist with assessing the longevity of a hospitality career from an organisational perspective. A focus on crossing the boundaries allowed the researcher to learn about the “social context” of careers (Inkson et al., 2012, p. 334), which highlighted promotional processes in the study.

Four factors emerged as enablers for career advancement during the analysis of the findings:

- qualifications
- training and development
- backing of mentors
- flexibility and mobility

Qualifications

There was unanimous agreement from interview participants that hotels were places of opportunity for career progression.

Matthew (Kitchen Porter): “Like I say, you’ve got more opportunities, you know what I mean? You’ve got rapport with the kitchen. I can transfer to another department, even porter; I can do Front Desk Porter.”
[Interview participant]

Chapter Two revealed that vocational or unrelated academic qualifications are often associated with a successful hospitality career (Kong et al., 2012; Nebel et al., 1994). Most, but not all, of the staff currently at entry levels of hospitality work in this study

had no tertiary qualifications. Generally, the findings from this study indicated that education was generally associated with a more advanced career.

To illustrate, William (Executive Assistant Manager) possessed an accountancy qualification when he commenced a night auditor position in Front Office in the United States. Paul (General Manager), working part-time in hotels, found hospitality offered a rewarding professional career path. On completion of his business degree, he assumed the position of night auditor. In Europe, according to James, a memory-work participant, an individual who was degree qualified commenced at junior management level role.

Participants considered a lack of qualifications presented a boundary to career advancement within hospitality. Managers without a degree qualification were concerned about the gap in their resume. For example, Eva (General Manager) believed it was the rationale behind the decision not to promote her earlier to a senior role. Justin progressed from an entry-level position in food service to the level of Director of Sales without a qualification, but debated when this would present an impenetrable barrier to future career progression.

Samuel (General Manager) expressed concern that he had reached a career plateau in hospitality; management recruitment agencies signalled that an MBA was required for positions such as Board Director. He had no possibility to seek further promotion outside the hospitality industry, "*because it was all he knew*". Within the industry, the perception from interviewees who had reached senior management was that academic qualifications were not as important as skills and experience, supporting previous research that indicates that the hospitality industry in New Zealand does not appear to value hospitality degree qualifications as much as on the job experience (Harkison, Poulston, & Kim, 2011).

Training and development

Training and development were significant career enablers. The continuous learning of new skills is recognised as critical for both the organisation and the employee (Ackah & Heaton, 2004). It is particularly relevant to hospitality due to the low skills base of new entrants and the emotional labour content of service work (Korczynski, 2002; Watts, 2007; Williams, 2003). However, much hospitality training takes place on the 'job' and can be very limited in scope (Lashley, 2011; Smith & Kemmis, 2010).

Many participants, particularly in the smaller establishments, had never received formal training and the pervasive lack of training across the industry is cited as a contributing factor to high turnover in hospitality by many researchers (for example, Chikwe, 2009). Scarlett, the Motel Receptionist, initially declared that she had never received any training before amending her comment to "*Formal training that is*".

The findings revealed that workers progressing through the hierarchy learned from a combination of experiential learning on the job, socialisation processes with peers and occasional structured formal training.

Levi (Operations Manager): "He [General Manager] hired me to work when I started my first hotel job and he put time and effort into me and made sure I got the training that I needed to start succeeding." [Interview participant]

Ironically, developmental experiences were frequently fraught. For Samuel and Paul as General Managers, Andrea as waitress (before promotion) and Molly as Housekeeper, their most vivid learning experiences were from '*tough old school*' managers that they feared and respected but did not necessarily like, as indicated by the following quote:

Samuel (General Manager): My General Manager, xxx who had a number of nicknames, which I couldn't repeat to you— he was a complete and utter bastard! [Interview participant]

Reputations of hard managers were known within the industry. However, despite this prior knowledge, participants took new positions under difficult managers because of the development opportunities.

Paul (General Manager): "Yeah, you did learn from him. I was very nervous when I went there because I knew he was there. And when I took that role I was going – Oh God, what am I letting myself in for? I did have some hesitation but I said – no, I've got to grab this opportunity." [Interview participant]

Development was regarded as a more gradual process focused on the employee's potential for future promotion. Most participants, for example, Grace the Assistant Housekeeper, felt that exposure to different aspects of the industry enabled personal growth and enhanced their curriculum vitae. Interviewees discussed that on a superior's departure they would be encouraged to apply for the vacant job, illustrated by the following quote:

Grace (Assistant Housekeeper): "And then that's the time, just after she left, one of the supervisors resigned and then I talked to Molly and I said – I really want to develop myself and I want to step up. And she said – oh okay, yeah. So she made me full time supervisor." [Interview participant]

Backing of Mentors

The importance of mentors was also underlined by participants. The presence of an industry mentor was instrumental in moving an individual's career forward. The findings confirmed previous research that these industry mentors are responsible for passing on intellectual and social capital and play a pivotal role both in facilitating promotional moves (Yamashita & Uenoyama, 2006) and the formation of career anchors. The hospitality industry is largely skills based (Bernhardt et al., 2003) and the effect of role models and mentors, while significant in all occupations (Murrell & Zagenczyk, 2006; Sullivan & Baruch, 2009), is especially important in hospitality due

to the high vocational mobility noted previously. The following quote indicates the nature of directed and specific career guidance:

Justin: “So I worked with him deliberately targeting that one particular role, which was an executive assistant manager. I studied and worked and learnt numerous things, while doing Food and Beverage manager, absolutely pointing at that one role.” [Interview participant]

As the hospitality industry offers a bewildering choice of career options across a wide array of specialist areas, advice from an industry mentor is essential to assist with decision making. Interviewees and memory-work participants continually referred to inspiring superiors encountered throughout their career, highlighting occasions when mentors had imparted a particular skill or an approach to handling people, that led to expertise and career advancement, as the quote below illustrates:

Eva (General Manager): “And I was lucky, I had General Managers that really were great mentors and said to me – you can do anything you want to do. You have a good business head on you, we’ll support you.” [Interview participant]

Participants who had an active mentor and developmental opportunities stayed at specific establishments for longer, building a career within one or two properties or alternatively moved within the same chain. Decisions to remain within an organisation reflect a positive career culture (Clarke, 2013) and both the memory-work and interview findings confirmed the positive role of participants’ senior managers in identifying individuals with ‘potential’. Unfortunately, the additional support required for success, in new and more responsible roles or after transfers to different departments, was frequently absent, as revealed by this memory-work excerpt:

Dylan: “It is interesting how you talk about yourself. You seem to be saying that you got promoted to that position because you had the skills and you are then saying I had to discipline hire or fire and then provide leadership and that was the part you were uncomfortable with”.

Sebastian: “Oh you know—we had some good times but when I look back- I’d do things differently, very differently. When you look back you can say

that there was really no extra support there; you were on your own and to do whatever you could do, and that was it, there was no extra training, so you can come up to speed.”[Memory-work discussion]

Participants frequently described how General Managers could impede career progress. Tams and Arthur (2010, p. 634) make the pertinent point that “personal development is not solely intrinsic, individuals engage with processes and practices within their employment contexts”. The frequent moves of senior management caused uncertainty and affected job security and promotional opportunities. For example, Molly experienced 13 changes of Human Resource Manager in her 12-year tenure at one property. She commented that new General Managers had different ways of managing their teams:

Molly (Operations Manager): “And there are different General Manager styles. Some come in and just change, change, change— everyone’s unsettled.” [Interview participant]

When General Managers moved, incoming managers frequently wanted their own team, as the following quote reveals:

John (former General Manager): “The hotel at that stage was losing quarter of a million a year and I said - there will be a different set of standards and at the end of the first year, of the 70 original staff that were there, I replaced 46.” [Interview participant]

Constantly rotating senior management influenced participants’ sense of agency and predisposed the development of specific competencies more congruent with organisational objectives, as opposed to their individual development needs. The findings suggest that individuals might develop career anchors for the needs of the business rather than matching their skills or technical strengths, an aspect of development commonly associated with traditional organisational careers (Baruch, 2006).

Both memory-work and interview participants indicated that transferring through different properties of increasing size and complexity was essential for junior managers to gain promotion to executive level, indicating the obligatory confidence and proficiency in committing to jobs challenging their areas of expertise. Business needs affected the competencies that participants developed and where development should take place.

Flexibility and mobility

Participants considered that possessing a high degree of adaptability was a career enabler. Adaptability is not purely a competency required by hospitality managers; a rapid response to changing circumstances is an essential element of most contemporary management careers (Clarke, 2013; Inkson, 2007). In the hospitality industry, the ability to be geographically mobile demonstrated that a candidate was capable of succeeding in diverse environments and situations.

Moves through different areas of specialisation such as finance or accommodation ensured adaptability. The findings revealed that employees at all levels of hotel work were geographically and functionally mobile. The necessity to move for development and promotion created a culture of mobility as the following quote shows:

Luke: “Probably, if you go back and look at how people have moved in the different careers and different jobs...I think the career is just that whole pathway where you operate with different jobs within the hospitality continuum and I certainly believe it has a culture of deliberate transition [agreement from group]. You’ve been here too long, you need to move –I’ve certainly been told that, you got six to eight to twelve months as assistant manager and then you need move on, go on try this. It’s the deliberate change. So, I think it’s a deliberate force of change.” [Memory-work discussion]

A move was generally required every two years if an individual wished to follow a direct and accelerated career path, not always to desirable departments or destinations. Interviewee participants, for example, Paul, Samuel, Eva and Justin, described definite

‘hardship’ postings that one would take based on positional advances rather than actually wanting to move to a particular location, for example, Africa. Until the ‘right’ position became available, managers waited or pro-actively increased their employability.

Paul (General Manager): “Well, I wanted to be a General Manager of a hotel, so I wanted to be growing all the time. I wanted to be learning all the time. I wanted to be challenged so I saw all these as suitable moves, maybe not always perfect moves but they were suitable moves. So these opportunities came up and I applied for these opportunities as they came up.” [Interview participant]

Findings confirmed that only two boundaries could be crossed at once (locational and functional, but generally not intra-organisational at the same time), correlating to the boundaryless career patterns observed in Japanese hotels (Yamashita & Uenoyama, 2006). At General Manager level, it was felt that the incumbent could only stay a few years (Paul, Eva, Justin), thereafter, for the good of the organisation, one should move on:

Eva (General Manager): “I think three to five years is about as long as you should be, five years. I honestly believe [that] for larger companies that have multi-brands or even large companies with one brand, if they don’t keep moving people around and keeping the knowledge spreading to new hotels and destinations, I think it’s very difficult for organisations.” [Interview participant]

Research on management moves in other industries associates self-initiated expatriate career moves with reduced pay and less challenging jobs (Sullivan & Baruch, 2009). This appears to be the case in hospitality; unless mentors facilitated overseas moves within the organisation, it was difficult to gain good assignments. The findings of this study suggest that in the hospitality industry, although mobility was a career enabler, inability or unwillingness to move also formed a career constraint or limited career progression.

Some participants found that their careers stalled in spite of high capability if they were unable or unwilling to relocate when requested. Others expressed anxiety about staying 'too long' in a position. They were concerned how they would be viewed after years in the same position and doubted whether they could continue to contribute as the following discussion reveals:

Sophie (Front Office Manager): "In the seven years I'd been there, there had been seven changes of ownership. There'd been one every year and I felt like I'd really stayed too long in the one place." [Interview participant]

The findings suggested there were more transfer and promotional possibilities in urban centres or within large hotel chains, for individuals who were not location specific. Those, such as Scarlett the Receptionist, or Sophie the Front Office Manager, who wished to remain working in a particular location had limited promotional openings. Sophie thought that she would have advanced higher in her career if she had been willing to relocate. Lucy, a former waitress, recalled how to get a management role, she felt 'pushed' to move from a restaurant to a food takeaway business.

However, being willing or unwilling to be mobile was not the most important element that determined career longevity. Instead, the findings indicate that the worker's perceptions of their opportunities to cross boundaries contributed to a lengthy career. Chapter Two revealed that the boundaryless career worker has both responsibility and agency (Briscoe et al., 2006) for their career. Roles that an employee chose were often self-directed at earlier career stages, for example, Ella (memory-work participant) and Levi (interviewee) spoke about their decision to cross from the occupation of Chef to Front of House positions.

Although promotional opportunities were a catalyst for many moves, boundary crossing could also be prompted by the wish for change in routine. For example, Lauren moved

from housekeeping to the kitchen after two years, and then she changed department again a few years later to the laundry. Lucy moved from the position of waitress to that of Motel Receptionist for different shift patterns. However, the obligation expressed by participants that they needed to move frequently for career progression presented complex issues for them. The link between individual agency and promotional moves will be discussed further in the second part of this chapter.

5.2.2 The hospitality career as a boundaryless career

The findings suggest that careers in hospitality share features associated with the six characteristics of the original boundaryless career (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996). Firstly, career advantages are not confined to one particular employer (Arthur, Khapova & Wilderom, 2005). In this study, findings show that participants moved between a variety of organisations while developing career anchors. If they were unable to gain a career advantage with one group, they moved to another one.

Secondly, a feature of boundaryless careers is that the employees' professional standing is validated beyond the bounds of the current employer (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996).

Many participants obtained a new job because of the good reputation they had established in the industry. As participants detailed their career moves, it was evident that on many occasions they obtained work opportunities from someone they had worked with in another hospitality organisation.

The third feature of boundaryless careers connects with the second point. External communications systems (ibid) facilitate career advancement in hospitality. The findings suggest that industry wide mentoring relationships increase the extensive networking and linkages throughout the hospitality industry. These facilitate career moves and social connection. Participants appeared to have a wide variety of contacts across the industry.

A further character of the boundaryless career is the way in which it overflows more traditional organisational career borders, in particular traditional reporting and promotional structures (ibid). For some participants, a role appeared to be matched to their potential talents rather than their present skill set; for example, Justin moved to a Sales Director's position in New Zealand from an Executive Assistant Manager's position in a small Australian hotel. His career anchor had been Food and Beverage but his organisation felt that his skill set would be more beneficial in a sales position.

In addition, in boundaryless careers there is a lesser focus on promotions and career paths within organisations. Briscoe et al., (2006) indicate that a feature associated with boundaryless careers occurs when an individual rejects a career advancement as incompatible with personal goals. In hospitality, the career path is represented as linear (Kong et al., 2012), however, the findings from this study do not support this premise, particularly with staff at lower levels. In keeping with Briscoe et al.'s (2006) research, it was found that movements at lower level jobs were often undertaken for purposes that did not include promotion. Lauren moved from a position as night cleaner to kitchen hand for variety, as the following quote illustrates:

Lauren (Laundry Supervisor): "I really wanted to go from place to place, not to leave this hotel but other departments because I needed to know other departments. I wanted to change." [Interview participant]

The final feature that is associated with a boundaryless career is that future career moves are not constrained by organisational boundaries (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996).

Boundaryless career theory is considered to apply more to professional rather than lower job categories (Pringle & Mallon, 2003; Roper et al., 2010); however, the findings of this study do not appear to support this conclusion. The frequency of moves by participants at various levels suggest that all participants were aware that they could move to other departments, new hospitality organisations or indeed related industries;

the decision of the memory-work participants to transfer their vocational skills to the hospitality educational sector could be viewed as taking that process one step further. The mobility aspect of a hospitality career will be more fully explored in Chapter Six. Age, gender, ethnicity and occupational class as well as individual personality and priorities influence career choices and decisions.

5.3 Part Two: Longevity of a hospitality career

The preceding section suggests that enablers and boundaries regulate entry and progression in a hospitality career. The next section will tease out the less visible factors that appear to motivate hospitality workers to remain working in the industry.

5.3.1 Dedication to a hospitality career

In common with other professions, the majority of participants felt dedication to the job or industry was essential to ensure a successful and enjoyable career. The ‘ideal worker’ (Acker, 2006a; Caproni, 2004) is represented in the literature as totally committed to organisational goals. The dedication or passion of hospitality workers is highlighted by the following quote:

Daniel (Executive Chef): “It’s two things – it’s the passion – the main thing that keeps you going is passion. The thing that keeps you going in the same place is the team environment and the friendliness in the environment. Even though I hated working somewhere, I haven’t left because I hated the job or what I do. I’ve left because I’ve hated the people I’ve worked with. I’ve always gone and become a chef somewhere else. And I get back to the passion part of it” [interview participant].

A high level of commitment is regarded as essential to gain respect from one’s peers. Hospitality work is characterised by the long working hours without commensurate rewards (Davidson & Wang, 2011; McNamara et al., 2011) and financial reward or standard working hours were not the reasons to remain working in hospitality. The following quote is typical of the attitude, expressed by many participants, that job satisfaction kept workers in a hospitality career

Sophie (Front Office Manager): “goodness me, I think we must only do it for the love of the job because it certainly isn’t really for the money... I think it’s very – I mean I’m sort of struggling all the time.” [Interview participant]

The findings indicate that, although participants noted the low financial rewards and long shifts of the industry, they were not factors that caused them to consider leaving.

The findings suggested three separate elements that influence career longevity.

- The centrality of social relations
- The pursuit of excellence; respect and autonomy
- The occupational complexity of hospitality jobs

5.3.2 The centrality of social relations in hotels

Participants indicated that there was a close link between career longevity and the social aspects of a hospitality career. They commented how the quality of relationships enhanced the enjoyment of their hospitality career and their decisions to stay working in hospitality.

Lauren (Laundry supervisor) “I talked to the General Manager [when offered a transfer]. I said – I’ve got a job offer, but I don’t really need money – money is not important to me. It’s the job and the environment of people.” [Interview participant]

Relationships with peers, managers and guests led to a family-like atmosphere. The following quote suggests that, in essence, there are two families, one at work and one at home:

Grace (Assistant Housekeeper): “Yeah and then I was thinking I am developing myself here, why leave? It’s a great company to work with and people are really good in here. And how long we’ve been here together working with other staff as well, we are just so bonded together, we are as a family in here.” [Interview participant]

The study revealed that the feeling of social wellbeing was multifactorial; combining the social nature of many hospitality jobs; the strong sense of team-work among colleagues; the desire to have a good time at work (Chan, 2010; Choi et al., 2013;

Wildes, 2008) while being respected for one's professionalism by staff and guests. The whole contributes to a positive psychological contract as illustrated by the following discussion from memory-work participants:

Allison: "So you didn't have a problem going to work at Christmas?"

Luke: "It's thinking you've got this sacrifice to make and then suddenly you've realised that you've got one big family at your work. And that's actually more fun than worrying about your own life".

Thomas: "It's like having a constant party at work although the focus is on work".

Sound of agreement from Ella [Memory-work discussion]

As with a family, one cannot always choose who the family members are. Lucy the receptionist commented that, in the hotel, she mixed with all nationalities and cultures. They may not have been people she would voluntarily seek out, but everyone 'got along'.

Some past teams were especially memorable to their members, Levi the Guest Services Director spoke very fondly of a team he had worked with ten years previously, Samuel the General Manager referred to his former "dream team". Amelia described working three months with few days off in the hectic run up to a hotel opening. Interviews and memory-work participants constantly referred to a shared sense of humour as a means to relieve tension. Memory-work participants described the banter between colleagues and the practical jokes played on the "newbies". Dark humour helped the participants to surmount difficult or stressful aspects of their jobs, as the following memory-work discussion illustrates:

Ella: "You don't have time to process it"

Luke: "And get over it"

Thomas: "Or you just go over and have a drink and laugh about it. We've had people commit suicide, I've had seven deaths. The morning a guy blew his brains out with a shotgun in Sydney, the chef put spaghetti and meatballs on the menu"

(Screams of laughter from the group)

Thomas: "They were laughing about it. I had to get cleaners...I hadn't to personally clean it up, but you know?" [Memory-work discussion]

The memory-work sessions in particular revealed how the close relationships with co-workers reinforced the tight social networks in hospitality, which Luke referred to as *"the social connection"*. It came from a number of things, teasing, friendship, fun and *"laughs"*, mutual experiences of working abroad and sharing a drink after work. In common with the interview participants, these social bonds were perceived by memory-work participants as being tighter than in other industries. They were considered as close as family relationships, for example Alexa's previous manager came to her wedding.

The social connection is particularly significant in hospitality as staff are so vocationally mobile. The following quote expresses the feeling of many participants that people in the industry appeared to be connected in some way:

Justin (Sales Director): "The industry is so small. I've never gone to a hotel, ever, that I haven't known someone either by default or worked with or know someone that knows them, even across countries." [Interview participant]

Relationships were not time bound; after 20 years, James returned to a previous hotel where the staff still remembered him. Therefore, in hospitality, a deep sense of community is evident, forged from shared pressure of work and the respect one had earned, as the following memory-work passage reveals:

Thomas: "Especially the travel and the drinking and ...there's a lot of lonely people out there, that's just a way in"

Allison: *“That’s true, likeminded people”*

Luke: *“But the concept is still there, of the social connection around... but it’s getting through in different ways. I think in my experience, going back to the late 80’s and 90’s it seems as if it was a very cliquey society, hotels and after work drinking in closed bars and pubs and it’s almost like it feels a bit covert and underground and hospitality people would go with the people they worked with, rather than actually ‘going out’.” [Memory-work discussion]*

Alcohol consumption is associated with the hospitality partying culture (O’Neill, 2012b). This study brought the pervasiveness of drinking norms into sharp relief.

Alcohol smoothed relationships; both as a social lubricant, *“letting go”*, drinking in moderation after a shift or going out together after work to the *“drinking dens”* remembered by Thomas. Drinking to *“get hammered”* countered the pressures of emotional labour as detailed below:

Thomas: *“Of course you do drink- that’s how you relax, but you came back to terrible hangovers but you felt a lot better. At least you got it out of your system. And that’s the sort of sharing of experience but it happens all the time.” [Memory-work discussion]*

The exchange of food and drink in the workplace facilitated relationships, although such exchanges may be of a transactional nature as Wildes (2008), Front of House staff may exchange drinks for food from chefs. However, for memory-work participants, the offering of food had a different meaning. Dylan considered that food had *“a symbolic power”*; the gift of food was associated with the sense of fellowship, feelings invoked by one participant’s memory:

Alexa: *“They had only just covered the preliminary chat...when there was a knock at the door, and lunch arrived. Shitake soup - one of her favourites, fond memories of the daily lunches they had received in Chef’s office surfaced. She made the comment ‘oh I have missed this’ and was startled to have Chef state dryly that so had he! Apparently, lunch had ceased to be delivered to his office within a month of her leaving (to work directly for the General Manager and then the IT department...). Her respect in the kitchens had been hard won, however, although considerable time had passed, years since a lunch visit, and she still belonged. The bonds of belonging in hospitality, the*

respect earned from hard work and long hours had not faded”.
[Written memory]

The findings suggest that not only relationships with co-workers are important. As indicated in Chapter Three, positive workplace relationships contribute to job satisfaction for hospitality workers and “pleasure is to be found in an uncynical collusion with corporate practices” (McDowell et al., 2007, p. 21). Onsøyen (2009) perceives loyalty to colleagues as more important than loyalty to management for housekeeping staff. The finding of this study support previous research. Loyalty was primarily attached to the team or colleagues. Emily spoke of not taking sick days because it would put a burden on the rest of the team. Chefs automatically covered the shifts of co-workers with sick children.

Participant accounts of personal relationships with guests suggest they are another important part of the ‘family’. Participants spoke of having such a rapport with guests that they were able to treat them as friends and equals. Ryan exposed his “*real self*” to privileged guests in much the same way as described by Sosteric (1996) in an analysis of the close relationships between regular guests and long serving staff in a Canadian nightclub. The following memory-work discussion shows how workers felt they could be ‘*themselves*’:

*Ryan: “I like the way you talked about accentuating behaviours. I think the best way that I can describe it- it’s not a façade. To me it’s how you go out with friends to strip clubs; you wouldn’t do it with your wife. It’s like I know I can’t tell guests to ‘f*** off’ in the restaurant, I can tell my friends but I can still be sarcastic in the restaurant, just toned down a little part of my personality while increasing this.” [Memory-work discussion]*

Many memory-work participants spoke of an intense desire to make guests happy; Liam, Thomas and Ryan all powerfully evoked this aspect of enjoyment in working in hospitality. They all spoke of returning to hospitality work after time out because they missed the aspect of guest contact. Relationships with guests were perceived as very

important for those in Front of House roles, though for managers with reduced guest contact, these appeared to decline in significance. However, the ability to influence outcomes in a positive way for guests, directly or indirectly, was a source of great satisfaction.

Lucy (Motel Receptionist): Yes, that's exactly the point. And you can do it well and do it professionally and you get a bit of pride out of it. I mean you get a challenge every time somebody walks through the door."
[Interview participant]

Tensions between management and employees about looking after the guests in a professional manner emerged throughout the research. In common with the views expressed by Young & Corsun (2010, p. 79), participants in the interviews and memory-work sessions insisted that management's drive for profit compromised the delivery of 'professional' service to guests.

Daniel (Chef/F&B Manager): "Yes, that's the same with all of them. That's all they look at is the bottom line. It's all they're interested in is the bottom line." *[Interview participant]*

The downside of a focus on profit was guest dissatisfaction. The memory-work sessions revealed that positive guest contact made the job fulfilling. However, when organisational constraints made it difficult for hospitality workers to give good service, it became painful for workers to interact positively with guests. Employee dissatisfaction, burnout and desire to move on were some of the consequences of role stress highlighted by findings and supported by the literature (Karatepe & Aleshinloye, 2009; B. Kim et al., 2009; Van Dijk & Kirk, 2007; Watts, 2007). The workers' perception of a lack of real autonomy had significant negative consequences for career longevity. Real autonomy however, allied to variety and challenge, contributed to the enjoyment of a hospitality career.

5.3.3 The pursuit of excellence: Respect and autonomy

Both Wildes (2008) and Young and Corsun (2010) believe that the intrinsic motivation to remain in hospitality work is fuelled by a desire to do the job well. The findings suggest that dedication was not always explicitly stated, it was expressed as a compulsion to work to a very high standard, to gain “*respect*” from peers, competitors, subordinates and managers. Respect was communicated as the sense that a person’s work contribution was valued; “the appreciation of the job well done” (Wildes, 2008, p. 287). This reciprocal regard is indicated by the next quote:

Matthew (Kitchen Porter): “My boss said ‘I trust you’; I know I have the respect because also for my sense of humour and good personality, you know.” [Interview participant]

Lucy the receptionist felt that if “*you weren’t any good at your job, you couldn’t stay in hospitality*” and the majority of interview participants such as John the ex-General Manager emphasised the hard work and “*graft*” necessary to become an expert in one’s field.

In this study, participants employed as chefs emphasised the importance of technical skills, mandating the “*passion*” required to “*do the job right*”. For chefs, excessive hours and work related wounds, signify that the bearer has a passion for excellence, in much the same way described by Young and Corsun (2010) and Palmer, Cooper, and Burns (2010). However, the notion of heroic self-sacrifice is additionally associated with masculine workplace cultures (Ashforth & Kreiner, 2013) and the intersection of gender and class processes in specific hospitality departments will be explored in detail in Chapter Six.

Respect was garnered from colleagues for dealing with unpleasant aspects of the job, reinforcing the notion of solidarity while doing ‘dirty work’ (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Sandiford & Seymour, 2010; Simpson et al., 2012; Tracy & Clifton, 2006). It

culminated in the feeling of togetherness, in spite of a world that failed to appreciate the value of hospitality work. Recognition from colleagues and regular guests countered the general perception observed by many participants that hospitality was not really respected as a career:

Lucy (Motel Receptionist): "When I was waitressing, because I did waitress for most of my career, I found in New Zealand particularly, that it's very undervalued, and people don't see it as a career...and I often got, from people, from good friends – Oh, why don't you do this? Oh look, I saw this job the other day, this would be great for you, you'd be good at it – you know, they don't see waitressing as a profession. So that's a downside. And then new people coming in to work and they don't see it as a profession too." [Interview participant]

The perception that they were “insiders” in a career delineated by boundaries between those inside and those outside hospitality employment, even their partners, was strongly expressed by many of the memory-work participants. Additionally, the interview participants felt that respect from co-workers and regular guests contrasted with the lack of their worth reflected back from much of the outside world. This emphasised their sense of being cocooned in a separate “hospitality world” where they belonged.

It is difficult to separate the participants’ meanings of respect and belonging from one another as highlighted by the following passage from a memory-work discussion:

Ryan: "You said that you found you belonged once you got respect but then we look at what belonging is - because to me I worked harder to get that respect because I felt like I belonged in the industry. It wasn't so much I felt that I belonged once I got respect. It really is how you consider belonging".

Alexa: "If I didn't have the respect there I would have been booted out on my ass, I wouldn't have been allowed".

Liam: "I know what you mean. Respect-I know people respect me for what I am capable of doing. For 24 hours more or less, I've always had a live in position. They knew they can rely on me, they can trust me...well most of the time (laughs)".

Ryan: “...what has come through is that community feel of when you get respect. You’re got to earn it and it is long and hard.” [Memory-work discussion]

Autonomy provided further evidence of respect from colleagues and various degrees of power and autonomy were associated with different levels of the hierarchy. Even low-level jobs appeared to have a degree of freedom in decision-making. Scarlett, as receptionist, spoke of being able to organise her own day and decide what to do “without someone standing over me and telling me how to do it”.

Increased autonomy came with promotion and could be a reason to apply for a higher position; for example, when Andrea progressed from waitress to restaurant supervisor, she wanted to become ‘king of the castle’. Paul, the General Manager, spoke of a fundamental change in the organisation of contemporary hotels; employees are being given more responsibility in how they manage their own sections, a trend that does not appear to be reflected in hotel organisational processes. Research finds that inflexible autocratic management styles are common in hotels across diverse environments (Minett et al., 2009; Onsøyen et al., 2009). This study showed that managers who ‘let their staff get on with it’ gained approval from staff.

The study also revealed tensions between participants’ expectations that experienced employees were able to do the job properly and the dismissive attitude displayed towards new entrants. Many memory-work participants spoke of a ‘sink or swim’ attitude towards newcomers among fellow workers and, by default, management when they started a new job. It was not that established staff did not want newcomers to succeed. There was a dispassionate attitude towards their survival and longer serving workers were simply uninterested.

Ryan and others in the memory-work group considered that respect had to be earned; no one was ‘entitled’ to respect. Respect was founded on the shared sacrifice everyone had

endured in earlier career stages. However, respect was not universally demonstrated throughout the hospitality workplace. Molly's view that housekeeping was not really well thought of by the other managers, is supported by the literature (see Harris et al., 2011). The study revealed that societal norms about women's work being perceived as of lesser value (Acker, 2012) appear to be perpetuated in hospitality workplaces.

However, as with all research into gendered organisational processes, complexities and contradictions were reflected in the many negative allusions from a number of interview and memory-work participants about chefs, who occupy a space that continues to be strongly male-dominated (Stokes et al., 2010; Young & Corsun, 2010). In any case, close relationships between fellow workers in both areas appeared to mitigate the lack of respect accorded them outside their own departments, a finding that accords with research into jobs that society considers dirty (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Simpson et al., 2012).

5.3.4 Occupational complexity: The challenge and excitement of hospitality work

The assortment and complexity of tasks in hospitality jobs appeared to make the participants' jobs interesting. Many participants compared their jobs favourably with jobs outside the hospitality industry.

Andrea: "And then when I started here [as waitress] I knew that I was going to stay here. I didn't want to do anything else, I didn't want to go to an office job, I just needed to be out." [Interview participant]

Participants commented that meeting a diverse assortment of people contributed to the perception that hospitality jobs are interesting jobs. One General Manager's quote reveals how enjoyable he considered his role:

Samuel (General Manager): "My job – every day I have laughs and get all sorts of opportunities and deal with really interesting people from the Chief Executive of Coca Cola through to my local brewery rep who says – come on, let's not have a meeting, let's go and have a beer." [Interview participant]

Many interviewees and some memory-work participants enjoyed the involvement with diverse co-workers, surmounting complex challenges and contending with the varying moods of their guests. Intrinsic reward depended on the employees' perception that they had autonomy, engendered by strong working relationships (teamwork) and professional respect (including trust within the team).

In positive working environments, the working routine in operations, while possessing a core structure dictated by the rhythm of meal periods, was not rigidly enforced by arbitrary time or task demands. The achievement of common goals transcended local departmental objectives. Matthew the Kitchen Porter, Lauren, the Laundry Supervisor and Emily, the Room Attendant, talked about helping out in other sections or departments.

Staff at all levels described how the challenge inherent in their jobs reinforced their desire to remain working in hospitality. Paul the General Manager described how he enjoyed meeting complex targets by co-operating with his team. He suggested that, in contemporary hotels, the increased number of specific performance indices contributed to a strong sense of job satisfaction among managers.

Although job complexity has been linked with hotel managers' career motivation (Mkono, 2010), a key finding revealed in this study is that interview participants at all levels of hospitality work, perceived their jobs as complex and challenging. This is a characteristic not generally associated with lower level jobs in the industry; the general perception of entry level work is that it is hard monotonous labour (Rydzik et al., 2012; Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011). Not only managers, but workers engaged in diverse kinds of work such as room cleaning, kitchen or laundry work greatly enjoyed the challenge and variety of their work. They achieved fulfilment from doing their job well as demonstrated by this quote:

Lauren (Laundry Supervisor): I think the laundry is my best opportunity – my best job. Because it's a demanding job, that's what I like. I like the demanding. Yes, I like the challenge from other people" [Interview participant].

Memory-work participants also appreciated the variety they had encountered in their operational hospitality careers. They observed that a hospitality management position was different, interesting albeit intense and strongly linked to autonomy. The challenge of their role linked with the appreciation and respect reflected from team members, peers and guests contributed to the establishment of a professional reputation.

There is, however, a negative side to the complicated nature of hospitality jobs. Some memory-work participants who had left operational positions felt that the complexity of their final jobs contributed to stress, that ultimately escalated to a profound sense of emotional exhaustion, as this written memory shows:

Dylan: "There was and had always been, only the front line – no job, however titled, that had not involved the majority of the time being spent in customer facing slog. Now he hated it – he was too old, too tired and too emotionally burnt out to serve, he could only stand the Dispense Bar because he didn't have to serve people". [Written memory]

Career theory can help to interpret the career experiences of the participants in this study. As observed in Chapter Two, Inkson et al. (2012) consider that the way ahead for boundaryless career research lies in exploring four aspects of the *boundaries* (my italics) in boundaryless careers. They are: 1) social structures 2) boundaries that constrain careers 3) boundaries that enable careers and 4) boundary crossing events. The significance of social structures in a hospitality career will be explored in the next section, and followed by a brief discussion of boundaries that constrain or enable careers.

5.4 Part Three: Discussion of the hospitality career as boundaryless career

Chapter Three explained that the way forward in boundaryless career research lies in seeing it as a career dynamic rather than a type of career. Accordingly, career enablers and boundaries that mark important points in a hospitality career have been highlighted earlier in this chapter. Boundaryless career theory can further help to interpret the social aspects of hospitality careers, in order to bring an understanding of career longevity.

5.4.1 Social structures in hospitality careers

As observed in Chapter Three, social skills or competencies are considered essential for successful boundaryless careers (Defillippi & Arthur, 1994; Sullivan & Arthur, 2006) and hospitality careers (Kong et al., 2012; Wang, 2013). Defillippi and Arthur (2006), break the competencies into three main areas which Tams and Arthur (2010, p. 634) explain as follows:

- knowing why (motivation and identity)
- knowing how (skills and expertise)
- knowing whom (relationships and reputation)

The importance of social connections and the pursuit of professional excellence link with social competencies. The significant ways in which these two factors contribute to hospitality career longevity are the subject of the next discussion.

Social connections

Research participants were aware of ‘why’ they worked in hospitality. The socialisation process in hospitality establishes loyalty and a positive psychological contact (Chuang & Dellmann-Jenkins, 2010; D. Kara, 2012; Mujtaba, 2008; Pinar et al., 2011; Woods, 2006). The findings suggest a strong professional identity contributed to an individual’s motivation to stay working in a hospitality career, being viewed as a good waitress or as a competent manager was important. The career was also required to conform to personal requirements. If a critical obligation of a person’s life stage were family

responsibilities, hospitality employees stayed if their employment catered for those requirements. If the centrality of social relations were an important part of a person's motivation to work in the industry, they remained in hospitality employment.

If participants considered career advancement their priority, they remained with the organisation that provided it or moved to another organisation to receive training and development. The links between 'identity' and age, class ethnicity or gender is complex and will be more fully explored in the next chapter. However, it was clear from the findings that career longevity was strongly identified with the strength of participants' professional identity. In turn, the professional 'identity' or persona was based on knowing how to do the job and a person's network of contacts.

Professional excellence

Knowing 'how' referred to the skills and expertise that the individual demonstrated to establish a professional identity and to be accepted by their peers. It was embodied in the notion of 'dedication' that individuals were prepared to demonstrate in order to be considered professional. It further links with McDowell et al.'s (2007) idea of interpellation, where fellow workers are also decision makers on whether colleagues fit into the workplace. As noted previously, validation of professionalism from guests and co-workers is required to become an "*insider*".

The relationships and reputation that a hospitality worker gained throughout their career directly interlinked with knowing 'whom'. The memory-work group referred to the 'bundling' of reputation and networks as '*pedigree*'. It directly affected job content, autonomy, social relationships, and promotion through all levels of organisational hierarchy. Promotion requires commitment from the individual to look for developmental opportunities (U Zander et al., 2010). Although a successful career in

hospitality depends on endorsement from managers, the individual's agency is still required to build social connectivity.

5.4.2 Individual agency in hospitality careers

Identifying the extent to which individuals dictate their own career moves is critical in appreciating the career constructs of hospitality workers and ensuing career longevity. Inkson et al. (2012) recognise that boundaries are social structures (p.333) and that individuals are partially responsible for their own development. It became apparent in the findings that there were unresolved tensions around ownership of the career, particularly in larger hotel chains. Three factors that Tams and Arthur (2010) consider significant for individual career agency will now be explored.

The first factor is how well an individual can adapt to a changing economy. As observed in Chapter Three, neo-liberal labour market policies have brought extensive changes to employment practises which individuals are frequently unable to control. Economic geography researchers believe that hospitality organisations, for example, hotels, mirror events in the wider economy (McDowell et al., 2007). This perspective was reinforced in the interviews and memory-work discussions. Bankrupt hotels going into receivership were the catalyst for the career moves of some General Managers. Financial disasters had negative consequences for workers; John and Samuel explained how, when taking control of a hotel in receivership, their first action was to change the management team as this would then force others to move. Replacement staff would not have conflicting allegiance; their loyalty would lie with the manager who hired them.

A second factor concerns identity and adaptability. Tams and Arthur (2010) suggest that personal development needs to be seen through processes connected with the organisation, it is not purely driven by the individual. Frequently, the business needs of the hotel, not individual choice, dictated geographical moves. Justin moved to a hotel in

a remote region because the hotel needed an Assistant General Manager. The adaptability of individuals could allow them to develop expertise for a position but the job first needed to be available.

A further third factor put forward by Tams and Arthur (2010) is echoed by Inkson et al. (2012); there are universal shared meanings of procedures and processes stretching across specific industries. As discussed earlier, the findings strongly support the idea that individuals in the hospitality industry signal their competence to hospitality boundary gatekeepers. The boundaryless career becomes a reality, as individuals express their agency by using networks they build up throughout their career to move. An individual's industry "*pedigree*" confirms their competence.

The modern concept of career is tied up with advancing in one's job (Gunz & Peiperl, 2007) and is associated with success and high performance (Poelmans, 2005). Many of the people at the lower job levels in hospitality did not judge their value by their position, rather measured their success by their relationships at work. However, those for whom career advancement was a priority found that events or promotional gatekeepers could affect their progress. The gatekeepers control boundaries that may prevent progression to the next level or locality (Gunz et al., 2007). In hospitality careers, the gatekeepers are frequently industry mentors.

Career development, career longevity and, therefore, agency, are directly affected by the constant movement and short tenures of senior managers in influential positions. It is difficult to transition through departments and areas of expertise without the backing of General Managers, who are also mentors for those at lower levels. The participants explained that good mentors allowed a person to develop and proceed to the next level, retaining that person in a hospitality career. Conflicts between General Managers and subordinates may temporarily derail career paths. They do not necessarily present a

permanent boundary as the industry wide network is powerful. However, ongoing conflict means the individual is more inclined to move to another property.

5.4.3 Boundaries that that constrain or enable careers

Inkson et al. (2012) observe that when researching boundaryless careers , that it is important to investigate where boundaries exist. Boundaries define opportunities and limits in careers and constrain careers by restricting the changes that people can make. Boundaries also enable careers by ‘structuring career passages’ that socialise individuals into their new roles. In studying boundaries, the authors consider that ‘boundary crossing events’ that ‘punctuate’ people’s careers (p.334) are highly significant, as they indicate important progression points in careers. Pinpointing such transition junctures helps to reveal career patterns and highlights how career progression takes place.

In the hospitality industry important career moves for workers may be, for example, the first supervisory position or the promotion to a higher position in a new department. In terms of an individual’s career construct, such boundary crossing ‘rites of passage’ provide a personalised ‘career story’(Savickas, 2013) authored by the individual. The findings of this study suggest common career patterns that allow the formulation of a common hospitality career construct, represented by Figure 2 on the next page.

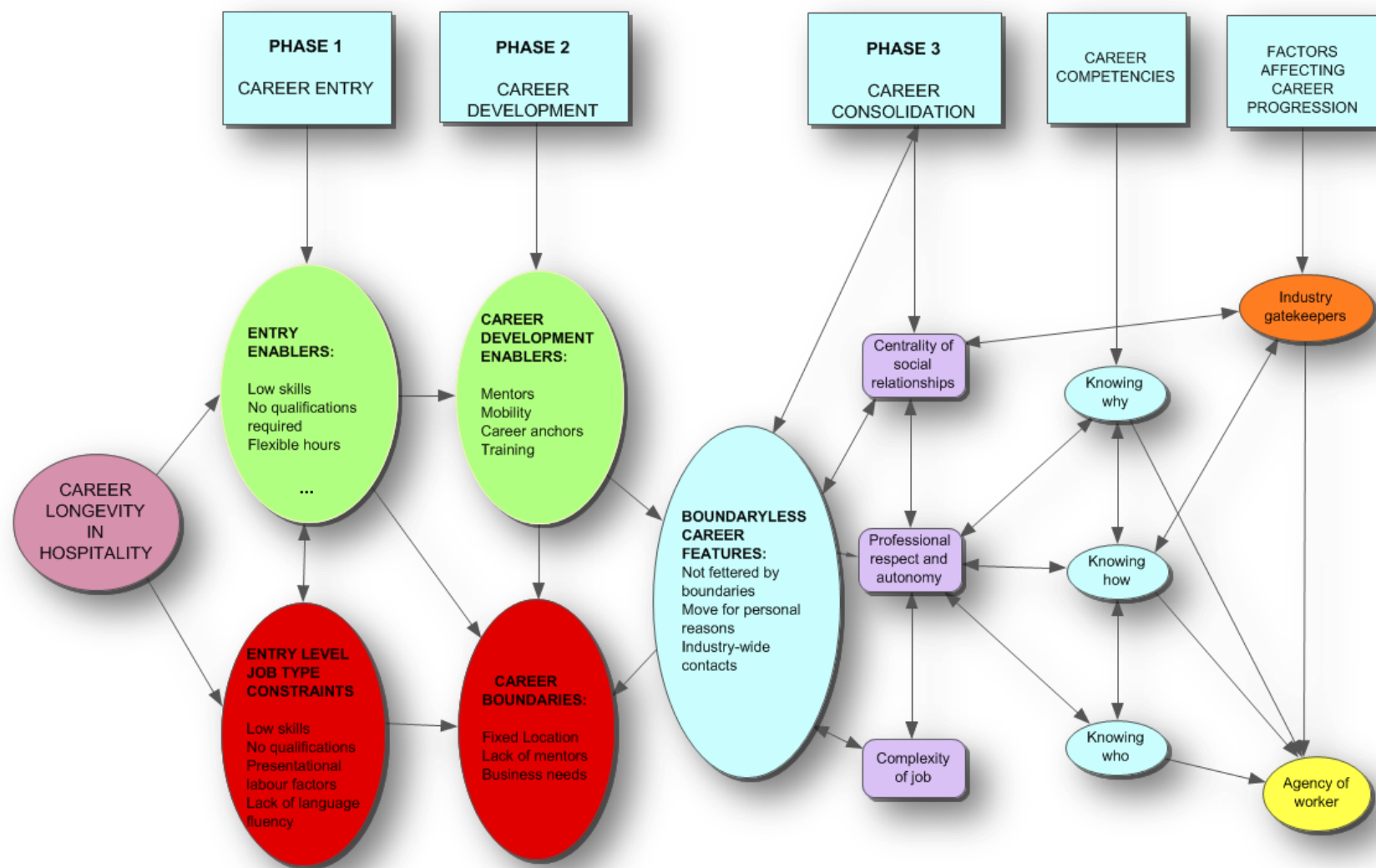


Figure 2: The hospitality career construct model

According to the Hospitality Career Construct Model, there are three phases in a hospitality career:

- Phase 1 Career entry
- Phase 2 Career development
- Phase 3 Career consolidation

At the first phase, there are entry enablers such as the low skills requirement of many entry-level jobs and flexible working hours that allow individuals to enter the hospitality industry, without prior experience or qualifications. However, failure to meet appearance criteria and a lack of skills or qualifications may mean that they encounter barriers to higher-level jobs.

During the second Phase of career development, enablers that facilitate career development are the presence of industry mentors, the ability to cross geographical or departmental boundaries, the growth of career anchors and training. Boundaries or barriers that constrain career development for individuals are fixed location, lack of training (which leads to a failure to develop career anchors) and the business imperatives of senior management.

The third stage of career consolidation in hospitality is signalled when the hospitality worker achieves three elements from their career; firstly, strong social connectivity; secondly, the achievement of professional respect and autonomy and, thirdly; the perception of task complexity in their jobs. Career longevity in hospitality depends on the worker successfully negotiating all three phases outlined in the Hospitality Career Construct Model. If workers are able to demonstrate mastery of career competencies (Defillippi & Arthur, 1994; Wang, 2013) to their industry mentors, they will advance more quickly in their careers. Factors, therefore, that influence career progression in hospitality, are the presence of industry mentors/gatekeepers and the extent of individual career agency.

The previous discussion suggests that hospitality career is a boundaryless career. The next section will show that although the hospitality career appears to conform to Arthur and Rousseau's (2006) perspective, more contemporary perspectives into boundaryless career theory give greater insights into the hospitality career. By pinpointing boundaries and crossing points, it can be seen that the boundaries are bounded by industry norms; therefore while the hospitality career appears to be a boundaryless career, it is boundaryless only for certain kinds of people. Also the notion of transnationalism (Anthias, 2013) comes into play, norms vary from country to country, the boundaryless career is not static. Globalisation has also affected career paths, in hospitality as in other industries.

In terms of the earlier perspectives of a boundaryless career outlined in Chapter Two, the career experiences of the participants show that a hospitality career possesses the six original characteristics outlined by Arthur and Rousseau (1996) as follows:

Table 8: Boundaryless career features

1.	The ability of the individual to move from organisation to organisation without penalty
2.	Career validation does not depend on the current employer
3.	Communications networks independent of the current employer promote the reputations and career advancement of boundaryless career individuals
4.	Goes beyond traditional organisational career boundaries
5.	Individuals may refuse apparent career advancement opportunities for private reasons
6.	Present organisational boundaries or structures do not constrain or define future career possibilities.

Superficially, based on the findings of this study, a hospitality career appears to possess the characteristics of a boundaryless career in accordance with the features outlined in Table 8. Firstly, the findings show that participants appear to move across organisations throughout the industry, in many cases without penalty. Secondly, career validation appears to be attached to the experience and skills workers had gained rather than the

position they currently occupy within one particular organisation. Thirdly, communication networks are important for obtaining jobs and career progression. The majority of participants at all levels emphasised the fact that they obtained their career opportunities from people they knew in the industry, frequently from outside their employing organisation. The mastery of social competencies (Defillippi & Arthur, 1994) noted in the previous discussion in Section 5.4 facilitates individuals' mobility across organisations.

Fourthly, most participants have very varied career experiences, moving departments, jobs, countries and type of hospitality organisation. Career arrangements are not dependant on career paths with one employer. Fifthly, participants refuse unsuitable or unwelcome promotional moves although consequences may be reduced financial rewards. Likewise, some participants move department for new challenges or variety without any apparent gain. Finally, again in accordance with Arthur and Rousseau's (1996) model, participants feel that there had been or there are still possibilities open to them outside their present job or employing organisation.

Since the original concept was published, subsequent reiterations of the boundaryless career focus on aspects of subjective and objective success. Volmer and Spurk (2010) write about the boundaryless mind-set that characterises people in a boundaryless career and many participants in the study exhibited a desire for variety and appreciated challenge for its own sake. The findings suggest that hospitality workers who transcend boundaries (functional or organisational) and possess good social competencies follow a boundaryless career dynamic.

However, it is not possible at this stage to say with any degree of certainty that all hospitality workers are in a boundaryless career. As discussed in Chapter Two there have been many criticisms of the boundaryless career concept, such as how to measure

the dimensions of a boundaryless career and the blurring of the lines between the boundaryless and protean career. More current theorising about the boundaryless career stresses the importance of agency (Tams & Arthur, 2010) and the findings of this study suggest that at most levels of the hierarchy, industry gatekeepers considerably affected workers' sense of career agency.

This finding is significant as a fundamental criticism of boundaryless is that the concept fails to take into account the interests or career experiences of more 'ordinary' people, due to its neo liberal roots (Tams & Arthur, 2010). Researchers, for example, Roper et al. (2010) suggest that the boundaryless career concept has not outgrown its usefulness but needs to be reframed in order to be meaningful. Inkson et al. (2012) propose that a more realistic view of a boundaryless career, is to visualise it as a dynamic, not as a type of career. By deliberately identifying the boundaries that exist in a boundaryless career, deeper insights can be gained into how careers work. In his view much boundaryless career research fails to illuminate the social contexts of careers. This is of concern as the findings of this study reveal that the social context is a significant dimension in hospitality careers.

Furthermore, Inkson (2006) observes that the meanings associated with the six original characteristics of the boundaryless career are ambiguous. Although boundaries are subjective for each individual, a problem with the initial concept is that boundaryless career features were assumed to refer to boundaries around organisations, rather than those present within an individual (Inkson et al., 2012). It is these contextualised enabling and constraining boundaries (Tams & Arthur, 2010) within a hospitality career that will be the focus of the following discussion.

It is only by examining the boundaries in a hospitality career and the agency of hospitality workers that we can see if the hospitality career is in fact boundaryless.

Therefore, at this juncture, it is only possible to say that the hospitality career *appears* to be boundaryless. The findings indicate that hospitality workers do not have a complete sense of agency. The pace of careers is regulated by the subjective opinions of career gatekeepers (Gunz et al., 2007). Inkson et al. (2012) suggest that focusing too much on the gatekeepers in careers leads to a concentration on boundaries, rather than the career itself. I would argue that exploring the role of industry gatekeepers in hospitality careers simultaneously with aged, gendered, racialised and classed organisational process reveals how the patterns of a boundaryless career play out for all occupational classes in hospitality, not just for the elite. To further this objective, Chapter Six will explore how age, gender, ethnicity and occupational class results in privilege for the elite and penalties for those marginalised by the intersection of socially ascribed categories of difference.

5.5 Summary

The findings indicate that a hospitality career possesses certain characteristics of subjective and objective notions of success associated with boundaryless career theory (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Baruch, 2004; Defillippi & Arthur, 1994; Inkson et al., 2012; Volmer & Spurk, 2010), for example, the importance of positive relationships and a sense of personal fulfilment. The discussion based on the findings suggests four elements appear to contribute to career longevity in hospitality.

The first contribution is based on the perception of the hospitality career as a boundaryless career dynamic. The longevity of a hospitality career is contingent on the employee's positive perception of career opportunities within the industry, specifically the level of support received in terms of training, development and career progression. There is a widespread belief among interviewees that development and promotional possibilities were available to all. Hierarchical support enables staff to be developed within their own area or promoted successfully to another.

The second contribution is that strong social connectivity is necessary for a long-term career in hospitality. There is a strong link between the social connectivity and perception of dedication, people liked and respected those who did a good job. The willingness of workers to pursue a long-term hospitality career depended on the extent that a worker successfully demonstrated dedication to the hospitality industry. The third contribution is that a professional identity, made up of respect, autonomy and recognition of skills contributes to career longevity. The fourth and final contributor to a long-term career in hospitality is the occupational complexity of hospitality jobs.

As discussed, the hospitality career construct model (Figure 2) outlines the relationship between these factors and the shape of a hospitality career. Figure 2 notes that demonstration of career competencies by the hospitality worker ensures career progression. However, social dimensions of difference, such as age, gender, ethnicity and class, profoundly influence the way that industry mentors perceive hospitality workers' abilities. The ways that such perceptions affect the career longevity of hospitality workers will be explored in Chapter Six.

Chapter 6. THE INTERSECTIONALITY OF AGE, GENDER, ETHNICITY AND CLASS

6.1 Introduction

Chapter Six addresses the second research question posed by this research and illuminates the ways that aspects of age, class, ethnicity and gender influence the longevity of hospitality careers. In Chapter Five, boundaryless career theory was used to interpret significant themes from the career stories of the research participants. The intersectional analysis in this chapter builds on this framework. The hospitality career construct is interpreted as “a subjective construction that imposes personal meaning on past memories, present experiences and future aspirations by weaving them into a life theme that patterns the individual’s work life” (Savickas, 2005, p. 143). Socially ascribed categories of difference give meaning to the patterns observed in hospitality careers. In addition to the participants’ quotes and memories provided in Chapter Five, career snapshots of the interview participants’ career histories are included in Chapter Six to illuminate particular aspects of intersection.

Savickas (2013, p. 147) explains his model as “the interpretative and interpersonal process that individuals as actors, agents and authors use to make a self, shape an identity and build a career”. The career becomes a story about working life told by the individual rather than being construed as progressing up a ladder or following a clear path. Viewed from this perspective, individuals give meaning to their vocational choices by creating their own personal career constructs, based on their subjective interpretations.

Savickas (2013) developed career construction theory as a practical aid for those engaged in providing career counselling. A key premise of the concept is that adaptation to different social contexts and perceptions drive career development, rather than the individual’s internal maturation process suggested by earlier life stage career theorists

such as Super (1957). According to Savickas (2013) a person's individual career story directs their later career moves and transitions.

Individuals compose their personal career construct by enacting three different roles, the first as actor, the second as agent and the third as author. The first role concerns the myriad ways that individuals build their career and the theory highlights the significance of outside role models and reputation in building up career competencies. In contrast to personality that develops internally, reputation is located in an individual's social network. The second role suggested by Savickas (2013) encompasses individuals' career motivations. It includes concern for the future, self-regulation, curiosity and the confidence to drive their personal ambitions. In the third and final role, individuals combine their identity narratives, career themes and individual perspectives to create their own unique career story.

As explained in Chapter Three, an intersectional approach helps us to understand how age, gender, ethnicity and class are enacted within hospitality employment processes. In this study, the category of age is interpreted as 'body-age' (Winker & Degele, 2011); the category of gender is interpreted as performativity (Broadbridge & Simpson, 2011; P. Lewis & Simpson, 2010); the category of ethnicity is interpreted as a cultural marker of difference (Anthias, 2013; Atewologun & Singh, 2010; Lutz et al., 2011) and, lastly, the category of class is interpreted as occupational class, embedded in organisational processes (Scully & Blake-Beard, 2006). The intersectional process can be compared to the course followed by an artist who applies layer after layer of paint on canvas, to capture a fleeting impression of what is seen in the mind's eye.

This chapter should be visualised as consecutive 'background' and 'foreground' sections. The first 'background' section addresses each category of difference in turn, seeking not to privilege any one in particular, as recommended in Chapter Four. During

this process, as single dimensions are explored, the implications of gender, class and ethnicity hover like shadows in the depths of a master's work, shading the subjective meanings of the participants' experiences.

Age is the first category to be examined in the following section. All participants in this study were reflecting retrospectively on their career. At certain points, their memories brought to the foreground instances where organisational processes conferred either privilege or penalty. Such examples highlight the significance of a socially ascribed category at that point in time. The interconnectedness of other categories, however, is still present in the background. This chapter will conclude by drawing the strands of age, gender, class and ethnicity together to understand the career longevity of hospitality workers within a New Zealand context. It will also clarify if indeed, *all* workers in hospitality experience a boundaryless career, or solely the elite.

6.2 Age, gender, class, ethnicity and class in a hospitality career

The findings in Chapter Five suggest that relationships in the hospitality workplace significantly affect career agency and job satisfaction. As observed in Chapter Four, an intersectional approach reveals the intersections of privilege and penalty in social relations (Anthias, 2013). By focusing on the systems that reproduce inequality (Dhamoon, 2011; Walby et al., 2012), we can see how these privileges and penalties attached to being a certain age, gender, ethnicity or occupational class contribute to career longevity in the hospitality industry.

In order to be able to understand participants' individual career experiences, the notion of good performance or 'performativity', discussed in Chapter Three, needs to be understood in the context of this research. The findings suggest that, for participants at all levels, performativity is the embodiment of the commitment and technical skills that emerged as critical underpinnings of a hospitality career.

6.2.1 Age

The previous chapters have highlighted the significance of age in a hospitality career context. Individual career experiences differ according to the life stages associated with different ages. Chapter Three indicates that the descriptor ‘old’ applies to people in hospitality employment at a younger age than other employment sectors (R. Lucas, 2007). For example, a person approaching thirty years of age may be considered too old to work in a fashionable bar catering to a youthful demographic clientele (Nickson et al., 2003). Age is a significant descriptor in this research as it links to body performativity.

‘Body-age’ refers to an individual’s chronological age and associated suitability for a particular job, in terms of desired appearance and life stage. Performativity does not only apply to how an individual looks and performs physically, but also how they fulfil the expectations associated with the age band. This research specifically looks at ‘ageing’ rather than age categories in terms of the hospitality career, as the perception of how well people perform is linked to their age.

Connections between physical appearance, suitability for hospitality employment and the aging process came to the fore from the accounts of some older research participants. This was not surprising, as personal appearance plays an important role in hotel employment, even for those in non-direct guest contact positions. Within the context of hospitality employment, age-body discrimination is visible, either related to appearance and gender (Mooney & Ryan, 2009) or ethnicity (McDowell, Batnitzky, & Dyer, 2009), or reflected in ‘ageist’ attitudes (Furunes & Mykletun, 2007).

An example of the foreground scenario is indicated below. The findings revealed that chronological age bands, shaded by industry wide social norms for occupational class, gender and ethnicity, dictated the ‘appropriate age’ for a job. Emily felt too ashamed to

tell her social circle she was ‘still’ a room attendant in her fifties. In the position of Restaurant Manager, it was demeaning to be in uniform at a certain age:

Dylan: “No amount of smoking or drinking can kill that pain – the humiliation of being made to wear a uniform at 35, being treated like a servant, working with 20 year olds, repeating the same thing over and over and over.” [Written memory]

Youth and performativity

The findings confirmed that youth was strongly associated with entry level hospitality positions, as suggested by previous studies (Williamson et al., 2009; Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011). The findings showed that young people were initially attracted to the hotel industry in spite of the frequent parental opposition encountered in New Zealand and overseas, as the quote below suggests:

Liam: “Well at the time, I did it (the process of obtaining accountancy qualifications) more or less to pacify my father, although I promised him I would go through. The moment I finish I leave. Yeah, so of course I left. Becoming an accountant was never my choice, never. He was working class, working at shift work; he wanted his kids to have white-collar jobs. I hated every minute of it”.

Dylan: “It’s an interesting sort of theme about class. It’s saying we are reacting against our parents who wanted us to be this type of class and in some ways hospitality strikes me as the other space that you can go into.” [Memory-work discussion]

What appeared to lure them into hospitality was the social connection, sense of freedom and entertainment to be gained from hospitality work. Wildes (2008, p. 290) considers the 18-25 year age group to be most motivated by a ‘fun’ working atmosphere. The following quote illustrates the youthful enjoyment recalled by so many participants:

Liam: “The majority of the staff members were all in the same age group (18-25), they were an international group of individuals, and we spent a lot of time partying after work (a lot!)”.[Memory-work extract]

From a managerial perspective, reasons proffered for high levels of youth employment are the aesthetic labour requirements of the hospitality industry (McDowell et al., 2007;

Nickson et al., 2003; Nickson & Warhurst, 2007a); youthfulness is a desirable physical attribute.

As indicated earlier, good appearance is an essential element of performativity (Winker & Degele, 2011). Excellent physical presentation is one of the most important requirements of hotel recruiters (Davidson & Wang, 2011) even for Back of House positions. McDowell et al. (2007) note that it is an added bonus if room attendants are attractive. Memory-work participants emphasised the symbols associated with good appearance, for example, the pristine snowiness of pageboys' gloves. Shaving kits and women's tights were available for staff whose appearance did not pass muster.

Memory-work participants described '*looking the part*' as follows:

Luke: "Oh yes, very aesthetic, it has to be, I certainly recall that. I mean the long hair is since I left".

Researcher: "So it's looking the part as well?"

Thomas: "Oh yeah! Definitely.[Memory-work extract]

Winker and Degele (2011) suggest that an employer's perception of ideal performance is linked with age norms and the energy and appearance of young people is desirable. Young people are more likely to possess the physical robustness required for hospitality work (McIntosh & Harris, 2012). Younger workers therefore appeared to be 'privileged' by their youth. Participants, looking back, linked youth with the willingness to complete the long hours and physically arduous work necessary at the early career stages.

Paul (General Manager): "I was pretty young and gullible so I was pretty keen to grab those opportunities." [Interview participant]

Youth is regarded as more cost effective for employers (Timo & Davidson, 2005); for example, younger graduates find challenging work is more important than high pay

(Walsh & Taylor, 2007). Many memory-work and interview participants suggested that a young ambitious person could be persuaded to accept an increase in position with a token pay rise, in order to gain a desirable title. Chefs and managers in this study referred to the fact that younger, less experienced chefs were hired because they were cheaper. Older chefs expected higher pay commensurate with their experience, as revealed by the next quote:

Daniel (Executive Chef): "I know the new exec chef at the xxx hotel and he's being paid now the same as what I was being paid when I worked there 14 years ago because the employer doesn't want to pay what I'm worth, so they go and say well let's get a 28 year old in here. He'll take it because the young ones want the title. They don't want the money but I want the money." [Interview participant]

However, the shift work common in entry-level positions frequently ensured that social connection could only take place on the job. Many participants spoke about how younger workers perceived they were excluded from a fulfilling social life by evening and weekend work, although 'partying' together after work partly overcame the feeling of social exclusion. The following quote expresses the constraints of unsocial work hours:

John (Ex-General Manager): "It didn't worry me too much, the hotel hours. But if you're a young person trying to find a beau and going through puberty and all that carry-on, it could be pretty tough, the restrictions of the hours." [Interview participant]

Therefore, there are intermingled penalties and privileges associated with being perceived as a younger worker in the hospitality industry. Chapter Five suggested a high degree of commitment is necessary to succeed in a hospitality career. However, young people frequently failed to conform to these industry expectations. Many participants expressed negative opinions about youthful workers. The first of these was the perceived gap between young workers' and managers' priorities. Participants felt that young New Zealanders are less willing to work unsociable hours. Flexible hours that

enabled socialising were highlighted as very important for young people by most interviewees and memory-work participants. As indicated in Chapter Five, the social connection contributed to the retention of younger workers in the industry.

Interview participants frequently described young workers as irresponsible, unreliable, unrealistic and not fully cognisant with the industry demands. The memory-work participants viewed their own moves into management as transitioning into adulthood and being forced to 'grow up', as the following extract shows:

Ryan: "There was this fun drain from all of those stories, in this move to go into management or to a senior position. Also, the element that though they didn't all say it, it's time to grow up and move out, also the element coming through of children and this need to...I just found it interesting that the partying and the fun was linked to some kind of juvenile delinquency (Everyone laughs). The management move is linked to a kind of snap into reality, be responsible and move on."
[Memory-work extract]

Some participants (generally senior managers) viewed young people more sympathetically, as expressions of their younger selves.

Justin (Sales Manager): "Some might have done similar things as what I did, so it was a good career time and you were hungry for it and you wanted to succeed, so there was a bit of that going on. Some were maybe at the end of their careers as well, had the maturity. Then there were some young hungry kids that wanted to get exposure or get into our group and wanted to impress." [Interview participant]

They felt that youth was easy to take advantage of because of the desire for career progression. Mkomo (2010) notes that hard work is considered an integral part of hotel management careers, however, many interviewees signalled that they now had more control over their working lives:

Paul (General Manager): "I think there's probably an old nemesis the fact that in hotels you work 24 hours a day. I mean, I don't and I think if you do then you've got something wrong. You just don't have to do that."
[Interview participant]

Older workers and performativity

Just as there are penalties attached to being young in hospitality employment, the previous section has signalled that there are privileges associated with being older. Interviewees considered older workers to be more knowledgeable and reliable, in part due to adult responsibilities such as mortgages and children, replicating findings that perceptions of older workers had improved over time in the United Kingdom hospitality industry (Jenkins & Poulston, 2014; Magd, 2003). The view below conveys this aptly:

Amelia (Telephonist/Former Housekeeper): “Well, I’m not supposed to say things like this, but I find the younger ones are the fluctuating fringe because they move on, they have babies...My solid core were the more mature women, the kids have grown up a bit, they’re at school, they need school uniforms.” [Interview participant]

As observed in Chapter Three, the presence of older workers in the workforce allows mentoring of junior employees to take place, which contributes to career longevity in the hospitality industry (Lub et al., 2012). However, the perception that younger workers are transient, therefore not worthy of mentoring until they have proven themselves, means that the positive mentoring effects of a mixed age force are reduced.

Chapter Three also observed the importance of a positive psychological contact in ensuring employee commitment. The socialisation process in hospitality establishes a positive psychological contact and establishes loyalty to the employing organisation (Mujtaba, 2008; Woods, 2006). However, the positive effects of the early socialisation process do not appear to extend to part-time workers and they are penalised by being marginalised as outsiders (Pinar et al., 2011). As in many cases, part-time workers are migrants, women and young people (Baum, 2013; Joppe, 2012; Williamson et al., 2009), there are significant connections between age, gender and ethnicity at Phase One (career entry) of the Hospitality Career Construct. Chapter Five suggested that attitudes to newcomers were not encouraging and acceptance only came when an individual was recognised as worthy of respect. As suggested in Chapter Three, interpellation occurs

when employees in a workplace adopt management's vision of the ideal worker (McDowell et al., 2007). The findings revealed young people were penalised by their youth, they did not conform to the notion of the ideal employee. Managers and supervisors regarded young workers as transient and unreliable. Organisational processes further reinforce the temporary 'casual worker' status of young workers. It is more difficult for young outsiders to become *insiders*.

Older workers and managers are pivotal in the induction process, mentoring younger employees and socialising them into organisational culture. Most memory-work and interview participants spoke of wishing to pass their knowledge down to the generation of workers succeeding them; such mentoring assisted social cohesion. One senior chef expressed how, even at this stage of his career (mid-fifties), passion for the job and the opportunities to teach young people kept him in the industry:

Daniel (Executive Chef) : "I nurture my young guys because somebody gave me an opportunity and some people - I've got my mentors out there that I've worked for that I still keep in touch and it's like – I'm trying to give back". [Interview participant]

Memory-work participants further explained how mentors had guided their own development and how they would coach subordinates in turn. The prevalence of mentoring bonds contributed to the sense of being part of a "*family*" uncovered in Chapter Five. The following glimpse into a participant's career shows how rewarding the mentoring process could be:

Career snapshot: Hotel Consultant (former Sales Manager and General Manager)

John has had a long career as a manager in the United Kingdom and New Zealand. Now he is retired, he acts as a consultant to hotel groups. His first senior management position was not easy; he had a difficult start arriving as General Manager in a hotel in financial difficulties. But after about five or six years (he had a great supportive Managing Director), when he became confident in his own ability, he realised that he got incredible satisfaction out of certain people that he had trained doing the jobs that he had originally done. He thinks that it is a great career, if you were a chef in a big chain, you could work anywhere around the world.

Additionally, the industry wide mentoring relationships reinforce the industry developmental processes. The following memory-work extract conveys the sense of obligation to pass on intellectual and social capital.

Ryan (age 28): “As I’m getting older I’m realising that I’ll get a bit more responsible once I’m out working again, but I realise once I get older, taking out the younger people and more or less teaching them. You take them out and kind of induct them into the life which is no good because one of these days you’ll be the grumpy old man saying why can’t they turn up for work? But you are the one that befriends them and goes out drinking with them every night. [Memory-work discussion]

For older workers, organisational processes reveal combined privilege and penalty, Although young workers were penalised by the perception that they were immature, there are costs associated with the ageing process.

In the New Zealand, context, the employment statistics for older employees in hospitality are not reassuring in career longevity terms: “across all occupations, there is a dramatic fall between the 44 to 54 age group and the 55 to 64 age group”(Stokes et al., 2010, p. 37). This could be a result of the widespread ageist attitudes across the

industry, and also visible in the New Zealand hospitality sector (Furunes & Mykletun, 2007; Poulston & Jenkins, 2013). The aging process changes how individuals' performativity is perceived. The findings suggest visible signs of ageing may contribute to a feeling of being 'out of place' expressed by some older participants, which could cause them to leave the industry. Lucas (2007) refers to 'the pushing factor' where older employees feel that they have been forced to leave earlier than he or she would like. In terms of performativity, older people felt under pressure, not with how they performed their job but how they were viewed, as the following quote suggests:

Sophie (Front Office Manager): "I'm 53, so my feeling is that people are looking for people younger than me...Probably only in the last maybe two years. It never used to really worry me I suppose, but now I just find, maybe you do get to a stage where you just sort of think, 'Oh gosh, am I too old to be doing this'." [Interview participant]

Intersections of age and class lurk in the background of Sophie's account, length of tenure was linked with age and many participants expressed the view that it was not good for managers to stay too long in one property. Ryan's memory-work extract indicates the intersection of gender, age and class in organisational processes. The senior manager (the grumpy old man of the future) is inducting younger workers into the masculine 'drinking' norms of the hospitality industry observed in Chapter Five. Socialisation that takes places in bars excludes or inhibits workers whose religion or ethnic background does not allow alcohol to be consumed. Further intersections of age, ethnicity and gender will be explored at a later stage in this chapter.

6.2.2 Gender

Gender is the second category of difference that will be explored. The findings strongly indicated that being male or female influenced the pace of a hospitality career. Chapter Three considered that more recent gender research focuses on the study of masculinity and has moved beyond the idea of considering gender research solely as 'feminised' research (Broadbridge & Simpson, 2011). Gender studies have advanced beyond the

perspective of women as victims of oppression, to studying how privilege is conferred and reinforced by organisational processes (Acker, 2012). The organisational processes that regulate the distribution of rewards in the hospitality industry will now be discussed.

Gender as a social role in hospitality

Hyde (2005) reiterates the importance of context when researching the effects of gender differences. The working practices of the hospitality industry influence the patterns of hospitality careers. Chapter Three considered the social role associations with being male or female in hospitality work. Commercial hospitality is linked with domestic activities (Harris et al., 2011; Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011) and dirty work (K. Lucas, 2011). The fact that hospitality work bears both the stigma of dirty work and feminised work may help to explain the exaggerated gendered norms and pervasive gendered processes within the industry.

Occupational sex segregation

Chapter Three confirms that there is longstanding occupational sex segregation across the hospitality industry, for example, women are concentrated in housekeeping and men in the kitchen (Hicks, 1990; McIntosh & Harris, 2012; Mooney & Ryan, 2009; Ng & Pine, 2003; Purcell, 1996, 1997; Woods & Viehland, 2000; Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011). As gender is significant in dictating what occupational roles an individual may assume, it was an unexpected finding that many participants felt that gender was irrelevant to the progress of a hospitality career. This indicates that women participants were not cognisant of the status quo and how they may have penalties associated with gender in the same way that men have privileges (P. Lewis & Simpson, 2010; P. Martin, 2003). In the memory-work sessions, gender was viewed in biological terms and, as such, not relevant, as illustrated in the following extract:

David: *“It was never...especially, it didn’t matter, gender”.*

Ella: *“It didn’t matter what gender you were”.* [Memory-work extract]

Such a view is not unexpected, those who benefit from their privileged position seek to “maintain the invisibility of their privileged state and to hang onto its material and cultural advantages’ (P. Lewis & Simpson, 2010, p. 10). Likewise, women do not realise the source of male privilege as they attempt to conform to male norms (Simpson & Lewis, 2007). Findings suggest that women still appear to remain concentrated in the hospitality ‘pink ghettos’ of housekeeping, described by Woods and Viehand (2000). The findings revealed that both men and women held stereotypical views on suitable roles for each gender, as the following quote reveals:

Lauren (Laundry Supervisor): *“The supervisor was not that good because he’s a man. I said – I think the laundry needs women in there.”* [Interview participant]

These views were apparently held at all levels. A female General Manager ascribed her advancement to “*luck*” rather than her unremitting hard work and sense of agency demonstrated by her repeated requests for promotion. The following vignette describes her career story:

Career Snapshot: General Manager

Eva did not begin her career in hotels, but in having started work in banking at 15 years of age, she became very successful. Felt like a change in her 30s though, and when a luxury hotel chain approached her, she jumped at it. After four years spent setting up sales offices all over the world, she wanted to become a GM; she experienced no problems being accepted (apart from a few remarks from the older guys). She thinks that she was very lucky, the other GM’s were really great, mentors who told her that she could do anything that she wanted to do, she had a good business head and they would support her.

Occupational stereotyping manifests itself in a myriad of ways and Chapter Three suggests that, across the hospitality industry, there is sexual harassment and discrimination against women, and male employees believed to be homosexual (Ineson, Yap, & Whiting, 2013). The following memory-work extract indicates the attitudes of participants towards homosexual stereotyping:

Thomas: "Thinking back, I think there was one other job I left because of gender. I ended up working in a really posh hotel serving American people. I was probably only about 18 or 19 at the time. So serving Americans for a week in this big British coastal hotel and you'd make huge tips, 50 pounds in a week. And they'd take off in the end and give you lots of money but I got into a fight at the local pub because somebody called me a poofter. And then I got talking to the guy that I was fighting with afterwards, we bought each other a beer. He said well, you must be you're working for such and such. I said no. He said well everyone else is. He named a few names and I said 'what, all of them? Then I went home and I kind of thought about it. And I'd been used to being, having a few around but I was not used to being in the minority (everyone laughs). I left there and went to work as a builder for six months."

Loud laughs from everyone

Thomas: "The only straight guy!"

Further burst of laughter from everyone

Thomas: "I don't like being the only one if they are all gay. In this industry, you know, you see it all the time and you're used to it but I don't like being the only one, especially if you don't know it."

Laughs from the group

Ella: "But that's maybe age as well".

Thomas: "Well I was 19 and I was the only one."

Ella: "Exactly, exactly".

Luke: "From the point of view of your reflections, that's twenty years ago. Well, obviously a lot has changed. I recall one hotel I worked in all the receptionists were female. There was one guy there and he was gay. That's what happened. And in hotels all the housekeeping department were female, reception would be female but in food and beverage it's male dominated, room service, all men; all males in the

kitchen, wait staff were about equal in that sort of thing. But I think we've moved on." [Memory-work discussion]

Stereotyping results in exclusionary behaviour in some areas, for example, the kitchen. It is ironic that the kitchen is so closely identified with women's work, as the findings reinforce previous research that it is a male preserve, the only area of hospitality in New Zealand that is male dominated (Stokes et al., 2010). Additionally, kitchen work appears to suffer from the stigma of being considered physically tainted (Ashforth & Kreiner, 2013) in spite of its recent glamorisation by the media by such global television series as 'Masterchef'.

Ryan: "It's odd they judge it so harshly, you know –degenerates yet everybody seems to want to own a restaurant and it always seems to be people with a decent job want to become hospitality people ...you look at Masterchef. What on earth has it to do with becoming a chef-honestly. There always seems to be this thing where we are judged, criticised almost for taking this job, almost being part of it."
[Memory-work discussion]

The following quote invokes classed aspects of hospitality work. 'Front of House' work is considered to be superior to 'Back of House' work, revealing a divide between management and chefs. Managerial work is white-collar and clean (K. Lucas, 2011); kitchen work is blue-collar and dirty.

Levi: (Operations Manager): "It was hot, you've got that cooking odour and you've got to clean up all the mess in the kitchen, you've got to help the kitchen hands and I think I saw the Restaurant Manager out there having a glass of wine with some guests in his suit and I thought – yeah!" [Interview participant]

Simpson (2014) suggests that certain workplaces can be considered as masculine or feminine gendered spaces. Characteristics associated with a masculine environment include military style uniforms and highly developed technology, defining features of contemporary kitchen environments. Kitchens operate as male preserves with prevailing sexist practices (Ineson et al., 2013; Young & Corsun, 2010). Tracy and Clifton (2006) discuss the role of male sexual behaviour in managing the taint of dirty jobs in

organisations, including sexualised exploitative horseplay. Memory-work participants' frequent descriptions of swearing, aggression and hyper-sexuality in kitchens, is depicted in the next memory-work discussion extract:

Ella (former Chef): "Every time I was working in the kitchen, I was, like coming in and then on my bench there was porn just absolutely stapled or Sellotaped onto my bench or there was hard core and that was quite ...Yeah, it was a case of I thought, my God, I felt, I don't know...being in an all-male environment that was fine-it did not put me up nor down, but hard core porn right on my desk-I thought Jesus Christ." [Memory-work discussion]

It was not only women who found the hyper-sexual environment a career boundary. Men additionally found the sexualised work environment difficult. The boundary could only be crossed by becoming one of the boys, or transitioning from that particular career path, as illustrated by this quote:

Levi (Operations Manager): "The kitchen did bring out a side of me which I didn't really like that much either, you know, angry, temperamental chef sort of thing and it's like – oh, this is not really me. I came out the front – much more dealing with people and chatting to people and building relationships and that sort of thing. I really enjoyed that". [Interview participant]

Sexualised behaviour as described above may be used as a 'shield' against the taint of kitchen work being perceived as feminised. However, another aspect of masculinity may explain how men cope with dirty jobs. Bourdieu's (2001) research into gendered identities shows that for men, a strong sense of self-worth in the workplace comes from the perception of their value reflected back by society.

Chapter Five suggested that respect from colleagues influences career longevity in hospitality. However, the positive self-esteem that Bourdieu (2001) refers to is principally validated by the approval of other men, a conclusion supported by Martin's (2003) research into organisational processes. She found that in organisations, men who

were subordinate to other men constantly visited their seniors in their offices and praised their superiors' achievements.

The findings suggest that, for men engaged in unskilled dirty jobs in the kitchen, their feeling of value and consequent career longevity may be dependent on other men showing their respect. The following quote illustrates how positive feedback from (male) co-workers validates the importance of jobs that are considered menial:

Matthew (Kitchen Porter): "The kitchen's my best place. The respect I've got is fair, especially with my working colleagues and my boss. The reason why I say that, for example, if I suddenly have to go, you know the rosters would be there. Anytime I come there – boss, I need to go off because of something ...and my boss says – anytime." [Interview participant]

Males who work in kitchens need to gain other men's approval in order to affirm the value of their role, in a workplace that is considered part of the domestic sphere and therefore feminised. This can be problematic; Ashforth and Kreiner (2013) observe that ideologies for physically tainted work are based on a masculine heroic discourse. It is significant that kitchen workplace norms preserve an overt masculine culture by excluding women, and additionally, men who are considered to be effeminate (Ineson et al., 2013; Young & Corsun, 2010).

Simpson (2014) considers that successful men need to project themselves as effective, efficient, organised, dependable and heterosexual. Women and gay men who work in the kitchen "by virtue of their mere presence deconstruct male reality definitions" (Höpfl, 2010, p. 51) and induce anxiety in the men that they will be seen in the same light. Women and men who do not conform to hetero-normal norms must therefore, be diminished to protect the career construct that the commercial kitchen is a masculine environment and workers are worthy of respect. The different social coping mechanisms

that women employ to overcome the stigma of dirty work will be discussed at a later stage in this chapter.

Societal sex role expectations

The previous discussion suggests that occupational sex stereotypes govern expectations of men and women's roles in the workplace. Wider societal expectations of male and female roles also proved to be a penalty for women in hospitality careers. As in other career fields, women's career opportunities are limited by their gender (D. Anderson, Vinnicombe, & Singh, 2010). Findings revealed different outcomes for women based not on whether they had children, but the societal expectation that they would inevitably have children. It is not only overtly masculine organisational cultures that inhibit women's career progression, but also the way that caregiving responsibilities are viewed. Lyng (2010, p. 97) suggests that although masculine norms in organisations may represent a symbolic career barrier, "encumbrance related to reproduction represents a breach of the career contract on practical, material as well as symbolic levels".

The interview findings suggest that women were seen in terms of their biological role (for example, babies and caregiving) and viewed as less committed than their male counterparts. Career ambitions for women were thwarted because of this expectation, as indicated by the quote below:

Daniel (Executive Chef): "Gender makes a big difference. I think generally in – especially in the kitchen but even in the industry as well in a lot of ways. I have one female in the kitchen and she's my last apprentice – very, very good. I also know when she's maybe 27, 28 years old, she'll drop out and it's hard and – well she might not, but I would say the chances are pretty good she'll get married, have kids, drop out and it's like that talent, that knowledge was lost in the industry..." [Interview participant]

The different cultural expectations associated with a woman's role showed how the intersection of ethnicity and gender further affected women's careers. Migrant women

frequently had to conform to the original homeland ‘woman as homemaker’ norm, even in New Zealand. The quote from one migrant woman illustrates the expectation:

Emily (Room Attendant): “No, because the husband wants them to stay at home looking after the babies and doing the housework.” [Interview participant]

Combining work and family obligations

Chapter Five findings suggested that women who initially took jobs in hospitality for convenience had career longevity when allowed to develop at their own pace. Molly, Lauren, Andrea and Scarlett (interview participants) explained that during their part-time years, they could focus on the needs of their families. Chapter Two indicates that women frequently leave their employers to access better promotion opportunities (Blomme et al., 2010a). The interview findings partly support this research; women whose primary motivation lay in building a career appeared to leave their employer when development was not forthcoming, as revealed by in the following quote:

Eva (General Manager): “Quite often, and particularly with women they will say – oh yes, I’m leaving because of family or whatever and then three months later they’re working for another hotel chain in a senior management role.” [Interview participant]

Chapter Three suggests that women are forced to take jobs in hospitality that are hard and monotonous, constrained by the limited hours they can work (Acker, 2006a; Purcell, 1997; Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011). My findings do not reflect this perspective of poor quality jobs at the lower levels of hospitality work. The female interviewees described how much they enjoyed their cleaning jobs. Additionally, in contrast to the literature, the majority of women interviewees did not see problems with combining work and hospitality careers. They believed the hospitality industry was family friendly. They paced their career moves, applying for promotion at the appropriate stage for their family life.

However, the fact that women adjust their career to their family's needs is a reminder of the societal and organisational sex role expectations observed earlier. Men also had parental commitments. Although these did not appear to affect them to the same extent as working women, men such as Levi were conscious of the effect of their career choices on their families.

Levi (Operations Manager): "Oh, I've got to make a decision here what I'm going to do. I've got some very old parents. I'm not getting any younger. My health is not getting any better. That was quite key for me as well." [Interview participant]

Family needs were often sacrificed, as suggested by the following quote:

Justin (Sales Manager): At that time, one was almost two, and the other one was six, starting school. Big step! I said to my wife that I didn't want to go there but she pushed it. She said – no, we'll do it. Whatever you need, we'll do this, because it will change your career, and it did." [Interview participant]

Findings also reveal intersections of gender and class. Some male interview participants also found hospitality work family friendly, though that reflected their gender and class privileges. Frequently, General Managers lived on work premises and correspondingly had greater access to their families. Executives also have the benefit of using hospitality facilities:

William (Executive Assistant Manager): "Yes, it's not a \$200,000 a year salary or something like that but there are so many benefits. I bring my family here and the girls just love xxx Hotel. We stay overnight every once in a while, and we go in and have meals." [Interview participant]

As discussed, gendered role expectations and stereotyping affect career opportunities. Organisational processes reinforce privileges and penalties associated with gendered expectations, the gendered meanings of parenthood ensure that mothers are highly visible, fathers are invisible (Lyng, 2010). The findings indicate that men in hospitality are not 'othered' by being regarded as less committed when they have children.

Therefore, they are considered unlikely to break the obligations of the career contract.

Lyng (2010, p. 88), in her discussion about workplace norms in law firms, observes that unless men's parenting responsibilities are very pronounced, "the dominating non-encumbered meaning of fatherhood" will not affect their workplace image.

William's experience illustrates how 'fatherhood' stereotyping exists across diverse work settings. Prioritising his family did not appear to affect his career outcomes, because his prioritisation was not visible. Again, there are intersections of gender and class lurking in the background, William's hierarchical level allowed him the flexibility to spread his workload, concealing the extent of family commitments.

Career Snapshot: Executive Assistant Manager

William sees big family benefits to working in hospitality, although they are not the high wages. His girls just love the hotel. They all stay overnight occasionally and have meals. When his children came along, family became the focus more than the work. His boss understands that family comes first and work second and says if you have to go spend some time with your family, just make that happen. Although to make up for it, the boss also expects you to come in on a Saturday or Sunday.

However, the following career snapshot illustrates how gender stereotypes do not protect fathers whose parenting responsibilities are obvious (Lyng, 2010). Men with obvious parenting responsibilities have a less positive career outcome as Matthew's career story shows:

Career snapshot: Kitchen Porter

Matthew loves his job in the kitchen. He was doing well and really enjoyed the promotion to Back of House supervisor, but then you know, he and his wife separated so he had to take over the family responsibilities. He couldn't do it any more, he couldn't handle that pressure of the job while being single. He wanted to take time out but he would still be there as right hand man. He went back to being a kitchen porter, his boss understood.

In general, this study suggests that, in the hospitality industry, men continue to be privileged. However, while gendered processes are ostensibly the foreground to these two different career stories, background factors that colour individual career outcomes are the intersections of gender and other categories of difference which are revealed. The following section will continue to show how privilege is enacted through organisational processes that reflect a masculine orientation towards work in the hospitality industry.

Organisational processes that reproduce 'performance' and 'doing'

The findings indicate that organisational norms ensure superior career paths for men. Privilege in the workplace is enacted through familiar organisational processes and everyday practices (Acker, 2006b), and workplaces that demand excessive commitment and long hours may be associated with a dominant masculine organisational culture (Broadbridge & Hearn, 2008). For managers especially, Knights & Tullberg (2014, p. 507) suggest that "personal life, leisure and even physical and mental health are often subordinated to the greater goal of conquest, mastery and competitive material and symbolic success". As Chapter Three indicates, such organisational cultures are linked with the notion of over-commitment (Randall, 1987; Whyte, 1956), man's work (Houran et al., 2012; Strachan, 2010) and contemporary work settings (Allvin, 2008).

Many of the working environments referred to by memory-work or interview participants demonstrated that women had to be tough to succeed:

Justin (Sales Manager): "I remember working for one of the restaurants there; there was a female Restaurant Manager. She was only one of a whole group of males. I'll never forget her. She was tough and driven and you wouldn't dare cross her but she was only one of a few. It was very male-centric." [Interview participant]

Both kitchen work and management work typify a masculine orientation. For example, chefs, even at senior positions, work very long hours (Murray-Gibbons & Gibbons, 2007; Young & Corsun, 2010). Findings from the memory-work sessions and interviews bore this out:

Brody (Executive Chef): "I'm expected to do between 50 and 60 hours a week and anything else is sort of frowned upon. If you do your 40 hours that's like – 'oh, he doesn't want to be here, there's no interest from him'." [Interview participant]

The commitment outlined in Chapter Five that workers were required to demonstrate was a feature of the 'work comes first' culture, particularly for managers.

Sophie (Front Office Manager): "I don't think people really understand because it's like you can't just leave at 5.30pm at night and shut the door and when you get back in the morning everything will be picked up and it will be the same as you left it. So many things can happen and I always have – I've got quite a large family and they often give me a little bit of grief about 'well we know that you won't be able to finish on time because you're always going to be late' or something like that." [Interview participant]

At the lower levels in housekeeping, there was an understanding of the priority of family commitments. Women spoke of not wishing to move to supervisory positions due to their perception of the penalty incurred by additional responsibilities, as this quote shows:

Grace (Assistant Housekeeper): "And I was thinking – there's more responsibility, because especially if the Manager is away you have to deal a lot with other managers and if anything, it's all going to be on me." [Interview participant]

The findings support other studies that suggest hospitality workplaces marginalise women and homosexual men (Ineson et al., 2013), in spite of the paradox that much hospitality work is regarded as feminised. The findings further reinforce the reality of a ‘masculinised’ industry. Homo-social practices such as marginalisation and competitiveness are demonstrated in organisations where male managers show a preference for “men and men’s company” (Broadbridge & Hearn, 2008, p. 44); the more closely individuals conform to the prevailing male norms, the more likely individuals are to receive the associated privileges (P. Lewis & Simpson, 2010).

The frequent references to sex from the male memory-work participants and some interviewees reinforce the perception that a masculine culture exists in hospitality. However, exclusionary practices based on masculine norms are not unique to hospitality workplaces. The literature suggests that in other masculine led cultures, there can be an emphasis on sexualised behaviour (Lerum, 2004; McLaughlin, Uggen, & Blackstone, 2012). Women never discussed sexual dalliances; therefore sexual aspects of hospitality work appeared to be more significant for the men.

Some memory-work male participants saw sexual opportunity through access to sexual liaisons with guests (rather than co-workers), as evidenced in the following exchange:

David: “The things that I see in your one memory are very similar to the ones I see in mine, the youthfulness, and the psycho-sexual kind of attractiveness of hospitality. It’s just all through it really, which I guess is a gender thing –it would be interesting to compare, there’s a sensuality part of the job that’s very strong”.

James: “You could stay late, you didn’t have to go home and you can do other bits and pieces and later...I’m referring to this sex stuff”.

Ryan: “A lot of the older cougars are in the bar, slip into their cars, and pick you up as soon as you’ve finished work.” [Memory-work extract]

This memory-work discussion indicates the intersection point of gendered and class relations. At this time, the male participants were reviewing their memories of time

spent in Front of House service positions. There is social taint associated with jobs that involve servile relationships (Ashforth & Kreiner, 2013) and in service interactions, there is an unequal balance of power, the person giving service is subservient to the customer or guest receiving the service (Korczynski, 2002; P. Lewis & Simpson, 2010). However, as the previous memory-work discussion reveals, the participants could still exert male hierarchical power in sexual encounters with female customers. In this way, the sexualised behaviour could provide a way for men to overcome the taint of hospitality work and their subordinate status. This did not appear to concern the women, as the female role equates with nurture, service and sacrifice (Hochschild, 1983). The power asymmetry for the female participants was the norm; it did not need to be addressed.

Women's careers appear to be constrained by organisational processes that mould and constrain their behaviour at both a conscious and unconscious level (P. Martin, 2003). Organisational practices in hospitality reflect similar gendered norms and expectations associated with being male or female in other industries. Because New Zealand is geographically isolated, challenging short-term overseas assignments are essential to consolidate career development for executives (Brown, 2013). In hospitality, the requirement to be geographically mobile to achieve promotion was more difficult for participants to fit around their family lives. Two further organisational processes throughout the industry appear to perpetuate male privilege. Firstly, promotional processes favour men and, secondly, men have superior access to industry mentors.

Promotional processes

Chapter Five examined the factors that lead to career progression in hospitality organisations and concluded that individuals are required to demonstrate their flexibility by '*jumping*' to positions beyond their present skill set. Women are seen to be

disadvantaged by this promotional process as they prefer to apply for jobs where they feel they have a high level of proficiency (D. Anderson et al., 2010; P. Martin, 2003).

Numerous examples from the findings expressed women's unwillingness to be '*thrown in at the deep end*', for example, Andrea only developed the confidence to apply for promotion to manager after comparing herself to someone weaker, as this quote indicates:

Andrea (Restaurant Manager): "And also I felt that I could take responsibility now from seeing other Restaurant Managers in that I felt, you know, he's not doing his job properly." [Interview participant]

Curtailed careers are a consequence of women's uncertainty, as one interview participant concluded:

Sophie (Front Office Manager): "And that's interesting you say that because I almost feel now like I could have done it, you know. If I had a little bit more confidence and, I don't know, maybe..." [Interview participant]

Findings confirmed that women could be overlooked for promotion if they lacked the essential skills of self-promotion associated with masculine organisational cultures (Höpfl, 2010) and, as Chapter Five suggests, regulated by the hospitality industry career gatekeepers. Women are apt to ascribe their career success to chance, rather than ability. Their inability to "*sell themselves*" was identified as a fault by one female participant, which indicated the strength of the prevailing organisational norms:

Eva (General Manager): "Whereas men spend a lot of time – on what women would see as show-boating or bragging, is just a normal part of them getting ahead. And women are very reluctant to do that." [Interview participant]

Eva's comments can be interpreted in the light of research on gendered leadership roles in organisations. Binns (2010) observes that society penalises women leaders who draw attention to their own achievements. However, she suggests that women are further disadvantaged, because their leadership strengths remain as 'invisible' to themselves as

to their male counterparts. Eva viewed the failure to self-promote as a choice for women. However, her criticism of women who do not act like men reinforces the strength of prevailing gendered norms. By ascribing her own career success to ‘*luck*’ rather than her undoubted leadership qualities, she conforms to the “hidden masculine construct” of a leadership role where masculinity is downplayed as an essential element (Binns, 2010, p. 170).

Access to Mentors

The second factor that privileged men in promotional processes was their greater likelihood of gaining a powerful mentor. Chapter Five disclosed that hospitality career progression is reliant on the interventions of mentors. Women, excluded from influential workplace networks, are aware that forms of masculine behaviours that keep them on the outside are endorsed by management (P. Martin, 2003). In hotel work, women tend to not have the same easy access to networks as men (Lan & Wang Leung, 2001; Mooney, 2009b; Ng & Pine, 2003) and are, therefore, less likely to find suitable mentors.

However, women in hospitality especially need mentoring relationships to reinforce their self-belief (Murrell & Zagenczyk, 2006). The embedded assumptions about appropriate roles for women in hospitality can erode their confidence to seek promotion. However, there were suggestions in the findings that stereotypical norms may possibly be changing for the better.

*Justin (Sales Manager): “I’ve got a young girl that I coach here who has a degree in marketing. When she came along she was at the line level – junior, maybe team leader, supervisor type of level. We’ve been working together for 9-10 months now and there is no doubt that she could get into a middle management department head role now”.
[Interview participant]*

Such apparent advances in opportunities may unfortunately reflect the fact that in order to be viewed as potential managers, women may still need to be exceptionally good at

their jobs. It may also reflect the stereotyping processes observed in other professions. The arrival of a child marks the ‘first’ career barrier encountered by many women who until that point have experienced parity with men in terms of career progression (Lyng, 2010). Although there appear to be equal numbers of women and men at department head level; there are fewer senior female executives in hospitality (Mooney, 2009b).

The preceding section has suggested that gendered expectations of women’s roles and organisational processes affected women’s careers. However, the ways that gendered work processes interact with other dimensions of difference affect both men and women. Further intersections of gender with class and ethnicity are explored in the second part of this chapter; the focus of the following section will be the influence of ethnicity on the participants’ career experiences.

6.2.3 Ethnicity

In order to investigate the ways in which ethnicity shapes hospitality careers, it is necessary to explain what ethnicity means in the context of this research. As discussed in Chapter Three, Atewologun and Singh’s (2010, p. 334) perspective is that an individual’s ethnic identity is socially constructed; ethnicity encompasses “cultural markers such as language, values, traditions and national origin”. The influence of ethnicity in hospitality employment is significant, due to the high proportion of migrants engaged in hospitality employment (Baum, 2007; McDowell et al., 2007; McIntosh & Harris, 2012). The literature shows that economic factors are frequently the reasons for migrants to travel to new countries and new careers (Janta et al., 2012; Joppe, 2012).

The interview and memory-work findings revealed that individuals from diverse ethnic backgrounds could have meaningful lengthy careers in hospitality. However, as with gender, some of the interview and memory-work participants appeared to

overlook the significance of ethnic background for hospitality workers, as the following extract suggests.

Luke: "I think that is a cultural thing. I suppose from a younger point of view, I didn't really understand it at all. Looking back at it, there were certain cultures and races that did certain jobs; I'd have to say that. Certainly in one of the ...back at the Sheraton, the GM and the Management Team were German, the head chef and the sous chef were French. The pot-wash and dish wash people were Indian or Asian." [Memory-work extract]

Chapter Five discussed how participants perceived the low entry barriers into hospitality employment. The interview participants did not perceive ethnicity as a boundary; they considered it easy to find employment as a room attendant, cleaner or kitchen hand. Yet all the interview participants belonging to minority groups, for example, Fijian, Samoan, Chinese and Maori, commenced hospitality employment in entry-level positions, although one person had higher skills and hospitality experience that qualified her for a more senior role. Two migrants (one woman and one man) spent careers spanning twenty years in hospitality at these lower positions. Two further women reached housekeeping supervisor level. However, two New Zealand born women identifying themselves as members of minority groups succeeding in achieving middle management positions.

The findings reflect the notion that individuals of a different ethnicity may be regarded as "strangers" by the majority ethnic groups in society (Heimtun, 2012, p. 161). In New Zealand, the dominant ethnic group is composed of New Zealanders of European extraction, referred to as *Pakeha* by the indigenous Maori people. Interviewees of the dominant New Zealand European ethnic group revealed stereotypical attitudes towards the 'other' in New Zealand:

Sophie (Front Office Manager): "Well I certainly notice now, I mean we've probably got every nationality you can think of, it's a bit like working at United Nations I would think. But to be perfectly blunt I mean,

some of them must struggle and I can see how people struggle, just trying to convey that kind of local knowledge that you have often and just different accents.” [Interview participant]

Migrants are frequently perceived as only suitable for lower roles, that locals do not value (Tienari & Koveshnikov, 2014). In this study migrants were seen as filling entry-level hospitality jobs which young New Zealanders no longer wished to do. Some in-demand hospitality occupations, such as that of chef, offered immigrants the opportunity to gain residency in New Zealand. Locals, as illustrated by the following quote, frequently questioned the migrants’ depth of industry or local knowledge, work ethic and motivation for working in hospitality:

Daniel (Executive chef): “My biggest gripe at the moment is all these Indians, Chinese coming here, doing Mickey Mouse courses at different so-called institutes. Their English is rubbish, they have a work ethic but the work ethic is false to me because all they’re looking for is permanent residency. Once they get permanent residency they drop it, they get out.” [Interview participant]

Those with perceived language difficulties or work skills are often excluded from higher status Front of House jobs in hospitality (Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011). The findings suggest that considerations such as a lack of fluency in English (frequently associated with ethnic minorities), prescribe whether a person is considered suitable for a higher-level hospitality job. Some interviewees and memory-work participants were aware that particular ethnicities held positions not always commensurate with their professional qualifications, as the following quote reveals:

Justin (Sales Manager): “No matter what the nationality was, I guess some of the staff had Masters in hotel management etc., yet they were at a line level and maybe didn’t understand why their growth progression wasn’t as quick as they would perceive it to be, because they studied so much.” [Interview participant]

Psychological barriers, for example, a lack of confidence, led some migrant interviewees’ to feel they lacked the requisite education or experience to advance to a supervisor’s role. One room attendant from a similar patriarchal culture described by

Lee -Ross (2005) in her study of hotel workers in Mauritius, appeared unable to cross a similar cultural barrier that did not allow workplace autonomy and decision making for those below managerial level. It also took several years for Grace, a Pacific Islander, to build up enough confidence to apply for a supervisor's position.

Grace (Asst. Housekeeper): "And I was thinking – there's more responsibility, because especially if the Manager is away you have to deal a lot with other managers and if anything, it's all going to be on me. And I thought – no, I'm not going to apply because there's more responsibility if I apply, because I don't want that much responsibility, because sometimes it can be too much." [Interview participant]

Even for those promoted to supervisory level, there is no guarantee that a supervisory position is on the management career track in hospitality (Riley, 1990). Other factors, such as the availability of an influential mentor, can influence who is chosen for further promotion. Memory-work participants initially felt that an individual's ethnicity did not constrain promotional opportunities. However, their privileged background influences this perspective. They are of European origin, educated and fluent in English.

Ella: "I worked with different nationalities and I mean, South African head chefs, whooo!"(Laughs)

Thomas: "Yeah, Turkish dishwashers"

Ella: "Exactly, it didn't matter what nationality. You just knew what made them tick"

Allison: "Yeah, that's right, it was more the person than the nationality".

Dominic: "One of my Turkish sous chefs learned English from a Kiwi and he was probably more Kiwi than I was at the time and knew more about New Zealand current affairs...so it really didn't matter"[Memory-work extract]

Some memory-work participants felt that the dominant ethnic group in any country would always categorise minorities as 'other'. For example, Ryan mentioned when he was promoted to Restaurant Manager in South East Asia that his relative youth led

long-serving local waiters to consider he was promoted because he was European, rather than because he was highly skilled.

For ethnic minority individuals at a lower level, opportunities to move department were not necessarily associated with promotion or managerial opportunities. Most management and former management participants in this study reflected Acker's (2006) profile of the 'ideal manager' elite of white, middle class men. Those managers from minority ethnic groups who wished to progress in hospitality needed the support of influential mentors, however, to be fully effective, there needs to be sufficient mentors from the same ethnic group (Kanter, 1977).

Minority groups in work environments generally use two strategies to succeed; attempt to assimilate, or use their difference and "fight for their specific community" (Pringle & Mallon, 2003, p. 845). Molly, the Operations Manager who is of Pacific Island heritage, objected to the prevailing cultural stereotypes of Pasifika people conveyed by local trade union leaders. They viewed Pasifika workers as weak and needy. As a manager from a minority background, Molly gained great fulfilment from mentoring those from minority backgrounds, as revealed by this quote:

Molly (Operations Manager): "So probably that's what's keeping me too, is these people. They do need help and somewhere else to go and someone else to talk to. In some of their situations, their home situations are quite hard. So, this is like an escape to get away from that, and yet it's full-on. They need to focus on the work. So I think it's kept me longer in the job to help them because when one achieves and something does go well, it's a really neat feeling." [Interview participant]

Findings from the interviews with participants of minority ethnic origin, suggest that their family's welfare and their children's future prospects are more important than their own individual career progress. The preoccupation with education and future possibilities shown by minority groups may be grounded on the hardship and financial

precariousness commonly experienced by migrants (Archer, 2006; Janta et al., 2012; Joppe, 2012) and some minority groups in New Zealand (Nolan, 2007; Parker and Arrowsmith, 2012).

Participants from a minority background reflected that they had often sacrificed their own career aspirations by remaining with the same employer. They had chosen to put their career on hold to gain perceived benefits for their children's futures, as Matthew's experience indicates. Matthew, a Pacific Islander, expressed how proud and rewarded he felt by his promotion from Kitchen Porter to a supervisor's role. However, six months later when he unexpectedly became the sole caregiver for his family, the added responsibilities of the new job became too stressful and forced him to return to his previous role. The quote below reveals the sense of loss he experienced about this retrograde step:

Matthew (Kitchen Porter): "The only reason why, because I realise it ... that my daughter is going to Uni [University]. I'm getting old and I say – alright, I'll give the opportunities to my daughter towards Uni. I'm getting too old – it's too late for me" [Interview participant].

Financial security was very important for the ethnic minority migrants participating in this research, as it is with most people. An added disadvantage for ethnic minority migrants is that career rewards may not be as certain as for the dominant ethnic group. Interviewees expressed satisfaction that hospitality work had given them an entry into initial employment, albeit not always well paid. Two participants indicated that they had achieved greater financial security in New Zealand than they would have gained in their home countries. Both families had purchased two investment properties with each commenting there was no financial necessity for them to continue working. They explained that they still worked because they loved their jobs.

Career Snapshot: Room Attendant

Emily the room attendant's husband scolds her whenever the hotel calls her on her day off because she goes in straight away. She prefers to be at work rather than sit at home. He says she does not need to work anymore, she has enough money, the boys are doing very well (one is already at university) and they already have two houses. Ah...but she loves the hotel, it is her home...

In common with other intersectional studies, for example, Adib and Guerriere (2003), findings revealed that ethnicity intersects with other dimensions of difference to affect career outcomes in hospitality employment. Further aspects of how ethnicity combines with gendered and classed organisational processes are explored in the second part of this chapter.

6.2.4 Class

As discussed in Chapter Three, a 'class as process' lens was used in this research to investigate how occupational class processes affected the longevity of a hospitality career. Such an orientation is helpful to investigate those organisations "where class is constructed and enacted and where the invisible work of marginalised classes is consumed by elites" (Scully & Blake-Beard, 2006, p. 446). This perspective of class is echoed by Acker (2006a), who considers that class processes based on organisational hierarchies reproduce inequality, both in terms of financial reward and power within the organisation.

There is a clear hierarchy visible in New Zealand hospitality organisations, correlating to occupational class. General Managers and senior executives form the apex, department heads occupy the middle layer and the base is composed of workers in entry level positions, reflecting Korczynski's (2002) view of customer oriented bureaucracies. Chapter Five highlighted a work environment coloured by a close social connection;

however, findings showed that when staff were promoted to a supervisory position, they crossed a 'class divide' as the following quote illustrates:

Andrea (Restaurant Manager): "I'd already gone over to the other side" (on being promoted to supervisor). [Interview participant]

Interviewees demonstrated a clear understanding of the hierarchal structure in hotels and the appropriateness of certain incumbents for particular jobs. Chapter Three observed that management and co-workers reinforce the low status perception of some hospitality jobs (McDowell et al., 2007; Piso, 1999). Chapter Five suggested that skills and education are associated with reaching a higher position with higher status.

Opposing class perspectives were revealed in the divergent viewpoints held by memory-work and interview participants, about whether hospitality work demands a high degree of skill. Although memory-work participants considered that jobs were not difficult, interviewees in current operational positions reflected that skills were necessary to carry out the job effectively. The difference between the two perspectives reflects the tensions between the competing objectives of achieving financial targets and delivering a consistent service identified in the literature in Chapter Three and discussed in the preceding chapter.

It is possible because the memory-work participants had all had reached managerial positions, they had forgotten what it was like to work in entry-level jobs. Interviewees currently in operational positions were more qualified to make an accurate assessment of the technical skills for particular jobs. For participants such as Brody, General Managers' cost cutting measures were seen as short term and expedient:

Brody (Executive Chef): "The biggest thing is I think that a lot of General Managers have actually never worked in kitchens. They don't know what it's like and what they've done is they've trimmed everything right down." [Interview participant]

Class perspectives lie behind the views expressed by participants. A more in-depth analysis indicates that it is in management's interest to reorganise work processes to enable them to hire workers with lower levels of skills, and thus reduce labour costs. Deskilling of hospitality jobs has occurred across the industry over time as observed in Chapter Three, particularly in kitchens (Bernhardt et al., 2003; Piso, 1999), and has led to the widespread use of casual labour.

Once again, however, there are foreground and background factors colouring individual perceptions, in this case there are intersections between gendered and classed processes. As suggested in Chapter Three, the drive to give a strong return on investment frequently drives cost-cutting HRM practices in the hospitality industry, that are believed to contribute directly to high turnover (Baum et al., 2007; Kusluvan et al., 2010). A masculine managerial focus on achieving budgeted targets and cost projections is revealed in the study, which influences recruitment as well as operational processes across areas such as kitchens.

The findings of this study suggest that class perspectives based on gendered and ethnicity norms influence promotional decisions in hospitality. Ultimately, individual bias about skills required for particular jobs influences hiring and promotional decisions in most organisations (D. Anderson et al., 2010). However, in hospitality, as discussed in Chapter Five, those at the top of the hierarchy promote people who fit their gender, age and ethnicity criteria. Promotion is faster for those with an influential industry mentor, rather than those with specific skills.

This study indicates that, in the New Zealand hospitality industry, career gatekeepers favour those who are like them, men of European origin. It is not the skill set possessed by a candidate that decides who obtains promotion opportunities. Jobs were created for the right person, for example, Justin, the Sales Manager, was transferred from a Food

and Beverage background, although his training or educational history was not that of a sales or marketing specialist. In addition to class based processes that influence promotional decisions, the findings suggest that hierarchical class processes also influence the allocation and distribution of rewards in ways that perpetuate inequality in the size of reward and who gets it.

Financial rewards in hospitality

In New Zealand, pay in the industry is generally perceived as poor (Harris, 2009), similarly in Australia (Davidson & Wang, 2011; Timo & Davidson, 2005). In New Zealand, the average hospitality wage across all positions was \$15.90 per hour in 2012, compared to the country's average hourly wage of \$27 (Neil, 2013). Daniel, the Executive Chef, indicated the lack of equitable reward for work. He described how the difference between a waiter's pay and a supervisor's pay was only one dollar, although this reflected the difference neither in skill level nor in responsibility. He was unable to change the situation, although he recognised the inequity. Participants felt that pay in many positions was low, as one manager commented:

Paul: (General Manager): "Still a struggle with that one [pay at the lower positions], probably senior levels less so- I think they're probably more reasonable. But at department level going through is a worry, because some of those are just not [well paid]. You know, you move from that department level into say a GM or a functional role as a jump, which is fine but at that level it can be a bit of a struggle (before executive level)" [Interview participant].

A remote location can create further financial pressure for individuals at the lower levels of hospitality work. The findings suggested that for individuals living outside major cities, there was insufficient hospitality work to give a full time job. Scarlett, the Motel Receptionist, explained that workers needed to cobble two or three jobs together to achieve a full time wage equivalent. However, at executive level, pay was perceived

to be commensurate with management remuneration in other industries, as the following quote illustrates:

Justin (Sales Director): “Yeah, absolutely. There is a big, big difference (in pay) from say a General Manager, a number one to a number two. Making that break is a big one and you know, yeah, it’s a huge difference.” [Interview participant]

The findings reveal therefore that the elite at the top of the hierarchy are privileged, as their remuneration is equivalent to what senior managers are paid across other industries. In contrast, those at the lowest levels are penalised by pay that does not correspond to their high degree of skills or lengthy experience. Their professionalism is not recognised, and therefore remains “invisible” (Scully & Blake-Beard, 2006).

Organisational processes that reproduce power

A higher position in the organisational hierarchy gives privileges beyond financial benefits. The extent to which an individual is able to make important decisions, such as exceeding budgetary constraints, identifies the elite in organisations (Acker, 2006b; Scully & Blake-Beard, 2006). Chapter Five suggested that decisions made by General Managers significantly affected an individual’s career agency. The systematic rotation of General Managers through various hotel properties resulted in unpredictability and uncertainty for staff, affecting their job security and career paths. The following quote from an interview reflects the unsettled atmosphere caused by new senior management:

John (former General Manager): “When a new broom came in and swept, it made a lot of people uncomfortable in the management staff...of the 70 original staff that were there, I replaced 46 people.” [Interview participant]

Findings indicated that a gulf existed between the absolute authority accorded the General Manager and the autonomy reported by those at lower levels. A degree of autonomy is associated with many hospitality jobs due to the emotional labour aspects (Hochschild, 1983), inability of management to totally control service interactions

(Korczynski, 2002), and chronic understaffing (Wildes, 2008; Young & Corsun, 2010). Sandiford and Seymour (2010) note a link between empowerment and high self-perception of status, therefore the perception of the level of freedom links directly to how satisfied a person feels in their job. This supports the finding that participants' positive self-image is linked with their perception of autonomy in their roles.

The way that class processes play out in hospitality organisations contributes to career longevity in hospitality. Chapter Five revealed that workers remain in the properties where they are shown respect and support and there is strong social connectivity.

Drawing on the analogy of an artist described in the introduction, the preceding sections have examined how intersections of gendered, ageist, ethnicity and class based processes influence individual hospitality workers' experiences. The next section will highlight some of the ways the intersections of age, gender, ethnicity and class are interconnected. Intersectional analysis is as 'messy', as Dhamoon (2011) observes. The purpose of this section is to highlight that intersecting elements do not fall neatly into organised categories; the tangled relationships reflect the diversity of career experiences.

6.3 The intersections of age, gender, ethnicity and class

This section will focus on the intersections of selected categories of difference, discussed separately in the first part of this chapter. At the beginning of this chapter, it was observed that, for employees, performativity is the embodiment of the commitment and technical skills that emerged as critical underpinnings of a lengthy hospitality career in Chapter Five.

For managers, 'performativity' extended beyond aesthetic considerations for front line positions and was re-enacted in occupational class processes. The first part of this chapter explored how the perception of 'ageing' led some older participants to feel

uncertain about their future prospects. However, the reasons proffered for the insecurity varied according to individual departments or occupational class of the participants. Findings suggested that participants who had remained in entry-level service positions felt incongruence between their ‘ageing’ identities and the youthful profile of many hospitality front line employees.

Lucy (Former Waitress and Motel Receptionist): “Yes, I felt more that perhaps, you know, people like young fresh waitresses coming to their table. I mean I never had that negative feedback, but I did sort of think – oh, am I going to be a waitress when I’m 60?” [Interview participant]

One conclusion could be that insecurity is associated with the aesthetic labour elements of service work in hospitality. However, this interpretation is countered by the experience of another participant in a service role non-service job who did not consider that ageing would have a detrimental effect on her employment in Front Office, as illustrated by the following career snapshot:

Career Snapshot: Motel Receptionist:

Scarlett had always wanted to be a teacher so when she left school she went to teacher’s training college. When she returned from her big OE (overseas experience), she fancied working in reception when she was about 25, and she is still enjoying the job 30 years later. She keeps saying they’ll have to carry her out in a coffin but she hopes that she retires first!

Insecurity did not appear to be based on whether a position was interfacing with guests or in what department the worker is based; rather it appeared to be connected to one’s position in the hierarchy. Managers expressed the greatest anxiety as an occupational class. As observed earlier, Sophie, a manager, also in the Front Office department, felt less positive about her job security now that she was growing older. Her perception over the previous two years was that, in her early fifties, she was considered too old for the

position. If she left, her impression was that her employers would replace her with a younger person, as revealed in the following career snapshot:

Career snapshot: Front Office Manager

Sophie really enjoys her job because every single day is just so different. She thinks it is going to be quiet today and then something totally unexpected happens. She loves the kind of relationships she experiences with people coming to a hotel for all different reasons, they are there with their first love or they are there to get away from a husband ‘bashing’ them, or for a wedding, or to visit the hospital for the worst sort of news. She hears all their stories; people tell her these things in the five minutes that she talks to them, “because you are a stranger to them and they want to talk”. It has always intrigued her.

However, over the last two years, she senses she is now getting too old, and feels out of place with the younger staff although she still has emotional ties having worked at the hotel so long. She thinks that if she looked for another job, people would be looking for someone younger than her. It never used to really worry her, she thinks maybe she has arrived at the stage where she thinks “oh gosh, am I too old to be doing this”.

The insecurity of older managers did not appear to be related to their appearance, but rather the perception of whether they were still ‘good enough’ and how their performance was perceived. As they aged, they still face the pressure of the mobility required for a management career. Findings indicated that they considered themselves valuable only as long as they continued to relocate to new properties with creative contributions. Participants’ comments suggested interconnectivity between age, gender and occupational class assumptions. Sophie did not indicate her replacement would be a female but Samuel’s assumption was that his replacement would be male, a younger version of himself:

Samuel (General Manager). "However, having been here for six or seven years I have to tell you that I was questioning how much value I was bringing to the table, by that stage I was 40, or coming up to 40. I'd been here seven years, old dog, no new tricks. I'm going – I don't know what I'm bringing here and maybe it would be better if there was a new guy who came in." [Interview participant]

Further connections between age and class are in the financial incentives associated with long service (Young & Corsun, 2010). In addition to accumulated social capital, at higher levels, managers have more to lose by changing jobs, such as the final salary pension schemes of international chains.

Chapter Three suggested that, although older employees may leave the industry as they age (Ghiselli et al., 2001), the findings indicated many non-managerial older employees continued to have lengthy careers at lower levels, for example, Scarlett, as motel receptionist. However, older managers were under more pressure, because their performance is closely monitored through various metrics, and therefore more visible than the performance of workers at lower levels of the hierarchy. There is the widespread expectation that will continue to introduce new ideas, and achieve or exceed financial targets. Overall, managers expressed a certainty that it was best for hotels to have a rotating succession of General Managers and senior executives, who would bring a new vision and the benefits of a varied professional background, as suggested by the following quote:

Eva: "And I believe that to keep a hotel alive and vibrant, five years is probably the maximum [length of stay] that you would want because there's always new, fresh eyes and ideas." [Interview participant]

However, there was also widespread acknowledgement that the effect of frequent moves on families could be detrimental, particularly when children were settled in high school. Therefore, further interactions are visible between age, class and gender, as women's ease of mobility tends to be limited by familial constraints. It is easier for male managers to move, as will be explored in more detail in this chapter.

There are further associations between the control aspect of performativity, gender and age as suggested earlier. Hoepfl (2010) argues that the current organisational obsession with measurement reveals a masculine orientation. A variety of metric performance indicators have become justifications for hierarchy and status, reflected in organisational pecking orders. Hotels, with their league tables, standards of performance manuals and strict financial targets (Goodsir, 2009), embody male definitions of regulation and controls. Performance and, therefore, career success is defined in terms of meeting or exceeding targets, as Paul's career snapshot shows.

Career Snapshot: General Manager

Paul described how he really enjoys seeing the metrics and meeting complex targets. Even in his early career stages, as a banqueting supervisor, the technical and logistic challenges of setups, breakdowns and organising employee rosters gave him great pleasure. What he loves about his job is that everything is measured and he can show that he is successful in what he is doing. He competes against other hotels and the market - it's all about inputs and outputs. On reflection, he finds that actually most of his team are competitive and enjoy that aspect of their roles.

Interviews and memory-work participants referred frequently to pressure from senior management to deliver a high financial return; General Managers made decisions that appeared to privilege the interests of the hotel's ownership over the needs of either guests or employees. Connections between age and occupational class became evident when considering the degree of autonomy associated with different age groups and position in the hierarchy.

Chapter Five revealed how the perception of high levels of autonomy contributed to career longevity through all levels of hospitality. As observed earlier in this chapter, organisational processes perpetuate unequal power relations (Scully & Blake-Beard,

2006). Power rests with managers at the top of the hierarchy and hierarchical positioning dictates the extent to which an individual is allowed to make decisions. Young people especially found the apparent power to make decisions in their jobs an attractive feature of hospitality work, in terms of guest interactions and the ability to solve their problems. However, more consequential decisions were constrained by the financial regulators imposed through bureaucratic controls.

For younger managers, their perception of autonomy was an illusion. Their decisions were subject to the priorities of their General Managers, and monitored by metric performance indicators. The findings revealed that to be successful in a management career, younger managers had to meet the financial targets, even if decisions they took compromised their principles:

Luke: "You had to get a certain food margin and a certain beverage margin [murmurs of agreement]. I would do the stocktakes on a Sunday night, produce the results, take them to the GM and he'd say, you know I want a different margin, a higher margin. And you'd go back and you'd try to squeeze what you can, without actually trying to falsify records and go back and he'd say look, I want 66% and you'd redo the stocktake; so it's that whole drive of profit and that's when you start going crazy (laughs). Because you are so driven-oh no! I'm actually not going to make 66%." [Memory-work extract]

Although there are privileges associated with higher positions in the hierarchy, such as increased pay and status, intersections between managerial privilege and penalty emerged from participants' accounts. Young managers and supervisors have to cope with frequent staff shortages (Hinkin & Tracey, 2000; O'Neill & Davis, 2011). The findings of the interview and memory-work suggest that managers frequently suffered tension and stress from the intense pace of their role. Without the power to control budgets, they lacked the means to solve recurring problems. Real autonomy led to them staying in their jobs, 'fake' autonomy led to 'burnout' and departure. However, as discussed earlier in the findings, this was not a permanent departure from the industry.

In many cases, the worker returned to the industry after some ‘time-out’, as this memory-work extract reveals.

Thomas: “Part of that is the breakdown thing. I had my first one at 24 and probably another one in my mid 30’s and you’ve got to take six months to a year out, just do something else for a while. It’s when you are serving customers and you hate it. You realise I got to do something else for a while and then you come back to it later. The first time I didn’t think I would ever come back, cutting down trees in the middle of Australia and sure enough within six months I was back in. A lot of them, they go off and be reps or painters or anywhere else because they burn out.” [Memory-work extract].

There are further tensions in the occupational class divide between operational managers, such as Chef/F&B Manager and the more senior executive managers who have no direct operational responsibilities. Young and Corsun (2010, p. 79) suggest that chefs believe that management care more about profit than guest satisfaction or a high quality product. The career snapshot below reveals the gap between management values (cost) and chef values (creativity), leading to friction and the perception of disempowerment for chefs.

Career Snapshot: Chef/F&B Manager

Brody still loves cooking after thirty years –he is still only 45 so he has seen a lot of different hotels all over New Zealand. Managers can make him unhappy. When he hears about a General Manager “rescuing a hotel”, he gets really annoyed. He thinks that the previous General Manager has probably run it down before to the bones. They start cutting staff, and then they want more quality...

Comments by interview participants revealed that younger chefs were considered more amenable to being directed by management. The following quote reveals the interconnections between gender (masculinity), age and class:

Daniel: “How old is the GM? If he is 45, try telling a 55-year-old exec chef with 10 years more experience in the industry how to do his job. He

knows it all, but a 45 year old can bully a 28 year old. I know they used to try and bully me when I was that age or whatever, or even when I was a little bit older in my 30s, the General Managers will try and bully the chef into doing what they wanted to do.” [Interview participant]

While links between aspects of age and class could prove instrumental in a hospitality career, further intersections between age and different aspects of gendered relationships became visible during the analysis of the findings. Masculine norms and gendered promotional processes that privilege unencumbered women (Acker, 2006a) can restrict career opportunities for all women. Embedded assumptions about appropriate roles for women constrain their promotional prospects and become a career penalty:

Eva (General Manager): “The General Managers realised that they had some females working for them that were very ambitious and wanted to move ahead in their career. Because we used to get the age-old chestnuts – oh well, they’ll leave and have a family and we’ll spend all this time on them and then they’ll go. And I’m like – you have to talk to them and understand that there will be an element of that, but there will be many women that will juggle both.” [Interview participant]

In addition, the study findings indicate that the intersection of age and life stage severely restricted development opportunities for women. The majority of women in this study originally entered the industry on a part-time basis because of their responsibilities for young families. They sought promotion only after their children were self-sufficient, ensuring a class and wage disparity with men that could rarely be breached. Significantly, the most senior executive position attained by a woman in this research was one who was not encumbered by family obligations, conforming to the ideal “unencumbered worker”(Acker, 2006a; Lyng, 2010).

Generally, men with young families did not appear to suffer from the same disadvantages, as they were not penalised by fatherhood stereotypes discussed earlier. However, it is significant that Matthew found the pressure of a Kitchen Porter supervisory role too great to handle when he became a solo father, illustrating how men

who prioritise their families may be positioned as “unpredictable workers” (Lyng, 2010, p. 89).

The previous section highlights how the hospitality industry has a masculine orientation. Cha (2013) observes that, in male dominated occupations, working mothers find it impossible to combine family responsibilities with a working week that is greater than 50 hours or more. Cha’s (2013) research conclusions have implications for career progression and career longevity for hospitality workers. It is difficult for women with children to achieve management positions due to the gender stereotyping and masculine organisational norms revealed in this study.

Housekeeping appears to remain an occupational gendered space (Simpson, 2014) and a “pink collar ghetto” for women (Woods & Viehland, 2000, p. 51). In areas outside the housekeeping department, the majority of men and some women achieved a managerial career path. However, the intersectional analysis revealed a more complex reality.

Housekeeping was an area where women projected great job satisfaction and notable career longevity. Ashforth and Kreiner (2013) suggest that a strongly feminine ideology is found in occupations, such as housekeeping, that are female dominated and perceived as socially and morally tainted. The interview participants working in housekeeping drew on discourses of femininity to overcome the sense of stigma attached to cleaning up after others (Simpson et al., 2012).

Lauren, Emily, Grace and Molly all spoke of the pleasure they gained seeing things becoming clean. They displayed a genuine altruistic desire to be of service to their fellow workers and management, further signifiers of a feminine nurturing culture (Simpson, 2014). In early career stages, they appreciated the solitary nature of room or public area cleaning because they could organise themselves and carry out their tasks to completion with no interruptions. Later in their career, the women appreciated the

autonomy that allowed them to move to other areas that needed their assistance.

However, autonomy and job satisfaction are insufficient explanations for their career longevity.

Overlaying ethnicity on hierarchical, gendered, ageist bureaucratic processes and practices enables insights into the pattern of hospitality careers. Holvino (2010) observes that it is difficult to separate the effects of race and class from one another when researching the experiences of women of colour, because so many are engaged in low status work with meagre pay and their opportunities are restricted. Chapter Three discussed the concentration of ethnic minority women in badly paid, precarious jobs in hospitality. The memory-work recounts and interviews reveal that many participants reached at least departmental management level after a career spent in the industry. Being male appears to be linked to the privilege of quicker promotion, as all men in the research had achieved or been offered supervisory positions.

The first section of this chapter detailed how migrants perform many jobs at the lower levels in this study (particularly in feminised areas). Findings reflect double career penalties associated with being a women and a member of an ethnic minority, much as Adib and Guerrier's (2003) previous research describes. Many women remained within the housekeeping departmental fold (the laundry, room and public areas cleaning) for the span of their careers. There are three possible explanations for this.

Firstly, women stay in housekeeping because the department lacks an advanced career pathway (Onsøyen et al., 2009; Woods & Viehland, 2000). Although support is given to facilitate employees' internal promotion to Executive Housekeeper level, the career ceiling is reached with promotion to that position. In other departments, such as Food and Beverage or Sales, there are further senior managerial career opportunities.

Additionally, housekeepers' skills are not generally regarded as transferable to other departments, so there is lesser interdepartmental mobility than in other areas.

Secondly, the experiences of women in this study indicate that women in hospitality are penalised by their family responsibilities. Therefore, women frequently seek promotion at an older chronological age than their male peers. Women's familial responsibilities prevented the geographical mobility that ensured a management career track. The intersection of age, gender, ethnicity and class is revealed by Molly's career snapshot. She achieved promotion to Operations Manager, having put her career on hold for many years because of her domestic commitments. However, an overseas transfer opportunity, not available to many minority women at the lower employment levels, facilitated promotion. In her case, she only gained the possibility to transfer once her family commitments reduced over time.

Career snapshot: Operations Manager

Molly has a passion for her job. When she left school, she wanted to be a fashion designer, but started doing waitressing instead, got married and then did a bit of bus tour guiding. When her baby arrived, she started in part time as a hotel cleaner because it suited her family - it really did. She is now in charge of all guest services - a big job. Her career was always in New Zealand until she was approached to go to Australia as they were looking for someone to build the team and the morale. It was tough being without her family; her daughter was old enough to stay behind. She didn't anticipate how homesick she was going to be, because all she looked at was a job to do.

Thirdly, the study indicates that the lack of confidence that women frequently exhibit in putting themselves forward for promotion is compounded by migrant or ethnic minority status. The difficulties encountered are indicated in Emily's career story:

Career snapshot: Room Attendant

Emily the room attendant never wanted to be promoted in all her 22 years at the hotel though her supervisors begged her to, even very recently. She said her family came first and she was too innocent to tell those tough Kiwi girls what to do...to tell you the truth - she was also a bit frightened, she didn't have any computer experience ...so how could she do a supervisor's job? But she gets embarrassed when people say you must be a manager now after 20 years...

The findings expose complex simultaneous aspects of privilege and penalty associated with separate or interrelated aged, gendered, ethnicity and class processes in hospitality. Chapter Five reveals that hospitality workers resist society's negative perception of their roles, even at the lowest levels. The way that individuals overcome the stigma of low status jobs depends on a person's gender, age and ethnicity. Men in 'dirty' hospitality jobs gain positive self-perceptions from the affirmation of other men that directly contribute to career longevity.

Career snapshot: Kitchen Porter

Matthew the kitchen porter has worked in the hotel for a long time and he is very proud of his status in the kitchen. He thinks the reason he is so respected and popular is for his sense of humour and good personality, he also knows that he is good under pressure. His boss the Head Chef, shows how much he trusts him, by letting him represent the Department if he is not there himself and Matthew never has any problem in getting particular days off that he needs. He feels respected by all his colleagues, there is a real rapport there. He loves working with all the different people, the different cultures; he thinks it is just like a big family.

Heimtun (2012) observes that for migrants the feeling of being foreign only ceases when they begin to feel included in their new society. The overwhelming significance of the social connection within hospitality employment leads directly to career longevity

for migrant men and women. The findings show that in feminised departments, such as housekeeping with a high proportion of migrant and minority workers, women gained their positive self-image from an intense shared social connection at work, which leads to integration into their adopted homeland.

A theoretical lens can help to illuminate the intersection points of gender, ethnicity and class in hospitality work. In describing women's positioning in the workplace, Hoepfl (2010, p. 45) invokes Kristeva's (1991) depiction of 'the foreigner's identity', as being defined by their work identity. In the beginning, the foreigner is "*alien, exotic*" consigned to silence by a lack of fluency in their new tongue; their 'new' (and altered) persona is based on a commitment to work in their adopted country. Hoepfl (2010) also positions women as 'foreigners', outsiders in a male working space, silenced by 'foreign' male norms, whose commitment must be demonstrated by their physical presence, in order for them to be perceived as workers.

Looking at hospitality work through this lens, the migrant working mother with children in hospitality is three times 'a stranger'. She is initially foreign and silenced as a migrant (Kristeva, 1991). She finds her voice in hospitality work (Rydzik et al., 2012; Wilczek et al., 2009), but in a sense loses it because the work of a room attendant is invisible (McDowell et al., 2007; Onsøyen et al., 2009), she remains a stranger in the masculine organisational culture. Finally, as a working mother, she is once again a stranger (Lyng, 2010). The study findings suggest that although her commitment and hard work cannot always be recognised or rewarded within the formal constraints of a managerial hospitality career path, she regains her 'visibility' in the workplace through the warmth and support expressed by her colleagues.

Career snapshot: Assistant Housekeeper

Grace started in the hotel because she loves cleaning. In the beginning, as a room attendant, she didn't mind working mostly on her own, because she was able to concentrate on her job. Now she works with people all the time. She thinks they are like a big family in the hotel, when one person leaves they cry because they are losing them. It's great to come to work. And then sometimes they think "Summer's coming up okay, OK girls, let's be going out, just sit down near the beach and take some snacks, eat, and play volleyball there". Yes, she remembers they did that last year, all of them; they all had such great fun together.

Although in some cases participants failed to achieve the increased financial rewards of higher positions in the hierarchy, Anthias (2013) observes how migrants achieve significant advantages and social status compared to what may have been the case in their home country. Some of the migrant women interviewed felt they gained prosperity in their adopted homeland, although those of minority ethnic status who grew up in New Zealand did not appear to share the impression of personal wealth. Additionally, not all migrants felt they had achieved a rise in social status, people see their own and other people's career success from traditional angles (Pringle & Mallon, 2003, p. 846) as Emily's lament reveals:

Emily: "He [her brother] doesn't know that I'm working as Room Attendant. Nobody knows I am working as a Room Attendant here. Because some people ask – you must be a manager now, 20 years, you know. So, I'm just keeping my mouth shut you know, most of the time I never answer the question. I'm not lying to them that I'm not a manager..."
[Interview participant]

It is clear that age, gender, class and ethnicity all influenced the participants' career experiences. The next section will discuss how the various strands discussed in this chapter came together and influenced the career constructs of participants in the study.

6.3.1 Age, gender, class and ethnicity in a boundaryless career

The following section will look at the implications of these conclusions from a boundaryless career perspective. As observed by many boundaryless career scholars (Pringle & Mallon, 2003; Roper et al., 2010; Sullivan & Baruch, 2009), boundaryless career theory and research neglects the careers of those marginalised in the labour market; women, those with few educational qualifications, migrants and those from minority ethnic groups. Hospitality work is embraced by marginalised workers (Acker, 2006a; Guerrier, 2008) due to low entry barriers (Baum, 2007), flexible work patterns (Baum, 2013; Deery, 2002) and the increased possibilities of assimilation for migrants in hospitality work than in other sectors (Joppe, 2012; Rydzik et al., 2012).

The previous chapter concluded that hospitality careers followed boundaryless patterns, according to Arthur and Rousseau's (1996) original model. The three phases of the hospitality career construct were then proposed, consisting of Phase 1: Career entry; Phase 2: Career development and Phase 3: Career consolidation. The next section will consider how the dimensions of age, gender, ethnicity and class are enacted during these three phases.

Phase 1

In the first phase, entry enablers such as the low skills requirement of many entry-level jobs and flexible working hours (Baum, 2007) facilitated marginalised workers; youth with no skills or qualifications, women with family responsibilities seeking part time work, and migrants without fluent English. However, frequently migrant women, defined by their foreign-ness (Höpfl, 2010; Kristeva, 1991) only had access to jobs in the back of house area of housekeeping, with little direct guest contact, even if some (for example, Emily) had wider hospitality qualifications or experience. Matthew, the only male migrant in the study belonging to an ethnic minority, also spent his career in Back of House areas.

At the entry-level stage, being a migrant (male or female) who belongs to an ethnic minority is a career constraint that restricts opportunities to work in Front of House departments that offer better career prospects. Two women in the study belonging to ethnic minority groups in this study who were born and educated in New Zealand, therefore not viewed as 'other', commenced employment in Food and Beverage areas rather than in housekeeping.

Youthful body-age in isolation does not constrain opportunities to work at entry-level jobs in hospitality due to the high-energy performance requirements. The demand for workers with a good appearance offered young people many possibilities to work in guest contact areas. With two exceptions, all interview participants and memory-work participants had commenced working in the industry by the age of 30, four of the memory-work participants were 14 years old when they started their hospitality career. There were two exceptions, Lauren entered the feminised housekeeping department at the age of 43 with extensive cleaning experience, and Eva in her mid-thirties who entered executive management, possessed specific sales competencies.

Phase 2

The second phase illuminates the enabling boundaries that indicate the social context of progression. Career advancement in hospitality is often facilitated by promotion across a breadth of different departments, accompanied by incremental rises in position. The findings suggest social competencies facilitate boundary crossing for some groups of workers. In this phase, the enablers that facilitate career development are the presence of industry mentors, the opportunities to cross-geographical or departmental boundaries and the development of career anchors.

The discussion in the preceding section reveals that women encounter significant impediments to crossing the boundaries that mark progression in hospitality careers, whether positional, functional or departmental. If they enter hospitality outside the

housekeeping ghetto and are able to conform to the masculine norms of hospitality organisations, they can rise to the most senior executive positions. However, as it is more difficult for women to relocate overseas, they may be unable to cross the required geographical and functional boundaries that indicate flexibility and competence. This will prove a career constraint.

For ethnic minority women, existing boundaries appear difficult to surmount. For men, progress will depend on the experience they gain across a broad of departments and their agency is affected by career gatekeepers. The socialisation processes described in Chapter Five marks upwards progression and social acceptance into desirable groups for workers who meet the criteria for success. During the course of their careers, successful men progressively gain entrance into peer groups that are higher in the organisational hierarchy. Boundary crossing events (p.334) that enable entry into these groups, such as promotion into another department or location, or development opportunities are affected by age, ethnicity and education (Inkson et al., 2012).

In this study, the perception of ethnic minority men as “other” forms a boundary constraint as indicated by participant attitudes. For Pakeha men, upward progression appears to be less limited by gatekeepers’ attitudes, although promotional decisions are still affected by business priorities, rather than the needs of the individual.

Phase 3

In the third phase of career consolidation, “arrival” in a hospitality career for workers is demonstrated by strong social connectivity, the achievement of professional respect and autonomy and, thirdly; the perception of task complexity in their jobs. If workers are able to demonstrate mastery of career competencies (Defillippi & Arthur, 1994; Wang, 2013) to their industry mentors, they will advance more quickly in their careers.

Factors, therefore, that influence career progression in hospitality, are industry mentors/gatekeepers and the extent of individual career agency.

However, career consolidation in the context of a New Zealand hospitality career is not necessarily tied to continued progression, although many managers will strive for further advancement, for example, Houran et al.'s (2012) American study showed that the goal of hospitality managers is to achieve executive positions. These are an indicator of an individual's accomplishment; Volmer and Spurk (2011) consider that the way individuals measure objective career success is by comparison with the progress of colleagues. Kong et al. (2012) agree that subjective notions of career success are generally reflected in third person observations. As may be expected in a consolidation phase, age plays a major role in workers' career constructs. What is perhaps more surprising is that occupational class also influences boundary enablers and constraints. The ageing process increased the perception of career constraints felt by managers in this study.

For older workers in non-managerial roles who had reached a plateau in their careers and were satisfied with their current position, for example Matthew, the kitchen porter and Scarlett the motel receptionist, there were few career constraints as long as they remained at the same occupational class level. They had achieved social connectivity, respect for their professional skills and a level of autonomy that satisfied them. A boundaryless mind-set is the hallmark of a boundaryless career, even within one organisation (Clarke, 2013; Volmer & Spurk, 2010). Ackah and Heaton (2004) suggest that people in temporary jobs demonstrate a kind of restlessness, that is borne out by Rzdziak et al.'s (2012) research into migrant hospitality workers in London who appeared to move 'for the sake of it'.

Hospitality workers in this study demonstrate a boundaryless mind set in the consolidation phase of their careers, as in the first two phases, and welcome change within the employing organisation, if it provides what they want. However, they may still “cross” boundaries and switch to different departments, for example, from housekeeping to the staff canteen, or kitchen to baggage porter. Actively seeking to change job role or planning for promotion to another location are clearly subjective decisions by individual workers. Within the original conceptualisation of a boundaryless career, the desire for change within the confines of one organisation would not be regarded as indicative of a boundaryless mind-set, however contemporary understandings suggest that the boundaryless careers dynamic can apply within one employing organisation (Inkson et al., 2012). Participants recognised the boundary crossing significance of certain moves and were aware that gatekeepers facilitate or constrain opportunities.

Increasing body-age did not appear to affect the boundary crossing possibilities for older workers at the lower levels of hospitality. This seems counter intuitive as the literature states clearly that the physical demands of hospitality work advantages younger workers (Furunes & Mykletun, 2005). However, this study shows that ‘insider’ status can overcome the boundary crossing constraint associated with ageing. In certain front line service roles however, feeling ‘out of place’ formed a boundary for some participants.

For ambitious individuals, as they age, it is difficult to preserve a balance between career enablers and constraints. Although barriers may be presumed to be subjective, and thus seen as psychological, the findings of this study suggest that the ageing process has a more detrimental effect on managers. Again, a theoretical lens can give insights as to why this occurs. Firstly, many of the participants had worked, or at the time of the research were working, in multinational organisations. Transnational social networks

facilitate the progress of managers, however the need to constantly prove their worth by seeking out and mastering new challenges results in insecurity (Knights & Tullberg, 2014; Tienari & Koveshnikov, 2014), exacerbated by the boundaryless career mind-set where managers define their progress by comparison with their peers (Volmer & Spurk, 2010; Wang, 2013). Managers also need to conform to idealised body-age expectations (Winker & Degele, 2011) to be considered capable and energetic. The ageing process naturally corrupts this image, or at the very least makes it difficult to sustain.

In conclusion, it is apparent that a focus on boundaries gives rich insights into a boundaryless hospitality career. The earlier discussion in Chapter Five analysed the nature of agency in a hospitality workers career. Inkson et al. (2012) suggest that scrutinising boundary crossing in particular highlights the intersection point of the power of the individual and the power of the organisation.

The next diagram suggests how age, gender, ethnicity and class based organisational processes influence career longevity in hospitality. Figure 3 shows that the career longevity of hospitality workers is initially shaped by the characteristics of employment in the industry, such as labour market forces, high turnover, and the employment norms of the industry, indicated in the first column of the diagram. The second and third columns show the effect of age, gendered, ethnicity and class based processes on the career experiences of individuals in hospitality work. The fourth column indicates that individuals follow one of two career paths, a managerial pathway and a second, more limited pathway. The fifth and final column outlines the distinct rewards associated with each path. The preceding discussion has highlighted the intersection points of age, gender, ethnicity and class that influence the hospitality worker's career opportunities and decisions.

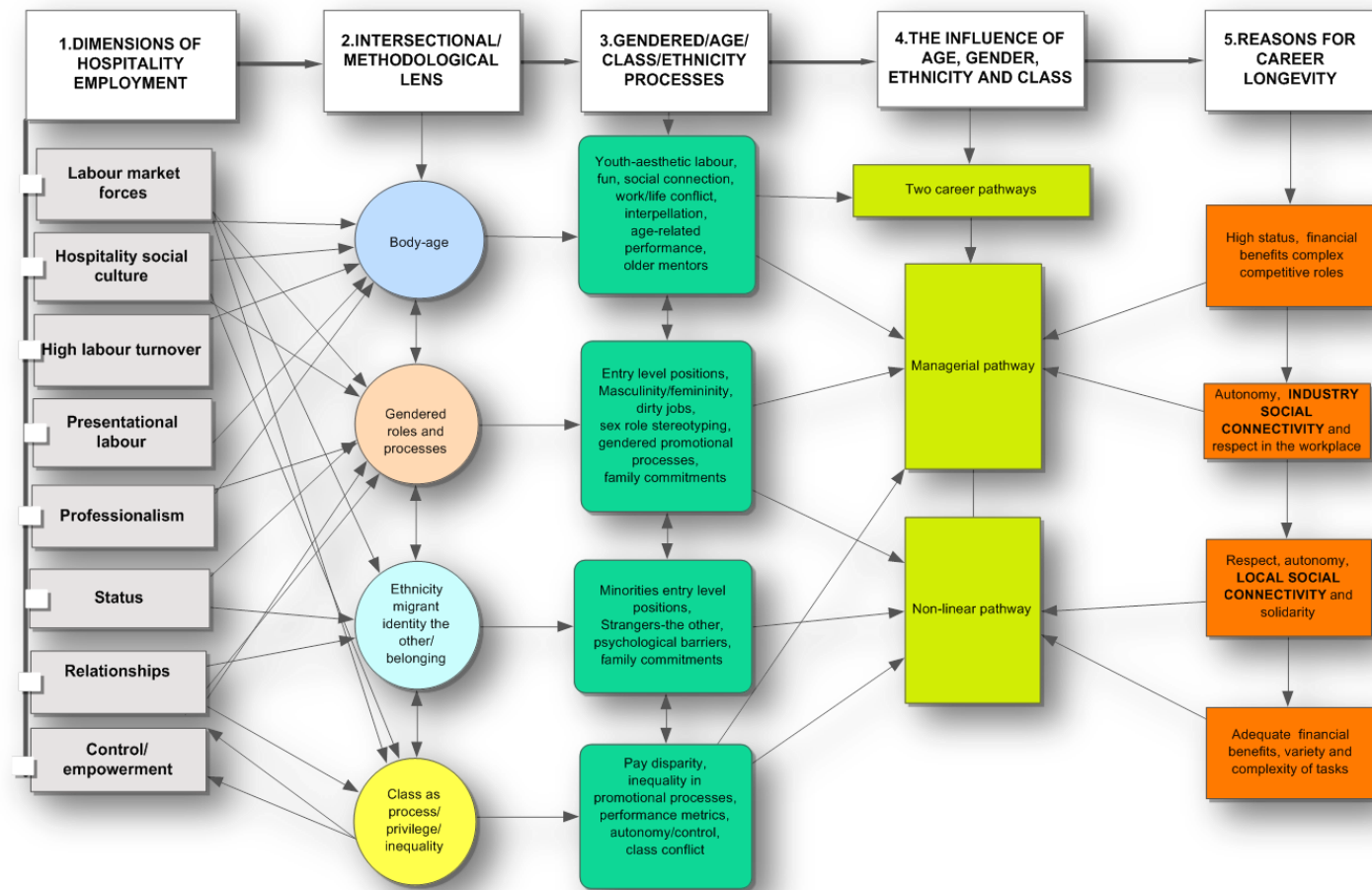


Figure 3: The effect of age, gender, ethnicity and class on a hospitality career

6.4 Summary

To uncover the ways in which age, gender, ethnicity and class processes are enacted in hospitality careers, the first part of this chapter filled in the background outline of hospitality employment. Industry practices and processes reveal entrenched stereotypical attitudes about male and female roles. Although some negative attitudes appear to be changing, albeit slowly, there are career penalties associated with being perceived younger or older, being a women, and belonging to an ethnic minority group or a lower occupational class. The discussion of intersecting dimensions illustrated the challenge in attempting to understand how gender, age, class and ethnicity individually and cumulatively influence hospitality career longevity. New interpretations of boundaryless career theory (Inkson et al., 2012; Roper et al., 2010) highlight that pinpointing career enablers and boundaries in specific contexts can help to reveal different career outcomes for diverse groups of people. This research suggests that intersecting aspects of advantage and disadvantage, domination and privilege associated with the categories of age, gender, ethnicity and class are created and perpetuated through organisational processes. Differing aspects of ‘privilege’ and ‘penalty’ (Verloo, 2013) in a variety of hospitality roles explains career longevity for hospitality workers.

The following, and final, chapter brings all these complex intersections together. In a figurative sense, Chapter Seven will overlay Chapter Six’s intersectional aspects of a hospitality career on the hospitality career construct outlined in Chapter Five. As a fusion, it will attempt to answer the research questions outlined in Chapter One.

Chapter 7. CONCLUSIONS

This chapter draws together the findings from Chapter Five and Chapter Six by superimposing the intersections of age, gender, ethnicity and class dimensions upon the hospitality career concept. In order to paint the patterns of career longevity in hospitality, Chapter Seven is structured as follows. Firstly, an overview of the study is given, in order to highlight the significant theoretical and practical implications of the findings. Secondly, the significant contributions of the research are explained, followed by an outline of the limitations of the research. Finally, suggestions are proffered for future research directions that will benefit the fields of career and hospitality knowledge.

7.1 Overview of the study and research questions

The overarching purpose of this study was to discover what motivates hospitality workers to build long careers in hospitality, in the face of the body of research that appears to confirm the transient nature of hospitality employment. By exploring the career experiences of hospitality workers through the perspectives of age, gender, ethnicity and class, the study aimed to shift hospitality research beyond superficial, descriptive and empirically based norms to one where power relations are placed at the forefront. In order to achieve its objective, the study sought to address two research questions.

7.1.1 Research questions

Firstly, in order to establish the reasons that hospitality workers have for staying in jobs that society frequently does not value, the study used Savickas's (2013) career construction model to determine the specific career constructs of hospitality workers. The industry profile is characterised by high occupational segregation, vertically (the distribution of men and women at different levels of responsibility) and horizontally

(the distribution of men and women into different roles within the same business/industry), and the different values associated with roles deemed appropriate for each group (Baum, 2007, 2013; Mooney & Ryan, 2009; Ng & Pine, 2003). Building on prior scholarship and recognition of the contextual changes in the face of neo-liberalism, boundaryless career theory (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996; Inkson et al., 2012; Pringle & Mallon, 2003; Roper et al., 2010; Tams & Arthur, 2010) was justified as an appropriate way to better theorise longevity of a career in hospitality.

Secondly, the study asked in what ways the intersecting dimensions of age, class, ethnicity and gender influence career constructs, thereby affecting the longevity of individual hospitality careers. The study links critical feminist theory with a critical methodology through the use of an intersectional approach to advance beyond the limitations of previous research into hospitality careers (Anthias, 2013; Dhamoon, 2011; Holvino, 2010; Winker & Degele, 2011). The analogy of an artist applying layer after layer on canvas to capture a fleeting impression of what is seen in the mind's eye captures the significance of the critical intersectional methodology. The findings contribute significantly to the advancement of knowledge in three significant ways:

- 1) Empirically, the study provides data on the outline of a hospitality career;
- 2) Theoretically, it makes a significant contribution to career theory, specifically, boundaryless career studies; how interpellation affects career trajectories and how socially defined categories of difference affect careers;
- 3) Methodologically, the study adapts an intersectional framework thereby extending knowledge on the practice of intersectional research.

7.1.2 Discussion of key findings

This study set out to explore why hospitality workers remained working in the industry. Chapter Five described how the hospitality career may be described as boundaryless however, as Inkson et al. (2012) contend, there are boundaries in all careers, even those referred to as boundaryless. Establishing such boundaries allows us to see the distinguishing factors that affects those who ‘get on’ and those who don’t (Kanter, 1977). The findings of the study show that hospitality workers have the characteristic boundaryless mind-set, outlined by career researchers (for example, Volmer & Spurk, 2010). Career theorists highlight the importance of social skills in a boundaryless career, and hospitality career studies emphasise how vital these competencies are for a successful career, across many different national contexts including Australia, China, Japan, Taiwan and the United States (Ayres, 2006; Chung-Herrera et al., 2003; Kong et al., 2012; Wang, 2013; Yamashita & Uenoyama, 2006). The findings of this New Zealand study confirm that strong social connectivity is necessary for a long-term career in hospitality.

Positive relationships in the hospitality workplace help workers to establish a strong professional identity, and reinforce the impression that the worker is dedicated to the hospitality industry. The recognition of workers’ skills and professional standing ensures respect and a sense of autonomy, which contributes to career longevity. The occupational complexity of hospitality jobs provides challenge and variety for workers in their roles at different hierarchical levels. The study suggests that workers who had remained on the lowest rungs of the career ladder lead fulfilling working lives. While they are not financially rewarded in the same way as managers, the hospitality career provides them with socially rich rewards.

However, the findings also highlight how career longevity is contingent on the employee’s positive perception of career opportunities within the industry, specifically

support in terms of training, development and opportunities for progression.

Hierarchical support from influential mentors enables the development of staff within their own area or to allows them to be promoted to another. There was widespread belief among interviewees that development and promotional possibilities were available to all. It is this (misplaced) perception that will now be addressed. Whilst power relations was not the original focal point of this study, such analyses of hospitality employment are sorely needed (Lugosi et al., 2009; McIntosh & Harris, 2012; Riley, 2008). The intersectional approach used in this study exposed aspects of power that greatly affected promotional opportunities for individuals differentiated by age, gender, ethnicity and class.

The diagram that follows (Figure 4) at the end of this chapter illustrates how age, gender, class and ethnicity influence career longevity. The first column charts workplace norms within the hospitality industry that emerged from the extensive hospitality specific literature review. The columns headed Phase 1, Phase 2 and Phase 3 represent the hospitality worker's increasing immersion in a hospitality career. It can be observed that in Phase 3 the centrality of social relationships, professional respect and autonomy and the complexity of jobs all result in career longevity.

The fifth column 'Career longevity in hospitality' is highly significant, as it highlights how body-age, gendered, ethnicity-based and occupational class organisational processes impact on hospitality careers. It extends the meanings of the hospitality career model, represented by Figure 3 in the previous chapter. The principal findings of this study are that there are two different hospitality career pathways; a managerial path (mainly for men, or women who assume male norms) through Food and Beverage or Front Office Administration, and a more limited career path for women in housekeeping. The sixth and final column portrays conclusions about the influence of age, gender, ethnicity and class on career longevity.

Being a New Zealand male with European origins appears to be a ‘marker’ for a managerial career, due to the gendered, classed and racialised norms promoted by gatekeepers (Gunz et al., 2007) which reward those who conform to masculine norms and restrict opportunities available to minority groups. This is not an unexpected finding, previous research in New Zealand and Australia indicates that the old boy’s network which privileges men and exclude others is prevalent in Australia and New Zealand (Mooney, 2009a).

The rewards of a managerial career are high social status, superior financial rewards and benefits, autonomy, complex competitive roles and wide industry social connections and respect. For those on a non-managerial career path, the career enablers of convenience that brought workers into the hospitality industry frequently retain them at the lowest career positions. Convenience in dealing with the competing demands of work and family is primarily sought by women because of the greater share of family responsibilities they bear (Raley et al., 2012). Cha (2013) reminds us that the results of trying to conform to such unrealistic ideals can lead to overwork and exhaustion for the majority of women.

The intersectionality of gender and ethnicity remains unacknowledged in mainstream literature. For example, recent hospitality career literature fails to acknowledge the effect of gender or ethnicity on managerial career paths. As observed in Chapter Six, this study suggests that although workers from ethnic minorities join the industry for convenience, they stay because of the sense of community generated by the social connection. However, their type of entry-level jobs frequently dictates a career path with lesser opportunities. Access to more prestigious Front of House areas with clearer promotional paths is constrained by their ‘different’ accents and positioning as ‘other’ (Kristeva, 1991) by managers who are gatekeepers and potential mentors. Entrenched occupation sex segregation has resulted in women being segregated into

certain areas such as housekeeping. Women belonging to minority groups find it easy to get part-time jobs in housekeeping, as the skills are presumed to be extensions of their household task competencies (Harris et al., 2011). These cleaning and organisational competencies do not appear to be considered as valuable in other hospitality settings, so there is less vocational mobility from housekeeping to other guest facing departments such as Food and Beverage.

The findings suggest the sense of community is particularly powerful in the Housekeeping Department and women gain great professional satisfaction from their jobs, as well as the perception of autonomy and challenge. The close friendships formed at work lead to career longevity. As a feminised space, it is expected that women will have subordinate status (Simpson, 2014) and the literature explores the ways housekeeping staff are vulnerable to exploitation (Onsøyen et al., 2009). However, this study found that being in such a feminised space conferred advantages as managers have reduced associations with housekeeping. Additionally, the long tenure of supervisors and executive housekeepers insulated women from the frequent changes caused by new senior executives.

The idea of sacrifice comes through strongly from the stories of the ethnic minority migrants. This research indicates that men and women sacrifice their own career aspirations for the next generation as it is very important that their children have educational advantages that they did not have. Initially people appear to stay in hospitality jobs because the variety of shift work and stability of employment enables them to prioritise their families. They could seek promotion when their children reached university age, if it was not too late. With a reduction in family responsibilities, they were in a position to be able to cope with the increased time demands associated with more senior positions (Cha, 2013) and apply for overseas postings which led to more senior positions. The findings suggest that, after individuals from minority ethnic

backgrounds are promoted, it is important for them to help colleagues from other minority groups to progress.

Therefore, it can be seen that occupational class and gender affect career longevity.

Women who enter housekeeping remain if they are satisfied with a lifestyle that allows them to prioritise their families and have their professionalism recognised by their peers, although there are few promotional opportunities above the level of Executive Housekeeper. It appears that ambitious women should not enter housekeeping, it still seems necessary to gain Food and Beverage or Front Office experience in order to achieve a senior management career path.

The active preservation of the kitchen as a masculine space and the sexism in many kitchens excludes women, and constrains their career development in Food and Beverage departments. Even if women in Front Office are promoted, further progression beyond Front Office management is not assured. Women who wish to achieve positions that are more senior need to indicate their competence very clearly, in accordance with the masculine behavioural norms established by the industry wide career gatekeepers, for example, by overt self-promotion (Binns, 2010) and a demonstrable commitment to geographical mobility.

Women appear to be held back in their careers by psychological barriers such as unwillingness to promote themselves in the same ways as men, or because they are unable to relocate due to family commitments. Women who succeed are accepted into the ranks of senior management and remain in hospitality careers. Women therefore succeed within the boundaries of their familial constraints, which have a more career limiting impact than for men.

The findings of this study suggest that at the lower levels of hospitality work, women's career longevity in Food and Beverage or Front Office is due to the social connection

and recognition of their professional skills and autonomy. In guest contact areas, the interaction with guests is a crucial element of this social connection that employees found very rewarding. Those of different ethnic backgrounds succeed in Food and Beverage or Front Office pathways if their educational qualifications, accents and personal presentation match with management expectations.

However, the small proportion of participants from minority ethnic backgrounds who had achieved management positions indicates that management bias continues to view them as ‘other’, more suitable for lower roles, migrants who are really only suitable for roles that locals do not value (Tienari & Kovesnikov, 2014). Two further significant points relating to class and age emerge from the research. Firstly, social connections appear to be perceived differently by managers. Secondly, the necessity for geographical relocation varies according to age and occupational class.

Social connections

Internal social connection within a property appears to be less important for senior management than it is for lower levels of the hierarchy. This can be explained by the fact that many of the senior executives in the study followed international career paths, facilitated and maintained by transnational social networks. It is more important for future career prospects to maintain global social capital rather than local networks. Additionally, frequent moves do not facilitate the close personal ties customary at lower levels of the hierarchy. However, management teams who work together for a long time demonstrate social cohesiveness and such cohesion contributes to career longevity.

An added advantage for departments with a high proportion of long serving employees, for example, housekeeping, is they appear to be more resistant to the insecurity and career setbacks caused by frequent management changes. It is not entirely clear from this research if high social cohesion between all levels undermines corporate goals. It

may justify the promotional system that forces senior managers to move every few years. It may also clarify the reason why many incoming General Managers exercise their right to change the management team when taking over a new property, possibly attempting to disestablish relationships that may pose a threat to their authority.

Geographical mobility

There are gendered and body-age aspects associated with the geographical mobility requirements of a hospitality career. This study confirms previous studies showing that geographical mobility is necessary for promotion in hospitality (Baum, 2007; Carbery et al., 2003; Davidson et al., 2010; Kong et al., 2012; Yamashita & Uenoyama, 2006).

Overseas postings and geographical moves facilitate promotion to executive positions in New Zealand and Australia (Ayres, 2006; Brown, 2013) and the study indicates that women without family commitments advance more quickly both because they are able to move, and because the lack of a family leads to a clearer ‘signal’ of their commitment (Binns, 2010; Lyng, 2010).

Thus, the conclusion of this study supports previous Australasian studies (Ayres, 2006; Mooney, 2009b) that have found that the difficulties encountered by women orchestrating geographical moves form a career barrier, not merely a ‘boundary constraint’. In order to succeed in a corporate hospitality career, a woman needs to be unencumbered by children. Capable women are unable to access privileges associated with senior positions in the hierarchy that their male colleagues take for granted. Entrenched organisational processes continue to privilege men’s career paths and exclude women.

Executives in this study appreciated the symbolic material rewards and power associated with their positions. They relished their autonomy and discussed the challenge and excitement of meeting complex targets, characteristics associated with a

masculine orientation in organisations (Höpfl, 2010). The generous rewards lead to career longevity for hospitality executives; however, they must suborn their personal lives to the requirements of their employing organisations. In exchange, they commit to being geographically and vocationally mobile, to constantly upgrading their skill set and being available.

Body-age, specifically the aging process, interacts with occupational class to influence career longevity. Older managers stay in the industry to reap the rewards of their commitment over the years, however, there is no cut off point when they can relax. Because their rewarding life style is contingent on geographical mobility, older managers appear to have less job security. The constant pressure to meet new challenges and continue to meet body-age norms of health and high energy (Winker & Degele, 2011) takes its toll. Individuals at the lower levels experience more stable rewards, such as warm social relationships at work and long-term recognition of their core competencies. Senior management can never really relax, they are measured on their latest achievements, or as one General Manager succinctly observes “the old dog [needs] new tricks”.

7.2 Synthesising the contributions of this research

This research fills the research gap in career knowledge by proposing a career construct model that builds upon hospitality research traditions. This study provides sufficient rich data to allow the creation of a hospitality career construct based on a detailed analysis of the career patterns of 31 participants with an average career length of 25 years in hospitality. Whilst initially intended as an exploratory study to research career longevity, common patterns emerged that both correlated and built upon previous research. The findings of this study suggest there are three stages in the hospitality career construct, as outlined in Figure 2 in Chapter Five:

- Phase 1 Career entry
- Phase 2 Career development
- Phase 3 Career consolidation

The model recognises that socially ascribed categories of difference such as age or gender influence the hospitality career construct. A limitation of previous hospitality career research is that it often neglects to chart the effects of socially ascribed categories of difference. The hospitality career has been framed as a linear progression to senior management (Chung-Herrera et al., 2003; Ladkin & Riley, 1996; Ladkin, 2002).

Contemporary hospitality career researchers (Kong et al., 2012; Wang, 2013) base their research on a competency based approach within a boundaryless career framework.

While the importance of social ‘career’ competencies in hospitality careers is highlighted, previous research has neglected to mention that the attainment of these social competencies is frequently beyond the worker’s direct control; a criticism linked with many boundaryless career studies (Inkson et al., 2012; Roper et al., 2010).

The second contribution of the study to hospitality career research is that it fills in the gaps of previous research and allows the implications of organisational processes associated with the dimensions of ageing, gender, ethnicity and class to come through. Much of the critical hospitality literature explores the negative conditions associated with low paid service sector employment (Adib & Guerrier, 2003; Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011). There appears to be little attention paid to the positive aspects of hospitality work at the lower levels.

The third significant contribution to hospitality research is that the study highlights the centrality of good social relations in long-term hospitality careers. Researchers have observed the importance of social contact in the building of migrant workers’ sense of belonging in their new cultures (Heimtun, 2012; Höpfl, 2010; Kristeva, 1991; Rydzik et al., 2012; Wilczek et al., 2009). This study extends the notion of belonging and social

connectivity to encompass all hospitality workers, not only migrants. Therefore, whilst the findings of this research are related to current understandings of the role of social competencies in building a hospitality career (Kong et al., 2012; Wang, 2013), the notion of ‘social connection’ is distinctly different from the notion of a social career competency.

7.2.1 Theoretical contribution to career theory

Theoretically, the findings of this study make a significant contribution to career theory, specifically, boundaryless career research. A widespread criticism of boundaryless career studies is they ignore the career experiences of the marginalised (Sullivan & Arthur, 2006; Sullivan & Baruch, 2009). The majority of such studies promote neo-liberal ideology (Inkson et al., 2012; Roper et al., 2010) and stress the power of the individual to chart their own destiny. However, as Pringle and Mallon (2003, p. 328) offered some time ago, assumptions about the extent of worker’s agency in boundaryless careers “privileges the educated and marginalises lower skilled workers and minorities for whom boundaryless-ness means unemployment insecurity and anxiety, [among others]”. In general, research on ‘new careers’ appears to ignore the unpalatable reality that neo-liberal oppressive ‘flexible’ working practices have disenfranchised workers resulting in uncertainty and hardship for families in many Western contexts (Williams, 2013). The intersectional approach used in the study facilitated a close analysis of various hierarchical levels of hospitality workers by using boundaryless career theory as a framework to observe penalty and privilege in hospitality careers.

This study used boundaryless career theory to interpret the career patterns of hospitality workers at different hierarchical levels. Its findings that the ethnicity, age, and gender of hospitality workers influence career opportunities refute the notion advanced by boundaryless career theorists (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996) that in boundaryless careers,

the employees are fully the architects of their own career. Even though hospitality workers may possess the social competencies necessary for career success, (Defillippi & Arthur, 1996), the intersectional approach taken in this study with its focus on organisational processes, reveals that women and minorities' agency to influence their career progression is limited by the hospitality career gatekeepers' stereotypical notions of the ideal worker.

The study responds to Roper et al.'s (2010) request for boundaryless career researchers to observe the role of agency in career patterns and it contributes to a more contemporary understanding of boundaryless career theory. The study also fulfils the demand for evolved research that treats the boundaryless career as a career dynamic rather than a career 'type'. The social context of hospitality careers is exposed by an approach that centred on:

“the multiplicity of processes including, for example, boundary construction, boundary acceptance, boundary celebration, boundary defence and boundary shifting that take place, along with boundary crossing, at one time or another in most careers”(Inkson et al., 2012, p. 331).

7.2.2 Theoretical contribution to organisational studies

This study makes a significant contribution to our understanding of how organisational processes unfold to create industry wide meanings. The adoption of ‘gendering organisations’ rather than a gender in organisations approach in this study allowed me to observe reflexively “how gender/sex inequality *is ingrained in the reproduction of a* power relations system [in] organisations”(Calas et al., 2014, p. 29). Such a scrutiny does not only reveal gendered organisational processes, but additionally brings to light the power effects of classed and racialised performance norms in hospitality.

The choice of an intersectionality research methodology exposes the connection between the ideal hospitality worker construct, communicated through the interpellation

process (N. Davis, 2012; McDowell et al., 2007) and notions of performativity expressed through age, gendered and ethnicity based norms (Broadbridge & Simpson, 2011; P. Lewis & Simpson, 2010; Winker & Degele, 2011) embedded in and reproduced through organisational processes (Acker, 2006b; Scully & Blake-Beard, 2006). The study also draws upon research into hospitality occupational communities (Buonocore, 2010; Lee-Ross, 2005), and partying culture (O'Neill, 2012b) to reveal the existence of a 'macro norm' of the ideal hospitality worker. Within the context of this theoretical framework, the findings of the study suggest that those in hospitality employment (insiders) form an occupational community (macro-culture) across hospitality, with common social norms and understandings, intersecting both professionally and socially. Those who are not part of this macro-culture (outsiders) do not see the hospitality worker as possessing skills or high social status. Guests straddle the divide between inside and outside worlds, validating or refuting the worker's claim to professional status.

Insiders who embody the industry idealised body-age, gendered and ethnicity based norms (conveyed by Pakeha managers and other workers through the interpellation process), demonstrate to the industry gatekeepers (Pakeha mentors and Pakeha general managers) that they are hospitality professionals. They consequently advance in their careers; the increasing complexity of management roles, greater autonomy and financial rewards ensures career longevity. Their professional social networks and reputations are industry wide and international.

Due to the intersection of age-body, gendered, cultural and class norms (being a combination of minority ethnic background, female, unskilled workers), certain hospitality occupational classes never appear to attain professional status. However, they are part of the professional hospitality macro-culture, a culture within a culture.

Within their gendered spaces (Simpson, 2014), they are viewed as professionals by their

colleagues, they perceive complexity in their job tasks and feel they have a degree of autonomy in job related decisions. Although their professional network may be local, rather than industry wide, the respect and fellowship of their peers ensures their career longevity.

This conclusion extends our knowledge about the ways performance norms are communicated and reproduced through organisational processes, at both individual and organisational level, combine to create industry wide meanings. Social assumptions that drive promotional decisions are linked with gendered norms. In the hospitality industry, as in all industries, there are conscious and unconscious expectations that men and women will play particular roles in the workplace (P. Lewis & Simpson, 2010). There are also social associations with the organisational roles that are considered appropriate for individuals of a particular age (Winker & Degele, 2011) or ethnic origin (Anthias, 2013; McDowell et al., 2007). By exploring how career barriers and enablers at individual and organisational level in hospitality are regulated by industry mentors (Chapter Five and Chapter Six); and perpetuated through organisational processes and practices (Scully & Blake-Beard, 2006), the study extends notions of performativity in hospitality organisations from a meso (organisational) to a macro (industry) level.

The most important contribution of this study is that it allowed me to observe as noted previously how organisational processes deliver inequality on the basis of age, gender and ethnicity. Class was included as a core dimension in this study, as it could show how power worked by tracking promotions. Superficially, positional class appears to dominate all other categories of difference but, in reality gender ‘trumps’ other categories as a marker of power; masculinity is literally ‘king’.

7.2.3 Methodological contribution

The contribution of this study is two-fold. Practically, it has extended the use of an intersectional framework by showing how an adaptive approach can overcome methodological conundrums. The greatest challenge encountered during the course of this research was due to the widely documented difficulties associated with the lack of a concrete intersectionality methodology. I echo the critique of other intersectional scholars (Nash, 2008; Walby et al., 2012); does it really have to be so difficult? Chapter Four detailed how the difficulties posed by opposing methodological perspectives were overcome, however, there is a danger that intersectional research will remain the preserve of academics that thrive on epistemological debate rather than a powerful tool to investigate oppression.

The study builds on previous intersectional research by investigating how privilege and penalty intermingles in individual hospitality careers. Both intersectional and transnational analyses do not position dominant (white) individuals at the centre of research, rather they track how the interconnections between sex, race, ethnicity and sexuality produce patterns of equality and inequality, dominance and subservience in particular social contexts (Calas et al., 2014).

Intersectional approaches continue to evolve and intersectional researchers such as Dhamoon (2011), Ozbilgin (2010) and Calas et al. (2014) point out the flaws of an intersectional approach that focuses solely on the privileges of one particular group and the penalties of another marginalised group. Heeding their advice to look at the penalty and privilege experienced by different groups, this research explored how all different social groupings experience both penalty and privilege in their careers. The conclusion shows that although individuals at lower positions in hospitality have the financial penalty associated with a lower status job, they have the privilege of warm personal

relationships in the workplace. The penalty for managers is they must remain geographically mobile throughout their careers.

In keeping with its feminist and intersectional roots (DeVault & McCoy, 2003; Hesse-Biber, 2007), this study furthers social justice aims by identifying systemic inequalities (Dhamoon, 2011; Yuval-Davis, 2006) in hospitality organisations. The introduction chapter observed the rare incidence of critical studies that examine power relations in hospitality work (McIntosh & Harris, 2012; Riley, 2008). Although this research responded to specific questions posed about the nature of the hospitality career construct and why people remain in a hospitality career, the research process exposed power relations and laid bare oppression and hardship in the “soft social underbelly” (U Zander et al., 2010) of the hospitality industry. In its focus on the positive side of hospitality work, why people stay rather than leave the industry, this study cannot ignore the detrimental socio-economic consequences of low paid insecure work for workers at the lower levels of hospitality employment in New Zealand (Nolan, 2007; Parker & Arrowsmith, 2012; Pringle & Mallon, 2003). I support Williams’ (2013) argument that it is imperative that feminist research must now change its focus to explore the negative impact of neo-liberal policies on families and men, not only women.

This study revealed a profound power imbalance in the New Zealand hospitality industry that is created, reproduced and embedded in organisational processes. The norms that regulate work practices in New Zealand hospitality organisations are masculine norms that penalise women, men and ethnic minorities who do not exhibit ‘the same’ characteristics as the dominant group of heterosexual, middle-aged men of European origin. Challenging the Human Resource practices associated with such a masculine culture, as suggested in the implications of this research section, must

promote the notion of a level playing field for all workers regardless of their age, gender, ethnic origin, family status or sexual orientation.

The suitability of the chosen methodology in achieving the research objectives should also be considered when reflecting on what one might do differently in the future. While the intersectionality framework used was effective in uncovering how privilege and penalty intersect across different dimensions of age, gender, ethnicity and class, the conclusions of this research suggest that the intersectionality paradigm would benefit from being taken still further, as indicated in the future research directions section of this chapter.

7.3 Practical Implications of this research

In New Zealand the revolving door of hospitality employment may be an illusion. The findings of this research challenge the prevailing view that hospitality is a high turnover industry. Undoubtedly, many people move in and out of hospitality jobs at various life stages, but that is not a unique feature of hospitality work. Although participants in the study moved frequently between different properties, they remained within the industry or returned to it after taking time out. The study confirms the findings of other research (Ayres, 2006; Baum, 2007; Kong et al., 2011; Yamashita & Uenoyama, 2006) that the hospitality career path is based on vocational mobility between properties and organisations. However, this research indicates that the vocational mobility of hospitality workers is between properties *within* the hospitality industry, not outside the industry. Many workers remain within the fold of hospitality employment.

The lack of concrete turnover data across the hospitality sector and individual obfuscation about why employees are leaving (Williamson, 2008) obscures the reasons why people move on from their jobs. The study findings concur that hospitality workers who leave their employers are reluctant to convey the genuine reasons for their

departure, such as joining a competing hotel. However, the findings of the study highlight three important areas where hospitality employers could usefully focus their attention, to increase career longevity for undecided individuals entering hospitality employment: 1) redressing bad working practices, 2) diversity management and 3) career development.

The findings of the study confirm the existence of unpleasant working conditions in many hospitality organisations observed in Chapter Three. Undoubtedly, many hospitality employers in New Zealand demonstrate best practice in HRM. However, long hours, overwork, and inadequate pay, were common experiences that participants remembered from their working histories. Unfortunately, the continuing prevalence of such practices is reflected in the findings of current research in the sector. The poor conditions are blamed on the relentless drive for profit; workers are viewed as a cost to be squeezed (Baum, 2007; Davidson & Wang, 2011; Kusluvan, Kusluvan, Ilhan, & Buyruk, 2010). The masculine metric driven competitive culture (Höpfl, 2010) revealed in the findings (Chapters Five and Six) and supported by the rhetoric of the neo-liberal economy, means that many workers experience the profound disadvantages of a boundaryless hospitality career.

The ongoing drive to casualise the labour force will further reinforce the outsider status and job security of temporary or part-time workers in hospitality in the future (Buonocore, 2010). Hospitality Human Resource departments should carefully consider the hidden real costs of relying on a casual labour force. In addition to the loss of productivity associated with short-term labour practices (Chikwe, 2009; Davidson et al., 2010; Yang, 2010), the findings of this research suggest that strong social connection within a stable workforce ensures greater job satisfaction (linked to higher productivity), reduced requirements for close supervision, a higher standard of work and flexibility from colleagues when staff are absent. Hospitality employers should move

away from a casual labour model and instead focus on realistic alternatives for permanent employees.

Further, the findings in Chapter Six reveal that specific constraints interfere with career progression for women and minority groups. The interpellation process acts with gendered norms to preserve the privileges of the dominant group (P. Lewis & Simpson, 2010; McDowell et al., 2007). Hospitality organisations need to look at new and better ways to engage all their workers. This study confirmed that career success in hospitality is linked with the availability of mentors (Kong et al., 2012) who help with the development of career competencies (Wang, 2013). A lack of suitable mentors is a problem for minorities (Ayres, 2006) and women (Mooney, 2009a). International hotel groups, such as Hyatt and IHG have recognised the importance of mentors by introducing mentoring programmes. Although formal mentoring plans are viewed as less effective than those which develop naturally (Chuang & Dellmann-Jenkins, 2010; Yamashita & Uenoyama, 2006), by introducing programs that include a high proportion of women and minorities, Human Resource Managers can help less privileged groups to gain a critical mass.

Equally important, the industry needs to pay more attention to the socialisation process for new entrants. The study reveals the callous attitudes shown to newcomers until they have proven themselves. It is essential that new employees develop a close social connection to work colleagues within a short timeframe to encourage them to remain within the industry yet, regrettably, training and induction programmes are widely regarded as inconsistent or non-existent in New Zealand (Poulston, 2008). In addition to providing task instruction, the induction process should address the emotional need of new employees to belong in their new environment. Many hospitality undergraduates explore hospitality employment as casual workers or interns and look for alternative careers in other industries if their early experiences are unfavourable (Chuang &

Dellmann-Jenkins, 2010; Ineson et al., 2013). If Human Resource Managers can highlight the positive social aspects of a hospitality career and good working conditions, workers are more likely to build a career in the industry.

Finally, the hospitality industry needs to focus on family friendly working policies for both women and men in order to retain its workers (Deery & Jago, 2009; Deery, 2008). There is every possibility to reduce future talent shortfalls in the hospitality industry. Although the hospitality industry is perceived as a long hours industry (Cleveland et al., 2007), it is not the number of hours worked, but the perception of balance that contributes to hospitality workers' job satisfaction (Burke et al., 2011; R. Lewis, 2010).

This study indicates that individuals frequently appear to arrive into a hospitality career 'accidentally', on an hourly paid casual basis. Many participants in the study remained working in hospitality because the flexible hours and helpful attitudes of their employers facilitated their family commitments. As explained in Chapter Five, workers commence hospitality employment and advance in their careers according to the industry's career enablers and boundaries. In some cases, workers rejected promotion for a number of years, as they wished to retain control over their working hours and shifts. Undoubtedly, many other workers leave hospitality organisations if they cannot reconcile the competing demands of family and work. If Human Resource Managers introduce genuine family friendly policies for men and women, then a higher proportion of workers will be empowered to realise their full potential by availing of promotional opportunities. The findings of the study indicate strongly that such an outcome would increase career longevity.

7.4 Limitations

This research is based on a small sample of 12 academics and 19 current hospitality employees. Inkson et al. (2012, p. 330) warn about the dangers of 'statement of

universality” in career research and although the methods employed gave deep insight to the career meanings of workers at different levels of hospitality employment, the subjective interpretation of their own career experiences should not be generalised outside a New Zealand context. Local context is important to understand how boundaryless careers function. As noted in Chapter Four, critical feminist researchers argue that the majority of organisational studies originating from the United States are ethno-centric and inward-looking, and critically blinkered, but claim to be universal and objective (Calas et al., 2014). From this perspective, a major limitation of this study is that while it has been influenced by the work of post-modernism and post-colonial feminist researchers, such as Calas and Smircich (2009) and Holvino (2010), it has not fully engaged with challenging the Western centric academic discourse.

There is a practical rationale for this decision. The New Zealand ‘Western’ context of this study led to the choice of ‘Western career theory’. The scope of this research already accommodated a career theory framework and an intersectional paradigm, drawn from the work of seminal feminist researchers such as Kanter (1977) and Acker (2006a, 2006b, 2009, 2012). The methodological approach also recognises the contribution of post-structural researchers, for example, Holvino (2011), who acknowledges the importance of considering other non-Western centric paradigms in organisational studies. Intersectionality embraces the stories of those who are marginalised (Dhamoon, 2011; Hancock, 2007; Holvino, 2010; Winker & Degele, 2011) and the various interpretive lenses employed included a focus on gendering, classed, racialised organisational processes (Anthias, 2013; Broadbridge & Simpson, 2011; Scully & Blake-Beard, 2006), to allow exploration of privilege and penalty, equality/inequality in organisational careers. Intersectional researchers consider local context highly significant and Holvino’s (2010) conceptualisation of intersectionality as

a simultaneous process of identity, institutional and social practice is perceived as a significant contribution to feminist theory (Calas et al., 2014).

A further limitation of the study is that analysis did not separate the individual ethnic identities of participants, to avoid conflation of the data as discussed in Chapter Four. Rather than implying that all people of minority ethnicity experience the same privileges and penalties, participants were categorised as either belonging to the dominant ethnic group of New Zealand European origin (Pakeha), or as ethnic minorities, those outside the dominant group who self-identified themselves as belonging to an ethnic minority group.

Many of the study participants' career experiences took place outside the New Zealand labour market. It would have been rewarding to gain a wider selection of participants at lower levels, nevertheless as explained in Chapter Four, recruiting volunteers from the lower levels of hospitality work proved difficult. A further limitation is although the majority of participants had worked across different hospitality sectors, much of their experience was in hotels. Although common experiences enabled familiar career patterns to emerge, a disadvantage is that some career experiences may be hotel specific.

7.5 Future research directions

Another noteworthy aspect of difference arising from the study is the positioning of hospitality workers as engaged in dirty work, in particular room attendants. Research into dirty work could fruitfully build on the work of Ashforth and Kreiner (2013), Simpson et al. (2012), Lucas (2011) and Wildes (2005) to establish at what level of occupational class, hospitality work ceases to be dirty and becomes 'clean'. By exploring social constructions of identity, we may hope to lessen the sense of marginalisation experienced by individuals engaged in dirty work.

In the meantime, further longitudinal and critical research could fill in some of the gaps in our knowledge about hospitality careers. There is a need to further investigate the dark side of the 'hospitality boundaryless career' in other cultural contexts, building on Yamashita and Uenoyama's (2006) hotel studies. Research could focus on the career experiences of older/younger hospitality workers outside the hotel sector. Although this research examined the experiences of workers at various hierarchical levels, another unexplored direction that would repay investigation is the study of non-professionals in hospitality. The objective would be to improve the status of marginalised workers in a hospitality employment context. New directions for intersectional research into hospitality employment could fruitfully build on Dhamoon's (2011) idea of intermingled oppression and privilege across further categories of difference, for example, employment opportunities for people with disabilities.

As discussed in Chapter Four, new theoretical frameworks for intersectional research would benefit organisational studies. Holvino (2010) considers that future intersectional research must explore work and careers using paradigms other than Western centric ones. This would enable a deeper understanding of the experiences of the Pasifika men and women who not follow the same career paths as their more privileged Pakeha colleagues. Verloo's (2013) notion of 'Axes of Interference II' could help to indicate where the points of oppression and privilege meet in a non-Western centric career model.

A final research gap encountered while carrying out this study relates to the importance of the social aspect of hospitality work. The high content of emotional labour in hospitality jobs is widely acknowledged (Hochschild, 1983; Karatepe & Aleshinloye, 2009; Korczynski, 2002) and frequently regarded as a contributor to stress (Karatepe & Aleshinloye, 2009). While researchers acknowledge in some measure the reward that comes from positive interaction with guests (Williams, 2003), more research should

focus on the reward to be derived from altruistic exchanges with others in hospitality work.

Many participants in this study commented the pleasure they gained from interactions with guests and other staff. It is striking when I discuss their hospitality careers with current employees how they radiate enjoyment as they describe how they love ‘helping the guest’. Yet there appears to be little attention paid to the topic. I would like to explore the emotional/reciprocal reward of hospitality work that translates into a feeling of ‘wellness’. Organisational cultures that promote wellness among their employees are a current source of research interest. Obviously many of the long-term hospitality workers in this research had already achieved ‘wellness’. If it is possible to isolate the ‘happiness’ element experienced by hospitality workers in good workplaces, it should be possible to introduce ‘wellness’ initiatives into those that are currently less hospitable.

The implications for HRM in the hospitality industry are clear. If the industry genuinely wishes to reduce its high turnover rate, HRM practices must focus on building social connectivity in the workplace. In tandem with the introduction of meaningful equal opportunity career development initiatives, career longevity could become a new industry norm.

7.6 Closing thoughts

As an Irish, middle aged, educated women who spent a long career at various hierarchical levels in hospitality, my current academic career led me to question hospitality working practices that I had always taken for granted, such as why we should not encourage union membership for our employees. At times it seemed as if only a superficial critical veneer had been laid upon my European managerial identity. Years of social conditioning in an Irish middle class home and 25 years of conditioning

in hotels had produced a creature that sat uncomfortably on the fence burdened with an appreciation of both managerial and critical perspectives.

Completing the study has been a catharsis in some respects. I realise that age, gender, ethnicity-based and occupational class norms embedded in organisational processes, ensured I conformed to the role assigned to my social identity in the workplace. This grain of comfort is tempered by the dismay I feel that as an academic in an OECD country, I perpetuate and reinforce reproduce privileged Western ethno-centric philosophies. Intersectional-transnational feminist analysis (Calas et al., 2014) illuminates my path ahead as a researcher. My aspiration for future managers, men and women, is they will be more comfortable with revealing their 'feminine side' in a gendered hospitality space than I was.

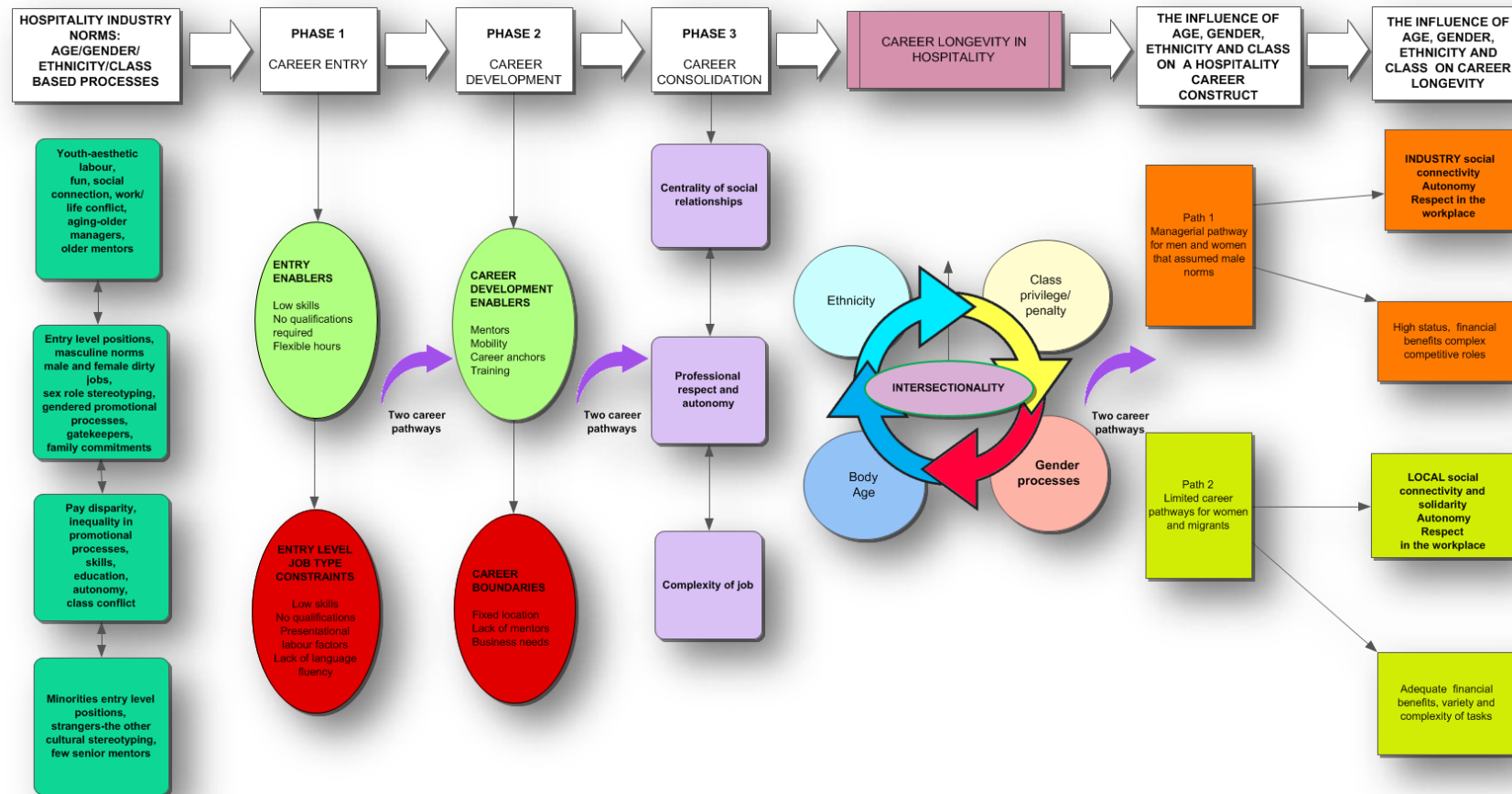


Figure 4: The influence of age, gender, ethnicity and class on career longevity

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APPENDICES

Appendix A Interview participant information sheet

23 February 2014

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Participant Information Sheet



Project Title

The intersectionality of age, class, ethnicity and gender: An exploration of the career longevity of hotel workers.

An Invitation

My name is Shelagh Mooney I am employed as a senior lecturer at the School of Hospitality and Tourism at AUT University and I am conducting research as part of my PhD study through the School of Management at the Faculty of Business and Law at AUT University. The research explores how people experience age, class, ethnicity and gender during their hospitality careers and the reasons why people stay working in the hospitality industry. I am interested to know about your career experiences.

Your participation is voluntary and your input in enabling me to find out more about hospitality careers would really be appreciated. At any stage should you wish, you may withdraw from the research without any negative consequences.

What is the purpose of this research?

Worldwide the hospitality industry faces a shortage of skilled hospitality staff and New Zealand is no exception. The effect of the skills shortage is increased by the high level of labour turnover that exists across all sectors of the industry, including hotels. In order to reduce this turnover in the future there is a need to understand why people remain in their hospitality career.

The purposes of the research are threefold:

1. To explore the experiences of hotel workers and their career constructs
2. To explore the intersectionality of age, class, ethnicity and gender in hotel workers and its impact on their hospitality careers.
3. To explore the career longevity of hotel workers

Exploring this question may help employers to act upon the research findings which may ultimately benefit employees within hotels. In addition this research will contribute to my doctoral degree and the results will be published in academic journals and potentially presented at international conferences.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

You have responded to a notice that was placed on the staff notice board of your hotel, among other hotels in New Zealand, to ask people such as yourself who have been working more than ten years in hospitality if you would like to be interviewed about your career experiences. By participating in this research you will be able to add to existing knowledge of hospitality workers' experiences of their careers.

What will happen in this research?

Approximately 20 men and women are being interviewed. Each session will be held at a negotiated time and place with refreshments provided. It is estimated that you will need to allow one to two hours for the interviews. All interviews will be audiotaped and notes may be taken.

How will the information collected in these memory group sessions be disseminated?

The data collected from your interview will be used in my PhD thesis. It is also anticipated that publications and conference presentations will also result from this work.

What are the discomforts and risks?

It is not very likely that the gathered information will be harmful or sensitive due to the methodology being used.

Due to the small sample size there is a slight risk that participants may be identifiable. Given the size, complexity and geographical spread of hotels in New Zealand and the fact that you have chosen to be interviewed, identification is unlikely to be an issue. All interviews will take place outside the work environment and pseudonyms will be used.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

The following procedures will be used to protect your anonymity. You will be asked not to discuss any sensitive, personal issues. During or at the end of each session you may request that certain information remains confidential to the interviewer or that it is not to be used in the reporting of the research. Hence as the researcher, I will make every effort to ensure confidentiality.

At all stages I will be sensitive to how you are feeling. If at any time you are unhappy with issues being raised, please let me know. You will have the opportunity of leaving the interview at any stage. When the interviews are transcribed, pseudonyms and coding will be used to protect your identity

What are the benefits?

There is very little research which focuses on why people stay in the hospitality industry. If some of the factors influencing employees' decisions to remain in the hospitality industry can be identified, then maybe this may lead to positive changes in hospitality workplaces. The research will also be beneficial to me in gaining my Ph D.

How will my privacy be protected?

All interviews will be audiotaped. Sections of these tapes will be transcribed verbatim either by a reputable, discreet transcriber or myself. . All other parties involved in transcribing or recording the data will sign confidentiality agreements. You will be invited to view the transcriptions and may request that certain personal sections not be used.

All consent forms, written memories, tapes, transcripts and computer disks will be stored and kept in a locked cabinet my office. If a transcriber is used, the tapes will be secured to ensure privacy and safety.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

The only costs involved in the research are your time. The interview may take up to one and a half hours.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

You have two weeks to decide if you to participate in the interviews.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

There is a consent form to be signed before the interview proceeds.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

When the thesis is complete, you will be given details on how to access it on Scholarly Commons through the AUT website.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Dr Irene Ryan irene.ryan@aut.ac.nz 921 9999 ext 7852.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, ATEC, Madeline Banda, madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 8044.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Researcher Contact Details:

Shelagh Mooney, email address: shelagh.mooney@aut.ac.nz

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Dr Irene Ryan Irene.ryan@aut.ac.nz 921 9999 ext 7852.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (ATEC Reference number 10/93).

Participant Information Sheet



Project Title

The intersectionality of age, class, ethnicity and gender: An exploration of the career longevity of hotel workers.

An Invitation

My name is Shelagh Mooney I am employed as a senior lecturer at the School of Hospitality and Tourism at AUT University and I am conducting research as part of my PhD study through the School of Management at the Faculty of Business and Law at AUT University. The research explores how people experience age, class, ethnicity and gender during their hospitality careers and the reasons why people stay working in the hospitality industry. I am interested to know about your career experiences.

Your participation is voluntary and your input in enabling me to find out more about hospitality careers would really be appreciated. At any stage should you wish, you may withdraw from the research without any negative consequences.

What is the purpose of this research?

Worldwide the hospitality industry faces a shortage of skilled hospitality staff and New Zealand is no exception. The effect of the skills shortage is increased by the high level of labour turnover that exists across all sectors of the industry, including hotels. In order to reduce this turnover in the future there is a need to understand why people remain in their hospitality career.

The purposes of the research are threefold:

1. To explore the experiences of hotel workers and their career constructs
2. To explore the intersectionality of age, class, ethnicity and gender in hotel workers and its impact on their hospitality careers.
3. To explore the career longevity of hotel workers

Exploring this question may help employers to act upon the research findings which may ultimately benefit employees within hotels. In addition this research will contribute to my doctoral degree and the results will be published in academic journals and potentially presented at international conferences.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

As a lecturer/tutor in the School of Hospitality and Tourism, you have been invited to participate in the research, if you had over ten years prior experience in the hospitality industry, including the hotel sector. The research with which you will be involved uses memory-work. This is a form of group story telling with ex hospitality industry employees who now work as tutors or lecturers in the School of Hospitality and Tourism at AUT University. By participating in the memory-work group you will be able to add to existing knowledge of how hospitality workers experience their careers.

What will happen in this research?

You and six or seven other people including myself will meet over a three to four month period in memory-work sessions. It is anticipated that there will be one/two sessions, with each session lasting

between two to three hours. Each session will be held at a negotiated time and place with refreshments provided.

At least one week prior to each session you and the other participants will be asked to write a memory evoked from a 'trigger' topic related to this study. For each session you will be asked to write a different memory that will be discussed by the group. Suggestions for each trigger topic may come from the group itself as well as myself. In the sessions, each person will read their memory while the other members of the group follow the written text. Collectively, you will then discuss and theorise all that has been written looking for similarities and/or patterns across the memories.

The trigger for the first session will be "belonging in hospitality"

How will the information collected in these memory group sessions be disseminated

The data collected from your group sessions along with any other group's discussions will be used in my PhD thesis. It is also anticipated that publications and conference presentations will also result from this work.

What are the discomforts and risks?

It is not very likely that the gathered information will be harmful or sensitive to yourself or the other group members due to the methodology being used as detailed below.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

The following procedures will be used to protect your anonymity. When I receive the memories for each session they will be coded rather than marked with the person's name. It will however, be obvious during the session who has written each memory so group members will be asked not to discuss any sensitive, personal issues or to connect names to others' stories outside the group. During or at the end of each session you may request that certain information remains confidential to the group or that it is not to be used in the reporting of the research. Hence as the researcher, I will make every effort to ensure confidentiality however; it is impossible for me to guarantee it in a group situation.

At all stages I will be sensitive to how you are feeling. If at any time you are unhappy with issues being raised, please let me know. You will have the opportunity of leaving the session at any stage and counselling services are available through AUT Counselling.

What are the benefits?

While there is no monetary payment for your participation, it is hoped that these memory-work sessions will be both a social and learning experience for yourself and the other participants. In other research that has used this method, the participants have reported that sharing, discussing and theorising their memories has been an enjoyable experience and provided a valuable, reflective insight into understanding how we interact, experience, and give meaning to our different social worlds.

In addition there is very little research which focuses on why people stay in the hospitality industry. If some of the factors influencing employees' decisions to remain in the hospitality industry can be identified, then this may lead to beneficial changes in hospitality workplaces. The research will also be beneficial to me in gaining my Ph D.

How will my privacy be protected?

All sessions will be audiotaped. Sections of these tapes will be transcribed verbatim either by a reputable, discreet transcriber or myself. . All other parties involved in transcribing or recording the data will sign confidentiality agreements. You will be invited to view the transcriptions and may request that certain personal sections not be used. Since lengthy excerpts are most likely to be used in reporting this data, you will have the opportunity to read and comment on any relevant sections to ensure that you cannot be identified in any way that would be objectionable. This also gives you the opportunity to question any analysis of your personal statements. You have the right to withdraw any information that is personal to you up to a year after the final memory-work session.

All consent forms, written memories, tapes, transcripts and computer disks will be stored and kept in a locked cabinet my office. If a transcriber is used, the tapes will be secured to ensure privacy and safety.

Upon completion of this project, each individual's original written memories will be returned to him or her. All tapes and copies of memories, which could identify yourself or another participant, will be erased or destroyed respectively.

Discussion sessions will be considered the property of the group members and myself, as the principal researcher. Upon request, a participant may have access to her group's transcripts but she would be required to keep them confidential and return them to me. However, his/her own personal memories will be considered his/her personal property. Thus he/she will be able to use or dispose of them accordingly.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

The only costs involved in the research are your time.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

You have two weeks from receipt of the email to decide if you wish to participate in the interviews.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

There is a consent form to be signed before the memory work sessions proceed.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

When the thesis is complete, you will be given details on how to access it on Scholarly Commons through the AUT website.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, *Dr Irene Ryan* irene.ryan@aut.ac.nz 921 9999 ext 7852.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTECH, Madeline Banda, madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 8044.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Researcher Contact Details:

Shelagh Mooney, email address: shelagh.mooney@aut.ac.nz

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Dr Irene Ryan irene.ryan@aut.ac.nz 921 9999 ext 7852.

AUTECH Reference number 10/93.

Consent Form

For use when interviews or memory work are involved.



Project title: The intersectionality of age, class, ethnicity and gender: An exploration of the career longevity of hotel workers.

Project Supervisor: Dr Irene Ryan irene.ryan@aut.ac.nz 921 9999 ext 7852

Researcher: Shelagh Mooney, email address: shelagh.mooney@aut.ac.nz

- ☐ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet
- ☐ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ☐ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- ☐ I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ☐ If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- ☐ I agree to take part in this research.
- ☐ I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one): Yes ☐ No ☐

Participant's signature:

Participant's name:

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

.....
.....
.....
.....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (Reference number 10/93).

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix D Sample Interview questions

Sample interview questions

1. Name
2. Age
3. Ethnicity
4. Position in hotel
5. How long have you been working here?
6. How did you start working here
7. Terms and conditions of work
8. Career story, start at the beginning
9. Why do you stay?
10. Life outside work/work life integration
11. Are there any issues about employment sector?
12. How do you feel about remuneration?
13. Do you consider it a good career?
14. Would you recommend it?
15. If yes why?
16. If no why?

These questions varied according to the pace of the interview and the responses of the interviewee

Appendix E: Approval from AUTECH



MEMORANDUM

Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTECH)

To: Irene Ryan
From: **Charles Grinter** Ethics Coordinator
Date: 14 July 2010
Subject: Ethics Application Number 10/93 **The intersectionality of age, class, ethnicity and gender: An exploration of the career longevity of hotel workers.**

Tena koe Irene

Thank you for providing written evidence as requested. I am pleased to advise that it satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTECH) at their meeting on 10 May 2010 and that I approved your ethics application. This delegated approval is made in accordance with section 5.3.2.3 of AUTECH's *Applying for Ethics Approval: Guidelines and Procedures* and is subject to endorsement at AUTECH's meeting on 9 August 2010.

Your ethics application is approved for a period of three years until 14 July 2013.

I advise that as part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit the following to AUTECH:

- A brief annual progress report using form EA2, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics>. When necessary this form may also be used to request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 14 July 2013;
- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/research-ethics>. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 14 July 2013 or on completion of the project, whichever comes sooner;

It is a condition of approval that AUTECH is notified of any adverse events or if the research does not commence. AUTECH approval needs to be sought for any alteration to the research, including any alteration of or addition to any documents that are provided to participants. You are reminded that, as applicant, you are responsible for ensuring that research undertaken under this approval occurs within the parameters outlined in the approved application.

Please note that AUTECH grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to make the arrangements necessary to obtain this.

When communicating with us about this application, we ask that you use the application number and study title to enable us to provide you with prompt service. Should you have any further enquiries regarding this matter, you are welcome to contact me, by email at ethics@aut.ac.nz or by telephone on 921 9999 at extension 8860.

On behalf of the AUTECH and myself, I wish you success with your research and look forward to reading about it in your reports.

On behalf of Madeline Banda, Executive Secretary
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: Shelagh Mooney shelagh.mooney@aut.ac.nz, Candice Harris

From the desk of ...
Madeline Banda
Executive Secretary
AUTECH

Private Bag 92006, Auckland 1142
New Zealand
E-mail: ethics@aut.ac.nz

Tel: 64 9 921 9999
ext 8044
Fax: 64 9 921 9925
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