Hotels, Hierarchy and History:

Portrayal of hotel work in New Zealand newspapers 1890 to 2015

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Abstract

The problem this thesis aimed to address is the poor perception of hotel work as a long-term career option and why this is such a problem in New Zealand. Tourism has been a major export earner since at least 1890. Accommodation provision and the supply of skilled hotel workers have presented a challenge throughout this time. Although New Zealand hotel managers are attempting to address staff turnover, these attempts do not appear to be particularly successful. This thesis used occupational hierarchies in conjunction with historical persistence to explore the social context contributing to these challenges.

The aim of the research was to trace the evolution of the portrayal of hotel work and analyse the influence of this history on the current positioning of hotel work in New Zealand. As part of meeting this aim, the following objectives were sought:

1. Track the portrayal of hotel work in New Zealand media from 1890 to 2015.

2. Identify the changes in underlying values and attitudes:
    a. towards hotels work,
    b. in society itself.

3. Analyse the contingent factors and continuous influences within this dynamic system.

4. Identify the influences of these assumptions and this context on the positioning and behaviour of the modern hotel industry.

The research used newspaper reporting to capture the portrayal and positioning of hotel work. The major metropolitan dailies were used because these offer the advantage of having continuous print runs available, even though they gave only a partial picture of the country. A set of key points in New Zealand history was selected and then the beginning, midpoint and end of the selected decades were sampled. The newspapers were searched for references to hotels and hotel workers. These were coded and analysed for emerging themes that particularly examined social structures and power relationships.

The historical analysis revealed that settlers came to New Zealand with the dream of becoming their own boss; owning land was the ultimate goal but running their own business was acceptable. As the possibility of moving from hotel worker to owner-manager became more unlikely, hotel work, never particularly prestigious, tumbled further down the emerging occupational and social hierarchies. Hotel work is firmly positioned as entry-level, temporary work performed by students and backpackers. The current strategies to address this do not

meet the desire for economic security and social connection. A fairer division of the risks of flexible employment, more varied career paths and better tourism planning are possible solutions.

Beyond a social history of hotels and hotel work, the research provides a revealing lens on broader New Zealand history. The findings show that social elements in constructing power and privilege exist even in an environment supposedly driven by pure materialism. The continuing influence of the European founding myths on the meaning of work demonstrates that the application of neo-liberal models can be subverted by strong social context. The findings also confirm the deep persistence of occupational hierarchies, in this case, retaining the value of ownership and hard work in the face of neo-liberalism.

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List of Abbreviations

CAUTHE   Council for Australasian Tourism and Hospitality Education

CHME   Council for Hospitality Management Education

EEC   European Economic Community

GFC   Global financial crisis

IHG   InterContinental Hotels Group

IMF   International Monetary Fund

INL   Independent Newspapers Limited

NZME   New Zealand Media and Entertainment

RWC   Rugby World Cup

SFWU   Service and Food Workers Union

THC   Tourist Hotel Corporation

UK   United Kingdom

US   United States

WOW   World of WearableArt

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 (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The Auckland Tourism, Events and Economic Development report in August 2018 showed that many young people perceived tourism and hospitality work as low paid and offering little prospect for a long-term career, particularly for those who had no direct work experience (Auckland Tourism Events and Economic Development, 2018). This confirms that the managers I interviewed during my MPhil programme were not entirely incorrect when they said that the external perception of hotel work was not favourable to them. Staff recruitment is a major issue for the hotel industry; turnover figures of up to 47.1% have been reported in New Zealand (Lawson Williams, 2016) and international research has placed the cost of turnover at around $10,000 for an operational staff member (Davidson, Timo, & Wang, 2010). Staff retention is a particularly problematic component of the wider recruitment issue. The variance in rates of turnover, from 30% in Dubai (TFG Asset Management, 2016) to over 50% in some Australian locations (Davidson et al., 2010), suggests that broader social influences are in action.

The problem this thesis aimed to address is the poor perception of hotel work as a career in New Zealand, which contributes to the problems of staff recruitment and retention. There were two starting points that led to this research. The first was a comment from a friend when I joined Starbucks as a shift supervisor to the effect of "Why are you wasting your time doing that?" He just did not understand that I had to use all the same skills I had used as a help desk manager – all while standing on my feet making coffee. The second was the comments on staffing that the hotel general managers made in my interviews with them for my MPhil, which indicated that they were doing all the things the academic literature suggested but achieving limited success. This crystallised into the question "Why do people not see the skill required?" I wanted to know what was behind the low pay, low status and chronic turnover, particularly within the New Zealand context. What is it about New Zealand society and culture that so firmly fixes hotel work in people's minds as low-skilled, entry-level work? Additionally, why is this perception so resistant to change?

In the academic literature, staff turnover is often positioned as being almost an inevitable part of the hotel industry. Although the problem of staff recruitment and retention is shared globally (Duncan, Scott, & Baum, 2013; Iverson & Deery, 1997; McIntosh & Harris, 2012; Wong & Ko, 2009), it appears to be particularly severe in New Zealand (Brien, 2004a; Cameron, 2007; Poulston, 2009). This suggests that it may be due not only to the characteristics of the industry but also to how these interact with the sociocultural context. Examining this context requires an understanding of how it evolved over time through the long-range persistence of social

influences on economic behaviour (Alesina, Guiuliano, & Nunn, 2010; Guiso, Sapienza, & Zingales, 2008a; Nunn, 2007, 2012; Tyree & Smith, 1978).

At a certain level, the problem appears to be self-inflicted because hotels have neglected to view human resource management as part of their strategic development (Brien, Thomas, & Hussein, 2013), leaving themselves with poorly trained line managers who are reactive rather than proactive (Knox, 2011; Poulston, 2009). In a similar vein, what the industry does shapes how it is viewed by society, which influences individual values, attitudes and behaviour regarding what jobs to take and how hard to work. These individual and societal views also shape how the industry sees itself and what it believes is acceptable treatment of employees (Harris, Tregida, & Williamson, 2011; McIntosh & Harris, 2012; Pritchard & Morgan, 2001, 2006).

Although there is considerable research on how to attempt to address the problem internally, research on the social context or the influences from history is limited. This thesis examines the portrayal of hotel work in New Zealand newspapers, tracing how it has evolved over time. Using the concepts of occupational hierarchy, meaning of work and the potential for historical persistence of influences, it identifies possible reasons for and solutions to high staff turnover. Additionally, the history of hotels, both as places of employment and as part of broader New Zealand society, is largely undocumented. This thesis brings some of that story back to life.

1.1 Research Aim and Objectives

The aim of the research was to trace the evolution of the portrayal of hotel work and analyse the influence of this history on the current positioning of hotel work in New Zealand. As part of meeting this aim, the following objectives were sought:

1. Track the portrayal of hotel work in New Zealand media from 1890 to 2015.

2. Identify the changes in underlying values and attitudes:
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3. Analyse the contingent factors and continuous influences within this dynamic system.

4. Identify the influences of these assumptions and this context on the positioning and behaviour of the modern hotel industry.

Objective 1 traces the social expression of the meaning of hotel work as seen from the outside.

Objective 2 seeks explanations as to why it was built that way and how that has positioned hotel work within the broader social construct of work in general.

Objective 3 identifies the continuities and contingencies to identify areas that are sensitive to initial conditions and those that persist.

Objective 4 applies these to understand the current positioning of the industry and how the industry can use the knowledge to address issues of staff turnover.

This is *not* about dependencies, such as in x causes y, but about interdependencies – x, y and z interact to produce an outcome. The aim was to identify the interdependent variables and how the continuities of social and physical processes that tend to recur interact with events that are circumstantial and contingent on the initial conditions (Gaddis, 2002). Exact prediction is not possible but detailed explanation of outcomes is (Botterill, 2007; Gaddis, 2002).

1.2   Theory and Approach

To address the thesis aim, the research applied the concept of occupational hierarchies, how jobs are rated and ranked by society, and how this relates to broader social meanings of work. Settler societies, while not entirely blank slates, arguably provide natural experiments in which to track the evolution of these constructs and determine the influence of history on current economic and social behaviour, both individual and organisational.

1.2.1   Occupational hierarchies and meaning of work

In tracing the evolution of the portrayal of hotel work and analysing the influence of this history on the current positioning of hotel work in New Zealand, this research drew on studies of occupational hierarchies, how they are built, how they influence the perceptions of different types of work and their value within society (Penn, 1975; Sawinski & Domanski, 1991; Tatro & Garbin, 1973). This ranking of occupations is partly based on what is perceived and defined as skilled work (Stienberg, 1990) and on the characteristics of those doing the work (Mooney, Ryan, & Harris, 2014; Washington, Feinstein, & Busser, 2009). These social stratifications can also be observed inside organisations, not always as portrayed on a formal organisation chart, but in the way they exert influence on interpersonal behaviour, promotion and management styles (Ravlin & Thomas, 2005). In hotels, these status differentials also play out by comparisons with the guests as well as between groups of workers (Sherman, 2005). Within these occupational hierarchies, certain occupational characteristics are likely to position the work as low status, including servility (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999). As Kensbock, Jennings, Bailey, and Patiar (2014) noted, this 'distinction work', the production of social

distance, is an integral part of hotel work and drives the social perception and treatment of workers.

Ashforth and Kriener (1999, 2014) have noted that humans are resilient and will try to build a positive definition of their occupation, employing a variety of strategies. These strategies include comparing their occupation with other occupations (Ashforth & Kreiner, 2014) and with those of the customers, especially when the customers lack knowledge (Sherman, 2005), or by building strong bonds within their team (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999; Robinson, Kraji, Solnet, Goh, & Callan, 2015). They may also view their work as a means to meeting other goals rather than as a principle point of self-definition (McCollum & Findlay, 2015; Mooney, Harris, & Ryan, 2016). Alternatively, they may choose to work for an organisation that is well regarded socially to bask in the reflected glory or glamour of the organisation (Baum, 2011; Tuna, Ghazzawi, Tuna, & Arslan, 2016).

These strategies tend to indicate that despite the neo-liberal view of workers as exclusively rationalising value, their work has meaning beyond the purely economic (Parfitt & Wysocki, 2012). In Western society, this meaning of work has been drawn from a variety of sources over the course of history, moving from theology (Piper, 1957) to philosophy (Durkheim, 1984; Marx, 1976; Weber, 1968) into the realms of economics (Keynes, 1936; Marx, 1976; Menz, 2005; Smith, 1976). In other cultures, relationships are more important than individual utility and work has social and normative roles beyond earning an income (Parfitt & Wysocki, 2012; Westwood & Lok, 2003). For hotel work, these sources of meaning of work and variance between cultures can contribute to employer and worker behaviour in terms of how hard to work and respect between layers of the hierarchy (Moshin, Lengler, & Kumar, 2013; Poulston, 2015). The interactions of different cultures is also becoming more important as immigration increases the diversity of hotel workforces (Brien et al., 2013; Brien, Thomas, & Hussein, 2015).

It is significant that there can be considerable historic persistence of occupational hierarchies, as demonstrated by previous research. For instance, Tyree and Smith (1978) noted a 20-year lag in responses to social changes and a hierarchy remaining largely stable over 100 years. Similarly, a small difference in the number and type of settlers received in an area during the age of mass migration (1850 to 1920) still makes a large contribution to explaining social and economic conditions in the United States (US) in the present day (Sequeira, Nunn, & Qian, 2017).

1.2.2   Settler societies

Settler societies, with their contained life spans, form useful living laboratories, their similarities and divergences being a form of natural experiment (Gaddis, 2002). As Belich

(2009) described, the colonies of the mid-1800s in New Zealand, Australia and the Western US were driven by the same expansionist momentum, and in their early stages shared many commonalities. Once this initial momentum was exhausted, the structure and histories of each colony began to diverge in ways that could not have been predicted in advance.

As one of the most isolated outposts of the British Empire and among the last settled, New Zealand inherited a complex mix of influences that set it on a unique social and economic trajectory. While it shared the experience of settler boom and bust followed by export-led growth that redefined its relation to the metropolis (Belich, 2009), something in the combination of circumstances led to a form of extremism and a role as a social laboratory for the Western world. As a settler society, New Zealand has built and defined its identity against a range of others: the Māori population, the societies the immigrants left behind and the various stages of its own development from raw frontier to modern economy (Andrews, 2009; Belich, 2009).

From a history of populist social contracts arriving at a paternalist Keynesian approach to economic management, the adoption of neo-liberal policies after 1984 was dramatic in both speed and scope, going far beyond what was undertaken in other countries (Belich, 2001; Menz, 2005; Moon, 2011). From the innovative social welfare policies of the 1940s and the moves to ensure full employment in the 1970s, New Zealand had a sheltered, egalitarian economy. Full employment, the role and right to work and import substitution left New Zealand with an economy closely resembling those of Latin American countries and poorly positioned to weather the economic crisis of the 1970s. Although there was a balance of payment issue in 1984, the actions taken by the Fourth Labour Government were not driven by external pressure from the World Bank or International Monetary Fund (IMF) or threats of civil disorder, as was the case for other countries. The removal of regulations such as import controls, exchange rate controls and price controls, along with the removal of trade unions from the bargaining structures, drastically changed social structures. Looking back from 2005, Menz (2005) pointed out that these changes did not seem to have accomplished their goals in view of the lack of gross domestic product growth and productivity improvement despite persistent unemployment. Although unemployment dropped to 4.5% in the June quarter of 2018 (Statistics New Zealand, 2018), there is still a focus on the need for workers to be more productive (Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment; Productivity Commission of New Zealand). There is also a growing divide between those in work and those who are not, reflecting changes in economic structures. Despite the social value of work, work is changing again, and the uncertainty of transition is showing in the breakdown of current structures before the emergence of the new social bonds, as described by Durkheim (1984).

1.3   Research Gap

Although some previous research on the image of hotel work held by employees has begun to explore perceived external prestige in terms of wages, even the authors of these studies have acknowledged that social constructs influencing both employees' construction of job identity and the external positioning need further research (Brien, Thomas, & Brown, 2017). Occupational hierarchies and how, through the role of perceived external prestige and social norms, these affect turnover have not been fully explored in a hospitality context.

To some extent, the position of hotel work in the hierarchy of occupations in society links to their economic and social positioning in tourism. The liminal nature of tourism, hospitality and hotel work (Pritchard & Morgan, 2001, 2006) is part of the problem in building meaning about the nature of hotel work in the occupational hierarchy. The thesis focuses in part on this 'between-ness': the lack of definability and how various times and groups have tried to turn hotels into institutions and hotel workers into people who fit fixed rules. In New Zealand, there also appears to be nostalgia for an imagined past, but there is a tension between two imagined pasts, and hotels sit on the edge of both – the myths of crew culture from early settlement and the imagined return to rural life of the later tight society (Belich, 2001).

In terms of history, much of the academic research in hospitality has focused on the immediate needs of the commercial industry. This is not without merit, producing practical solutions to problems and educating the next generation of managers (Dredge et al., 2012; Slattery, 2002). However, there has been a rising awareness of the need to draw in a broader range of knowledge, both for its own sake and to generate a broader range of possible solutions to business issues (Baum, Kraji, Robinson, & Solnet, 2016; Lashley & Morrison, 2000; Lynch, Molz, McIntosh, Lugosi, & Lashley, 2011). One of the areas suggested as a source of further insight into the social, economic and political position of hospitality is its history (Lynch et al., 2011; O'Gorman, 2005; Walton, 2009, 2012). Similarly, the history of hotel work and hotel workers is largely unwritten, partly for practical reasons related to historical visibility (Walton, 2012) and partly from pure oversight (Williamson, 2016). It is important to note that the need to consider the influence of history on business practice is not unique to hospitality; historians of business more broadly are wrestling with the dilemma of balancing relevance to current industry practice with their rigour as historians (Kobrak & Schneider, 2011).

For New Zealand, although tourism has long been an important part of its economy (Belich, 2001; Stafford, 1986, 1988) and hotels an important part of society (McNeish, 1957, 1984), there is little record of their history and the people who worked in them. McNeish (1957, 1984) focused primarily on their role as licensed premises and did not examine the

accommodation side in the same detail and obviously did not cover unlicensed accommodation providers. Williamson (2016) examined labour relations in hotels in the era of the Tourist Hotel Corporation (THC), but this project describes a longer period, tracing how hotels and hotel work have been viewed by broader New Zealand society – a view from the outside to complement Williamson's (2016) insider view of hotel work. Beyond the historical narrative and a clearer understanding of the external portrayal and positioning of hotel work, this project contributes to original knowledge by tracing the influence of social and cultural factors in the evolution of occupational hierarchies.

1.4 Research Design

The research was conducted within a pragmatic paradigm and practical realist historiography. The pragmatic paradigm accepts that all knowledge is mediated by human perceptions and these and opinions can vary. However, it takes the ontological position that despite our inability to directly describe it, there is a truth beyond the various descriptions (Appleby, Hunt, & Jacob, 1994; Gaddis, 2002; Haskell, 1998; Morgan, 2007; Ziman, 2000). Pragmatism has activist roots, looking for ways to improve society, and has a strong focus on social ethics via the philosophy of John Dewey (Rescher, 2012). As a guide to research practice, it favours moving between inductive and deductive approaches, using a broad range of methods to reach answers (Morgan, 2007; Patton, 2002). Given the limited prior research available and the need to draw on multiple models and sources while maintaining awareness of context-specific social interaction and multiple interpretations, pragmatism provided an appropriate framework for this thesis. Pragmatism allows for the generation of real world knowledge and solutions while respecting the fact there are many voices (Appleby et al., 1994; Gaddis, 2002; Haskell, 1998; Morgan, 2007; Patton, 2002).

To begin to address these gaps and to meet the aims of the thesis, an analysis of historical newspaper articles and advertisements discussing hotels, hotel work and hotel workers was conducted. Because the aim was to trace portrayal over time, a medium that remained available over the relevant time frame was important. Further, newspapers form an important part of New Zealand's identity (Byrne, 1999; Harvey, 1999), particularly because several of New Zealand's influential early politicians were newspaper men (Belich, 2001). To remain within the time constraints of a PhD thesis, a complete history was not possible because of the volume of data. Therefore, four periods were selected that represent major turning points in New Zealand history: 1890 to 1900, 1920 to 1930, 1945 to 1985 and 2005 to 2015 (2015 was the most current complete year when the data were gathered). Alongside this main data source, legislation, reports of Royal Commissions and archive materials such as probates were

consulted. Where these were discussed in news reports, the original source documents were also reviewed if they had been preserved and were accessible.

1.5   Significance of the Research

1.5.1   Significance of the research

Understanding historical influences and their continued contribution to economic and social positioning helps unravel some of the complexity of social interactions. This thesis contends that this interaction of social norms with identity and hierarchy, and how this affects the behaviour of the industry, allows identification of possible changes in current behaviour to improve working conditions and staff retention – issues highly important to the hospitality industry (Davidson et al., 2010; Hinkin & Tracey, 2000; Iverson & Deery, 1997; Kazlauskaite, Buciuniene, & Turauskas, 2006; Zhang & Wu, 2004).

In addition, because of the influence of culture on management style, corporate form and individual employment decisions (Hofstede, 1980, 2001), research specific to New Zealand is needed to reflect those elements that vary from the US and United Kingdom (UK), where the bulk of research is carried out. While New Zealand is a daughter culture to the UK and a sister culture to the US, particularly the West Coast (Belich, 2001, 2009), it is not identical to them and demands research in its own right. However, an understanding of how these influences operate in one settler culture may provide a way to investigate issues of perceptions of hotel work in sister cultures where there appear to be similar problems (Davidson et al., 2010; Iverson & Deery, 1997). There are obviously many components, but identifying the influence of culture, given its historical persistence, is of interest.

Work has been a major part of how society has ordered itself for over 400 years (Durkheim, 1984; Marx, 1976; Weber, 1968). The role of work in social ordering has created hierarchies of jobs that are more or less desired or valued. These hierarchies vary according to culture, economic structure and other factors (Penn, 1975; Tatro & Garbin, 1973). However, they appear to have at least some degree of historical persistence (Alesina et al., 2010; Guiso et al., 2008a; Nunn, 2007, 2012; Tyree & Smith, 1978). For the modern period, the views and values appear to be influenced by mass media and are also documented there (Baum, 2011; Harris et al., 2011; Pritchard & Morgan, 2001, 2006). The influence of history on modern economic and social patterns is still a relatively new field of study (Alesina et al., 2010; Guiso et al., 2008a; Guiso, Sapienza, & Zingales, 2008b; Nunn, 2007), as is discussion of labour geography (Zampoukos & Ioannides, 2011). How these influences play out within the hospitality industry in New Zealand has not yet been researched.

International visitors spent $32 billion in 2017 (Statistics New Zealand, 2017), representing 20.7% of exports of goods and services. Accommodation, food and beverage represented 22% of total tourism expenditure (Statistics New Zealand, 2017). In light of the importance of the industry to the New Zealand economy, anything that enables improvement of service to maintain the attractiveness of the product is useful. Being aware of how the current portrayals of hotel work have evolved also assists in addressing them, and enables the industry to increase its attractiveness as an employer.

Although the economic drivers for the provision of accommodation have previously been examined, for example, by Bremner (2004), the social role of the hotel beyond the tourism industry has not. Further, although tourism is viewed as a generator of employment, the factors determining the desirability of such jobs and how this has evolved over time have not been researched in depth.

1.5.2 The implications for industry and policy

Although there have been attempts to use tools such as strategic human resource management (Brien, 2004b) and other management approaches, adding an understanding of the positioning of hotel work and the influence of occupation hierarchies, including their historic evolution, may provide access to a broader range of approaches to reducing labour turnover. Being aware of the influence of culture and perceived external prestige can also enable the accommodation industry to modify its own behaviour and expectations to position hotel work as a long-term career choice. By drawing in a broader range of data, it may be possible to create new solutions. At the very least, it helps avoid the problems of seeing only what is directly observable and missing the broader social structures and the influence they have through power relations (Carlsson, 2003).

As noted above, New Zealand is a sister culture to the Western US and a number of other countries that were settled at the same time (Belich, 2009). Although the exact evolution of each culture varies, some of the underlying historic factors are present in all these locations and the New Zealand work will form a useful starting point to identify influences on hotel work in these sister cultures. Approaching labour turnover from the perspective of occupational hierarchies and historical persistence may also be a useful general approach in locations experiencing problems with high turnover. It may also be possible to extend the models generated to other service industries where the social value of the work could be a contributing factor to labour turnover.

1.6   Research Contribution

Although there is now a documented history of the restaurant in New Zealand (McCarthy, 2011), the role of the accommodation side of the business in New Zealand has not been well documented in a single narrative. Therefore, there is a current impasse in the understanding of historical views of the hotel. At an international level, there are social histories, such as that of Sandoval-Strausz (2007), and the *Journal of Tourism History* founded in 2009 has a range of papers on accommodation; however, the field is still in its infancy (Walton, 2009, 2012). In particular, the history of hospitality labour as part of accommodation is under-researched despite the acknowledged importance of history in economics and diplomacy (Walton, 2012).

Although there has been research into how different occupations rank within occupational hierarchies and confirming the continuing influences of hierarchies (Lynn & Ellerbach, 2017; Sawinski & Domanski, 1991; Tyree & Smith, 1978), this project is one of the first pieces of research to track the evolution of the position of a single occupation over time. Tracing the evolution of the positioning also assisted in identifying the social and economic factors at play in constructing and maintaining occupational hierarchies.

This tracing of influences enabled an initial identification of the variables and mechanisms by which the history of New Zealand settlement affects hotel work and the turnover of hotel workers. This research sought to understand the social meaning and the development of this meaning rather than to quantify it at this initial stage. As a longer term goal, the aim is to build a model of how the influences are related, similar to the models built by Alesina et al. (2010) and Guiso et al. (2008b), which would be amenable to statistical testing in a subsequent project. Such a model would be able to quantify the influence of each variable and allow a clear measurement of how their influences operate and interact. Before building a statistically testable model, the qualitative data first need to be sifted, sorted and categorised. Once this is in place, it will be possible to test statistical models in sister cultures, although this is beyond the scope of the current project. For this thesis, the focus is on identifying the external portrayal of hotel work and position of hotel work in the evolving occupational hierarchy of New Zealand.

1.7   Thesis Overview

Chapter 1 has presented the research aims, and outlined the relevant theory and research gaps and the significance and contribution of the research.

Chapter 2 gives a fuller picture of the concepts and theories that have been used in the thesis and a more in-depth overview of the present state of employment in and portrayal of the hotel industry through a review of the relevant literature. Parts of this chapter were published

as papers presented at the Council for Hospitality Management Education (CHME) conference in Manchester in 2015 and the Asia-Pacific Council on Hotel, Restaurant and Institutional Education (APacCHRIE) conference in Auckland the same year but have been subsequently extended and amended to form the chapter.

Chapter 3 discusses the research paradigm and historiography informing the research along with the research design, data collection and analysis.

Chapter 4 provides the historical context, giving a summary of general New Zealand history for each selected period and an overview of the history of accommodation provision in New Zealand, along with the history of newspapers. A map of the country showing the key locations discussed is also included at the end of the chapter. This chapter serves as background context to set the scene for the findings chapters.

Chapters 5 to 8 present a narrative historical description of the portrayal of hotels, hotel work and hotel workers in each period to begin to address Objective 1. They present the themes drawn from the historical analysis of each period. Parts of Chapter 5 appeared in a slightly different form as a conference paper presented at the Council for Australasian Tourism and Hospitality Education (CAUTHE) conference in 2018.

Chapter 9 synthesises the overall evolution, analyses what this reveals about the underlying social values (Objective 2) and identifies the continuous and contingent influences (Objective 3). From there, the impact of these historical influences on the current position of hotel work is discussed and suggestions for improvement made (Objective 4).

Chapter 10 presents the overall conclusions of the research and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Given that the aim of this research was to trace the evolution of the portrayal of hotel work and analyse the influence of this history on the current positioning of hotel work in New Zealand, this chapter provides an overview of the theories regarding the social meaning of work and how history influences current economic and social behaviour. It is divided into four broad sections. The first reviews the literature on the social meaning of work and how this has evolved over the course of history, including the changes in sources of meaning. The second examines occupational hierarchies, and their construction and maintenance, both between industries and within individual organisations. From there, the concept of historical persistence and how events of the past can influence current economic and social structures are discussed. The final section considers the current characteristics and perceptions of hotel work and the problems surrounding recruitment and retention of workers. Portions of this literature review were presented at a CHME conference (Cameron, 2015a) and an APacCHRIE conference (Cameron, 2015b) but have been revised and extended for the current chapter.

2.1   The Meaning of Work

In support of the thesis aim, this section examines what work signifies, and how this meaning and the study of work have evolved over time, including the changing theoretical frameworks from theology to philosophy and into economics. It also considers how work becomes meaningful beyond its economic contribution.

Rosso, Dekas, and Wrzesniewski (2010) questioned the links between meaning of work and meaningful work. Their interest was in identifying both how the meaning of work affects operational elements such as motivation and job satisfaction and how work becomes meaningful to individuals. Within their review of organisation behaviour literature, they used meaning as the output of a sense-making process, or what work signifies to the individual. They noted that in organisational literature meaning is often taken to have solely a positive meaning, for example, the creation of positive meaning for jobs that are seen as undesirable. The sociological literature on meaning of work has focused more on the negative meanings, drawing on Marx's notions of alienation (Marx, 1976). Because of this bias, there is a tendency to confuse meaning with meaningfulness, which Rosso et al. (2010) viewed as the amount of significance or importance something holds for the individual. Everything has meaning but not everything is meaningful. In reviewing the literature they identified four possible sources of the meaning: "the self, other persons, the work context and spiritual life" (Rosso et al., 2010, p. 93).

In examining the role of spirituality in creating meaning for work for individuals, the influence of cultural norms regarding rationalisation and the separation between religion and economic life have limited the investigation of this aspect (Weber, 1992; Weiss, Skelley, Haughey, & Hall, 2004). However, some of the concepts used in discussing the meaning of work, such as vocations and callings, come from theological roots. Similarly, the search for meaning and purpose in life is often conceived in spiritual if not religious terms. There is a need to conduct research that examines how work fits into a broader perspective of human perceptions of their connection to community and spirituality whether framed in religious terms or not (Rosso et al., 2010; Weaver & Agle, 2004).

Spirituality may have been neglected by researchers in organisational behaviour studies (Weaver & Agle, 2004) as a source of meaning of work for individuals, but religion has long been a contributor to the social meaning of work. The view taken of work by the dominant religions of the West has evolved over time, reflecting both religious and social changes. The Western Christian church initially followed the Jewish view of work: that work is required, that workers should be adequately paid and that those who make others work for them and do not earn their own living are to be 'scorned' (Piper, 1957). Thomas Aquinas added to this list the right to work, that no man can live without working and that society must provide work for all. In the Middle Ages, work was linked with the ability to support others but the value of monastic life also increased (Piper, 1957).

During Reformation, with its view that people cannot redeem themselves, this value of monastic life fell from favour. The Lutheran view was that work is required to support others, particularly the family. Luther also offered the view that good work is required because of the social character of work, that poor workmanship is a subtle form of theft in breach of the Seventh Commandment. Calvin integrated an economic view reflecting the change from a non-market to a market economy that was taking place as he wrote. Calvin also felt that the time required to work prevented people from doing things that displeased God (Piper, 1957). This Calvinist view meshed well with the growing competitive capitalism. The theory says that Calvinism directed funds to productive investment and away from conspicuous consumption, but it is difficult to find direct evidence of this (Schama, 1987). Indeed, the Dutch Republic in its golden age functioned mostly to illustrate the tension between the discipline of production and the hedonism of consumption (Wolfe, 1997). Constraints were most often practical rather than theological, driven by the needs of warfare and trade (Schama, 1987).

Hegel, in the mid-eighteenth century, took the view that work was a means by which men reached their full potential and rendered life meaningful. Although Hegel's view still held God

as the inspiration to work, the rationalisation of industrialism and the growing secular nature of society meant that the religious nature of work was no longer central. Marx completed this with his focus on the working man as the central point of purpose (Marx, 1976; Piper, 1957). Historically from here, the analysis of work as a social norm moved largely out the realm of religion and into political philosophy and economics, though often still with religious underpinnings. The dialectic materialism of Marx was built on Hegel's view, which in turn owed much to Calvinism (Piper, 1957).

Marx, writing in 1867, the middle stages of the Industrial Revolution, commented on the ability of machines to remove the need for strength and thereby increase the labour pool available to the owners of the means of production. His commentary was based on the division of society into those who have only their labour to sell and those who need to purchase labour in order to convert the commodities they own into further capital.This division between labour and capital reflects a degree of specialisation that makes it no longer possible for people to produce everything they need or to trade for it without the use of money. Marx viewed this division as removing men from the satisfaction that work should provide and setting up conflict between the workers and the possessors of capital. He expected that this would be addressed by revolt and revolution to ensure that the means of production were evenly distributed between all, with everyone being a worker. Marx's writing was heavily focused on physical goods; in fact, there was no mention of pure services. Although he talked about tailors and factory workers in *Capital*, hairdressers, maids and coachmen did not appear at all in the discussion, despite being common in the society he was writing about (Marx, 1976). The revolutionaries who were inspired by and built on Marx's writing, notably in Russia and China, viewed hard work as the way to reach their goals, and thus placed even heavier demands on their workforce than capitalism and were actively callous to those unable to work, viewing them as in breach of the social contract (Piper, 1957).

Weber (1968) considered work and labour to have three elements: technical, economic and social. He noted that utility may derive from non-human object 'goods' or from a human source in active conduct providing 'services'. Social relationships, which are a potential source of present or future disposal over utilities, also need to be considered economic provisions. Technical divisions of labour are due to skills; social divisions reflect rights of ownership. Occupational status groups exist by virtue of the lifestyle they can claim. Status groups typically seek to close themselves and mark themselves out as distinct on that basis. Weber (1968) also noted that religion had a role in creating and maintaining social norms at the time he was writing. Work and ownership of the means of production reflect and reinforce existing power structures and social divisions.

Durkheim (1984) considered the division of labour a natural process in the rise of civilisation and the industrial structures developing as he was writing (1893) simply a continuation of this. He did note that this required a change in the way society built bonds between people. In simpler societies, the bonds were between those doing the same kinds of work, as was the case of the craft guilds, which Durkheim (1984) termed 'mechanical solidarity'. In an industrial society, with very specialised jobs, people are unlikely to have contact with those doing the same job. Bonds need to be built instead on complementarity and interdependence within the workflow and organisation, which he termed 'organic solidarity'. Durkheim (1984) saw the problems of alienation and dissatisfaction that were occurring not as inherent in the specialised division of labour but as reflecting a society in transition, in which old bonds no longer held but new ones had not yet been forged. His view was that without these bonds with those on either side of them in the work in progress to give a true awareness of their roles, workers would simply feel like cogs. His research linked work to the building of social bonds and, through this, as a way to build a moral and just society. Later, he wrote extensively on the need for a new version of the medieval corporations to enable professional grouping to set ethics and norms and to give a legal and social form to organic solidarity. He viewed this bond as necessary to prevent the industrial division of labour from exhibiting what he termed pathological characteristics such as anomie. Durkheim (1984) saw work, who performed which tasks and how they related to each other as playing an important part in how society structured itself. While Durkheim placed a high value on individual freedom and liberty, he recognised this could only take place within a broader set of social structures to provide safety and security. Work was part of the provision of these structures to prevent warfare, either military or economic, which required a moral and ethical framework.

Keynesian economics has not directly commented on the meaning of work to society. However, in its focus on full employment and the willingness to call on state intervention to ensure this, it reflects a societal norm regarding the right to employment. Keynes (1936) noted that a reduction in money wages would not reduce unemployment, which required an increase in aggregate demand as well. This view was opposed to the classic economic view of wage inflexibility, which held that productivity was not reflected accurately in wage levels because of collective bargaining and stickiness in the timing of the response of wage levels to changing conditions. Keynes recommended state involvement through taxation to influence the propensity to consume, along with intervention regulating interest rates to drive the optimal level of investment in productive capacity (Keynes, 1936, p. 378). The American experience in the Great Depression, however, illustrates the tension between societal values of full employment and industry desire for autonomy (Collins, 1981), although, in that

instance, businesses also saw a need for government and industry cooperation to address the needs of a modern capitalist economy.

Although Keynesian economics and its accompanying interventionist policies dropped out of favour following the oil crisis of the early 1970s and the accompanying stagflation in the major developed economies, the continuing financial crises since 2008–2009 have raised questions about the efficiencies of the market. This has led to the rise of a new Keynesian economics, which identifies rigidities and failures of coordination in the pure market model (Arestis & Sawyer, 1997; Benassi, Chirco, & Colombo, 1994). Fitzgerald (1997) argued that even this may not be enough in the face of global instability and its impact on developing economies. This combination may require a pure Keynesian approach to investment based on the level of investor uncertainty, possibly requiring a global central bank of last resort, as was envisaged in the original Bretton Woods agreement of 1944, which returned exchange rates to a gold standard and established the post–World War II structures for trade.

Parfitt and Wysocki (2012) noted that the evolution of the meaning of work in the Western economic model has led to a view of workers as rational maximisers of utility in order to maximise profit for capitalist enterprises. Neo-liberalism strongly enforces the view that work has no normative, social or emancipatory value, which is a strong version of the economic model of labour. This model of utility maximisation regards state intervention, such as social spending and regulated labour markets, as limiting profit and therefore not beneficial to society as a whole, and that the market should be free of these. In practice, it involves the removal of regulation and the repression of labour by removing mutual support such as labour unions, which may constrain efficiency on a purely Taylorist[1] model. This attempt to limit work to a single dimension has been transferred from the developed economies to less developed economies through mechanisms such as Structural Adjustment Programmes backed by the IMF and World Bank. These policies in both the global North and South have tended to increase the informal economy in response to the rationalised, efficiency-driven model, which views workers as interchangeable and disposable (Parfitt & Wysocki, 2012).

The model underpinning neo-liberalism encounters problems in an Asian context, which is strongly communitarian and resistant to the emphasis on individual utility (Parfitt & Wysocki, 2012; Westwood & Lok, 2003). Within this context, work has significance beyond the ability to earn income, although this is not unimportant, as was noted by Westwood and Lok (2003), as

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[1] The Taylorist model of scientific management seeks to maximise efficiency through the use of techniques such as time and motion studies and by breaking complex tasks into simpler components. Therefore, it is closely associated with mass production (Parfitt & Wysocki, 2012).

well as Parfitt and Wysocki (2012). However, both sets of authors noted the importance of relationships and interactions, and pointed out that work cannot be reduced to a single dimension. The Asian concept of work does not map to the neo-liberal model, nor does it accord with the Marxist view of work as the fulfilment of human effort (Parfitt & Wysocki, 2012). The Asian example argues that there is a broader set of meanings possible than the instrumental 'just a job' view that neo-liberalism propagates.

A review of the literature reveals that most of the research on the meaning of work considers the individual or organisational level. However, that work can be seen as meaningful says something about how society sees it. The view of how it adapts workers' behaviour also reflects societal norms. Meaningful work links into an ethnological and anthropological view that work takes on functions played by other things in communities with less specialisation. This need for work to move beyond economic parameters is part of social capital. To understand how this operates for hotel work, it is useful to understand how meaningful work has been modelled in the existing literature.

Wolfe (1997) discussed the moral meaning of work as a way for society to structure itself. Increasing automation, while in some ways deskilling work, requires a level of cognitive ability that increases the exclusion of some parts of society, for example, black inner-city males in the US, and therefore removes them from the social norms. Work for the lower classes is seen as a means of discipline and structure. For conservatives, this teaches them their place and shows them how to be unfree. For liberals, this same work gives the lower classes the opportunity to be at least partly master of their own fate and thereby gain some measure of freedom. Welfare capitalism added an explicit moral dimension to the relationship between workers and organisations. In modern society, the paternalist model implied may be too expensive but moral bonds do drive behaviour and allow firms to compete by retaining the best of their workers. These moral bonds place obligations on both parties: one does not lay off moral partners nor strike against them. This moral view of work as a structuring agency also has to face the tension between the discipline required for production and the hedonism of the consumptionist ethic required to make modern capitalism function.

In their 1980 work looking at job design, Hackman and Oldham (1980) identified that job characteristics are an important part of worker motivation. Building on Herzberg's two-factor model that gives priority to intrinsic motivators, they identified 'experienced meaningfulness of work' as a critical psychological state to enhance worker motivation, performance and satisfaction, and to lower absenteeism and turnover. They defined this meaningfulness as work being important, valuable and worthwhile, and personally cared about by the individual.

Meaningfullness is directed to the service of enhanced productivity and profitability as well as general worker happiness. Lips-Wiersma and Morris (2009) examined the role of work in a meaningful life. They identified the role of work in serving others and enabling unity with others, the building blocks of Durkheim's (1984) organic solidarity. Work is also a way to address broader social, economic or environmental causes, as indicated by respondents wanting to work for a "company that does good work" (Lips-Wiersma & Morris, 2009, p. 501). Meaningful work in their model is an expression of moral principles.

Rosso et al. (2010) modelled the pathways to meaningful work – how work becomes meaningful – using a quadrant model. The first axis anchors agency–communion as the drive to be distinctive, master and create versus the need to connect and be part of. The other axis measures whether action is directed towards the self – that is, authenticity, self-esteem or esteem towards others. The combination of the factors influences the mechanisms by which work becomes or stays meaningful. Steger, Dik, and Duffy (2012) proposed a model built on an inventory of factors that relate specific variables to constructs that appear to capture what meaningful work is. It focuses on three constructs: 'psychological meaningfulness', 'meaning making through work' and 'greater good'. The model is intended to allow measurement and management to enable firms to increase meaningfulness within tasks to reach organisational benefits.

Although classic economic theorists (Keynes, 1936; Marshall, 1964; Smith, 1976) and their neo-liberal descendants would like to view work as being purely rational with no value beyond the monetary, it is clear that work is an important part of how society structures itself. Beyond this, it forms part of how people view themselves and their places within society. The length of time that work has played this role argues that despite the changes wrought by information technology and automation, work is unlikely to disappear completely. Likewise, it will retain its moral and structuring roles in some form, although these may be as different as the factory was from the medieval guild (Durkheim, 1984; Weber, 1968; Wolfe, 1997).

In summary, this review of literature shows that work is used as a way to build and maintain social bonds along with civil engagement, religious involvement and other groupings. In modern society, these cannot be built on location or other traditional allegiances because people are so mobile. Work bonds are increasingly organic within the organisation, but the mechanical bonds to those who do the same thing can be built over a much wider field via electronic communication. There is now also a broader range of options to bond with, that is, beyond the occupation or organisation, with the additional complications offered by electronic identities and the potential for leisure-based solidarity (Duncan et al., 2013; Durkheim, 1984).

2.2 Occupational Hierarchies: Their Creation, Evolution and Enforcement

The notion of work as a way of structuring society combined with the values of the society leads to some occupations and industries being seen as more desirable, creating a form of ranking or hierarchy (Penn, 1975; Tatro & Garbin, 1973). Tatro and Garbin (1973) pointed out that beyond influencing which industries people prefer to work in and their self-esteem, this ranking also determines how much influence particular industries are likely to have in the broader community in terms of ability to lobby politicians and so forth. Tatro and Garbin (1973) studied a number of other occupational groupings in addition to students to determine whether the rankings varied between students and those in work. The study used a group of 30 industries drawn from the Standard Industrial Classification system. The study asked the respondents to rank the 'prestige' of the industries but did not explain what was meant by prestige (Penn, 1975). Although the measures used mean the absolute placing within the rankings could be due to chance, the level (i.e. high, medium or low) is likely to be significant. Hotels ranked in the bottom five industries, and retailing and the manufacture of clothing and furnishings ranked in the bottom 10. Medical sciences, research and higher education all ranked as high prestige, as did heavy goods manufacturing, motion pictures and publishing. The ratings were consistent between the student groups and the other occupational groups; however, the students rated the hotels slightly higher at place 20 as opposed to 26 for the whole sample. Tatro and Garbin (1973) speculated that the public school system and mass media play an important role in dissemination of industrial stereotypes, and that personal differential experience is less important. They did not, however, address how this influence operates.

Penn (1975) used occupations rather than industries in his comparison of the US and Czechoslovakia occupational hierarchies, and hotel workers were not on the list of occupations. However, he made several important points for working with both occupational and industrial hierarchies. The first of these concerns the notion of prestige and what this construct is meant to represent. The studies Penn examined used a broad range of definitions, raising questions about the ability to compare across studies. By asking a sample of students to rank the same set of occupations by 'social standing' and 'esteem and honour', Penn (1975) showed that these two variables did operationalise the same construct. Although there is some evidence that complex industrial societies have similar occupational hierarchies, this appears to be a second-order relationship that shows similar values in the society in which the occupations are embodied, such as income, power and required education. A comparison between the US study, the Czechoslovakian study and a Polish study showed more

commonalities between Poland and Czechoslovakia. This seems to be based on a shared value of manual work and disdain for the formal apparatus of government. It was even more pronounced when the question of utility to society was used to rank occupations, with an even wider divergence between the US and Czech rankings emerging. This suggests a social stratification based on moral worth. The divergence means that industrial and occupational hierarchies cannot be assumed to be invariant between societies and must be tested despite apparent similarities.

Bukodi, Dex, and Goldthorpe (2011) pointed out that the concept of occupation is to some extent an abstract gathering together of groups of jobs that are assumed to have some degree of similarity – an assumption that needs to be remembered. Likewise, when using 'occupations' in examining stratification and creating hierarchies and mobility, it is important to ensure the measures are used correctly. The data on which ranking is conducted can be either subjective, for example, respondents' perceptions or evaluations, or objective, based on information such as income levels, wealth levels and so forth. Each of these types of classifications and rankings captures different information and cannot be used interchangeably or compared across types. Likewise, Wegener (1992) noted that prestige has a number of contradictory characteristics because it is rated through both normative subjective evaluations and rational objective standards, and stratification operates on both hierarchy and social closure bases. Eliminating either end point of these two scales leaves the construct incomplete despite the seeming contradictions. Treiman's (1977) model of prestige as it relates to occupational hierarchy links prestige to power and privilege. All societies beyond a certain size and complexity tend to develop specialisation of labour (Durkheim, 1984). This specialisation creates a power difference through control over access to scarce resources such as authority and property. This then gives rise to special privileges. Because power and privilege are universally valued, prestige will accrue to those occupations that provide them. The tendency to specialisation and the largely shared values regarding what constitutes power and privilege account for the similarities in occupational hierarchies across countries. The variations can be traced to variations in scarcity of resources or privileges between countries such as access to education (Treiman, 1977).

Hierarchies appear to exhibit some degree of persistence of historical influences (Tyree & Smith, 1978). While the rankings were based on wealth for the earliest period of 1789, and on income in the later periods of 1949, 1959 and 1969, rather than prestige as such, at least for the US, these variables are highly valued and contribute to prestige of occupations. In addition, changes, particularly in income, reflect the social value of occupations along with technological changes as automation is used to bid down the costs of occupations judged to be earning more

than their worth to society. The analysis examined only occupations that remained through the whole period, missing some of the social changes due to occupations entering and leaving the economy. There is a great deal of inertia in social standings. The statistical calculations show there is a greater than 20-year lag in operation, although the authors were not confident enough to propose an exact lag or the mechanisms involved in its operation. It could be speculated that the lag reflects the influences of the underlying social values as well as the operations of supply and demand.

In their discussion of Polish data from 1958 to 1987, Sawinski and Domanski (1991) uncovered both long-term persistence and evidence of responsiveness to social and economic changes. The authors speculated that this discrepancy between current values and attitudes and the prestige rankings reflects a view of social utility of occupations and the social system with its political and economic context. Occupational prestige expresses "normative views as regards the proper organisation of the social system" (Sawinski & Domanski, 1991, p. 234). Likewise, prestige can be seen as a measure of who deserves what and the fair distribution of rewards, and these norms seem to have a strong persistence. As well as those positions requiring high levels of education, positions regarded as 'skilled' that required training and competence were highly ranked.

What constitutes a skilled job and which skills should be compensated form an important part of determining prestige hierarchies for both occupations and industries. However, both these elements are socially constructed and subject to political actions to maintain existing definitions (Guo, 2015; Pietrykowski, 2017). Many of the definitions of 'skilled' draw on craft work and view mechanisation as deskilling. This places a heavy emphasis on manufacturing and on physical strength and dexterity, privileging these skills. It also raises questions about how skills are defined and measured, and what the characteristics of the job are as opposed to those of the job holder (Stienberg, 1990). Stienberg (1990) was specifically considering the impact of gender equity on payment for skills but raised issues about the non-recognition of skill at the industry level as well. This consideration has subsequently been extended to note the impact of race (Guo, 2015) and class (Pietrykowski, 2017), along with specific moves by employers to demote certain skills and groups of workers that reflect broader social biases (Otis & Wu, 2018). For example, women are hired into positions that take advantage of their expected social skills, such as nurturing, cleaning and other jobs requiring emotional skills. These skills are highly visible but are poorly compensated, in part because they are perceived as feminine skills. This leaves nursery school teachers' work rated as less complex than that of a parking lot attendant because there is less machinery and money involved; likewise, managing a budget is seen as more complex than working with disruptive youth. The so-called

soft skills can become associated with low wages in a circular relationship (Pietrykowski, 2017). Likewise, defining personal characteristics of appearance or attitude as skills can become a further source of power for employers, where failure of appearance or availability can be classed as incompetence (Hampson & Junor, 2015). This combination of invisible skills (Otis & Wu, 2018), unacknowledged complexity (Baum, 2006, 2008) and gender stereotyping (Biswas & Cassell, 1996; Otis & Wu, 2018), along with their historical persistence, appears to be particularly strong in hospitality.

Lynn and Ellerbach (2017) raised the point that although occupation hierarchy rankings are very stable at an aggregate level, the Treiman constant (Hout & DiPrete, 2006), there has been limited work on how individuals build the map of occupations. The stable rankings are averages of these individual maps and do not give a great deal of thought to the underlying individual results. Lynn and Ellerbach's (2017) investigation revealed that these underlying results do show variance depending on individual characteristics and can be helpful in explaining choices about education and occupation. Those who have succeeded in education are more likely to accept the equation of science and authority with prestige. They also share a more homogeneous map of which occupations are regarded as prestigious than those with less education. The research appears to confirm stereotypes about who does what kinds of work, but education is viewed as a pathway to respect for most individuals.

There is evidence in the literature to show that occupational hierarchies can be useful to divide social classes as part of measuring social mobility; however, economists have preferred to use measures based on income (Goldthorpe, 2013). Social mobility is partly related to labour market conditions. As Mandler (2016) noted, for the UK, education was useful for economic efficiency; much of the social mobility, moving into 'better' occupations, happened because of the growth in the availability of white-collar salaried positions in the immediate post–World War II period. When employment growth stalled between 1970 and 1990, education became a strong predictor of occupational and social destination regardless of class of origin. Post 1990, this link lessened because there was less growth of white-collar positions relative to those qualified to fill them (Mandler, 2016). Despite the weakening link between education and occupational destination, the demand for higher education grew, as did the level of qualification required to secure a role, and qualification inflation became a global phenomenon (Goldthorpe, 2013).

Social stratification and the social occupational and industrial hierarchies also play out within organisations (Knox, 2011; Ravlin & Thomas, 2005; Sherman, 2005). Social stratification provides the context that partially determines the status of each individual in the organisation.

The differences in these statuses give rise to status hierarchies specific to the organisation, which are not necessarily captured by the formal organisation charts. These then determine interpersonal behaviour and drive areas such as who will make decisions, promotion processes, the composition of top management, the ability to perform boundary-spanning roles and the types of leadership in use. Ravlin and Thomas (2005) noted that the influences of social stratification processes may mean that although groups are diverse and in theory achievement driven, the socially derived ascribed status may mean that some opinions and points of view are not heard and homogeneity in management teams may persist. This combination of low-status work with other personal attributes that denote lower social status can aggravate power differentials, worsening this issue (Mooney et al., 2014).

Washington et al. (2009) showed how this ascribed status and persistent undervaluing of work with domestic feminine overtones can create a negative occupational status, in this case for food service. They noted that this is particularly the case in the US, where domestic food preparation used to be a task commonly assigned to slaves or indentured servants. Consequently, many freed slaves joined the food service industry, contributing to its low status (Stienberg, 1990). Likewise, the deskilling that was part of the fast-food revolution and its accompanying employment of teenagers has cast a shadow over the whole industry (Washington et al., 2009). Work is an important part of self-identity in Western society and used as the basis of judgement of influence and importance (Ashforth & Kreiner, 2014). The status effect on the industry has led to difficulties in recruitment and retention of staff. It is accorded sufficient importance by employers that attempts are made to provide training to reduce the impact on self-esteem of the perceived occupational status of the workers (Robinson et al., 2015; Washington et al., 2009).

Ashforth and Kreiner (1999) examined specific examples of low-status jobs, those they classified under the general heading of dirty work. They noted that the concept of 'dirty' has physical, moral and social dimensions; these then interact with overall occupational prestige to determine the perceptions of particular occupations, the impact on workers' self-esteem and identity, and the level of stigma that attaches to the workers performing the job. They noted that sometimes the taint reduces the possibility of a job being high prestige. A servile relationship in the social category appears to be the only one that completely removes the status element of prestige or compromises it to an extreme degree. Yet for some roles, this creation and consumption of social difference is the entire point of the role (Kensbock et al., 2014). However, humans are resilient, and despite the difficulty of doing so, workers in these stigmatised occupations can build positive self-definition and see their work as valuable (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999, 2014). Among the strategies used are building strong cultures

within the occupation, condemning those who criticise and building on the positive views of outsiders, and using selective social comparisons to allow the view that other jobs are worse (Ashforth & Kreiner, 2014). These comparisons may be made at an industry level or within smaller departments or teams. In some cases, workers may make multiple identifications across these levels to construct a work identity (Robinson et al., 2015).

These internal hierarchies can be reinforced further by a lack of understanding between job roles and how each one contributes to the overall organisational goals (Enehaug & Mamelund, 2014). In many industries, another factor in constructing the hierarchy is employment type, with flexible and contingent employment being viewed as less desirable and therefore positioned lower in the hierarchy. It is then viewed as only being suitable for immigrants and others with limited employment options (McCollum & Findlay, 2015). This is not to say that these workers on non-conventional career paths do not exercise agency in their decisions, but take roles that allow them to meet other goals beyond promotion and pay (McCollum & Findlay, 2015; Mooney et al., 2016).

Another factor in the operation of occupational hierarchies is the notion of perceived external prestige. This is the primarily the beliefs of employees about how their organisation is viewed by external stakeholders. Although it is generally related to reputation, or the actual opinions of the external stakeholders, it is not identical and there can be divergence between the two (Carmeli, Gilat, & Weisberg, 2006). In general, there is a diminishing level of trust in companies, particularly in the US (Helm, 2013). Workers want to work for firms that allow them to bask in the reflection of their employer's good reputation in the community (Tuna et al., 2016). Research appears to show that it is the most qualified and skilled workers who are the most sensitive to this halo effect and therefore most selective about which companies they will work for (Helm, 2013). Employees with a high level of customer contact seem to rate the perceived external prestige of the organisation at a lower level and therefore have less pride in their membership of the organisation (Helm, 2013). This lower level of pride in membership not only increases turnover intention (Helm, 2013) but also influences employee behaviour, with those believing their organisation is well regarded exhibiting fewer deviant behaviours (Tuna et al., 2016). Ethical practices and social responsibility policies influence the perceived external prestige, and when these are positively viewed, workers appear to want to uphold these standards in their own behaviour (Tuna et al., 2016). However, these influences only operate when the individuals are satisfied with their jobs on other measures, such as income and work–life balance (Helm, 2013; Tuna et al., 2016). Corporate social responsibility policies and stakeholder interactions also attract potential talent, including those potential employees without direct industry experience (McGinley, Hanks, & Line, 2017).

In summary, occupations can be ordered into those that are more or less desirable. These hierarchies are built on a range of criteria, such as skill, required education or pay levels. However, all of these are reflections of broader social values about moral worth and contribution to society and power structures. These relationships can be somewhat circular and overlap with issues of gender, race and class. They operate both within and across organisations, influencing choice of occupation and employer.

2.3   Historical Persistence: The Importance of Understanding the Past

A review of literature reveals that current economic and social behaviour is shaped by historical events and this influence can persist over long periods. This section provides examples to demonstrate this, to support the importance of a historical perspective and the range of pathways through which this influence can operate. Some of this idea of historic legacy is an artefact of how the writer divides time periods (Wittenberg, 2015). However, when the immediately prior period does not explain current behaviour, there is a case for a potential legacy. These legacies may persist despite not being able to be expressed in the intervening periods. For example, the differences in the level of nationalism across various regions of the Ukraine trace part of their roots to whether the region was part of the Hapsburg Empire despite the intervening years of Soviet socialisation across both sides of the border (Wittenberg, 2015).

Examples of this persistence can be seen in the link between the social structures of the present in different regions of Italy and whether they were city-states during the medieval period (Guiso et al., 2008a). Likewise, at least part of Africa's underdevelopment can be explained by the impact of the Atlantic slave trade on the development of trust structures. The communities that experienced slave raids have less trust between members and therefore less willingness to take the types of risks required to develop (Nunn, 2007).

These underlying continuities, social and physical processes that tend to recur (Gaddis, 2002), can require considerable thought on the part of the researcher in identifying and understanding the pathway of influence. For example, in examining the degree of influence on current economic performance of the patterns of settlement of immigrants to the US during the age of mass migration, 1850 to 1920, it is important to understand why migrants chose certain locations and the characteristics of these locations. The destination of settlement for migrants was driven by the opening of railways into new areas (Faulkner, 1960). It is important to understand whether these were desirable locations in themselves or, conversely, whether migrants were channelled to less desirable areas. The timing of a county's connection to the rail network relative to the level of immigration in the subsequent decade appears to show

that those counties that were added to the rail network as immigration surged have maintained better economic performance into the present day. In tracing the mechanisms for this influence, it is important to note that the age of mass migration was both the largest and most diverse period of immigration in terms of the countries they were drawn from. Most of these immigrants were unskilled labourers who provided the workforce for industrialisation; however, there was also a small number of innovators and inventors who had a disproportionate influence (Sequeira et al., 2017). Although the first generation were often less educated than the native-born population and potentially slowed immediate growth, their children tended to be more educated than their native-born peers, creating a rapid positive economic impact. Sequeira et al. (2017) noted that the education models brought by the German immigrants of this period were also very influential, with the development of kindergarten and state universities being directly based on their German counterparts. They further noted that the economic contribution made by immigrants did not simply divert growth from other locations and that this growth arose within two generations.

Similarly, the impact of colonialism on indigenous populations is not monolithic but driven by the circumstances of both the colonising power and the culture of the colonised peoples (Giuliano & Nunn, 2017; Lee, 2017). As an example of the former, Lee (2017) suggested that the level of Britain's military engagement in Europe determined their treatment of the 'local elites'. In parts of India settled while Britain was fighting wars in Europe, the local elite were likely to be removed as a potential threat (Lee, 2017). Otherwise, the preference was to maintain the local elite in place and work through them. The removal of local elites obviously permanently changed social structures since they were unlikely to be recreated in their prior form; however, even indirect rule could subvert or reinforce the existing power structures. Even with the changes due to urbanisation and industrialisation, the income distribution and political power of various social groups are still heavily influenced by the colonial era decisions about local elites that were driven by external rather than internal circumstances (Lee, 2017).

Using techniques derived from econometrics to trace which variables are important and the direction and degree of their influence, historic persistence modelling also helps explain why some societies are more willing to change than others (Giuliano & Nunn, 2017) and factors that can mitigate some of the hold of legacy (Wuepper & Sauer, 2017). For example, Giuliano and Nunn (2017) modelled the impact of climate variance on the retention of traditions and found that areas with an unstable climate tended to have less retention of tradition. For indigenous populations, colonisation also tended to lead to loss of language. Giuliano and Nunn (2017) suggested that in a changing environment, tradition is a less reliable guide for future action and therefore is less likely to persist. Lowes, Nunn, Robinson, and Weigel (2017)

noted that culture as a method of transmitting values that form part of historic persistence can be replaced by institutions. Teaching values has a cost in time and energy, and when parents anticipate that institutions will enforce the outcomes, they teach other values. Therefore, cultures and institutions are substitutes rather than complements.

When groups are achieving better outcomes than historic persistence would predict, these seem to follow a punctuated equilibrium model (Eldredge & Gould, 1972) – large changes in small concentrated groups rather than a general drift of the whole population, with the formation of small bubbles of trust (Guiso et al., 2008b; Wuepper & Sauer, 2017). These small groups then manage to build an environment that permits better outcomes. In Wuepper and Sauer's (2017) study of Ghanaian pineapple farmers, those who were best able to overcome the historic constraints of the slave trade and precolonial crop choices had built communities that were able to trust each other through ongoing social interaction and had innovative leaders. This combination increased openness to education and encouraged further development of social capital, enabling lending. These small bubbles of trust and innovation could in turn help surrounding groups to progress. The authors noted that the activities of Christian missionaries, in removing converts from their social groups and placing them in mission schools, had further disrupted the damaged social networks of the immediate post-slavery period.

Historical persistence can also be observed in the variables relevant to occupational hierarchy. The work of Tyree and Smith (1978) shows that continuities in income levels are traceable from 1789 to 1969. Similarly, the interaction of culture and values with occupations can be seen in the data on occupational hierarchies from Poland and Czechoslovakia with delays in the response to the experience of communism (Penn, 1975; Sawinski & Domanski, 1991). On a shorter time scale, this persistence can be seen in the image of flight attendants, where the reality of the current low-budget model has not completely removed the glamour remaining from the golden age of travel (Baum, 2011).

2.4 Influence of Media

A review of literature reveals that media is one of the sources used to build images of industries and occupations and to select occupations (Hoffner, Levine, & Toohey, 2008; Waldeck, 2009; Waldeck, Pullins, & Houlette, 2010). These influences are particularly strong when individuals do not have more direct sources of information or when they are heavy consumers of media. The images created, particularly in fictional works, may not match with the reality of the jobs being portrayed (Harris et al., 2011; Hoffner et al., 2008; Waldeck, 2009; Waldeck et al., 2010). The portrayed version can also have a long-lasting influence, as is

evidenced by the continuing aura of glamour around air travel despite the current reality of economy travel (Baum, 2011).

Media is an artefact of moments in time created by the existing habitus, shaping and shaped by it. Understanding this interaction needs a method to interrogate both text and context – not only what was said but by whom to whom and for what purposes – in order to identify the social norms that were present. Related to this is the issue of historiography: all historical evidence presents issues of bias, starting with who wrote the documents and the purposes for which they were written. Winston Churchill is reputed to have said that history would view him favourably because he intended to write the histories (Gaddis, 2002). Alongside this are the accidents of preservation that leave researchers with an incomplete set of evidence from which to work. To this, researchers add their own bias, selecting some items and not others, and interpreting them through particular theories and ideas (Gidley, 2012).

Media studies frames media influence and structure in one of three ways. The first, from the critical and cultural studies perspective, positions media as part of power structures and discusses control and resistance. The element of control considers both who owns media outlets and what messages are delivered by the media. The audience, while partly conditioned by the media, are not uncritical recipients and do negotiate and interpret the meaning of the media they consume (Meyrowitz, 2008). This view of media positions it as part of habitus – the shared experience shaped by common media consumption and shared interpretations of messages and meanings (Kogler, 2011).

The second strand gives much more agency to the audience, seeing them as actively choosing particular media and how they consume it. Media is viewed as a tool to meet human needs for connection, information and interaction (Meyrowitz, 2008). The third strand of media influence examines how media as a part of the environment affects the character of human life. Media is seen to encourage some possibilities while limiting others. The dominant forms of communication and their modes of transmission influence the social structure, with oral and written cultures having different social structures (Meyrowitz, 2008). This is important in a New Zealand context, where encounter and interface between the oral Māori culture and the written European culture determined, in part, the social structure that emerged in New Zealand in the colonial and recolonial periods (Belich, 2001; Meyrowitz, 2008). This narrative is also concerned with the interaction of text, context and medium.

As part of these narratives, media influence operates both directly and indirectly. The indirect influence comes from the influence that media is believed to have on the actions of others,

forming part of the structuring. However, this is partly determined by the importance of the issue and does not completely modify existing beliefs (Tal-Or, Cohen, Tsfati, & Gunther, 2010).

In their survey of the existing material and framework for the compilation of a full academic history, the authors of *Book & Print in New Zealand* (Griffith, Harvey, Maslen, & Sommerville, 1997) noted the importance of the transition from an oral to a written culture and the role of the written word in New Zealand's social and cultural evolution. They also noted that, unlike Britain, where the popular book had existed for over a century before newspapers, in New Zealand the situation was reversed. Newspapers were a symbol as well as a news source; to be taken seriously, each town had to have its own newspaper (Byrne, 1999; Harvey, 1999). Therefore, newspapers have been an important influence in New Zealand, and tracing the portrayal of hotel work in this source can reveal insights and contribute to an understanding of how the current positioning was arrived at and is perpetuated.

2.5 Hotels and Hotel Work: The Current Position of the Industry

2.5.1 Service industry issues

Within these hierarchies and the conceptualisation of work by society, the service industries have always had problems of definition and value, particularly whether they are 'real work'. Adam Smith (1976) proposed an economic model based on durable commodities, with agriculture ranking above manufacturing and commerce ranking lowest. Most services in the eighteenth century were viewed as perishable and therefore not contributing to national wealth. While the service sector of the time was the professions, such as lawyers, and domestic servants, this view of service as unproductive was not completely unjustified; however, the perception has remained even though the service sector has changed (Allen & du Gay, 1994). Other definitions, such as those of Marshall (1964), Fisher (1983) and Clark (1940), signify that any activity that had utility and gave satisfaction to the customer contributed to economic wealth. Even within this there was confusion between service industries and service occupations. The definition of the service sector was essentially negative based on a lack of material tangible output. The ability of manufacturing to produce returns to scale and increase productivity by automation in the post–World War II boom led services to be presented as small scale, low technology, labour intensive and not able to utilise automation to improve productivity and therefore not capable of sustaining economic growth. This view began to change in the 1980s with the emergence of global services firms, primarily in finance and telecommunications, but also in industries seen as small scale such as catering, cleaning and security. In some ways services were perceived as more valuable because they appeared to take on the characteristics of traditional manufacturing. Even as services rose in esteem, they

were linked back to manufacturing and the importance of manufacturing in the economy. The argument was made that the high value-added services such as design would be lost without constant exposure to the manufacturing process. This was seen as important because international trade in services appears unable to support the import of foreign manufactured goods into developed economies (Allen & du Gay, 1994).

Allen and du Gay (1994) also raised the question of what 'real work' is, pointing out that it has long been linked to men making things and placed in an industrial context. Services are seen as particularly alienating for workers because they completely remove the possibility of making 'things'. However, as they become more industrial and more like factory-based manufacturing, they are more likely to be considered real work. The more mechanised, routinised and rationalised a service becomes, the more likely it is to be considered real work, particularly when this is accompanied by male dominance, for example, finance, banking and software development.

Another question is the separation of production and consumption, which is less evident in services than in manufacturing (Urry, 1990). The degree of interaction means that service work is not purely economic but always has social and cultural dimensions as well. This requires the use of soft skills of the worker and the exercise of judgement, parts of the worker's own identity. Even when the work is routinised and standardised, such as in fast food and retailing, it can never be completely reduced to a production model. Even with the use of point of sale (POS) and electronic funds transfer (EFT) technology, the need for closeness to the customer removes the possibility of total standardisation.

2.5.2 Characteristics of hotel work

As argued in Chapter 1, high staff turnover is often viewed as an inevitable part of the hotel industry (Iverson & Deery, 1997). This section examines the characteristics of hotel work, management practices and the workforce structure that contribute to this perception. Then the literature about the skill requirements of hotel work and the reasons that workers stay are considered along with the fictional portrayal and social position of hotels.

Even when the customer is not directly present or the interaction with customers is limited, service jobs are directly influenced by the customer in terms of timing and performance. In hotel work this is particularly true of housekeeping work, which is largely non-interactive with the guests but the actions of the guests directly affect the ability of workers to perform their jobs, for example, timing of access to the rooms and time taken to clean around guest possessions. Similarly, the intangible elements of hospitality service depend heavily on the stage setting of the tangible elements put in place by housekeeping. Room service workers

experience more interaction but not the simultaneous interaction that is often taken as the defining element of service. This demonstrates that service is broader than the immediate interaction between producer and consumer, and even the balance between tangible and intangible elements can be overdrawn (Sherman, 2011). However, it is important to note that part of the intangible element is built on the creation of social distance and the performance of social deference by the workers (Kensbock et al., 2014).

Long hours, shift work and difficult guests are a source of stress for hotel workers, particularly because they affect their ability to meet family and other social responsibilities (Wong & Ko, 2009). While long hours and erratic shift patterns have been an accepted part of hospitality work, there is now a higher expectation of work–life balance, particularly among younger workers. Rosters in the hotel industry require more thought; even things like how far in advance rosters are available make a difference to the perception of balance. The organisational culture and whether policies are actually actioned and supported by managers and supervisors are also critical (Wong & Ko, 2009). New Zealand research (e.g. Poulston, 2009) indicates that the reality is often a young, part-time workforce who are generally poorly paid, poorly scheduled, often under pressure to work long hours on short notice and often unhappy with how they are managed. Therefore, many of them change jobs regularly, hoping to find something better. The managers in the New Zealand research sample also felt under pressure and under-resourced to do their jobs (Poulston, 2009; Poulston & Jenkins, 2013).

Although different groups of employees within a hotel have different aspirations and motivations, the concerns over work–life balance and poor management seem to be shared by all employees (Robinson et al., 2015). Despite a focus on strategic human resource management (Brien, 2004b) and increasing recognition of the importance of organisational social capital in building commitment and productivity (Brien et al., 2013, 2015; Brien et al., 2017), outsourcing the human resources function is not uncommon (Mooney et al., 2016). Outsourcing of human resource management along with frequent management transfers breaks the training and mentoring relationship and increases the risk of a perceived breach of the psychological contracts on career development (Mooney et al., 2016; Santhnanam, Kamalanabhan, Dyaram, & Ziegler, 2017). Even when the human resource function is retained in-house there appears to be a disconnect over responsibility for staff retention and development between the human resources department and operational managers (Guilding, Lamminmaki, & McManus, 2014).

Adler and Adler (2004) and Duncan et al. (2013) noted that there are three strands of hospitality workers, particularly in hotel work, with somewhat different characteristics. Locals

and new immigrants, who are tied to their location and have limited flexibility in hours, may find themselves stuck in lower level jobs with limited potential for advancement. For others, whom Adler and Adler (2004) termed 'seekers', the work in hotels, particularly at resort locations, is a means to an end, for example, the ability to travel and pursue hobbies and passions in locations they could not otherwise afford. These workers present motivational challenges to the hotel management. For the management or career strata who are aiming to build long-term careers in hospitality, they sacrifice the ability to settle because the industry has an expectation of global mobility. To move up and gain experience often requires relocation, not only within, but between countries, which causes difficulties in an era of two-career families (Adler & Adler, 2004; Mooney, 2007). The use of expatriate managers means that in many locations few of the management team look like the locals. This lack of local managers reinforces the perception of hospitality as an entry-level job rather than a long-term career, making attracting and retaining the best employees challenging (Crick, 2008). Duncan et al. (2013) noted that a certain level of this mobility is voluntary and other parts less so, for example, the case of migrant workers moving to jobs. It also leads to the creation of a specific hospitality subtribe with shared experiences and views that to some degree transcend national boundaries.

However, this can also lead to another divide in the workforce, between a core of long-term workers and the transient younger workers, often students (Knox, 2011). Housekeeping as a group is predominantly female and tends to be older on average than other staff and more likely to be married with young children. These back-of-house positions are often dominated by immigrants and may have a very different social and organisational culture from other parts of the hotel, further limiting promotional opportunities (Harris et al., 2011; Knox, 2011; Sherman, 2011). Although the availability of migrants and other workers requiring flexible conditions can serve the needs of the industry, it can also allow employers to maintain poor conditions and low pay knowing there is a pool of reserve labour available (McCollum & Findlay, 2015). In shaping the characteristics of the industry, this may contribute to the problems experienced in staff recruitment and retention. For example, a young labour force with poor training and limited career development is as much a cause as a symptom of high turnover (Poulston & Jenkins, 2013). Encouraging a more diverse workforce in terms of age and experience (Poulston & Jenkins, 2013) and ensuring that management training by higher education providers includes the techniques to enhance the cohesion between various roles within the hotel (Robinson et al., 2015) have been suggested as possible solutions.

Despite the characterisation of hospitality as 'low skilled' (Baum, 2006), it does in fact use a wide range of skills that are not recognised or valued (Stienberg, 1990). A range of technical

and organisational skills is required, such as accounting and computer skills, along with communication skills, including multiple languages (Kong & Baum, 2006). For these skills, education seems important, and many of the respondents in both studies surveyed had at least vocational education with an increasing number having degrees (Kong & Baum, 2006; Wong & Ko, 2009). Beyond the technical, the workers noted customer care and professional and ethical standards as being important; these move into areas of emotional labour. This need to manage emotions, along with aesthetic and social factors, builds into what Baum (2006, 2008) termed 'experience' skills. This reflects a requirement to deliver not products and services but an experience that engages the customer at an emotional and aesthetic level as well as the intellectual (Baum, 2006; Kensbock et al., 2014). These emotional and aesthetic presentation skills are essential to meet guest requirements but are not seen as 'skills' as such and are acknowledged only when they fail (Baum, 2006, 2008; Stienberg, 1990). There is also an expectation of certain types of behaviour: "A chambermaid refusing to mother clients or a receptionist refusing to flirt would be perceived as incompetent" (Biswas & Cassell, 1996, p. 29). This requirement for experiential skills and the social distance between staff and guests along with the negative social connotations of servility (Ashforth & Kreiner, 1999) means that workers need to construct an identity to address the stresses imposed and allow a positive self-view. Workers create both an internal hierarchy of favoured occupations and modes of comparison with the guests to allow this (Kensbock et al., 2014; Robinson et al., 2015; Sherman, 2005).

This construction of self-image and social connections also forms part of why people stay within the industry (Harris, 2009; Mooney et al., 2016). From the perspective of individual firms, there is often turnover, but much of the movement is within the industry (Mooney et al., 2016; Poulston, 2009). In some cases, this is a matter of convenience and the need for flexible work (Mooney et al., 2016), but there are also examples of personal commitment (Harris, 2009; Mooney et al., 2016) and joy in providing hospitality (Lee, 2016; Poulston, 2015). While many of the issues that weigh on the decision to stay or leave, such as career development and management support (Moshin et al., 2013), along with trust levels towards the organisation, are shared globally, the influence of culture is also important. What appropriate communication to build trust looks like can be difficult to gauge in a multicultural workforce (Brien et al., 2015); similarly, some cultures view keeping the peace with supervisors as outweighing whether the supervisor is being fair (Moshin et al., 2013).

Hotel work, particularly in luxury or resort properties, is able to call on an image of glamour, with the wealth and social standing of the guests reflecting on the staff. At the same time, the need to provide service and the potential for servility make the job less desirable, as do the

domestic overtones and sheer physical labour required in many of the back-of-house areas (Adler & Adler, 2004; Baum, 2011; Sherman, 2005, 2011). Brien et al. (2017) noted that hotels do not actively monitor and manage their image with their internal customers, the staff. This then creates problems of perceived external prestige (Tuna et al., 2016) and increases the difficulty of recruiting those with no direct industry experience (McGinley et al., 2017). This forms the inside view of the current position; the thesis traces the path to this position as described by those outside the industry.

2.5.3 Portrayal of hotel work

Today, both fictional and documentary popular television programmes set in hotels give viewers a window into hotel work through the stories told by staff and the scenes of guest–staff interaction that they show (Harris et al., 2011; McIntosh & Harris, 2018; Pritchard & Morgan, 2006). These media portrayals of hotels and their workers may be the only experience the viewers have of hotels as a place of work and the public aspect experienced by the guests. Therefore, they are a powerful element in determining how the industry is viewed and work within it is valued (Harris et al., 2011), especially as regards the social construction of stereotypes and the power relationships within the nature of the work itself (McIntosh & Harris, 2012). This portrayal of the industry, along with parental and peer input, influences career choice and work values (Harris et al., 2011; Hoffner et al., 2008; Wong & Liu, 2010).

More broadly, the delivery of hospitality service is known to be influenced by the attitude of the actual worker providing the service; these in turn are part of society as a whole, which has a view of their role, the industry and the value placed on service provision (Botterill, 2007; Pritchard & Morgan, 2001). Cultural structures provide the framework within which decisions are made about what actions are acceptable and what are not, and how to address deviations within the group (Andrews, 2009; Patton, 2002). Public places where people meet and socialise reveal societal contestations and values. For instance, in New Zealand, the gregarious, flexible 'crew culture' deriving from land-based activities of opening up the country were oppositional to the mannered 'tight society' that emerged as towns formed and secondary or service industries were established (Belich, 2001).

In the case of the hospitality industry, the sector struggles with staff turnover, and the perceived external prestige of the industry and the organisation forms part of the reason people move on (Carmeli et al., 2006). Indeed, high turnover in the hospitality industry can be attributed to it being characterised by historical practices and stereotypes, and viewed as 'you work in hospitality until you get a real job' and a questionable career path you would think twice about encouraging your child (particularly a daughter) into long term because of its

association with marginalisation, discrimination, underprivileging, gendered stereotyping and exploitation (McIntosh & Harris, 2012). Indeed, there is a call for critical analyses of alternate visions of hospitality work cultures; especially within typical hospitality establishments such as hotels (see McIntosh & Harris, 2012, 2018). Moreover, although service is seen as an important part of the hospitality product, the people providing that service are seen as anonymous and interchangeable (Williamson, Tregida, Harris, & Keen, 2009). Again, there is uncertainty about the depth of history behind this perception and how long the view of turnover being simply a fact of the industry (Iverson & Deery, 1997) has persisted.

Compounding these factors are the expectations of the guests, which are also socially and culturally determined (Belich, 2009). As New Zealand has become a destination for tourists beyond the traditional markets of the UK and Australia (Collier, 2011), with which it has some shared cultural reference, it has had to adapt the services offered to meet the requirements of a range of very different cultures (Wang, Vela, & Tyler, 2008). In attempting to meet the guest requirements, there is a need to understand how the role and value of the service provider is determined in the host culture (Salazar, 2011).

2.6   Chapter Summary

This literature review presented the current status of hotel work from an internal organisational perspective and the theoretical frameworks the thesis used to position to this within a broader social context. The literature highlights that the hotel industry faces a number of challenges in terms of the need for flexible work and the problems of society not understanding the skills involved in emotional and aesthetic labour. However, the industry also contributes to these problems by using poor management practices, such as not investing in training and development or improving pay, despite proclaiming that staff are the industry's most important asset.

These actions all take place within a broader social context. To understand how hotel work arrived at its present position, this thesis used the concept of occupational hierarchies, the ranking and ordering of different types of work. These hierarchies are based on a wide variety of criteria, including pay, the skills and education required, and the significance of the work within the society. Although Western capitalism wants to foreground economic criteria as the reason and significance of work, the literature shows a broader range of influences. Work retains normative, moral and emancipatory roles even in Western society.

This context and the evidence of long-term persistence of historical influences on economic and social behaviour indicate that it is worthwhile examining how New Zealand arrived at the point of hotel work being seen as a low-skill, short-term choice. From here it may be possible

to arrive at solutions to address the organisational problems that are not apparent from inside the organisations. External portrayal and the action of the media on perceptions are one part of this history and this is what the thesis explores.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research paradigm and historiography along with the research design, methods and analysis method. The first section of the chapter overviews the concept of paradigms and their relationship to the philosophy of knowledge. It then explores how this has been incorporated into the research and writing of history. From there, it discusses the applicability of the pragmatic worldview and practical realist historiography to the thesis aims. The second part of the chapter sets out the research design and methods in light of this selection of paradigm, including the sampling strategy and thematic analysis methods. From there, the issues of validation, reflexivity and researcher position are discussed.

3.2 Research Aims

The aim of the research was to trace the evolution of the portrayal of hotel work and analyse the influence of this history on the current positioning of hotel work in New Zealand. As part of meeting this aim, the following objectives were sought:

1. Track the portrayal of hotel work in New Zealand media from 1890 to 2015.

2. Identify the changes in underlying values and attitudes:
   a. towards hotels work,
   b. in society itself.

3. Analyse the contingent factors and continuous influences within this dynamic system.

4. Identify the influences of these assumptions and this context on the positioning and behaviour of the modern hotel industry.

The research includes narrative of the portrayal of hotel work in New Zealand newspaper reporting (Objective 1), an analysis of what this portrayal tells us about social values (Objective 2) and how this history influences the behaviour of the hotel industry in the present (Objective 3). From this analysis, possible solutions to address current industry challenges regarding the position of hotel work and its contribution to staff turnover are suggested (Objective 4).

3.3 Comparison of Paradigms

To justify the pragmatic paradigm selected for this research, it is helpful to review how paradigms have developed. This section reviews the original definition of paradigms, how social sciences have utilised the philosophy of knowledge to build additional paradigms and how this positions the pragmatic paradigm within the available options.

The concept of a research paradigm is somewhat slippery and has evolved over time. Indeed, Thomas Kuhn (1970), who codified its use, framed it in part as a way of explaining change over time, with the replacement of one set of beliefs and standards by another. He also noted that the paradigm guides the types of question that can be asked: "some implicit body of intertwined theoretical and methodological belief that permits selection, evaluation and criticism" (Kuhn, 1970, p. 17). When he was writing in 1957–1958 he was working with social scientists and was struck by the disagreement over what constituted legitimate problems and methods that he felt had largely been resolved in the natural sciences.

In Kuhn's work, he moved through what can be summarised as three phases of paradigm. The first was as a professional matrix of methodology, metaphysics and laws, the second a disciplinary matrix of symbolic generalisations and exemplars to which he later added methodology and values (Marcum, 2012). This relation to metaphysics and the philosophy of knowledge along with the position of incommensurability as a divider of paradigms can also cause issues (Morgan, 2007). It is in this issue of incommensurability, the ability to communicate across the lines of a paradigm, that the role of paradigms as gatekeepers between disciplines plays out (Kuhn, 1970; Morgan, 2007; Winch, 1963). In natural sciences, paradigms tend to be subject to complete replacement, although in his later writing Kuhn noted that paradigms may also fission to produce subdisciplines, possibly even becoming limited to particular research laboratories (Marcum, 2012; Read & Sharrock, 2012).

From here it is necessary to consider some underlying approaches to the philosophy of knowledge and how the concepts of paradigm have been utilised both in history and in the social sciences, which hospitality draws on for some of its roots. It is worth noting that some of the so-called linguistic turn underlying much of postmodernism occurred somewhat independently in the study of history without historians necessarily incorporating the epistemological relativism (Iggers, 2005). Similarly, the growing awareness of the importance of events of the past to current social sciences occurred without direct involvement of historians (McDonald, 1996). In the social sciences, this also led to an evaluation of the appropriate ways to develop knowledge. While history moved from a model of great men and the business of nation-building to history from below, social sciences began to question whether the search for covering laws on the Hempel model modelled on physics and other natural sciences was appropriate (Haskell, 1998). Nearly concurrently, the natural sciences were moving to acknowledge that paradigms and scientific understandings have a strong social component (Kuhn, 1970; Ziman, 2000).

3.3.1 Morgan's definitions and relation to social sciences

Although it had not been explicitly labelled as a paradigm, quantitative methods and underlying assumptions regarding objectivity dominated in many social sciences in the immediate post–World War II period. However, by the early 1980s qualitative methods were moving back into a more central role. To help support this change of focus, a number of key writers drew on the philosophy of knowledge to enhance the status of their position (Morgan, 2007).

These discussions occurred alongside a broader review of the role and position of all sciences. As part of the acceptance that sciences are unlikely to reduce down to each other, given the nature of reality (Fodor, 1991), there was an openness to studying social phenomena that preserved context. The Guba and Lincoln model explicitly set out the need to think about the link between ontology and epistemology in research and questioned the role of prediction and lawmaking in social science (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). However, at the same time, even in an interpretative paradigm, the research question was supposed to drive the selection of methods (Morgan, 2007). In some ways, the so-called paradigm wars (Lincoln & Guba, 2000) have many similarities with the change from Christian doctrine to rationality and reason during the Enlightenment. From providing new ways to address questions, the new tools then hardened into absolutisms themselves (Appleby et al., 1994; Morgan, 2007; Patton, 2002). Similarly, the interpretative constructionist paradigm allowed closeness and context, acknowledging the mediation of perception, but it is now at risk of its relativism being carried to extremes and, in enforcing dogma, losing sight of the need for practical actionable solutions (Appleby et al., 1994; Haskell, 1998; Morgan, 2007).

Although Guba and Lincoln foregrounded ontological commitment, they were less clear on how this links to practical procedures (Morgan, 2007). That said, Kuhn (1970) noted that in periods of normal science, natural scientists tend to simply use what works without questioning the underlying metaphysical assumptions. Within the philosophy of knowledge, there are writers who favour a looser link between epistemology and ontology. Crotty (1998) noted that whatever reality is, our knowledge of it will always be mediated through our own senses and perceptions, meaning that a realist ontology and relativist epistemology are not completely incompatible. Although each person has his or her own perceptions and these are unique, enough is shared to allow communication and empathy. However, an objective position from which all questions could have a single answer is not achievable, nor is each individual completely isolated in his or her own reality (Ziman, 2000).

A pragmatic approach to research takes the needs of the question as its starting point in seeking a method (Morgan, 2007; Patton, 2002). Drawing on the work of American philosophers such as Pierce, James and Dewey, it has a focus towards action (Appleby et al., 1994; Haskell, 1998; Rescher, 2012). The pragmatic philosophy not only deconstructs but tries to focus on meeting human needs, both spiritual and physical. It views research as a way to reach social goals and, via Dewey, has a strong social ethics focus. It acknowledges the researcher as part of the process in selecting subject matter and contributing the underlying values that animate the research (Patton, 2002; Rescher, 2012).

In terms of informing research practice, pragmatism tends to be focused on what works, taking into account the research question (Morgan, 2007; Patton, 2002; Rescher, 2012). As Patton (2002) noted, the social outcomes of enquiry are important; thus, pragmatism is often seen in applied research. Even in a natural science context, this means that practical usability is often a measure of validity (Ziman, 2000). Although it has a certain level of association with mixed methods approaches, its key features are more of a focus on ethics and using tools that accomplish tasks. Therefore, it favours approaches that are abductive in reasoning and clearly acknowledge the intersubjectivity of researcher and researched (Morgan, 2007). It acknowledges the fallibility of truth claims but relies on robust social processes to test them and correct them (Haskell, 1998).

3.4   Historical Approach

Because this is in part a piece of history research, it is necessary to consider the relationship of historiography to the philosophy of knowledge and paradigms. The following section outlines the primary influences on the historiography of this project and how these relates to the broader debate in approaches to the writing of history.

3.4.1   Landscape of history

The principal historiographical influence on this research is Professor John Lewis Gaddis's *Landscape of History* (Gaddis, 2002), written while he was visiting professor at Balliol College at the University of Oxford. His stated purpose was to examine how historians think but also to encourage historians to make their methods more clearly visible to their readers. He positioned the book as building on Bloch (1953) and Carr (1961) in wanting to provide an introduction to historical methods in light of the changes that have occurred since those works were published. The contributions of Bloch and Carr to historiography will be discussed further in the next section.

In discussing the tension between history as an art and history as a science, Gaddis (2002) noted that the natural sciences offer more than one model. Social sciences, in his opinion (and

mine), tend to have modelled themselves on experimental sciences that rely on replication of controlled experiments for verification and focus on discovering general laws that can then be tested and potentially falsified, but this is not the only approach that can be taken. He drew an analogy between history and sciences such as evolutionary biology, geology and astronomy. In all these cases, you cannot run direct experiments but must arrive at an understanding of the underlying processes from studying the structures they have created. These sciences share with history a sensitivity to initial conditions and a high level of complexity due to the interaction of many variables. Steven Jay Gould, in *Wonderful Life* (1989), pointed out that even if we could rerun evolution, we are unlikely to end up with the same result. However, the new result would still be amenable to interpretation and explanation using the same tools, techniques and theories. Although history cannot build 'laws' to forecast the future, it can explain how events occurred and why alternative paths were not taken. Rather than a reductionist approach looking for independent variables, Gaddis preferred an ecological approach, looking for the way the interdependencies play out. He did note that some of these variables can be regarded as continuing to operate in the long term, whereas others are contingent on the particular circumstances of a single event.

In Gaddis's view, historians are always present in their work because the questions they ask of the past reflect present concerns. Similarly, the interpretation and presentation will be influenced by the person doing the finding. However, he believes it is possible for historians to leave sufficient evidence of how they arrived at their interpretation to allow others to determine how it fits to the past that it is trying to represent. There will be elements of moral judgement by the historian and divergent interpretations may all possess validity, but it is possible to represent the past to enhance our understanding of how the past influences the present and why other options were not taken (Gaddis, 2002).

3.4.2 Sound, fury and resolution

Professor Gaddis's work is part of a debate about what the discipline of history covers and how the study of history should be approached that has been ongoing since antiquity. Interestingly, Tosh (2006) noted that much of this discussion on the history of history has been conducted by philosophers rather than working historians. Both Tosh and Gaddis named Carr (1961) as one of the most important sources of modern historiography, and Gaddis also noted the influence of Bloch (1953) on the teaching of research methods to student historians.

In *The Historian's Craft*, written in the midst of World War II, Bloch (1953) attempted to answer what the use of history is. He noted that Western society is very much built on historical awareness; even its religious traditions draw not on myths outside human time but

on histories of particular people, places and times albeit allowing for divine intervention. Despite writing in 1942, as the world was dominated by war, he felt that history went beyond politicians and generals to broader society and moved beyond pure narrative to become a call to action. The divide between those who tried to fit history into Comtian models of predictive science[2] and the romantics who viewed history as a matter of aesthetics that dominates much of modern historiography was already emerging as he wrote.

Carr (1961) also described this reaction to the Rankean view of history as a matter of uncovering ever more sources to arrive closer to an exact recreation of events as they occurred. Carr did label this approach as positivism and noted it fits well with the empiricist traditions of British philosophy with its presumption of separation between object and subject. He felt that this approach overlooked that both the historian and the subject were part of a society, along with not all facts being called upon. Carr reported on the divide between those who felt history would fade out into theology or other set laws and others who saw either no meaning at all or a multiplicity of meanings with nothing to choose between them. Carr preferred a middle ground of history as a moving process taking the historian with it, rather than there being some historical law guiding the process to a particular end. He was of the view that people are capable of benefiting from a knowledge of history even if it is imperfect and not predictive.

Even as Carr (1961) was proposing this broader, somewhat relativist view and having it countered by fact-focused historians such as Elton (1967), new voices were entering the profession. This included not only increasing numbers of women but also members of minority ethnic groups and other marginalised social groups. For Joyce Appleby (1992), her starting point as an adolescent was that the liberal worldview constructed reality as exclusively male, and she felt that there was literally no place for her within it (Appleby, 1992). The entry of these new people with new questions changed views of what history is about and how it should be conducted (Appleby et al., 1994). As well as asking new questions and drawing on new sources, they were influenced by the rise of new philosophical approaches to language in creating knowledge (Appleby et al., 1994; Evans, 1997). These new historians were activists, trying to address history's role in enforcing existing power structures and having ideological foundations(Appleby et al., 1994).

The term postmodernism is used to broadly describe the reaction to modernism and concepts of rationality and progress along with pointing out the role of language in constructing and

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[2] Auguste Comte, a French philosopher, proposed that it is possible to build models to make predictions in all fields of science including history.

portraying reality (Appleby et al., 1994; Munslow, 2006; Tosh, 2006). Its main position is conscious opposition. To quote Ziman (2000), "one of the defining characteristics of postmodernism is that it cannot be defined. It is not an '-ism' but a trenchant critique of all '-isms'" (p. 327). In the field of history, this has raised questions about the role of narrative in presenting and representing history and about the divide between truth and fiction (Munslow, 2006). Munslow (2006) divided historians into three broad schools, which he termed reconstructionist, constructionist and deconstructionist. In his model, reconstructionists view history as an absolute truth that can be recovered through sufficiently diligent research and communicated in narrative form. These historians, such as Ranke and Elton, also tend to view history as that of great men, and political and possibly economic events. In the middle ground, Munslow placed constructionists such as Carr and Appleby, Hunt and Joyce. Munslow noted that this group is also most likely to use models from sociology, and other related disciplines. In his deconstructionist school, he placed historians such as Haydn White and Keith Jenkins.

The deconstructionist school draws heavily from philosophers such as Foucault and Barthes regarding the indeterminacy of language and the involvement of the author in telling the story. White went so far as to argue that "history writing is basically a linguistic and poetic art" (Munslow, 2006, p. 75). The postmodern position is that any explanation is true for those who believe it (Neuman, 2006), which can lead to an extreme 'anything goes' form of relativism (Andresen, 2018).

Interestingly, regardless of which school they belong to, historians tend to agree that history serves an important role in the exercise and enforcement of power structures in the present (Appleby et al., 1994; Gaddis, 2002; Haskell, 1998; Munslow, 2006; Tosh, 2006). Practical realists such as Gaddis, Appleby, Joyce, Hunt and Haskell, drawing on the pragmatic philosophical position, accept that there is space for debate between truth claims but the idea of truth itself is too important to surrender. As Putnam (1992) noted, "the philosophical irresponsibility of one decade can become the real world political tragedy of a few decades later. And deconstruction without reconstruction is irresponsibility" (p. 133). While present purposes determine which description is most useful, this does not make other possible descriptions untrue and even extreme deconstructionists such as Derrida accept that we cannot do without the notion of truth even if it is not coherent (Putnam, 1992). Appleby et al. (1994) pointed out that to outsiders the debate between competing descriptions could be seen to confirm the nihilist position, but it may also reflect the fact that objects and evidence by their very existence accommodate only some interpretations.

3.5 Justification

The paradigm for any research project is in part inherent to each researcher being based on their world view, while also responding to the research question. For this project it is also necessary to consider the influence of historiography. My world view is heavily influenced by the natural sciences, my Dad was completing his PhD in marine biology when I was born and one of my earliest memories is of being in his lab as he worked. I also studied three sciences until the end of high school.

In doing historic research in a social sciences discipline, it is important to be aware of the tension between historiography and paradigms. The growing awareness of the importance of events of the past to current social sciences occurred without direct involvement of historians (McDonald, 1996) meaning this tension is not always considered. This research was first guided by two historians, so the historiography, practical realism, came first. As an approach to the research and writing of history, practical realism has activist roots from pragmatism's focus on action as a goal-driven philosophy (Hildebrand, 2003; Rescher, 2012; Shook, 2003). A practical realist approach agrees that "any history is always someone's history told by that particular somebody from a partial point of view" (Appleby et al., 1994, p. 11). However, the evidence will only allow for certain interpretations, and while a prefect recreation may not be possible, there is a knowable truth - "The very objectiveness of objects - their failure to accommodate all interpretations - help explain why scholars quarrel" (Appleby et al 1994, p260) This is not proof of subjective perspectives as sceptics think but the unyielding presence of the objects which need to be incorporated into an understanding of the past. Different points of view do not obliterate each other but do complicate interpretation (Appleby et al., 1994).

This view draws on pragmatic philosophy which practical realism shares with the pragmatic paradigm in the sense that social sciences use the word. Tracing the evolution of the portrayal of hotel work and analysing the influence of this history on the current positioning of hotel work in New Zealand requires a paradigm that not only tracks how we arrived here but can also propose possible solutions. As a research approach, pragmatism focuses on what works to generate real world knowledge and solutions (Patton, 2002). This gives a realist-based approach that can deal with the complexity, context and social interaction inherent in the problem. Pragmatism foregrounds the needs of the research question in driving research methods and is agnostic regarding tools and types of data. In an area with limited research, the need to move between induction and deduction as the research proceeds is also important (Morgan, 2007).

In an age of climate change denial, anti-vaccine movements and other claims that belief is the same as truth (Andresen, 2018), it is important to be me to be clear that while all knowledge generation is subject to mediation by human understanding and complex findings may be difficult to communicate, there is truth to be found. Pragmatism has an ethical and activist focus allowing for maintenance of context without risking falling prey to extreme relativism. Combining a realist ontology with a context based epistemology, allows an explanation of how history has lead the present situation and why it resolutely resists the proposed solutions from a rationalist management model.

3.6 Research Design

Since the aim of the research was to trace the evolution of the portrayal of hotel work and analyse the influence of this history on the current positioning of hotel work in New Zealand, the research design needed to be largely qualitative because it explores the stories newspapers printed about hotels, hotel work and hotel workers. The intent was to understand the view of outsiders looking in. Utilisng a pragmatic philosophy and practical realist historiography, the data-gathering and analysis methods for this thesis needed to accommodate an external reality that is independent of human minds but with the awareness that perception of that reality is always mediated by the mind'. A final definitive answer may not be possible, but knowledge to create solutions to problems is (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Morgan, 2007; Pansiri, 2005; Powell, 2001). The next section describes the sampling process and subsequent analysis.

3.6.1 Sample

To remain within the required time frames for a PhD thesis, it was not possible to complete a comprehensive survey of all the newspapers published throughout New Zealand history. Points of major social change are likely to result in changes in process, revealing visible aspects of practice (Fairclough, 1992). Based on readings of major New Zealand historians (Andrews, 2009; Belich, 2001; King, 2003; Moon, 2011), a set of four historical time points were selected to show the immediate point of change and the subsequent reaction to it. The first, 1890 to 1900, marks the change from an economy primarily driven by settlement to one based on protein production for export (Belich, 2001, 2009). The second, 1920 to 1930, covers the impact of World War I and the Great Depression. The third period had to be redesigned because accessing resources on microfilm requires considerably more time than the online equivalents available for other periods. Therefore, rather than a discrete decade, three focus years were selected to cover the fairly settled period between 1945 and 1985. However, 1945,

1965 and 1985 give a picture of the rise and fall of the social compact era of New Zealand history (Belich, 2001). The final period, from 2005 to 2015, includes the most recent completed year when the research was done, and covers the global financial crisis (GFC) and the impact of the Christchurch earthquake. A fuller description of the historic events within each period is presented in Chapter 4.

For each period, the first, middle and final year of the period was selected to give an overview of the changes within the period. For each year, the months of March, June, September and December were sampled. This captured the major events such as the end of the financial year, the Budget and the peaks and troughs of the tourist season that affect hotel work. Each of the months was searched for references to hotels and hotel workers, in advertising content as well as in articles and editorial content.

The research used newspaper reporting as frozen moments in time to capture the portrayal and positioning of hotel work. To determine how opinion and coverage changed between locations in the same period, multiple locations around the country were used, since New Zealand does not have a national newspaper. However, the need for newspapers that had continuous print runs and could be accessed either in microfilm or online meant the major metropolitan dailies were used, with the acceptance that they gave only a partial picture of the country, with rural views being underrepresented. When relevant papers from other locations were available, these were consulted to provide additional examples and illustrations. Along with the newspapers, relevant items such as legislation, reports to government and items from other archival sources were consulted. The editorial stance of each of the four major metropolitan papers is presented in Table 1 and a brief history of each paper is given in Chapter 4.

Table 1. Newspaper sample frame

Newspaper	Location	Founded	Editorial stance	Current owner
The New Zealand Herald	Auckland	1863	Conservative	NZME
*The Evening Post**	Wellington	1865	Neutral	Stuff
The Press	Christchurch	1863	Neutral/Conservative	Stuff
Otago Daily Times	Dunedin	1861	Activist	Allied Press

The Evening Post and *The Dominion* were merged to form *The Dominion Post* in 2002 and the paper now has a somewhat more conservative stance following *The Dominion*'s historic position. Editorial positions sourced from (National Library of New Zealand, n.d.-d)

The editorial stance of the newspapers reflects both the time of their founding and the size of their potential market for both subscribers and advertising(Grant, 2018; Wood, 1975). While owners and editors tended to be broadly small 'c' conservatives and favour the National Party

as representing business, the contents of the paper were mostly driven by economics which limited how clearly this could be expressed (Beggood, 1975). New Zealand did not have the political party aligned papers typical of the United States as the newspapers were mostly founded before formal political parties came into existence (Byrne, 1999). New Zealand's newspapers including the major metropolitan dailies were founded in the era where newspapers globally were striving to present themselves as objective recorders of the facts (Atkins, 2016; Grant, 2018). The *Evening Post* probably came closest to maintaining this balance prior to its merger with *The Dominion* (National Library of New Zealand, n.d.-d). Conversely, despite stating they wanted to be papers of record, both the *New Zealand Herald* and *The Press* were more obviously aligned with the interests of business (National Library of New Zealand, n.d.-d).

It is also important to note that this same centralising effect can be observed in New Zealand politics. Political parties had to craft policies that would appeal to a broad majority of the population, precluding strong left/right positions (Belich, 2001; Menz, 2005). Similarly between 1945 and the late 1980s, the unions were largely co-opted as part of the establishment (Belich, 2001). The unions were often as concerned with maintaining their power within the sectoral harmony between unions, employers, farmer and the Government, as representing the interests of their members (Williamson, 2016).

What newspapers believe is acceptable to their readers and advertisers is revealing of the social structures in place at the time. There is bias in all reporting but with care this bias shows who holds power and how society functions.

3.6.2   Data gathering

The National Library of New Zealand has undertaken a major project to digitise early New Zealand newspapers. The resulting database, Papers Past (National Library of New Zealand), has been made available online at no charge. Papers Past includes all four of the metropolitan dailies to 1920. *The New Zealand Herald*, *The Evening Post* and *The Press* have been digitised up to 1945. Papers Past includes the entire content of each edition of the paper, including advertisements. A second online repository, The Knowledge Basket, was founded in 1994 and via their subscription service provide access to the newspapers owned by Stuff and New Zealand Media and Entertainment (NZME) (The Knowledge Basket, 2019). The Knowledge Basket database does not contain the advertising content. Both Papers Past and The Knowledge Basket have a search function and were searched using the keywords 'hotels' and 'hotel workers'. All other periods and the advertising content for 2005 to 2015 had to be sampled on microfilm. Microfilm does not have an indexing system or search function so the

entire newspaper had to be scanned to locate relevant articles and advertising. This makes consulting microfilm very time consuming: reading a week's worth of papers takes two to three days depending on the length of each issue. By comparison, the online systems can yield a month's worth of data for a day's search time. Data from all sources were saved as PDF files ready for loading into ATLAS.ti.

Table 2 notes the sources, time frames and number of items collected for each period sampled. It also notes the number of items directly cited in each of the findings chapters, from the coding and analysis process described in the next section.

Table 2. Data collection summary

	Medium	Data-gathering time frame	Items gathered	Items used
1890–1900	Papers Past	March 2014	740	82
1920–1930	Papers Past and microfilm	March to June 2015	3,035	159
1945/65/85	Papers Past and microfilm	January to May 2017	2,305	126
2005–2015	The Knowledge Basket and microfilm	February to August 2016	1,524	185

3.6.3 Newspaper structure and technology

Some of the changes seen in the portrayal of hotel work reflect changes in the technology producing newspapers and the styles of writing employed. For example, the move from flatbed presses to steam presses enabled both increased copy numbers and additional length (Byrne, 1999). Similarly, the purchase price of newsprint paper limits the number of pages a newspaper can publish at a given price point (Griffith et al., 1997). Both of these factors encouraged brevity in advertising in the first two periods surveyed. For the period 1945 to 1985, newsprint prices caused less constraint but unionised labour increased costs and caused issues to be missed ("'The Press' catching up on Saturday," 1985). For the final period, the rise of online news availability removed space constraints but brought in many more competitors, both in advertising and in content.

For a simple example, in 1890 there were 70 job advertisements but each one was only two lines long. In 2015, ANZ, one of New Zealand's major banks, no longer surveyed offline newspapers for job advertisements but used solely online sources for measuring the state of labour demand. However, the advertising that appeared had much more detail because of its greater length. Whereas advertisements in 1890 and even 1930 tended to be two lines or around 50 words, 2015 advertisements could run to over 200 words. These changes are summarised in Table 3, below.

Table 3. Summary of changes in newspapers in each period

Period	Key newspaper features
1890 to 1900	Low tech presses, limited pages
1920 to 1930	Interwar restrictions on newsprint
1945/65/85	New technology, strikes by ink makers in 1985
2005 to 2015	Online co-publication – space constraints largely removed but also increased competition

Other changes in portrayal were partially due to the evolving use of language over time. New Zealand English as distinctive from its parent, British English, is still a developing language. One

of the key differences is the use of Māori loan words, which has been tracked from 1850, showing two peaks in borrowing. The first, mostly of proper nouns, occurred as Māori issues were debated in Parliament in the early settlement period up to approximately 1880; the second occurred during the Māori language resurgence from the 1970s, and had more borrowing of social and conceptual words (Macalister, 2006). By 2011, the trend seemed to have stabilised (Calude & James, 2011). Changes in social attitude also influence language use, such as the increasing use of Ms as an honorific (Homles, 1994). In the case of hotel work, changes in legislation to prevent discrimination in employment led to changes in gendered role titles; for example, housemaids became room attendants. In the latest period, the demands of reaching readers in the online environment further encouraged the newspapers' tendency to brevity but also introduced a new informality to writing.

3.6.4   Thematic analysis as a method

Given the choices made in historiography and underlying philosophy, the analysis of data required a method that was amenable to being used in a pragmatic paradigm. Some qualitative analysis methods directly incorporate an underlying paradigm within their approach, such as interpretative phenomenological analysis or grounded theory. Others such as content analysis and thematic analysis can be used with a range of paradigmatic approaches, although the results will vary (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Green & Thorogood, 2004). Braun and Clarke (2013) noted that the relationship between content analysis, particularly qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis, is fuzzy and that there are multiple approaches to thematic analysis, of which theirs is only one. Content analysis ranges from converting qualitative data into frequency counts to thematic content analysis, which codes and groups data in ways that are very similar to versions of thematic analysis (Rivas, 2012a). A key difference is that in most content analysis, it is expected that the researcher will examine either manifest or latent content, whereas in thematic analysis both can be explored together (Vaimoradi, Turunen, & Bondas, 2013). These approaches can be built out to a thematic synthesis to describe how the themes relate to each other, building from descriptive themes to analytic themes. Thematic synthesis also allows the comparison across groups of themes from different studies or in this case across different time periods (Thomas & Harden, 2008).

The analysis technique used for this research was thematic content analysis (Green & Thorogood, 2004; Rivas, 2012a) with the use of the thematic synthesis of Thomas and Harden (2008) to build the comparison between periods. It moved between latent and manifest content in a way that would be acceptable to users of Braun and Clarke's (2006) model of thematic analysis in a realist mode to match with the pragmatic paradigm.

Thematic analysis groups data within themes as central organising concepts that tell the story of the data and the situation. This goes beyond simply grouping items about the same subject to building possible causes and enabling underlying structures and their interaction to be made visible. Although it retains an awareness of the importance of language and can respond to changes in its use over time (Appleby et al., 1994; Braun & Clarke, 2006), it does not investigate language itself.

Therefore, thematic analysis provides a tool that can be used to explore both surface statements and deeper meanings to allow identification of continuous influences as well as contingent factors via a thematic synthesis (Thomas & Harden, 2008). In the Braun and Clarke (2006) model, the researcher is an active participant in integrating the data, using iterative abductive processes to shape the story but still being guided by the data. They likened the process to a sculptor carving in marble, where the creative spark comes from the sculptor but is guided and limited by the features, faults and flaws of the marble itself (Clarke & Braun, 2018). Braun and Clarke (2006) and Maguire and Delahunt (2017) outlined a six-phase guide to the process, noting this is recursive rather than strictly linear (Elo & Kyngas, 2007; Vaimoradi et al., 2013). Once all the time periods had been through the thematic analysis process, the comparison between periods used a thematic synthesis approach to analyse how themes and the sub-themes within them evolved or remained stable (Thomas & Harden, 2008)

3.6.4.1 Process

As noted above, each newspaper was sampled using the keywords 'hotels' and 'hotel workers', covering both advertising and editorial content. The data for each of the four time blocks were gathered, coded, analysed and written up independently before an overall synthesis was carried out.

Braun and Clarke (2013) recommended starting by reading and rereading the data. Particularly with the sections sampled on microfilm, the data gathering itself required a great deal of reading and rereading. This also enabled the articles and advertisements to be read in the broader context of current events reported around them. For the online material, this was achieved by using page views as well as pure search techniques.

Once all the data gathering had been completed for the time block, the files were loaded into ATLAS.ti for coding. Although there are concerns about the use of software in qualitative analysis, such as the risk of the software imposing the framework or reducing the analysis to converting data into quantitative forms (Braun & Clarke, 2013), this project involved such a large volume of data that software was required for its management. The initial selection of ATLAS.ti was based on cost and the ability to handle the required file types, but the software

has been designed to avoid incorporating a particular methodological or theoretical approach and to be adaptable to user needs (Scientific Software Development GmbH, 2018). ATLAS.ti does have the ability to produce numeric data, which was only used when it was directly relevant to the research questions; for example, the counts of different types of articles or job advertisements are part of how the portrayal changed over time.

Every data item was coded in a complete coding (Braun & Clarke, 2013). The codes covered data-derived codes describing the content and actors as well as research-derived or latent codes on concepts and social structures (Elo & Kyngas, 2007; Thomas & Harden, 2008). The coding was an inductive process, with codes being created on the fly as each item was coded. This is a strength of ATLAS.ti, that it does not require the use of a prebuilt code book.

The codes, particularly the data-derived codes, were carried between time blocks, but they were only used when they accurately described the data and were replaced if required. Because there were long breaks between coding each individual data block, some very similar codes were created, which were either combined in the overall synthesis phase or treated as interchangeable (Thomas & Harden, 2008). An example of a coded article is shown in Figure 1.

Once all the data for a time block were coded, the codes and their related data were examined for patterns and relationships that captured their significance in how hotel work was represented and valued (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). A decision was made to test the fit of existing themes and subthemes from the prior time blocks against each new time block for potential fit (Thomas & Harden, 2008). The four overarching themes identified were a fit; however, some of the subthemes within them varied between periods. Tables 4–7 show the codes used for including an item within a theme; these were designated as 'primary codes'. As can be seen in Figure 1, items were often tagged with multiple codes to describe and summarise their content. These other codes were designated 'secondary codes'.

This process of reviewing, defining and naming themes continued as each time block was written up. For practical reasons, each time block was written up as an independent story in its own right; then, a synthesis to describe the themes and trends from 1890 to the present was undertaken.

Chapters 5 to 8 present a narrative for each of the periods to address Objective 1. The articles and advertising selected for these chapters aimed to balance the ordinary with the exceptional to build a picture of each period for the reader. The synthesis in Chapter 9 started with the network diagrams in Appendix 2, to explore the connections within and between themes to complete the evolution discussion in Objective 1. From there, the values and attitudes were

reviewed to address Objective 2. In exploring Objective 3, it was necessary to compare the narratives from the findings with the general history of New Zealand for points of confirmation and difference. A similar process of comparing the outcomes of Objectives 1 to 3 with the academic literature was followed to address Objective 4.

Figure 1. Coded article

Table 4. Respectability primary codes

Chapter	1890 to 1900	1920 to 1930	1945/65/85	2005 to 2015
Respectability	<u>Owners</u> People – Proprietors Proprietors – Male Proprietors – Female Proprietors – Couple <u>Staff</u> People – Staff – Accom People – Staff – Bar People – Staff – General Offences – Liquor Offence – Theft Reputation Servant <u>Other</u> Legislation – General Legislation – Sale to Māori Legislation – Sales to women Inquests Meetings Business base	<u>Owners</u> Licensing Committee Proprietors – Male Proprietors – Female <u>Staff</u> People – Staff – Accom People – Staff – Bar People – Staff – General People – Staff – Restaurant Offences – By staff Offence – Against staff Servant <u>Other</u> Guest lists	<u>Owners</u> Hotel companies Licensing trusts People – Proprietors People – Managers Managers People – Managers <u>Staff</u> People – Staff – Accom People – Staff – Bar People – Staff – General People – Staff – Restaurant <u>Other</u> Royal Commission Hotel unions	<u>Owners</u> People – Proprietors People – Managers Managers People – Managers <u>Staff</u> People – Staff – Accom People – Staff – General People – Staff – Restaurant Offences – By staff Offences – Theft Chef culture

Table 5. Independence primary codes

Chapter	1890 to 1900	1920 to 1930	1945/65/85	2005 to 2015
Independence	Availability Advertising – Hotel real estate Real estate (editorial)	Availability Advertising – Hotel real estate Real estate (editorial)	Availability Advertising – Hotel real estate Advertising – Motel real estate Advertising – Taverns real estate	Availability Advertising – Hotel real estate Advertising – Motel real estate Advertising – Heritage real estate Advertising – Misc real estate
	Risks Legislation – General Legislation – Sale to Māori Legislation – Sales to women Boarding house Temperance – General influence Prohibition Relationship alcohol to accommodation	Risks Licensing Committee Arbitration Court Motor camps Motorists Temperance – General influence Relationship alcohol to accommodation		
	Accessibility Employment advertising – Domestic Employment advertising – Hotel staff Employment advertising – Management Employment advertising – With wages	Accessibility Arbitration Court Awards	Accessibility Employment advertising – Hotel staff Employment advertising – Management Awards Wage levels	Accessibility Employment advertising – Hotel staff Employment advertising – Management Wage levels
		Accommodation supply Accommodation Supply Tourism		Accommodation supply Accommodation supply Tourism
			Companies and developers Hotel companies THC Developers	Companies and developers Hotel companies Developers Bankruptcy

Table 6. Power primary codes

Chapter	1890 to 1900	1920 to 1930	1945/65/85	2005 to 2015
Power	Legislation Legislation – General Legislation – Sale to Māori Legislation – Sales to women Labour Regulation Employment conditions – bar Sweating Commission Gender Sweating Commission Sale to women Legislation – Sales to women Race Legislation – Sales to Māori Social enforcement Proprietors – male Proprietors – female	Legislation Legislation – General Legislation – Sales to women Temperance – General influence Gender Licensing Committee Sale to women Occupations for women/girls Race Māori use of alcohol Temperance – General influence Unemployment Unions Arbitration Court Wage levels	Legislation Royal Commission THC Hotel companies Unions Hotel unions Hotel strikes Hospitality Association	 Unions Hotel unions Skills Immigration Education

Table 7. Silences primary codes

Chapter	1890 to 1900	1920 to 1930	1945/65/85	2005 to 2015
Silences	Licensing Committee Legislation – General Legislation – Sale to Māori Legislation – Sales to women People – Proprietors Proprietors – Male Proprietors – Female Proprietors – Couple	Occupations for women/girls Alcohol sale to women Alcohol use by Māori Unemployment Guest lists	Royal Commission Hotel development Hotel unions Hospitality Association	Education Tourism Immigration Accommodation supply

3.6.4.2 Validation

For this study, a primarily qualitative approach was taken to access the richness of the data. This was particularly important because there is limited prior research and the themes and categories from the literature provide only limited guidance (Patton, 2002). Although this approach does not lend itself well to generalisation beyond the situation under consideration, by building a coherent argument based on a sound reading of the text, it can have good internal validity, particularly if the process is clearly documented. A clear description of the setting and context enables the assessment of similarity to other situations and a reader to gauge the degree of transferability (Seale, 2012). This enables the documented experience to guide action in apparently similar situations while still allowing actors to remain independent (Gaddis, 2002; Kember, 2000). This openness and reliance on documentation requires researchers to be reflexive in their work, questioning their own assumptions and processes at all points of the process, as is discussed further below.

Using multiple sources to find different views of the information also improves the quality and reliability of the findings (Patton, 2002; Seale, 2012). Documents referenced in the newspaper articles were sourced and read to compare them with the way they were reported. For example, the evidence presented in the final report of the Royal Commission was compared with the reporting of that evidence. Similarly, a number of wage awards were compared with the reports in the newspapers.

3.6.4.3 Limitations of the research

All research projects are subject to the constraints of time and other resources. This imposes limitations on the final output. For this project, the choice was made to limit the newspapers sampled to those that had continuous print runs through all the time periods and were easy to access. In practice, this meant using the major metropolitan dailies. Although New Zealand has long been an urbanised country, it likes to see itself as a rural place. Losing the rural voice because of the inaccessibility of the small country newspapers may change the story somewhat. Similarly, the need to cover the broad sweep of history meant that only times of major change were surveyed. In the analysis, the need to tell the story of the hotel workers meant that a large amount of data uncovered was not analysed in detail. For example, to understand hotels and hotel workers, it was necessary to collect real estate advertising regarding hotels and the social news columns presenting guests lists. These would reward further in-depth analysis to understand the relationships between wages and business prices; adding housing prices could also contribute to the broader social history of New Zealand.

3.6.4.4 Reflexivity

Because of the inability to close social systems and the influence of researchers on what is uncovered owing to their role in interpretation and analysis, researchers need to be aware of and account for this (Rivas, 2012b; Tonkiss, 2012). This can be taken to unnecessary extremes, as May and Perry (2011) pointed out, where the focus is taken off what is being examined and transferred to the examiner. Although pragmatists, like historians, are largely not given to introspection, it is typical to include a brief overview of the researcher's journey to the project (Appleby, 1992; Pansiri, 2006) and the paradigm (DeForge & Shaw, 2012). The primary focus is on the research question, and the contribution to social improvement that the project can make (Appleby, 1992; Pansiri, 2006; Patton, 2002).

Documenting the presumptions guiding the work and the way it was conducted is, however, useful to future users of the final result. By leaving the method explicit to reveal both function and form rather than presenting the final data in 'god mode'[3] also gives guidance to researchers and writers as they work, as well as to others (Gaddis, 2002). As Simon Schama (2002a) pointed out, all history involves selection of material, and in his view, the best history is shamelessly personally engaged but that engagement is made clear to the reader or viewer. However, there is still a truth that can be accessed; it is not all relative or interpretative (Schama, 2002a).

Related to this is the position of the researcher. Positionality is principally written about in reference to access to resources and interaction with people in relation to the power dynamics involved (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2013; Moser, 2008; Mullings, 1999). This discussion is often framed in terms of insiders and outsiders as if these were fixed positions and with a presumption of insider advantage (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2013). However, this position is not fixed and can be played; similarly, in some cases, not sharing the assumptions and world view of the subject can be advantageous (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2013; Mullings, 1999). Since this project queried New Zealand culture and its evolution, an outsider perspective could have advantages. I arrived in New Zealand as a three-year-old and therefore my upbringing was within New Zealand culture, but my mother, as an assisted immigrant from Britain, constantly brought an outsider perspective into this. As my spoken accent points out, I am neither British nor purely New Zealand; I have roots in both places but belong totally to neither.

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[3] 'God mode' in computer games allows players to access additional resources and abilities, often including the ability to see through walls or overview the entire level. A player in 'god mode' can achieve things that seem inexplicable to other players.

Beyond the external positions of race, gender, education and wealth is the action of an individual's personality modifying the position in action within fieldwork. Moser (2008) noted that "the solution here is not to attempt to change one's personality to fit a fieldwork situation but to engage in fieldwork that utilizes one's strengths" (p. 386). Document analysis has been described as requiring "an innate love of reading, a preference for your own company, and a forensic-like inquiring mind to track down documents and search through material for connecting strands of arguments, or as they have become better known, discourses" (Botterill & Platenkamp, 2012, p. 61). Given this, an education biased towards natural sciences, a leaning towards quantum physics, a deep disquiet about economic models and something of a historian's sensibility regarding mapping models and systems, and a willingness to accept and interpret complexity would seem a good match.

This interacts with the question of historiography, the need to be aware of who wrote the documents and why. It is important to maintain an awareness of being a visitor, in some ways an outsider interpreting what you find. There is also the inability to separate the findings from those doing the finding; however, those findings must be plausible and supported by the sources, which must be findable by others (Gaddis, 2002).

Retaining the required transparency in process and narration requires both reflection in action and reflection on action, understanding the response to challenges and then being able to document and describe these later (Schön, 1987). The traditional tool is a research diary that records both the process and the thoughts and feelings underlying and influencing the process. This allows researchers to consider and account for their own subjectivity as well as that of others to access the deeper layers of the process (Ballinger, 2003). Ballinger (2003) added consciously asking difficult questions, the constant 'why' of one's inner three-year-old. The answers should be framed not only for oneself but for as many different audiences as possible.

Throughout the process, a handwritten journal was kept, recording thoughts and feelings on an ad hoc and random basis in which the difficult questions of why answers were chosen and why there were problems within the project found their first airing. The work in progress was taken and presented at conferences and other forums, and the feedback from colleagues taken into account in choosing further actions and strategies. In addition, copies of prior drafts of chapters and notes on working analysis have been retained to show the process and reasons for accepting or rejecting certain analyses or selecting examples.

Chapter 4: Historical Context

This chapter provides a short history of the research context, New Zealand. It provides a summary of the relevant history, focused on the periods in which newspapers were sampled, 1890 to 1900, 1920 to 1930, 1945 to 1985 and 2005 to 2015. It then gives a brief summary of the history of commercial accommodation provision in New Zealand followed by the history of the newspapers sampled. The map that closes the chapter note the major locations discussed and give some sense of the geography.

4.1 New Zealand – A Social and Economic History

The following section gives a summarised history of each period and how it relates to the thesis aim. After a brief overview of early European settlement to orient the reader, the first period discussed is the recolonial phase of 1890 to 1900, when New Zealand began to reveal its own identity. The second period, 1920 to 1930, covers the arrival of radio and the boom and bust cycle that followed World War I. Subsequent to World War II, there were drastic changes to the world geopolitical situation, along with changes in New Zealand's connections to the world in terms of communications and culture, while New Zealand tried to turn back the clock to an earlier age. A last-ditch attempt to maintain a British identity in the face of Britain's entry to the European Economic Community (EEC) saw the continuation of this dynamic of resistance and response, in which the initial response was to hold change at bay before action was taken to address the change (Belich, 2001, 2009; Moon, 2011). The deregulatory environment after the 1984 snap election was in some ways a dramatic reaction, with change made for its own sake. The final period of 2005 to 2015 covers the aftermath of the dot-com crash and the impact of the GFC, in an increasingly interlinked world.

4.1.1.1 Prologue

When James Cook made landfall in 1769, Māori society was complex and thriving. Although they were not strictly one people, a defined set of relationships tied the distinct groups together in a formal and structured way. There was no commerce in the European sense but instead gift exchange and mutual obligation, including rules about the provision and acceptance of hospitality (Belich, 1996; King, 2003; Walker, 2004).

When these traditions encountered the crew culture[4] of, first, the whalers and sealers, then, progressive settlement, with their hotels and grog shops illegally selling alcohol, the

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[4] Crew culture is James Belich's description of the groups of men who did the initial work of breaking in the country, primarily miners and navvies but with similarities to sailors and whalers. They were prone

combination gave rise to places such as Kororāreka (Russell), disparaged by missionaries as the hellhole of the Pacific (Belich, 1996; Moon, 2006). The early phase of settlement was characterised by an extractive and almost gambling mentality, with growth feeding on itself, an explosive process creating substantial populations in a single lifetime (Belich, 2009). In this, New Zealand resembled other New Britains, especially Australia and the West Coast of the US. When this process of explosive growth exhausted itself, each settlement began to reveal its own character, reflecting the mixture of imported values and norms, the specific environmental resources and the culture, character and response to settlement of the indigenous people (Andrews, 2009; Belich, 2009). As the number of settlers increased, Māori lost the ability to bind the settlers into existing social structures (Belich, 1996; Moon, 1999). Despite the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, this swamping effect and the differing relationship to the land led to wars in the 1860s and 1870s and continuing dispossession of Māori (Belich, 1986; Walker, 2004).

4.1.1.2 Recolonial (1890–1900)

For New Zealand, this process started in the South Island in the 1870s, but was held at bay in the North Island by the Land Wars until the late 1880s. However, by 1890 the whole country was affected and required a new way to earn a living. The advent of refrigerated shipping, starting from 1882, enabled a move from progress to protein (Belich, 2001). The move from wool to meat changed both the breeds of sheep and the type of farm from large-scale sheep stations to small-scale intensive sheep and dairy farms; butter and cheese also became export commodities. The requirement for consistency in product also saw the rise of dairy cooperatives to process dairy, along with industrial-scale slaughterhouses. This process led to a tightening of links with Britain as the primary market and a reorganisation of finance, distribution and shipping to build the protein bridge (Belich, 2001). The end of the active phase of the Land Wars saw less direct methods of land confiscation, such as the operation of the Land Courts that tried to force European ownership patterns onto Māori (Belich, 1986; Walker, 2004). However, Māori continued to organise their own representation and determine the degree to which they adopted and adapted European influences and artefacts (Belich, 2001; Walker, 2004).

The experience of depression and stagnation also changed the government, making the populist compact more obvious. The rise of the Liberal alliance and the prime ministership of

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to binge-drinking and fighting, and were a marked contrast to the mainstream New Zealand society after about 1890.

Richard 'King Dick' Seddon from 1893 saw the passage of a raft of measures to encourage closer settlement of the land and bring structure to industrial relationships, notably the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act of 1894 and the old-age pensions. The introduction of voting rights for women in 1893 was heralded as part of the nation being a workers' paradise, despite the fact that the government of the day had not been in favour of its passage. There was also a tightening of social structures, work and leisure becoming more separate. Despite women's right to vote and an ability to work, more focus was placed on domesticity and a separation of gender roles. However, the period also saw a rise in work options for women, with domestic service employing half of paid women workers in 1881, dropping to a quarter by 1911 (Belich, 2001, p. 143).

Drink was seen as an integral part of the crew culture of progressive colonisation, which tight society defined itself against. The temperance movement, dating from as early as 1836, gained ground in this period. It shared some ground with the suffrage movement, but the female link can be overemphasised, as can the religious link. Temperance had broad support in a society trying to set norms and conventions and create itself as genteel. By 1890, both the consumption of alcohol and the violence linked to it were already dropping (Belich, 2001).

This is a formative period of New Zealand history, when the relationship to trade with the world changed from importing people and extracting resources to a structured commercial production of agricultural commodities, focused primarily on a single market, Britain. Internally, there was a change of values, with the move to a settled, fixed society.

4.1.1.3 Roaring to falling (1920–1930)

Radio arrived in New Zealand in 1922, and the 1920s were also the era of the picture palace, most notably The Civic Theatre in Auckland. This opened New Zealand to cultural influences from overseas, though they were quick to be censored and confronted (Belich, 2001; Moon, 2011). American influence was particularly frowned upon in a country consciously striving to be British (Belich, 2001). This extended to a special tax on Hollywood films from 1928 (Moon, 2011). Dance halls accompanied by jazz became common, much to the concern of churches and other moral defenders. New Zealanders also had the second-highest per capita car ownership behind the US by 1921 (Moon, 2011). The ability to travel led to a loosening of behaviour that was consciously resisted in many circles by a tightening of rules.

The period between the wars saw the rise of Māori leaders, both bicultural, such as members of Parliament Carroll and Ngata, and with a focus on Māori sovereignty, such as Te Puea Herangi of Waikato, who was important in the Māori kingship movement (Belich, 2001; Walker, 2004). Māori were still largely rural in this period, and in some ways there was little

overlap between the European cities and Māori life and culture (Belich, 2001). Land sales slowed somewhat and there were elements of revival of Māori culture and resistance to European influence, such as the Rātana movement (Belich, 2001; Walker, 2004).

While the depression that started with the failure of the American stock market in 1929 is the event noted in global history, for New Zealand the depression of note was that of 1920–1922 when wool prices collapsed followed by other agricultural commodities. Average wages continued to decline until 1926, and there were calls to free the market for wages and farm prices. However, the Reform Government opted to increase state involvement in farming, with marketing boards established in 1921 and the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research coming into existence in 1926, focused on research to improve agricultural productivity (Belich, 2001; Moon, 2011). The extravagance of the Jazz Age was represented not only in The Civic but also in the Chateau Tongariro Hotel, which was completed in 1929.

This was an era of change; New Zealand had come through World War I suffering massive loss of life but otherwise relatively unscathed. Social structures responded to the improved communications provided by technology by trying to return to the patterns of the pre-war era and being consciously British in orientation.

4.1.1.4 The golden weather and its ending (1945/1965/1985)

The period from 1945 to 1985 saw the rise and fall of the populist compact in its most developed form. The Second World War marked a major change in geopolitics globally, and in some ways the world still lives in its shadow. New Zealand made a more considered decision to enter this war than their reflex response of following Britain into the First World War. The war brought the world to New Zealand in the form of 100,000 US soldiers and sailors. It also took women into the workforce in unprecedented numbers. Unlike the Jazz Age reaction to World War I, the reaction to World War II was to build an idealised society with a heavy emphasis on domesticity. Despite this aspiration, there were still women in the workforce, particularly in periods of labour shortage (Moon, 2011).

There was an expectation of conformity because of the small population, and any deviations from the norm were conspicuous (Andrews, 2009; Belich, 2001; Moon, 2011). Despite major confrontation between the unions and the government on the wharves in 1951 (Moon, 2011), in the main, the negotiated compact between government, farmers, employers and unions largely held. This period is seen by many as a golden age for New Zealand, but by others as the triumph of boredom and conformity (Shieff, 2012).

However, by 1965 the storm clouds of forced change were beginning to gather. Preparation for Britain's entry into the EEC in 1973 forced a re-examination of economic relationships and reinforced the shift towards Australia and the US (Belich, 2001; Moon, 2011). The first television broadcasts occurred in 1960 on a regional basis, and a national network was created in 1969 (Belich, 2001; Moon, 2011). New Zealand also became more accessible to the rest of the world with the commencement of jet flights into Auckland and Christchurch in 1965 (Belich, 2001; Moon, 2011).

The second oil shock of 1979 and the failure of the Think Big projects, major government investments to develop energy resources and heavy industry in order to stimulate the economy and provide employment, saw New Zealand join the rest of the world in a stagflation phase and led to questioning of Keynesian economics (Belich, 2001; Menz, 2005). The Muldoon[5] government responded by applying further controls in the form of a wage and price freeze and trying to return the social climate to that of the 1950s (Belich, 2001; Moon, 2011).

Against this backdrop, the revival of Māori culture and resistance occurred. Land marches, such as the 1975 hikoi led by Dame Whina Cooper from Cape Reinga, at the top of the North Island, to Wellington, and the occupation of Bastion Point in Auckland between 1977 and 1979, attempted to draw attention to the continuing impacts of land confiscation during the settlement period. Although the Waitangi Tribunal was created in 1975 to provide redress for breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi, under the Muldoon Government it was largely ineffective, and it was not until 1995 that it would gain real powers. To preserve the Māori language, especially as those for whom it was a first language died, the formation of kōhanga reo (language nests) started in the early 1980s as part of a broader cultural renaissance. However, Māori were heavily affected by rising unemployment and other structural inequities, leading to their overrepresentation in crime and poverty statistics (Belich, 2001; Walker, 2004).

The Springbok Rugby Tour[6] of 1981 uncovered multiple divisions within the nation and its self-image. The level of activism rose and the role of sport was increasingly questioned. The images of police in riot gear and baton charges on protesters seared into the general consciousness, but there were also quieter protests, such as high school students choosing not to play rugby, and in some cases the sport disappeared for three or four years (Belich, 2001; Moon, 2011).

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[5] Robert (Rob) Muldoon was the prime minister of the third New Zealand National Government, in power from 1975 to 1984.

[6] In 1981 a 'whites only' South African rugby team toured, despite New Zealand being a signatory to the Gleneagles Agreement. The agreement signed by Commonwealth members was intended to discourage sporting contact with South Africa to pressure the regime government to end apartheid.

The snap election of 1984 brought a Labour Government to power, which then pursued one of the most neo-liberal programmes of the era. There was a drastic deregulation of the economy, removal of subsidies from farming being the most prominent, along with a raft of social legislation, including voluntary unionism and legalisation of prostitution (Belich, 2001; Moon, 2011). The Fourth Labour Government also made explicit the support for the anti-nuclear movement. This led to New Zealand's withdrawal from the Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty alliance and the French sinking of the Greenpeace support ship *Rainbow Warrior*[7] while she was in Auckland Harbour preparing to sail to Moruroa in July 1985. Legislation formally declaring the country a nuclear-free zone was passed in 1987 (Belich, 2001; Moon, 2011). The extension of the Waitangi Tribunal's mandate, back to 1840, and the requirement that the sell-off of government-owned assets had to take the Treaty of Waitangi into account were other rare examples of restraint on the pure neo-liberal vision (Belich, 2001) This period saw the last gasps of the populist compact and the recolonial attitude. The country was opened to the world and began to chart an independent course.

4.1.1.5 Wired World (2005–2015)

With the landing of the Southern Cross cable, a trans-Pacific telecommunications link, at Takapuna in 2000, New Zealand finally had a decent connection to an increasingly wired world beyond its previous single Internet gateway housed at Waikato University. This accelerated the uptake of Internet in New Zealand, increasing the involvement in events, such as 9/11, which streamed direct to people's desktops. The dot-com bust, which had seen the collapse in value of technology stocks and multiple bankruptcies of technology companies, was coming to its end in 2002 and allowing New Zealand to take advantage of its ability to provide services in the off hours for the US and Europe. The creative ability and high-tech industries were also now able to overcome the 'tyranny of distance' – a term originally used by Blainey (1968) regarding the influence of distance on Australian history and development but commonly applied to New Zealand as well (Andrews, 2009; Belich, 2009).

In physical trade, the country resumed the opening that had started in the 1980s with a number of major free trade agreements being concluded. These included agreements with China, which was rapidly becoming a world economic power. Negotiations for agreement with the US were complicated by the continuing anti-nuclear stance; however, the relationship became much less fraught. Although deregulation also gave rise to more open immigration

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[7] *Rainbow Warrior* was Greenpeace's flagship vessel, involved in anti-nuclear protest and other environmental protection direct actions. One crew member, photographer Fernando Pereira, was killed in the bombing. Two subsequent vessels have carried the *Rainbow Warrior* name (Greenpeace., 2018).

policies, by 2010 the strain on infrastructure from a rapidly rising population was becoming apparent. This led to the rise of political statements discouraging further immigration and targeting Asian immigrants and international students (Wiener, 2017). For Māori, settlements from the Waitangi Tribunal commenced in 1995, and there were growing numbers of kōhanga reo, rising use of the language and increased cultural presence (Belich, 2009). However, Māori were still overrepresented in unemployment and crime statistics with high levels of precarious employment and social disadvantage (Belich, 2001).

4.2   History of Hotels in New Zealand

Within this general history, it is also necessary to consider the specific history of commercial accommodation. The hotels and their changing roles within the evolving society are the immediate backdrop for considering hotel work. This section traces hotels from illicit grog shops, through the involvement of the government and the major New Zealand brewery companies to the current landscape of multinational brands.

Many of New Zealand's earliest hotels started off as grog shops[8] and general stores, particularly in places such as Kororāreka (Russell), where the accommodation was provided by the ships that the sealers, whalers and traders were travelling on. As merchants and settlers moved inland, a need arose for commercial accommodation that was land based (Belich, 1996; McNeish, 1957). In the early days, both accommodation and alcohol provision were unlicensed; the first license was an extension of the laws of New South Wales and the first New Zealand liquor licensing act took effect in 1842. In common with the US, there was a requirement to provide accommodation in order to be granted a licence to sell alcohol (Sandoval-Strausz, 2007). Likewise, New Zealand hotels performed a similar role to that of the settlement hotels of California and the American West in allowing the country to be opened up. Not only did they provide accommodation to settlers moving onto the land; they were also staging posts for the coaching firms, bases for surveyors and suppliers of entertainment and diversion for work crews and miners (Belich, 1996, 2001; McNeish, 1957; Sandoval-Strausz, 2007).

As towns developed, the hotels also became social centres, often their only gathering place. McNeish (1957) cited the Bannockburn Temperance Society, who had to hold their meetings in the front parlour of the inn. Likewise, public parlours hosted church services in the settlements before church buildings were completed, with the different denominations following one after another on a Sunday morning (McNeish, 1957). New Zealand's earliest travellers and tourists

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[8] Grog shops were unlicensed sellers of liquor, often general merchants.

took accommodation with local Māori and then with missionaries and government officials as they reached the various locations. However, the potential to attract visitors was quickly recognised, and hotels began to cater specifically to tourists, opening in Ohinemutu and Te Wairoa in the 1870s. While these hotels facilitated settlement, their aim was primarily to provide accommodation to transient visitors (Bremner, 2004; Stafford, 1986; Steele, 1980). Rotorua was the major focus of these developments, but tourism development also occurred at Waiwera, Te Aroha and Te Anau and slightly later at Mount Cook with development of the Hermitage Hotel beginning in 1884 (McClure, 2004; Wells, 2003).

The government has had varying levels of involvement in hotels and accommodation provision. The Department of Tourism owned properties at Milford Sound, Hanmer Springs and Franz Josef. These were later transferred to the Tourist Hotel Corporation (THC), a semi-independent body operating under commercial imperatives. Some hotels, notably the Chateau and the Hermitage, started their lives privately owned and were sold or transferred to government ownership when they proved unprofitable on a standalone basis, despite being important links in a chain of tourism product. The creation of the THC in 1955 gave rise to a debate about the role of hotels, which were perceived as the territory of the wealthy, particularly overseas visitors. The Labour opposition of the time felt that New Zealand should be kept for New Zealanders and looked to the beach holidays and the motels, which were beginning to provide an alternative to baches[9] and camping grounds as accommodation (McClure, 2004).

The THC was also intended to work in partnership with overseas investors to develop hotels beyond those in the corporation's direct ownership. To this end, the Tourist Accommodation Development Scheme was introduced in 1963, and it succeeded in facilitating the development of large hotels, notably in Auckland, which had become the clear gateway city with the arrival of the jet age. Development with overseas hotel companies also occurred under the scheme in Queenstown, Wellington and Christchurch (McClure, 2004).

The other important group of players was the breweries, which approached hotel development from the perspective of increasing outlets for their products. Although many hotels started as independent businesses, the breweries bought up successful hotels to control their supply chain. This became more pronounced as the local breweries merged with larger groups, which eventually saw the establishment of Lion Breweries and New Zealand Breweries

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[9] Baches, sometimes called 'cribs' in the southern South Island, are holiday homes usually in coastal locations. They are usually fairly basic with modest amenities, tend to be family owned and are often part of an annual summer ritual of holidays with cousins and friends.

as a virtual duopoly in the market (McClure, 2004; McNeish, 1957; Stone, 1987). Even when the requirement to provide accommodation in order to be licensed to sell liquor was removed in 1962 ("Sale of Liquor Act 1962," 1962), the breweries remained in the accommodation industry. The transition was gradual; it took until the mid-1990s for the divestment to be completed and the breweries to refocus purely on the food and beverage side of the business, particularly pubs.

The Hilton (Cementation Ltd) was interested in building a hotel on Bastion Point, but the Intercontinental Group was one of the earliest overseas investors in New Zealand hotels with its Auckland hotel (what is now the Pullman on Princes Street) opening in 1968. In many ways it was not until the mid-1980s with the removal of price controls and regulations on food and beverage sales that New Zealand became an attractive market for the international hotel groups (McClure, 2004). The lack of accommodation of the standards expected by overseas visitors, the problems of meeting service requirements, lack of suitable staff and the relationship between liquor sales and accommodation provision have dominated New Zealand tourism for its entire history. Promotion and transportation have almost continuously outrun the ability of the accommodation industry the visitors thus attracted. There has also been an uncomfortable divide between provision for domestic and international tourists, hotels not being a common part of most New Zealanders' experience into the 1990s at least, because of the perception they were playgrounds for the rich and had prices that were often out of reach of average New Zealanders (McClure, 2004).

4.3 History of Media

As noted earlier, newspapers played an important role in New Zealand settlement as a symbol of permanence, and the presses that produced the newspapers also functioned as commercial printers supplying books and pamphlets (Byrne, 1999; Harvey, 1999). The following section gives the histories of the four metropolitan dailies that formed the main data source for this thesis. This gives an overview of their varying editorial stances and how the structure of the newspaper industry in New Zealand has evolved, which contributes to how each of them has portrayed hotel work.

In discussing editorial stance it is important to note that while the original party representing landowners and and business interests was called the 'Liberal Party', by the 1940s New Zealand had moved to the usage of 'liberal' and 'conservative' as contrasting positions on social policy following the American usage (Beggood, 1975; Wood, 1975). The National Party (which is an indirect descendant of the original Liberal Party) tends to represent the interests of rural voters and of employers tending to a more conservative social policy. While the New

Zealand Labour party has moved away from its union roots it is broadly more supportive of workers' rights and welfare support (Belich, 2001). As noted in Section 3.6.1 parties may enact policies at odds with their perceived alignment, such as the Fourth Labour Government's swing to neo-liberalism and deregulation (Belich, 2001; Menz, 2005).

Working from north to south, *The New Zealand Herald*, in Auckland, was founded by William Chisholm Wilson, publishing its first edition on 13 November 1863. Wilson viewed the paper primarily as a business opportunity, a way to make money. By the 1870s, the *Herald* was clearly the conservative paper, whereas *The Auckland Star* supported the liberal political view. In 1877, William Wilson's sons merged the business with Alfred Horton's *Daily Southern Cross*, forming the Wilson & Horton Group that was to dominate Auckland newspapers until 1996, when it was sold to Independent News & Media Limited. Alfred Horton was interested in technology and the *Herald* was the first New Zealand newspaper to be printed on a rotary press, in 1883, and the first to present classified advertisements by category, in 1909. Its editorial stance was less innovative; the paper was regarded as staid and conservative – nicknamed 'Granny Herald' (National Library of New Zealand, n.d.-b). Independent News & Media sold its publishing interests to APN News in 2001 and restructured as part of the multimedia NZME in 2014 (National Library of New Zealand, n.d.-b; New Zealand Media & Entertainment, n.d.).

The Evening Post, in Wellington, was first published on 15 February 1865. Founded by Henry Blundell, an experienced newspaperman with 30 years' experience on *The Dublin Evening Mail* prior to migrating, as well as time with *The Otago Daily Times* after arriving in New Zealand in 1863. In 1865 he moved to Wellington because it did not have a daily paper. *The Evening Post* was firmly family owned and adopted a politically neutral editorial stance. It quickly gained a reputation for high-quality reporting and was very popular throughout its existence. Its only serious competition was *The Dominion*, founded in September 1907 as a voice for the conservative elements of the city, favouring free trade and a white New Zealand immigration policy. *The Dominion* was a morning paper, and the city successfully supported two dailies until 2002, despite declining circulation for the *Post* from the 1970s and shared ownership from 1972. However, by the early 2000s circulation for the *Post* had declined to the point that it was no longer sustainable and the two papers were merged to a single morning paper. The final edition of *The Evening Post* was published on 6 July 2002. It was via *The Dominion* that Rupert Murdoch's News Corp became owners of Independent Newspapers Limited (INL). The ownership of the merged paper was subsequently sold to the Fairfax Group to form the second major media group in the New Zealand market, now known as Stuff (National Library of New Zealand, n.d.-a; Stuff, 2018).

The Press, in Christchurch, started life in 1861 as a weekly paper, moving to daily publication from March 1863. Founded by Edward Fitzgerald, the MP for Lyttelton and one of several parliamentary newsmen of the time (Belich, 2001), the paper was initially disapproving of development plans for the province and strongly represented the interests of the large landowners, and it moved to being a sober paper of record although with a somewhat conservative slant. Like the *Herald*, it was a technical innovator, using full colour for its Christmas special edition in 1893. *The Press* also employed one of the first women to join a general newsroom, as opposed to the ladies' columns, hiring Mona McKay in 1917. The paper was held by various private companies until it was listed on the New Zealand stock exchange in 1970. From there it was acquired by INL in 1987, and ownership passed to the Fairfax Group in 2003 (National Library of New Zealand; Stuff, 2018).

The southernmost paper of the main sample is the Dunedin-based *Otago Daily Times*, the first daily newspaper in New Zealand, publishing continuously since 15 November 1861. Founded by Julius Vogel, later the prime minister, the paper always had a crusading element. Vogel's political activity in favour of separation of the North and South Islands led to his dismissal by the paper's owners in 1868, mostly because he was not focused enough on making the paper profitable. The paper notably published a series of articles in the 1880s on working conditions that led to the first Sweating Commission in 1890. *The Otago Daily Times* is also notable as the only metropolitan daily that is not owned by one of the two major media companies, still being independent (Allied Press Limited, n.d.; National Library of New Zealand).

The four chapters that follow present the findings from the sampled newspapers. Structured as thematic narratives for each period, they begin to trace the evolution of the portrayal of hotels and hotel work in New Zealand. The map below, in Figure 2, contains all the major locations that will be discussed in the findings chapters.

Figure 2. Map of New Zealand

Chapter 5: Recolonial (1890–1900)

This chapter provides the starting point for examining the evolution of the portrayal of hotel work, and the underlying values and attitudes, which eventually allows an examination of implications for the modern industry.

In the decade from 1890 to 1900, New Zealand moved out of the phase of high-speed growth fuelled by settlement and the resultant growth in population. The perceived main engine of the economy moved to exporting meat, butter and cheese to Britain. From the brash confidence of early settlement, with Anglo–New Zealand companies dominated by the New Zealand partners, the move to protein export was built on a vision of being a better Britain of the South (Belich, 2001). This vision defined better Britain as a rising middle class, a society tightly structured to master its own insecurities and uncertainties, trying to control its surroundings and enforce conformity to norms (Belich, 2001).

Analysing the reporting on hotels and the people who worked in them revealed four broad themes: respectability, independence, power and the silences. Respectability was an important characteristic in the period, and this theme examines how the notion of respectability was defined and enforced in society and the way hotels and the people who worked in them were part of this process. Independence related to the values of work, hard work and striving to be independent. The power theme revealed the emerging power narratives of the period, who held power, and how power and power distance were enforced. Silences related to what was implied, assumed and not said, and hence what these reveal about the values of the time.

Some of the material relating to the proprietors has appeared in a slightly different format as a conference paper presented at the CAUTHE conference in 2017 (Cameron, 2017).

5.1 Respectability

This section presents evidence of the proprietors' attempts to position themselves as respectable, and examines the relevant legislation and the debates about its amendment for clues to social definitions and parameters. It then considers how the theme of respectability sheds light on the role of the hotel and hotel workers as viewed by society during this period and the impact of all these factors on how the hotels operated as businesses. Respectability was much discussed and desired, at least by newspaper editors and presumably their readers. However, because of this shared social understanding, no detailed definition or description of what behaviour this entailed is given. This 'definition' and how it was enacted and enforced

has to be read back from the evidence. The relationships between these factors and the other themes can be seen in the network diagram in Appendix 2.

5.1.1   The proprietors, respectable or not?

This section draws on data from both editorial and advertising content of the newspapers noted in the methods section, to consider hotel proprietors as part of the social system of respectability, how their actions were reported and the broader roles they were reported as playing in society.

Hotel proprietors as part of the control system envisaged by the 1881 Licensing Act were supposed to be reputable members of the community and conform to the prescribed norms of 'respectability'. This was evidenced from data reporting a licensing committee chair in Parnell in 1900 hinting that the licence holder needed to marry in order to have his licence renewed. Once it was shown that his parents also resided on the premises, he was spared a precipitous marriage ("Local and general news," 1900). Proprietors were also required to have the temperament and experience to keep control of their patrons, a failure to do so reflecting a lack of respectability or a willingness to permit larrikins ("Second edition. Licensing meeting. Suburbs of Wellington," 1895). Similarly, in approving Patrick Gleeson's application for the licence for the Newtown Hotel, the committee noted his 24 years of experience and that no witnesses could prove he was of bad character ("New Zealand-Press Association telegrams," 1895). This was despite his having been fined £250 for breaking a man's leg in Auckland and that a Napier jury had been critical of his role in serving a man who subsequently died from excessive drinking ("Editorial," 1895b). Likewise, when the patrons were perceived as likely to be difficult, a firm hand was required; for example, a house "frequented by seamen and people of rough character" should not be in the charge of a woman ("A strange decision," 1890).

The competence of the female hotel proprietors was occasionally acknowledged by licensing committees and editorial writers. Mrs Cole at the Central ("Second edition. Licensing meeting. Suburbs of Wellington," 1895) and Mrs Townsend at the Pier Hotel ("A strange decision," 1890) were both noted as being good businesswomen by inspectors and witnesses. However, despite these exceptions, respectability as evidenced by business competence was generally viewed as a masculine characteristic, as is discussed further under the power theme in Section 5.3.

Groups of proprietors worked together, often in conjunction with the brewers, with regard to nominations to the various licensing committees, but these interactions were not always without friction. In some cases, certain members of the group were seen as having other

loyalties, such as to lodges, that overrode their group solidarity ("The nomination question: A denial," 1890) or being less than honourable ("Mr Ehrenfried's reply to Mr Arthur H. Taylor," 1891). Patrick Gleeson, who owned and managed hotels in various parts of the country over the course of the decade, managed to run afoul of both opponents and erstwhile allies in these interactions. Likewise, when he was applying for the transfer of the licences of Waverley Hotel on Lambton Quay to Newtown, he managed to provoke other hotelkeepers into disowning him and the supporting breweries ("Condensed correspondence: The Newtown license," 1895). In the 1890 instance, the proprietors and brewers who denied a split in what had been publicised were concerned about being seen as going back on their word or not respecting due process. In 1891, it was Gleeson's underhand behaviour in putting in nominations other than those agreed to that led the group to want to disassociate themselves from him and publicise their own actions as honourable. That the dispute had become public knowledge and was then discussed in the letters to the editor columns of both the Auckland papers indicates how interconnected the trade was and how small scale Auckland was at the time. It also demonstrates the concern that people held for positioning themselves as honourable and respectable within a closed community.

Some hotel staff built a career in the industry, eventually moving up to managing their own hotel. David Norden promoted his many years as a head waiter when he took possession of the Prince Arthur Hotel (formerly Orams), a competitor of the Albion at the Hobson and Wellesley Streets intersection ("Advertisements column 1," 1895). The reporting of an attempted suicide noted the man as having been night porter for 10 years at the same hotel, along with the fact that he had supported his wife and young family ("Attempted suicide in a hotel," 1890). Likewise, proprietors built long-term careers, as can be seen in the case of Joseph McRae, who took possession of the Waverley in Auckland in 1895 ("Page 6 advertisements," 1895). He had started his career in Te Wairoa in the 1880s, moving to Rotorua after the Mount Tarawera eruption in 1886 and overseeing the move of the Palace Hotel from Ohinemutu to the then new township of Rotorua (Bremner, 2004; Stafford, 1986). Particularly in the early part of the decade, the link with the crew culture of the sea was still strong with movement of staff between land and sea ("The strike in New Zealand," 1890). Ship captains coming ashore to settle moved into the hotel trade as proprietors and in some cases owners ("Accidents and fatalities," 1895; "A brave deed tardy recognition," 1890). There was also some movement between construction and the hotel trade ("Untitled," 1900).

As noted above, proprietors were prominent members of lodges and fraternities, which played a major part in social services delivery ("News of the day – Obituary," 1890). As men with money and connections, they were mining investors and racehorse owners, both of which

accorded status ("Editorial," 1895a; "Local and general news," 1900). They were often involved with the local bodies, including government and social bodies ("Social and general," 1895). An 1895 summary of the occupations of the newly elected Parliament noted two hotelkeepers along with 19 brewers, distillers and wine merchants. That said, 131 lawyers and 26 bankers and financiers were among the honourable members ("Editorial," 1895c).

In terms of respectability, therefore, the above demonstrates that very definite rules existed about behaviour and occupation that hotel proprietors had to observe. As business owners, they were potentially respectable but this status was somewhat precarious.

5.1.2 Legislation for respectable society

The legislation governing the operation of licensed hotels in New Zealand at the time potentially demonstrates the tension between respectability and the sale of alcohol. Alcohol had overtones of disrepute and was seen as requiring careful management to ensure it did not disrupt society. This tension thereby affected notions of perceived respectability at the time.

As an example, the licensee was required to maintain the premises to set standards, could not be "of bad fame or character, or drunken habits" ("The Licensing Act, 1881," 1881, s 81.2). Nor could a married woman hold a licence in her own right, and her licence would be transferred to her husband on marriage ("The Licensing Act, 1881," 1881, s 103). There were exceptions given in the provision of the 1889 amendment ("The Licensing Act 1881 Amendment Act 1889," 1889); however, these were limited to existing licence holders and widows of existing proprietors.

In addition, hotels were prohibited from employing dancing girls or permitting public dancing (private functions were permitted but not operating a dance saloon) ("The Licensing Act, 1881," 1881, s 127 & s 128). Women were not permitted to work more than 10 hours a day or after 11pm unless they were the wife or a daughter of the publican ("The Licensing Act, 1881," 1881, s 126). Section 150 stated that if an innkeeper permitted the use of premises as a brothel he would forfeit the licence and be forever debarred from holding another. So great was the concern that "reputed prostitutes" were only allowed to remain on the premises long enough "to obtain reasonable refreshment", with fines ranging from £10 to £20 per offence ("The Licensing Act, 1881," 1881, s 147).

During this period, hotels of all classes were subject to quarterly inspections by an inspector of licensed premises who would report on

> the condition of the house, premises and furniture, the manner in which the house has been conducted during the past twelve months, the character of the persons

frequenting the house and a statement of the number, locality and distance of other licensed houses in the neighbourhood. ("The Licensing Act, 1881," 1881, s 44.1)

5.1.3   Roles of hotels in respectability

Beyond their main roles of providing accommodation and food and beverage service, hotels in New Zealand society between 1890 and 1900 played a number of other roles that also contributed to the building of respectable society.

All manner of social functions occurring at the hotels were reported in the newspapers from the decade, from smoke concerts to civil receptions. Sport clubs often held their meetings in hotels prior to the establishment of club rooms ("Advertisement," 1900; "Te Puke," 1890). They were also the site of meetings, particularly for the mining companies ("A Coopers syndicate or trust," 1890; "Untitled," 1890b). In places such as Thames, where there was not enough trade to support them full-time, dentists from Auckland set up practice for periods of time in a hotel ("Editorial," 1900b). Likewise, piano tuners on the West Coast used hotels as a base, with bookings being handled by the hotel staff ("Advertisement," 1890b). During 1900, hotels were used as venues for recruitment of soldiers for the Boer War. They also hosted farewell concerts and functions for departing volunteers, and presentations and speeches by officers returning from the battle ("Volunteer and service jottings," 1900). By 1890, churches and temperance societies (Belich, 2001) no longer used the hotels, but the hotels were still a very major part of the social fabric – far more so than they would be in later periods.

As a more functional social role, the Licensing Act of 1881 required innkeepers to receive dead bodies and permit the holding of inquests where there was no morgue within two miles. This was both the coroners' examination and the holding of a coroners court to determine the cause of death. A fee was paid of £1 per dead body ("The Licensing Act, 1881," 1881, s 136). Inquests were held in Auckland hotels right up to 1900 ("Local and general news," 1900). In fact, a move to make morgues mandatory was made by a member of Parliament in that year ("The morgue," 1900). Accident victims were also taken to the hotels pending medical attention – often before removal to hospital ("Untitled," 1890b).

5.1.4   Hotel workers

It has been argued that respectability was to some degree based on a hierarchy, with difference in classes being both accepted and expected (Belich, 2001). The position of hotel staff, given the tension between the requirement for servants in an age before domestic appliances were common and the drive for an independent living, was somewhat problematic.

The use of the term 'servant' in legislation and in the media was particularly notable in determining the relative position of hotel workers in the hierarchy.

From 1892, with the passage of the Servants' Registry Office Act, anyone wishing to act as an intermediary in the employment of servants had to have a valid licence to do so ("The Servants' Registry Offices Act," 1892). Fees were not directly regulated but were required to be displayed, although this was only clarified in the 1895 amendment ("The Servants' Registry Office Act, 1895," 1895, s 15). All registry offices were required to keep records of the employer, the employer's name and occupation, the employee, wages to be paid and terms of engagement.

The definitions given for 'servant' in the act and the amendment are very broad. The 1895 act gave it as "any person engaged or seeking engagement for hire in any manual capacity, whether domestic, agricultural, pastoral, mechanical, or otherwise howsoever" ("The Servants' Registry Offices Act, 1895," 1985, s 2). According to the advertisements, the registries commonly handled domestic staff, farm staff, including managers and sharemilkers, and staff for both the accommodation and food and beverage businesses. They did not handle employment of office, factory or retail workers. At least one, Izett, a servants' registry office in Christchurch, also handled placement of children for fostering and adoption – one of the children in Minnie Dean's[10] care had been placed this way ("Winton baby-farming cases," 1895). The agencies were often run by married women. Christchurch and Dunedin had strong agencies and the majority of positions advertised were through the registry offices. In Auckland and Wellington there were more direct advertisements by employers, often naming the hotel.

The period saw the rise of factory and office work available to women, at least unmarried women. Domestic service reduced from 50% of working women in 1881 to 25% in 1911 (Olssen, 1995). Hotel staff were classified and referred to as servants, meaning unskilled or semi-skilled manual workers beyond the confines of a factory. By 1900, there was occasional mention of them as "employees", for example, the Press Association coverage of the Warner's Hotel fire; however, "servant" is used in the same article ("Warner's Hotel fire," 1900). The fact that staff often lived on the premises reinforced the link with domestic service ("City Licensing Committee," 1900). However, by 1900, it was becoming common for even domestic servants to live out ("Wanted," 1900b). The presence of the publican's family and their employment in

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[10] Minnie Dean, the only woman hanged in New Zealand, fostered illegitimate infants, an occupation known as baby farming. Survival rates for these children were not high, but several of Mrs Dean's charges appeared to have had their death hastened with poison (Belich, 2001).

the business also reinforced the domestic link. Shop and clerical workers began to step away from being called servants. The hotel workers, however, were seen as servants of the proprietor, not the guest ("City Police Court," 1895; "Licensing committees," 1890). Staff in hotels, particularly men, were able to build some level of respectability by long-term service with one employer and conforming to other norms such as marriage and supporting a family. Single men, especially those who moved from job to job, were less well regarded.

Data analysis revealed that most of the offences committed by staff were petty theft of property, mostly money. These were mainly by housemaids and porters, equally against guests and employers, as crimes of opportunity ("General news," 1890). Crimes against staff were mostly assaults against bar staff, although a number of enterprising staff managed to foil attempted crimes against the hotels by outsiders ("News of the war," 1900; "Untitled," 1890a). Proceeds from crime also passed through the hotels, although in the case of the thief who stole a collection of coins from Auckland Museum, this was something he was to regret. Georgina Stafford, a sharp-eyed barmaid, realised that the coin she was handed was unusual and had her manager call for the police, by which means the thief was apprehended ("Local and general news," 1895).

Barmaids' hours of work were controlled by Section 126 of the Licensing Act ("The Licensing Act, 1881," 1881), which required that they not be on the premises after 11pm. However, in some locations, this was honoured mostly in the breach – hotels open later and barmaids still present, with *The Inangahua Times* noting that hotelkeepers had been notified that the police would now be strictly enforcing provision ("Editorial," 1890a). In other reports ("Editorial," 1890b; "The Licensing Act – Unnecessary delay admitting police," 1895) the proprietors argued that the barmaids also performed other roles and were there in other capacities, such as housemaids making up guest rooms. Generally, barmaids were felt to raise the tone and lend respectability ("Wednesday half holiday," 1895) but also by their flirting to be a threat to this very respectability ("Editorial," 1890a), despite it taking two to flirt.

As can be seen from the above examples, appearances of hotel staff as opposed to proprietors in news stories are limited and fall into a few broad categories. These are discussion of unions, stories about fires and court reporting of hotel staff both as perpetrators and victims of crime. From this it might be discerned that hotel workers only attracted notice when they failed to play their role in the hierarchy demanded by respectability or when they became victims of others' non-conformity.

5.1.5 Summary

The findings above provide evidence to suggest that proprietors, particularly when they were the owners of the premises, were viewed as potentially respectable, the genial host. However, they did have to be able to keep order and control the behaviour of both patrons and staff (McNeish, 1957; "Second edition. Licensing meeting. Suburbs of Wellington," 1895) to meet the expectations of society. They were also supposed to know their place relative to their suppliers and regulators ("Mr Ehrenfried's reply to Mr Arthur H. Taylor," 1891; "The nomination question: A denial," 1890). Yet their role was also seen as exposing them to corruption and possible failure of character, as evidenced by the discussion of drunkenness in the 1881 and 1895 acts and the condescending notes in reports of licensing hearings, such as "never seen worse for drink" ("The Licensing Act – Unnecessary delay admitting police," 1895; "Second edition. Licensing meeting. Suburbs of Wellington," 1895).

Although there were examples of capable businesswomen within the hospitality trade, legislation expected married women to defer to their husbands, with the licence having to pass into their name ("Married women as licensees of hotels," 1889). Women were increasingly expected to remain in the realm of the domestic, with a commercialised version as boarding house proprietor being seen as suitable, the lady proprietor was to pay attention to domestic details as a surrogate   wife not an independent woman. Accordingly, a hotel "frequented by sailors should not be in the charge of a woman" ("Second edition. Licensing meeting. Suburbs of Wellington," 1895, p. 2) because women were seen as needing to be sheltered and protected. Respectability required women to behave as supporters and adjuncts, wives not independent agents, despite the continuing importance of women's work to both household income and the viability of small businesses. Although women were granted the right to vote in 1893, this was not intended to give them a real voice.

5.2 Independence

The theme of independence that emerged from the data analysis, as shown in the network diagram in Appendix 2, considers the positioning of hotels as a means to realise the goal of being one's own boss. The evidence illustrates how available hotels were for purchase and the risks associated with running a hotel business during the decade. This is then compared with the wages paid to staff and how the attributes of staff versus owners were described to try to understand the value put on work and workers. Independence, in the form of being one's own boss, shared some defining characteristics with respectability in that it was related to the value of hard work.

The decade from 1890 to 1900 saw the New Zealand economy emerging from the stagnation of the 1880s. The Lands for Settlement Act in 1892 and, more particularly, the Government Advances to Settlers Act measures from 1894 (Belich, 2001), which freed up credit for both rural and urban investment, brought growth and development. This affected both the rural sector as it reoriented to the protein industry and urban industries, which were required to support this.

5.2.1 Availability of independent livings

Findings of the research showed that the desire to be one's own boss or at least determine one's own direction was incorporated into the New Zealand ethos in the period 1890 to 1900. Reflecting the British economic model drawn from Smith (1976), where land was seen as the most valuable commodity, a small farm was the ultimate expression of this. Open independencies, which did not require the lengthy apprenticeships or specific skills of trades, ranked much further down the hierarchy but still above working for someone else. Hotels, along with retailing and other service industries, were found to be classic examples of these open independencies.

The ability to buy into a hotel and the viability of the business varied over the decade in a number of ways, including the number of hotels available for purchase and their price relative to the volume of trade they produced and the wage levels prevailing at the time. Tables 8–10 show the number of real estate advertisements appearing in the sampled newspapers along with the price ranges and trade figures. Although newspapers were not the only channels for selling businesses, these real estate advertisements give an indication of the volume of transactions and the pricing patterns of the time.

Table 8. Number of advertisements for hotel for sale or lease by newspaper by date

	1890	1895	1900
New Zealand Herald	9	1	7
Evening Post	10	17	24
The Press	–	–	1
Otago Daily Times	3	6	34
West Coast Times	5	2	1
Bay of Plenty Times	–	–	–

Table 9. Price ranges given in real estate advertisements

	1890	1895	1900
New Zealand Herald	£25 plus stock	£80 plus stock	£750–£1,100
Evening Post	£50–£500	£70–£500	£600–£6,000
The Press	–	–	£2,000
Otago Daily Times	(Cheap)	(Bargain)	£130–£4,000
West Coast Times	–	–	–
Bay of Plenty Times	–	–	–

Table 10. Quoted values for trade in advertisements

	1890	1895	1900
New Zealand Herald	–	–	£400 per month
Evening Post	–	£20–£80 per week	£25–£200 per week £30–£2,000 per year
The Press	–	–	–
Otago Daily Times	–	–	£10–£220 per week
West Coast Times	–	–	–
Bay of Plenty Times	–	–	–

Auckland and the West Coast both showed a slump in volume of sales in 1895 and a recovery in 1900. Wellington and Dunedin showed steadier growth (see Table 8). Christchurch and Tauranga appear to have used alternative channels for hotel sales since tracking the proprietors themselves, via the minutes of licensing committee meetings, clearly shows hotels in both locations changing hands.

The economic recovery of 1900 is clearly visible in the advertising of hotels for sale and lease, both in terms of the number of advertisements (see Table 8) and the increase in prices asked (see

Table 9) relative to the trade being done (see Table 10). Prices for "country" hotels were lower than those in the main cities. "Country" was not defined by location in the advertising, but seems likely to refer to locations outside the borough system, and therefore likely to have less traffic. City trade was not dramatically different from country locations, presumably because of the higher levels of competition in the cities. The overall trade in the cities was probably higher, but it was spread over a larger number of hotels, meaning each hotel's share was similar to that of a country location.

In addition to the purchase price (see the examples in

Table 9), there was a range of fees. The 1881 act gives the schedule of annual fees: publicans' licences within boroughs were £40 and outside boroughs £25 with accommodation licences not to exceed £20 ("The Licensing Act, 1881," 1881, s 108). The system anticipated the separation of ownership and management; the register of licensed premises noted both the owner of the premises and the holder of the licence for their operation ("The Licensing Act, 1881," 1881, s 113.1).

The attitude towards the sale and consumption of alcohol had a major impact on accommodation provision. The need for accommodation was accepted; in fact, calls for additional accommodation in towns and tourist districts were common ("Prohibition in Ponsonby," 1890). There was great concern when the licensing committee in Warkworth had a temperance majority who had the closure of the hotel as a stated ambition, because of the potential impact on the tourist trade ("Untitled," 1890b). The same article noted that not all abstainers felt the need to completely close hotels. However, travel writers at the time noted that the level of control and limitations on licences from the 1895 act meant that there was not the range of accommodation that would be expected in towns of a similar size in other countries. In this particular case, Te Kuiti as a Native district was under prohibition ("The King Country," 1900).

Hotels were comparable to other businesses as far as price was concerned; however, particularly in particularly in Auckland, house prices were high compared with both farms and hotels as far back as back as 1890. Prices of hotels were fairly static, particularly relative to trade, between 1890 and 1895, and 1895, then increased dramatically in 1900. That said, even allowing for rentals, the purchase price purchase price could still be covered in approximately one year in most cases based on the trade figures trade figures quoted, as shown in

Table 9 and Table 10. However, accumulating the required capital became more difficult as the decade progressed, making business ownership less accessible.

5.2.2   Risks of independence

Although it was possible to build a long-term career in the hotel industry, such as in the example of Joseph MacRae, this pathway was not always smooth. McRae faced bankruptcy after operating the Palace; the last years of trading showed insufficient demand for accommodation, and the bar and billiards table were the largest source of income (1895). Problems with suppliers, sudden downturns in trade or loss of a liquor licence owing to a district going dry also forced proprietors into bankruptcy. The 1895 Alcoholic Liquors Sale Control Act Amendment provided for a licensing poll to be taken alongside the electoral poll, which allowed voters to decide whether licences in each district should be reduced, discontinued or continued as they stood. In dry districts, the triennial poll asked whether licences should be reintroduced. If this was approved, then licences were to be limited to the maximum number of licences existing prior to the district going dry. Section 18 removed the previous bottle licences, effectively meaning that there was no legal avenue for sales for off-premises consumption ("The Alcoholic Liquors Sale Control Act Amendment Act, 1895," 1895). It also banned tied houses, where hotels were required to buy alcohol only from one supplier, typically a major brewery, following on from cases such as Gleeson vs. Ehnrefried in 1890.

The ability to retain a hotel was also at the mercy of the local licensing committee, who had the power to revoke licences and require hotels to be disposed of. For example, in an 1895 hearing to renew the licence of the Central Hotel in Petone, there was discussion about one staff member being supposedly "a girl of bad repute", that Māoris frequented the house and got drunk and larrikins refused to leave at closing time, all given as evidence that Cole, the proprietor, could not maintain control and was therefore not suitable to hold the licence. It was also noted that "Cole was of a highly nervous temperament", although the inspector considered his wife a good businesswoman ("Second edition. Licensing meeting. Suburbs of Wellington," 1895). After an adjournment, the committee declined to renew the licence and requested that the applicant dispose of the hotel ("Suburbs Licensing Committee," 1895).

Conversely, a well-run hotel could also generate sufficient capital to allow investment in other enterprises. Mrs Silk, who owned the Leviathan Railway Temperance Hotel, Dunedin, in 1890 ("Board and residence," 1890), was in 1895 noted as part owner of a mine in the Skipper district. which had just taken possession of the first stamper battery in the district ("An enterprising lady," 1895). Such proprietors promoted their experience and tried to hold on to their customers as they moved between hotels. Advertisements often included the previous hotels the proprietor had owned as part of their copy. There were enough connections between different locations and enough travel between them that customers could be drawn

from one location to the next ("The Club Hotel, Te Aroha," 1889; "Page 4 advertisements," 1890; "Page 7 advertisements," 1900).

The licensing requirements and ability of districts to go dry meant hotels became increasingly inaccessible as time went on. The price relative to trade did increase slightly over the time, and it became more difficult to secure financing from vendors. Belich (2001) noted the decline in the number of hotels per head of population alongside the decline of the crew culture and the emergence of alternate social venues as sport clubs built their own rooms and halls and theatres were constructed, moving concerts and dances to other venues.

5.2.3   Independence versus wages

The volume of positions advertised, as shown in Table 11, reflected the general state of the economy. In 1890 Auckland and Wellington were still growing; however, the economic slowdown had already reached Christchurch and Dunedin. By 1895, the whole country was in recession. By 1900, the public works activity and the growth of exports had reinvigorated the economy, and jobs reflected this. The positions were female dominated; advertisements specified the desired gender for cooks in most instances and used gendered terms such as barmaid and waitress. Waitresses and housemaids were the most advertised positions, presumably reflecting labour turnover between hotels, domestic service and those women trying to move into shops, offices and factories as these became more available in the early part of the 20th century. As well as specifically bounded positions, there were general servants.

Even within specific positions the skills called for were diverse, with requests for a waitress/housemaid who was also a good laundress ("Wanted," 1890a) and a waitress who could play the piano ("Wanted," 1890a). Advertisements also noted which other staff were employed; for example, an advertisement for a general noted that a housemaid was also kept ("Wanted," 1895b). Advertisements for cooks' positions often noted that a laundress was kept ("Late advertisements," 1890; "Wanted," 1890a). From the bare text of the classified advertisements, it is difficult to determine whether this was intended to reassure the applicants that the job had a limited scope or to confirm that businesses and households had the means to retain multiple servants. Much rarer was the 1895 advertisement looking for a hotel accountant ("Wanted," 1895a) or the housekeeper/manager looking for working in 1900 ("Wanted," 1900a). There was also the issue of character ("Wanted," 1890b) and requirements for temperance ("Wanted," 1890a), as discussed under the respectability theme in Section 5.1.

Table 11. Count of sampled job advertisements

Position	1890							1895							1900						
	NZH	EP	CP	ODT	BoP	WCT		NZH	EP	CP	ODT	BoP	WCT		NZH	EP	CP	ODT	BoP	WCT	
Cook (Male)	1	3	1	1	1		7			2	4			6		1	7	9			17
Cook (Female)	1	5	2	1			9				1			1	2	2	2	3			9
Porter	2						2	1						1		1		4			5
Hall porter	1						1														
Boots		1		1			2									1		3			4
Waiter	2						2			1	1			2		1	1	2			4
Waitress	7	5	1	1			14	1	2		1		2	6	3	2	5	6			16
Barmaid	3		2	2			7	2	1		1			4	3		3	3			9
Hotel general	2	3		1	1		7		2	2	1			5	2		1	1			4
Housemaid	2	8	1		1		12								2	2	7	3			14
Buttons																1					1
Other	3	1	1	2			7	2	1	1	1			5	1	1	6	6			14
Management																1					1
	24	26	8	9	3			6	6	6	10	0	2		13	13	32	40			

Key: NZH – *New Zealand Herald* (Auckland)
EP – *Evening Post* (Wellington)
CP – *The Press* (Christchurch)
ODT – *Otago Daily Times* (Dunedin)
BoP – *Bay of Plenty Times* (Tauranga)
WCT – *West Coast Times* (Hokitika)

Table 12. Split between front and back-of-house roles in jobs advertised

	1890	1895	1900
Back of house	42 (60%)	17 (56%)	58 (59%)
Front of house	28 (40%)	13 (44%)	40 (41%)

A sample of the wage ranges on offer to hotel staff is given in Table 13; these are from the four main centres only. They give an indication of the cost structure of the business relative to the volume of trade and the purchase price. Although there was a degree of mobility, the tendency was for workers to stay within the industry. This would mean that considerable effort would be required to save even the deposit to move into proprietorship. This gap increased as the decade progressed, with wages staying relatively static while the price of hotels rose.

Table 13. Wage ranges quoted in the sampled job advertisements

Job title	1890	1900
Cook (Male)	30s	15s–£3
Cook (Female)	20–25s	15s–35s
Waitress	12–20s	14–16s
Barmaid	30s	15–20s
General (maid of all works)	12–15s	11–15s
Housemaid	12–15s	10–16s
Laundress	15s	£1
Other	15s	15s

Although the increase in the number of jobs advertised partly reflects the overall growth in the size of the economy, back-of-house positions, such as cooks and housemaids, dominated the advertising through the decade, as can be seen in Table 12, possibly reflecting higher turnover in these positions. However, wages for housemaids and general domestic servants (predominantly female) showed little variation over the decade despite this. The major increase in wages was for male cooks, with male positions taking a larger proportion of the advertising as the decade went on. The only female position showing a similar increase was that of laundress; however, a much smaller number of positions were advertised.

The wage levels also give an indication that it became increasingly difficult for staff to move to becoming proprietors. Those who had industry experience were not able to apply this for their own benefit and become self-employed. This contributed to the rise of groups of hotels owned by investors putting in tenants to manage the property and a decrease in owner-operators as the decade progressed.

5.2.4 Broader social views of hotels as an independency

In considering the value placed on work, it needs to be noted that the official view of work, as evidenced by the census structure, was machine driven. The data gathered reflected the importance of making 'things', although food and drink was a class of materials worked on (Olssen & Hickey, 2005). The focus was on the industrial structure of the country, not the

occupational structure of the population in the period. However, at least for Dunedin, there is evidence that pre-industrial, domestic-based production existed alongside this industrial structure (Olssen, 1995).

In advertising the services of the hotel, the proprietors stressed their experience, the comfort and modernity of the hotel accommodation and often the quality of the food. When a married couple were based in the hotel, the wife's involvement with food provision was often mentioned. In travel reviews, the proprietors' geniality and welcome were often noted along with their level of personal involvement (i.e. rather than leaving things to their staff). Therefore, independence only bestowed its virtue when it was competently managed; poor performance, for whatever reason, attracted scorn, as was mentioned above in the case of Cole, in which it was perceived that lack of control over customer behaviour caused the licensing committee to withdraw the licence despite the business being financially successful ("Second edition. Licensing meeting. Suburbs of Wellington," 1895).

In advertising for both hotel and domestic staff, words such as "good" and "useful" were commonly used, along with "strong" for the young men who would handle horses in the attached livery stables or work with the cattle that supplied milk for the hotel in country districts. Employers also desired experienced and first-class staff, and the word "smart" was often used for the boys being hired to work in the dining room, billiard room or yard. Many of the advertisements conveyed a sense of urgency to obtain staff, with wording such as "sharp", "wanted today" or "wanted at once". In general, there was little difference in the wage rates for hotel and domestic positions, with the exception of barmaids and waitresses, who tended to command slightly higher pay than housemaids and generals.

By comparison, quite different terms were used in the real estate advertisements, as shown in Table 14. Although the descriptor "good" is used in both places, there is little crossover between the characteristics seen as appropriate for a business owner and those desired in workers.

Table 14. Advertising copy – hotels for sale

Quote	Source
1890	
"...excellent opportunity to secure a paying trade"	("Advertisement," 1890a)
1895	
"Good chance for an industrious man"	("Houses and land," 1895)
"Splendid opportunity of securing a really good hotel"	("Hotels for sale," 1895)
"To an enterprising person, this property offers a splendid opportunity of securing an exclusive and ever increasing trade"	("Auction," 1895)
1900	
"House in which a pushing man could do well"	("Hotels for sale," 1900)
"Easy house to conduct and with good management could be greatly improved"	("Hotels for sale," 1900)
"a good man should clear..."	("For sale," 1900)
"Fortune to a good man"	("Sievwright Bros & Co," 1900)
"Grand opening for pushing couple, grocery store, post office and accommodation house along with 40 acre farm and orchard. £500"	("John Reid & Sons," 1900)

Workers were to be replaceable while owners were trying to position themselves as building a better society, in an example of a status group trying to close and differentiate itself from others (Weber, 1968). This also links to Durkheim's (1984) view that specialisation of labour had broken previous social bonds with those who did the same work, but in New Zealand society at the time, the focus was on trying to replicate guild-type structures for owners while the workers were subject to a mechanistic view and left to function as cogs without a broader understanding of their contribution.

5.2.5 Summary

The vision of Wakefield and planned settlement advocates saw a structured, ordered and hierarchical society, and this view of how society should work also became more acceptable as economic stability seemed to accompany it, in contrast to the bust of the wildcat phase of settlement. This view of society placed a high value on hard work and striving, expecting people to extend themselves to realise their potential and to actively seek opportunities. At the same time, it was a mechanistic age, fascinated by industry in the sense of men and machines making things.

On one hand, because the hotels were largely independently owned and operated, they met the requirements of working for oneself and being one's own master. They were also clearly positioned in advertising as requiring the kind of application and hard work that was valued. Hotels were not valued as highly as farms; however, they were an expected amenity of any self-respecting town. On the other hand, the workers were positioned as part of a machine,

needing to be "useful" and "strong" but replaceable, with new parts being required "sharp" and "at once".

Hotels began to move out of reach as the decade closed owing to reducing markets and regulations but also owing to price inflation relative to wages. This was compounded by the price of housing, especially in the major centres. Particularly in Auckland, house prices increased dramatically over the decade, above all in relation to wages.

5.3 Power

The data analysis revealed the common emerging power structures, especially regarding issues of gender and race, but also the power relations between owners and workers. This was generally contextualised within the legislation of the time regarding the sale of alcohol and labour regulation. Social norms also dictated who was permitted to be where and what occupations and behaviours were appropriate in even finer detail. The linkages within this theme can be seen in the network diagram in Appendix 2.

5.3.1 Legislation as power

The theme of power was found to start with the legislation of the time. Legislation and government can, perhaps, be seen as the ultimate expression of power in a democracy, at least in a formal sense. Similarly, reporting, debate and discussion is evidence of the evolution of power, and the dialogue between populace and legislature, the formal and informal expression of power and structure. This can be seen in the issues that it was felt required regulation and control, whom was judged to need managing and controlling, and those who saw themselves in the position to do the judging, managing and controlling.

Although there were Māori seats in Parliament, and every cabinet from 1892 to 1934 included at least one Māori member (Belich, 2001), Māori were still subject to separate legislation. The Native Licensing Act came into force before the decade under discussion but was still in force during the period. This act permitted Māori to request that all licences for sale of alcohol be removed from their district; however, it could not be invoked when the area had been declared a town or borough, where there was presumed to be intensive European settlement ("The Native Licensing Act, 1878," 1878). In Native districts, the sale of alcohol to Māori was prohibited. The sale of alcohol to Māori was also debated in 1895 amendments to the Alcoholic Liquor Sales Control Act. There was debate about completely banning the sale of alcohol to all Māori. The act, as passed, contained a provision banning the sale of alcohol to Māori women unless they had a European husband and any sale to intoxicated Māori men. There was a move to extend this to all women in the country ("Parliament. Legislative Council. Yesterday afternoon's first sitting, first readings," 1895), which was defeated 35 to 12

("Parliament," 1895). *The Evening Post* felt that the measure was farcical but commented that "Perhaps it is intended to promote fusion of the races by offering the dusky wahines a by no means to be condemned inducement to contract mixed marriages" ("Licensing absurdities," 1895, p. 2). The debate about banning sales to women also showed a class bias, as indicated in the comment that this would "prevent any lady staying in a hotel getting a glass of wine". W Hutchinson (the proposer of the measure) replied that he "merely meant to prevent poor ragged women going into hotel bars for whiskey" ("Parliament. Legislative Council. Yesterday afternoon's first sitting, first readings," 1895, p. 4). From 1893, women were prohibited from holding a liquor or accommodation licence regardless of their marital status ("The Alcholic Liquor Sale Control Act, 1893," 1893), extending 1881 regulations regarding married women ("The Licensing Act, 1881," 1881, s 103), as noted in Section 5.1.2.

The implication of the above was that hotels were a venue for the expression of power through regulations imposed to ensure conformity to social norms. These norms attempted to position men as the holders of power and women in need of protection; Māori of both genders along with European women were viewed as unable to regulate their own behaviour and requiring firm guidance, particularly in the use of alcohol.

5.3.2 Labour regulation – power and occupational hierarchy

This section examines the legislation governing the conditions of workers over the decade and how these expressed the power relationship between employers and employees.

The Sweating Commission of 1890 looked at working conditions primarily in factories and shops but also considered the bar trade, though not the work of hotel accommodation workers or domestic servants. This Royal Commission was appointed in response to a sermon in Dunedin in 1888 and resulting *Otago Daily Times* investigations (Bunkle & Second New Zealand Sweating Commission, 1990). There was concern that the practice of subcontracting work to low-paid workers, often working from their own homes or in substandard conditions, was being employed to reduce costs – the so-called London sweating system. The majority of the members of the commission felt this was not the case; however, the dissenting minority felt the potential too great to be ignored. There was agreement that the legislation current at the time did not sufficiently protect workers in these low-paid industries and that apprenticeships were being abused, leaving the country without sufficient trained and skilled workers in the long term (Bunkle & Second New Zealand Sweating Commission, 1990). There were also some moves by employers themselves; a hotel proprietor wrote to the editor of *The Otago Daily Times* that the work of publicans' assistants was little short of slavery and that

nothing good happened in bars and billiard rooms after 10, so he closed at this time ("Early closing," 1890).

Therefore, a number of new laws were passed regulating factories, shops and the labour registers. The commission also recommended the establishment of a board of arbitration and conciliation to arbitrate disputes between employers and workers. The Servants' Registry Offices Act of 1892 and its 1895 amendments did influence the hotel industry because many positions were filled via the agencies ("The Servants' Registry Office Act, 1895," 1895; "The Servants' Registry Offices Act," 1892). The Shops and Shop-assistants Act was more problematic for hotels because it was not entirely clear whether its provisions applied; the main area of debate was whether bar staff were eligible for the half holiday provided by the act ("The Shops and Shop-assistants Act, 1892," 1892). This was debated during the passage of the 1894 amendment act ("The Shops and Shop-assistants Act, 1894," 1894), at which point it was said it belonged in the Licensing Act. It was duly debated in the 1895 Sales Control Act. It was addressed again in the 1900 Shops and Offices Bill in 1900 ("Parliament," 1895), which made hotel assistants exempt except when they worked in eating houses and restaurants ("Editorial," 1900a; "Yesterday's sittings," 1900).

The employment of women in general was problematic, to the point that Olssen's (1995) study of the data in Caversham uncovered a move by the local electoral officer to note women's marital status rather than their occupation on the rolls. Similarly, census data permitted the listing of only one occupation, which is likely to mean that part-time work such as taking in laundry was unrecorded since married women were likely to give running their own household as their primary occupation (Olssen & Hickey, 2005). This is also likely to under-represent and undervalue the work done by proprietors' wives in running hotels. Alongside this, the social construct of what was considered skilled did not appear to include baking, bottling or running kitchen farms, which existed in urban areas into the early 1900s (Olssen, 1995). As noted above, the hours that barmaids could work were tightly controlled, although this did not apply to housemaids and other domestic staff ("The Licensing Act, 1881," 1881). Similarly the Shops and Shop-assistants Act ("The Shops and Shop-assistants Act, 1894,") required that seating areas be provided for female staff but also made explicit provision that female staff must not be penalised for using them.

5.3.3 Social enforcement of power

As a result of the legislation, proprietors were expected to act as part of the power structure of the emerging order. For example, proprietors were charged with enforcing prohibition orders by excluding habitual drunkards from the hotel. They were also expected to be examples of

model citizens, married ("Local and general news," 1900) and of sober habits and steady temperament ("Second edition. Licensing meeting. Suburbs of Wellington," 1895), but also genial hosts (LA., 1890). Hotels were seen as venues where firm control was needed because the potential for transgression of social norms was high, particularly by sailors, miners and other representatives of crew culture ("Second edition. Licensing meeting. Suburbs of Wellington," 1895; "A strange decision," 1890). Women, while acknowledged as able businesswomen, were not seen as able to command the authority necessary to keep control in these circumstances. One magistrate in Otago felt that applicants should have to appear and prove their credentials, listing the requirements as "not only of good fame and reputation ... that he had the necessary capital, knowledge of the business etc." ("Omnium gatherum," 1900, p. 8).

Māori, where they were not excluded by operation of the Native[11] Licensing Act ("The Native Licensing Act, 1878,"),[12] were not entirely welcome in hotels ("Second edition. Licensing meeting. Suburbs of Wellington," 1895) and were seen as not being capable of making their own decisions about alcohol consumption. There was also a view that they should be working and were not to be permitted to be part of the leisured classes. Māori women, however, were specifically excluded from hotels at various points in time ("The Alcoholic Liquors Sale Control Act Amendment Act, 1895," 1895).

The enforcement of these norms was somewhat punitive. Although first offenders on charges of drunken behaviour were usually not named in court reports in the newspapers, repeat offenders were not only named but details of the other ways they failed to meet society's expectations were also noted. There was much more opprobrium heaped on those who were single, between jobs or failing to support a family.

5.3.4   Summary

In both New Zealand and England there was an increasing concern with the lives of the working poor, as evidenced by the publication of Booth's *Life and Labour of the People in London* in 17 volumes from 1892–1897 and Andrew Mearns's *Bitter Cry of Outcast London* in 1883 (Schama, 2002b). In New Zealand, these concerns were highlighted in editorials and sermons in the late 1880s, and legislation was passed in response in the early 1890s. The

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[11] Until 1947, government departments and legislation used the term 'Native' rather than 'Māori'. This was changed by the Maori Purposes Act of that year.

[12] The Native Licensing Act allowed Māori to request that a district where Māori comprised the majority of the population be declared dry with no sale of alcohol permitted. This option could not be applied in urban areas regardless of population.

legislation indirectly acknowledged unequal power between different parts of society and expressed a desire for equity and fairness but also for control and structure. The basic assumptions of capitalism, that some people would work for others, was not questioned, but the aim was to try to make capitalism work better, removing exploitation and allowing dignity in work ("The Servants' Registry Office Act, 1895," 1895; "The Shops and Shop-assistants Act Amendment Act, 1895," 1895; Bunkle & Second New Zealand Sweating Commission, 1990). In their brief appearances, hotel staff were largely portrayed in a gendered way as primarily female and often in need of protection in terms of controlling the hours they could work and their vulnerability to crime. However, they were clearly delimited as servants, a different kind of people from the writers and editors of the newspapers.

In an era when the company a person kept was a status indicator and the need to conform was strong, there were issues in trying to place hotel staff, especially in the bar side of the business, within the stratification of society. There was a clear classification between, for example, respectable ladies and poor ragged women who could not be trusted to conform. However, all women were expected to be sheltered from the rougher side of life. For example, a woman should not run a house frequented by sailors; a lady would not be anywhere near such a place at all. Men were somewhat less subject to this; the idea of gentlemen contrasted with sailors and other potential 'hooligans'. The position of service workers was unclear; they were neither professionals nor skilled workers in terms of trades, both of which were the high prestige occupations in the period.

5.4 Silences

In addition to the common themes reported above, the analysis revealed the silences within the texts: what was implied or assumed, who spoke in the media and what was left unsaid. This theme reveals the relationships between alcohol, gender and domesticity, vice and virtue as set out in the network diagram in Appendix 2. It reveals the issues regarding hotels that each of the papers covered and who spoke including issues regarding the use of bylines in the papers of the day.

5.4.1 Vice and virtue

This section presents evidence of the unspoken assumptions and understandings about alcohol, its use and the presence of women in hotels.

As well as specialist inspectors of licensed premises, all police officers above the rank of sergeant were ex-officio inspectors under the terms of the Licensing Act ("The Licensing Act, 1881," 1881) and could enter premises out of hours to enforce the provisions of the act. The act explicitly states that inspectors must be admitted without delay, implying an expectation of

concealment of illicit activity. The provision requiring that barmaids not be employed after 11pm was so flagrantly breached on the West Coast in 1890 that the police were moved to issue a warning that they would now be enforcing the provision ("Editorial," 1890a). It was not solely a West Coast issue, however; cases were reported in Dunedin in 1890 ("Editorial," 1890b) and 1895 ("The Licensing Act – Unnecessary delay admitting police," 1895).

Likewise, the inspectors were required to verify that there was no out-of-hours drinking; however, lodgers and bona fide travellers could be served at all hours, creating a major grey area. Again, the legislation provided for fines for misrepresenting oneself as a traveller. Why those who were more than three miles from where they slept the previous night (s 157) needed a drink when others did not is lost in the mists of history and parliamentary debate. There was, at various times, a certain level of understanding between publicans and police regarding enforcement. This issue was raised at licence renewals, although occasionally publicans did not even bother to pretend to conform, as was the case in 1889 when Annie Thompson locked the bar doors of the Family Hotel in Te Aroha, although her lawyer did claim this was because of a misunderstanding ("Annual licensing meeting Te Aroha," 1889).

In terms of receiving and renewing a licence, proprietors were required to meet the prevailing standard of polite society such that "bad fame or character" needed no definition in the act (1881 and subsequent), though it was debated in the newspapers reporting on licensing hearings and built by legal precedent. Neither could proprietors be of "drunken habits" or permit drunkenness, although they were also expected to be genial and maintain a convivial atmosphere, according to travel writers and reviewers. However, their role was also seen as exposing them to corruption and possible failure of character, as evidenced in the discussion of drunkenness and lunacy in the 1881 and 1895 acts and the implication that the lack of evidence for proprietors' drinking was due merely to timing – a subtext of "we bet it's just that we never caught them out" ("Second edition. Licensing meeting. Suburbs of Wellington," 1895). There was an assumption of a need for gatekeeping by proprietors, that they must enforce norms and structures.

Alcohol was seen as bad enough on its own, but the presence of women made it worse. From flirting barmaids ("Editorial," 1890a) to girls of bad repute ("Second edition. Licensing meeting. Suburbs of Wellington," 1895), so great was the concern that 'reputed prostitutes' were only allowed to remain on the premises long enough "to obtain reasonable refreshment", with fines ranging from £10 to £20 per offence ("The Licensing Act, 1881," 1881, s 147). Section 150 stated that if an innkeeper permitted the use of premises as a brothel he would forfeit the licence and be forever debarred from holding another. Even dancing was suspect, though

potential breaches of Section 147 and Section 150 attracted much more comment. The staff of hotels were also named as co-respondents in divorce proceedings, with censorious comments about the results of drink ("An Auckland divorce case," 1890). Given that one of the common grounds for divorce was adultery, hotel staff were also called as witnesses ("The Atkinson divorce case," 1890). Hotels were seen as a location where morals may loosen and power structures could be compromised.

Oddly, women were also presumed to bring an element of domesticity and restraint, with barmaids being required to "grace the bar with their presence" ("Wednesday half holiday," 1895, p. 3). James McNeish (1957) noted that the barmaids in Thames, while brassy and disapproved of by the married women of the town, were a major source of information and able to moderate the behaviour of the miners in their presence.

The level of care given by the staff was mentioned in reviews of hotels (Rusalem, 1890), as was the length of service and popularity with guests ("News of the day," 1900). In travel reviews, proprietors' geniality and welcome were often noted, along with their level of personal involvement (i.e. rather than leaving things to their staff) (Special Correspondent, 1890).

Virtue was held to be domestic and controlled. Alcohol was positioned as a gateway to other vices that New Zealand society was even less comfortable with. The mixture of alcohol and ready resort to accommodation made many uneasy.

5.4.2 Patterns of coverage of issues over time and between papers

This section examines what stories each newspaper covered and did not cover, as shown by the graphs in Appendix 3, and the prevailing tone of each paper. It also examines the acknowledgement of the writers of the stories with the use of bylines.

Each of the papers was largely focused on issues in its immediate locality, along with coverage of the major issues of the day – in part, this reflects their shared access to wire services. For example, in 1895, when major revisions were made to the legislation governing the sale of alcohol, there was increased coverage in all the papers. This was specifically discussing the debates and issues of the legislation, but there was also an increase in discussion on the general influence of the temperance movement. *The Evening Post*, as the Wellington paper, carried the most coverage of policy issues, carrying on the discussion of the relationship between the sale of alcohol and accommodation provision into 1900, whereas in other papers it was mostly concentrated in 1890. *The Otago Daily Times*, as the reformist paper, carried more discussion about labour conditions and labour mobility. The series of graphs in Appendix 2 show the variations in coverage between years for each paper.

5.4.3 Bylines

Bylines were not common in New Zealand papers in the period. As *The Economist* (2013) noted, this was often for reasons of economy to allow a very small team of writers to appear larger. It did, however, create a silence of its own, in concealing the gender and background of the reporters, foregrounding editorial policy for each paper. However, the papers therefore positioned themselves alongside proprietors and business owners rather than workers.

5.4.4 Summary

In revealing the silences, the objective was to identify the values and attitudes towards hotels and hotel work in the context of broader society. They also reveal something about how New Zealand society was structuring and ordering itself at the time and therefore what it would bequeath to the future.

As is evidenced by the legislation discussed above and under the power theme in Section 5.3.1, there was a clear desire for order and structure and an identification of possible sources of disorder that needed to be controlled. What was unspoken, the 'silences', was how little the legislators and broader society trusted people to judge and manage their own actions without external guidance, constraints and coercion. This emerging society placed a high value on discipline and hard work, but only certain types of work. Hotels, with their links to alcohol and enjoyment, were somewhat suspect. Proprietors were potentially acceptable, but there was strong suspicion that they did not work that hard and had to be watched. Although they may not have been the worse for drink when the inspector visited, there was a belief that this was to do with timing and not abstinence. At the same time, the proprietors were presumed to take better care of the guests than paid staff would because workers would only do as they were told and not actually apply themselves.

The position of women in society was problematic and an inherent silence. The tension between women as potential sources of vice and guardians of virtue was evidenced. While it was acknowledged that women could be capable businesspeople and that many businesses and families could not run without their efforts, there was a desire to confine women to the domestic and to protect them from the harsher realities of the world. Men were expected to marry and support families to ensure their virtue and respectability. Barmaids were particularly problematic because they were women around alcohol, seeing things that were deemed unsuitable for 'ladies'. Likewise, Māori were seen as not able to regulate their own behaviour without external control. There was specific legislation dealing with Māori access to alcohol, and a rare instance of Māori agency in the Native district restrictions had to be requested. However, it was made clear that Māori should not be permitted to socialise with

the settler population and that they were viewed as not being able to make their own decisions.

5.5 Chapter Summary

As business owners or operators, the proprietors were viewed as potentially respectable but, like their staff, prone to corruption and vice. The presentation of hotel proprietors was generally as hard-working individuals, building and maintaining the community. They were required to be able to control the behaviour of those patronising their establishment, and failure would result in the loss of their livelihood.

Other areas that would be continuities in the New Zealand story – capitalism, a structured society but with limited distance over the hierarchy and an ambivalent relationship with alcohol, and the provision of service as employment – were beginning to emerge. These were contingent on the relationship with Britain and the prevailing labour market conditions. For hotels, the degree of conformity required at any given time constrained their role and acceptance in society, polite and otherwise. The next chapter continues the story from 1920 to consider the impact of World War I on the portrayal of hotels and hotel workers.

Chapter 6: Roaring to Falling (1920–1930)

6.1 Introduction

History remembers them as the Roaring Twenties. For New Zealand, while there was a certain element of dancing, frivolity and conspicuous consumption, the decade was dominated by a series of economic challenges, of which the Great Depression was the most serious.

This chapter investigates hotel workers and hotels as they were portrayed and positioned in newspaper reports of the time. The portrayal of hotel proprietors and workers and their position in the hierarchy of social status is then examined along with the role of hotels as institutions. The section on independence compares the cost and availability of hotel businesses to the wages of staff. It also investigates the turnover of staff drawn from situations vacant and wanted advertising. The next section, on power, considers the formal and informal power structures in the operation of hotels, along with the position of unions in the relationship between employers and staff. Lastly, the information in the newspaper reports is considered in light of the silences, what was not said, what was covered by whom and the assumptions between the lines.

6.2 Respectability

This section discusses the social positioning of hotel proprietors and hotel workers and the expected relationship between employers and employees as portrayed in newspaper reports during 1920 to 1930. It also examines the social position of hotels as institutions, particularly the relationship between the bar and accommodation elements of the business, as presented in the network diagram in Appendix 2.

6.2.1 Proprietors

The expectations of proprietors were laid out in the Licensing Act and refined through the actions and decisions of the various licensing committees around the country. Long-serving proprietors with clean records were lionised, as was the case with Benjamin Perry, who held a hotelkeeper's licence for 50 years without a conviction ("Fifty years a licensee," 1920), and James Rolleston, who managed the Grand Hotel from 1905 to 1920 ("A popular licensee," 1920). The Auckland Licensing Committee went so far as to express regret at his leaving because of the calibre of his management.

Licensing committees throughout the country took a dim view of three faults in particular: after-hours trading, bookmaking and allowing women to drink in the bars. The first two were in clear contravention of the law; however, the last was not. Proprietors were held responsible

for everything that occurred on premises and concern was expressed if supervision of staff was felt to be inadequate ("Licensing committee annual meeting," 1925). So far as bookmaking was concerned, it was rare for proprietors to be directly involved, but both the licensing committees and police felt that if the proprietor was managing correctly, they 'should' be aware if their employees were acting as agents for bookmakers or allowing bookmakers to operate on hotel premises ("Bookmaker caught," 1920; "Bookmakers hotel licensees warned," 1925; "The Gaming Act," 1920). The systems of bells installed at the New Zealander Hotel in Wellington was interpreted by police as being there to warn bookmakers of police raids, whereas Mrs Bough, the wife of the licensee, said it was to allow staff to contact each other to request assistance or additional change ("System of bells," 1930).

Mrs Bough also found her name in the papers in connection to the divorce case of one of her staff ("You are under Mrs Brough's influence?," 1930) and the subsequent assault on Mrs McDermott ("Tore wife's frock into ribbons," 1930). Mr McDermott had been dismissed as a manager at the New Zealander and alleged that his domestic troubles were due to Mrs Bough's influence on his wife ("You are under Mrs Brough's influence?," 1930). In all, 1930 was not a good news year for the New Zealander because a few months earlier Herbert Manley, a chef at the hotel, was tried for the murder of his ex-fiancée, Gladys Cromarty, who had also worked at the hotel ("'I don't know why I did it'," 1930; "Murder charge," 1930).

Although women could not hold a licence in their own right ("Licensing consolidation," 1908), it was not uncommon for the wife of the nominal licence holder to be heavily involved in the business, as Mrs Bough made clear. Because widows could assume their husband's licence, some women built long-term careers and became an important part of the community in this role. Helen Elliot was noted for her care of the sick and ailing during her time in Nevis, including running the hotel for nearly 15 years after her husband died ("Obituary – Mrs Helen M Elliot," 1920). Likewise, Mary Ann Thornton built a career in the 27 years after husband died, spanning managing hotels in both Ngahere and Greymouth ("West Coast notes," 1930). Susan Stuart, who ran the Victoria Hotel in Cromwell, was noted as "a women of sterling character, upright and enterprising" ("Cromwell notes," 1920, p. 6).

While proprietors were held responsible for the actions of their staff, they were also expected to take care of them. There was an expectation that most staff would live in, with awards explicitly giving the required buy-out of board and lodgings ("Hotel workers: Terms of new award," 1920). It was not uncommon for staff to make presentations to departing proprietors expressing "appreciation for the way they had treated the staff" ("Kaikoura," 1930, p. 3) and "in recognition of the pleasant relations which had existed" ("Personal," 1920, p. 5).

6.2.2   Staff

One example of the strength of this relationship is Kathleen Dodds's apology to the wife of the licensee of the Waipara hotel she worked at for not confiding in her. In the course of the trial for concealing the death of her newborn, Kathleen said that the child had not cried, and believing it had not lived, thought she would conceal the whole affair; she would have told Mrs Potton had the child lived ("Friendless and alone," 1930). The charge of a Dunedin hotel worker in similar circumstances was dismissed; however, the reports give fewer details ("A dead baby," 1930; "Death of infant," 1930). There are also brief notes from the Gisborne Supreme Court case against Thelma Maude, who worked at a country hotel in the area and who also gave birth without care and the baby did not survive ("Criminal sessions: Gisborne Supreme Court," 1925; "Supreme Court Gisborne sittings," 1925).

By convention, the occupation of the offender was noted (and still is) when offences were reported in the news. For hotel staff, these appear to often have been theft offences, ranging from minor thefts of food ("Magisterial," 1920) and liquor ("Theft by a barman," 1920) to theft of articles belonging to guests or the hotel itself ("Police Court news," 1920). In some cases, it is unclear whether the items involved were taken from the hotel or other locations. No mention of breaking and entering would tend to imply the hotel as the location, as would the types of items taken, typically handbags, jewellery and cash ("Theft admitted," 1925). However, in one case, the young hotel porter involved had also broken in to homes to take jewellery as well as taken opportunities presented at his place of employment ("Prisoners punished," 1930). The case of Mervyn Walker ("Hotel clerk's lapse," 1925; "War record spoiled," 1925) was somewhat different in that he was the clerk at the Thistle Hotel, charged with collecting payment for rooms and distributing change to the bar staff. He stole a sum of £79 10s in an attempt to recover from previous financial difficulties. The primary comment of both papers was regarding his war service and his rise through the ranks to captain. His offending was regarded as a particular fall, with the *NZ Truth* headline of "War Record Spoiled" ("War record spoiled" 1925, p. 6) implying veterans were held to higher standards than others.

There were also convictions against hotel staff for bookmaking, although in most cases the police and court opinion was that the staff were minor players acting as agents ("Bookmaker caught," 1920; "Just a catspaw," 1925). Despite this, the courts tended to impose heavy fines, particularly relative to wages. "If it was not for the co-operation of men like yourself in hotels and in barbers' shop it would be much more difficult for bookmakers to carry on their business" ("Just a catspaw," 1925, p. 12) was the judge's justification for imposing a fine of £25 in the case, holding the agent as guilty as the principal. Typically, the staff involved worked in

the bar, but there were also examples involving porters ("Rehearing sought," 1925; "A successful "double"," 1925).

Bar staff and porters were also the mostly likely to be assaulted on the job. From a fight arising over whether the barman had given the correct change ("Incident in hotel," 1925) to a guest hitting a porter to try to take alcohol ("Assault in hotel," 1930), most were minor. Porters also faced the risk of stumbling across thieves in the rooms ("Burglar escapes," 1930; "Daring hotel thief," 1930). There were also occasional disputes between staff that escalated to physical violence, as in the fight over the lack of toast on a porter's breakfast order that landed the porter and the chef in court ("Charges of assault," 1925). In some cases, it appears that the bar staff preferred to risk a conviction for after-hours trading than refuse service to an unruly patron owing to the risk of assault ("Untitled," 1920a; "Untitled," 1920b). The question of whether bar patrons were bona fide lodgers also caused problems for bar staff ("Liquor after hours," 1925). Since the staff member selling the liquor could be fined as well as the proprietor, and fines were typically about £5 when a barman was paid approximately £3 a week, the risk was not inconsiderable.

In a discussion of the basis for allocating cost-of-living bonuses in the Arbitration Court in 1920, the employers' representative noted that hotels gave preference to married men because they likely to remain in a job longer. The wage was at that point fixed on the basis of what was needed to support a married man with a family. There was some discussion of imposing a tax on single men, and a quip from a member of the court that such a such a tax "might advantageously affect the bachelor in the meanwhile – induce him to marry" was reported as being greeted with laughter ("Industrial world," 1920, p. 14).

6.2.3 The role of the hotel

As well as the presentations to departing proprietors discussed above, the hotels hosted functions to farewell travellers departing overseas ("Au revoir: Presentations to Tauranga citizens," 1920; "Personal items," 1925) and retirements from business ("Personal matters," 1920). There were also presentations from the broader business community acknowledging hotel proprietors ("North Canterbury: Culverden," 1925). The function for James Rolleston had been planned as a public function but his poor health required a smaller ceremony ("Presentation," 1920). This role showed up some of the tensions regarding the restrictions of the licensing laws and the expectations of guests, with the manager of the Hotel Cargen being fined for trading out of hours when he was given a blank cheque for an 8pm dinner function that was to include whisky after dinner. Ironically, if the amount had been filled in on the cheque before 6pm that evening, technically he would have been in compliance with the law

("Liquor at a dinner," 1925). Hotels did face competition from halls and other venues; for example, the staff of the Midland Hotel in Wellington used the Ponsonby Hall to farewell a staff member who was about to be married ("Women in print," 1920). Similarly, a dance at the Masonic Hall was jointly hosted by the managers from the Grand Hotel and the Hotel Cargan ("Christmas Eve dance," 1925).

The use of hotels as a base for bookmakers grew following successful police operations that restricted the ability of bookmakers to operate from known fixed locations, such as their own home or office ("Conduct of hotels," 1930b). The hotels provided a convenient location for customers to find the bookmaker and sometimes the use of a telephone while also being cover for both parties ("Evils of gambling," 1925; "South Dunedin licensing," 1930). Although bookmaking was illegal, which hotels bookmakers could be found at was often common knowledge ("Bookmaking in hotels," 1930; "A raid in the city," 1920). The licensing committees noted that not all licensees discouraged the practice because the bookmakers did bring in trade, particularly for the bar. The licensing committees' scope for action was limited unless there was also drunkenness. That said, the licensees were required to ensure that undesirables were not permitted on the premises and the presence of bookmakers would lower the committees' view of how well run the hotel was. Therefore, this could potentially put renewal of the licence at risk, and the licensing committees regularly made statements to this effect ("Betting in hotels," 1930; "Conduct of hotels," 1930c; "Licensee is subject of criticism," 1930).

A select group of licensed and private hotels and boarding houses provided a forum for display of status, taste and conspicuous consumption after the economies of war. The newspapers typically reported guest lists under two headings. The first, labelled as "Personal", tended to list men only, and often gave their job title and employer or company name and implied business activity as the reason for travel. The second was titled "Social" or "Notes for Women", and this tended to list couples or women travelling alone, appearing to be primarily for leisure. Appendix 4 presents listings of the hotels mentioned in the guest lists in the various papers, divided into these two categories. The social columns typically took in a broader range of providers. The guests noted in the listings were largely domestic and the main overseas guests were from Australia or the UK. There was a smattering of visitors from Canada, South Africa, India and Singapore, the latter two more in 1930 than earlier, presumably reflecting that it was too expensive to go 'home' at this time.

The hotels of the personal and society columns were decidedly not those attracting notice in the licensing committee discussions. Although legislation still required all those who wished to sell liquor to provide lodging, the split between bar trade and accommodation provider was

widening. A local corner hotel such as the Albion in Auckland still touted for travellers, but many of its guests were long-term boarders, whereas guests to the city stayed at more upmarket establishments. While major hotels such as the Grand obviously still sold alcohol, they primarily earned their living as accommodation providers. Likewise, the private hotels moved upmarket and looked to the tourist trade for a living. Some of the boarding houses that were mainly in the business of providing long-term lodgings also crossed into the tourist trade. In some ways, the decade marked the heyday of the boarding house and private hotel and the height of their presence as part of the accommodation trade.

6.2.4   Summary

Respectability as a term was not commonly used in newspaper reporting in the decade 1920 to 1930; however, there was a clear sense of social hierarchy and structure that drew on links back to the days of settlement. The decade also saw the emergence of a more professional managerial class, including managers such as James Rolleston, although the prestige was in ownership and the number of owner-proprietors dropped as the breweries grew larger and owned more of the hotels.

The top-class hotels were able to position themselves as venues for social display and conspicuous consumption. The reporting of functions, entertainments and clothing at these events as 'society' was similar that of the UK and some parts of the US. The managers did share in some of the glamour of these events and the presence of these guests. The local corner hotels, dependent mostly on the bar trade, bestowed much less prestige on their proprietors because they were perceived as venues of potential disruption to the social order. Proprietors, according to the various licensing committees could not be too vigilant in their supervision of their staff and needed to maintain knowledge of everything that was happening on the premises.

Proprietors and managers were expected to have a paternal interest in the well-being of their staff. However, staff and proprietors were described as quite different types of people, possibly driven by the more formal structures in industrial relations. That said, the provisions in awards for counting employers where wages depended on the size of the team indicate that working proprietors had not completely disappeared. Staff were relatively invisible in the newspaper reporting, apart from their transgressions of social norms or as part of collective entities in wage bargaining.

6.3   Independence

With the growth in tourism between the wars, along with growing populations, the demand for accommodation provision increased. Hotels also became more visible as a forum for

display of social status. However, the business was not without its risks and challenges. This section examines the availability of hotels and boarding houses for purchase, the challenges facing owners and how this compared with the availability of jobs and wages paid. These wage levels were largely regulated by the operation of awards, which will also be examined.

6.3.1 Tourism and accommodation supply

While tourist traffic was disrupted by World War I and investment in infrastructure curtailed in response, during the decade from 1920 to 1930 domestic and overseas guests were seeking better and more diverse accommodation in New Zealand ("Tourist resorts," 1925; "Tourist traffic," 1930). There were frequent comments in the press on problems with both transportation and accommodation supply to the point that there were calls in 1925 for better coordination ("Tourist traffic," 1925) particularly given the industry's growth potential ("Incomparable wealth," 1925). Growth in the local population also meant that accommodation supply had not kept up with demand. It is also worth noting that the interwar years saw considerable increases in the size of passenger vessels plying both the Tasman and the Pacific trade. For example, in 1925 Auckland saw the simultaneous arrival of the *Aorangi* from Sydney with 700 passengers and the Cunard liner *Carinthia* from New York with 400 passengers ("People on the move," 1925) during the Christmas period when local visitor numbers were already stretching accommodation. In some way, the reduced trade of the 1930s came as something of a relief because it allowed supply to catch up to demand ("The tourist season," 1930; "Untitled," 1930b). From this came both opportunities and risks for those owning or leasing hotel operations.

6.3.2 Ownership

6.3.2.1 Availability

Advertising of licensed hotels and boarding houses for sales shows some broad general trends and patterns. For ease and clarity, private (non-licensed) hotels have been included in the statistics for boarding houses because these two types of accommodation were somewhat interchangeable.

Licensed hotels experienced a rise in turnover according to the number of properties advertised in 1925 compared with 1920 or 1930; boarding house sales were more stable over the period, as can be seen by comparing Table 15with Table 16.

Table 15. Number of advertisements for hotel for sale or lease by newspaper by date – licensed hotels

	1920	1925	1930
New Zealand Herald	3	3	8
Evening Post	15	15	14
The Press	3	5	3
Otago Daily Times	12	25	11
NZ Truth	3	7	0

Table 16. Number of advertisements for sale or lease by newspaper by date – boarding houses/private hotels

	1920	1925	1930
New Zealand Herald	10	12	19
Evening Post	8	3	9
The Press	2	–	–
Otago Daily Times	11	18	9

Prices shown in Table 17 for licensed hotels are mostly the cash required to go into the business, the remainder tending to be financed via the broker conducting the sale. In 1920, licensed hotels required a fairly sizable up-front cash investment. This reduced in 1925, presumably reflecting a more buoyant economy and therefore increased willingness to provide finance. Cash down figures increased again in 1930, possibly in response to more challenging conditions, which increased the risk involved.

Table 17. Price ranges given in real estate advertisements – licensed hotels

	1920	1925	1930
New Zealand Herald	–	£600–£7,000	£900–£3,000
Evening Post	£2,000–£10,000	£750–£35,000	£800–£9,500
The Press	£3,000	£1,600–£5,500	£1,600–£2,550
Otago Daily Times	£1,000–£1,500	£400–£2,000	£350–£3,250
NZ Truth	£1,000–£12,000	£750–£3,500	–

The trade figures given in the newspapers, shown in Table 18, tend to confirm this. The figures for 1930 give typically lower minimum figures and have a much narrower range than the earlier periods.

Table 18. Trade figures given in real estate advertisements – licensed

	1920	1925	1930
New Zealand Herald	£250	£65–£85	£35–£300
Evening Post	£60–£250	£45–£175	£70–£200
The Press	–	£70–£130	£45–£80
Otago Daily Times	£40–£100	£40–£200	£40–£145
NZ Truth	£90	£45–£120	–

Fewer advertisements for boarding houses give the value of trade but the few examples (in Table 19) show a decrease in the rates paid in 1930. Similarly, the cash down figure (in Table 20) decreased in 1930 compared with the market in 1925 and they were narrower in range. Interestingly, the number of businesses for sale in 1930 was higher and there were still advertisements looking for boarding houses to buy.

Table 19. Trade figures given in real estate advertisements – boarding houses/private hotels

	1920	1925	1930
New Zealand Herald	£9–£30 per week	£15 per week	£7 5s–£30
Evening Post	£200	£1,000 per year	£4–£20 5s per week
The Press	–	–	–
Otago Daily Times	–	–	–

Table 20. Price ranges given in real estate advertisements – boarding houses/private hotels

	1920	1925	1930
New Zealand Herald	£350–£3,500	£400–£2,000	£120–£2,350
Evening Post	–	£500	£100–£440
The Press	£3,000	–	–
Otago Daily Times	£1,800–£2,300	£300–£4,000	£250–£1,750

A few advertisements for licensed hotels gave wage figures. A 1920 advertisement for a country hotel) noted that "This is a cheap hotel to work. Very few servants", with trade averaging £140 per week ("Hotel for sale in the country," 1920, p. 10). In 1925, another country hotel for sale noted wages as £5 per week compared with trade of £90 ("Hotels for sale," 1925b). Another advertisement quoted wages of £6 10s on trade of £120 a week for the only hotel in a country town with a population of 18,000. This particular hotel was priced at £8,500 plus stock and furniture at value with cash of £3,500 required ("Hotel freehold for sale," 1925). Dwan Brothers, the major Wellington hotel brokers, also advertised another country hotel for £3,850 with £5 wages on £90 trade per week ("Hotels for sale," 1925a). In 1930, Thomas Dwan was offering a 50-room hotel with a £25 wage bill on trade of £190 weekly. The cash required was £3,000, with the broker offering £10,000 at 7% over 10 years. For this they required a person with "good commercial knowledge and a first-class police record" ("Freehold hotel for sale," 1930). Another 1930 advertisement noted that the hotel could be managed by a couple, implying no wages ("Businesses for sale," 1930). In a rare occurrence, the advertisement noted that the split in trade was £5 per week from the bar and £10 from the house, possibly giving lie to the temperance movement's arguments that hotels need not depend on their bar trade for profit.

6.3.3 Challenges

A major issue in this period was the ability of districts to vote themselves dry at the triennial licensing poll, along with continuing discussion of whether prohibition or state control of liquor sales should be brought into legislation. One real estate advertisement ("Hotel for sale," 1925) in September 1925 noted that a deposit of £500 would be required with "completion after the Elections, subject to continuance being carried". Boundaries of licensing districts could be moved, changing the hotels' ability to be licensed ("From "dry" to "wet"," 1920). There was a long-running court case on the ability of licensing committees to grant and move licences when districts voted themselves dry, as happened in Ashburton ("Leave to appeal," 1930).

In general, the ability to transfer licences was limited by law to one mile in country districts or half a mile in the boroughs. There was furious debate in Parliament as to whether this was being enforced, and a proposed accommodation licence for Matamata became the scapegoat because of the use of a loophole that required the number of licences for the entire electoral district to remain constant. The allegation was that a licence in Maketu had been purchased with the intention of allowing it to lapse to create the 'space' for the new premises at Matamata, 85 kilometres away, which was clearly outside the bounds within which the original license could be transferred ("Tauranga hotels," 1920).

Even when the transfer was within the prescribed distance, there was no guarantee the transfer would be approved, as James Gleeson discovered at a cost of £41,000 in 1925 when he attempted to transfer the licence of the Thames Hotel in Auckland from the corner of Queen Street and Custom Street to Quay Street, barely 500 metres away. There were multitudes of objections, particularly given the proximity to the waterfront, with the Harbour Board and managers of the stevedoring firms lodging objections ("A waterfront hotel: Desirability questioned," 1925; "Waterfront hotel: Stevedore's objection," 1925). The story attracted coverage around the country in all the major metropolitan papers surveyed. The licence was allowed to lapse at the original site, and it took until the June 1926 annual licensing meeting for James Gleeson to receive a begrudging acceptance ("Hotel license granted," 1926).

The reasons a licence could be endorsed or withdrawn were many and varied. Several Christchurch licensees hit major issues with requirements for the refurbishment of hotel buildings and delays in receiving the necessary permits from the Board of Trade to allow work to commence ("Lyttelton news: Licensing committee," 1920). Dargaville saw a similar case, in which a three-month postponement was granted to allow the principal hotel of the township to be refurbished to meet the requirements of the licensing committee ("License for an hotel,"

1920). In the Bay of Islands, the state of the building of the Duke of Wellington Hotel became subject to a Supreme Court case when the licence was refused on the grounds of the state of repair. The owners and licensee contended that the licensing committee wanted a new building and refused the licence on those grounds without stating what would be required to bring the current buildings into repair ("Refusal of a license," 1920). This refusal was quashed by the court and the licence subsequently renewed ("License restored," 1920).

Similarly, after-hours drinking and the use of premises by bookmakers were grounds for refusal of a licence. Drinking by women, as previously discussed, attracted unfavourable notice despite not being illegal. Licensing committees around the country noted the responsibility of the licensee for everything that occurred on the premises and expressed concern if they felt that proprietors were delegating too much responsibility or authority to staff, even in quite large operations ("More supervision needed," 1930).

The operation of the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act (1925) imposed a fairly rigorous set of requirements for record-keeping and administration. Holiday books and wages books had to be kept and a copy of the relevant award displayed for staff ("Breaches of award," 1925). The awards set minimum wage rates ("Breaches of award," 1925) and clear limits on the flexibility of deploying staff: general hands could not work in the bar more than 16 hours a week without moving to the higher bar wage ("Hotel bar work," 1930) and a relieving maid could not work more than one day in any specialist maid's position, so, for instance, she could not provide cover for two housemaids in a week to cover days off without moving to a slightly higher wage ("Arbitration Court: Auckland sittings ended," 1925).

The reduction in bar hours when six o'clock closing was made permanent added to the pressure to reduce staff work hours to 48 hours a week in the 1920s ("Hotel employees' dispute," 1920). A 1930 report notes that this provision was included in the New Zealand private hotel workers award ("Private hotels," 1930). In 1920, the Rotorua hotels and boarding house award noted a restriction of hours to 61 per week for females and 70 for males. It also included a provision that when it was not possible for a worker to have a full day off in the week, the leave time could be accrued to be taken in a block ("Industrial awards," 1920). The 48-hour week for hotel workers was common in Australia by 1920 ("Hotel employees' dispute," 1920) and gradually applied throughout New Zealand, so that by 1930 most awards had this as the standard provision ("Private hotels Dominion award," 1930).

Although it was possible to gain exemptions from the award, these were unusual ("Arbitration Court: Christchurch sittings," 1920; "Private hotels award," 1925). The argument of Nelson employers and staff in 1925 that an award would damage the family atmosphere among

employers and staff cut little ice with the union during a conciliation council meeting to extend coverage of the awards in the area ("'Home life' in hotels," 1925).

6.3.4   Workers

As would be expected, the demand for workers was much higher in 1920 and 1925 than in 1930 when New Zealand was well into the grip of depression. What did remain consistent was that the turnover occurred mainly in back-of-house positions, particularly housemaids and generals, although demand for cooks was also fairly steady. The term 'chef' was now used quite commonly in advertising and many advertisements did not state a gender for cooks' positions.

Wage levels for hotel staff, as opposed to domestic servants, were subject to the operation of awards. There were separate awards for licensed and private hotels, but they tended to offer fairly similar wages and conditions, and omitted bar staff from the private hotel awards. While there were separate unions for each region of the country, mainly based on the old provincial boundaries, by 1909 there was an umbrella Federation of Hotel Workers. From 1925, the federation required the rules of the local unions to be consistent and all industrial settlements had to be approved by the federation, thus creating a virtual Dominion award.

The Hotel and Restaurant Employees Award of 1925 noted that hours of work were not to exceed 48 hours in a six-day week, with no more than 10 hours in a day and a minimum of 10 hours between shifts. Bar staff were entitled to an additional half-day off per week. Employers were expected to provide board; positions that did not include board were entitled to an additional £1 per week. Positions that did include lodgings were paid an additional 10s a week. There was an expectation that staff would live in, although the accommodation was not always commodious. In a report on the renovation required to the A1 Hotel in Christchurch in 1920 ("The A1 Hotel," 1920), the staff bedrooms were noted as being 6' 10" by 9', which the Department of Health deemed too small, especially since it was felt necessary that the award state that no more than two staff members should be required to share a room (Arbitration Court, 1925). Likewise, fire escapes tended to serve the public accommodation, not the staff bedrooms ("Fire escapes," 1925).

The awards codified the informal hierarchy of positions that had been established in the New Zealand market. Cooks commanded the highest levels of pay, closely followed by bar staff, both male and female, and head waiters. Both kitchen hands and porters were better paid than housemaids and waitresses. Pay rates for kitchen staff varied depending on the size of the team and were not gendered for licensed hotels, although a gender differential persisted for private hotels. The unions required members to be of "good character and sober habits"

(Department of Labour, 1922), reinforcing the views of broader society as discussed under respectability in Section 6.2.

Despite the higher rates of pay, turnover was highest in the kitchen, although other back-of-house jobs such as housemaids also showed considerable turnover based on the advertisements for both situations vacant and job wanted, as shown in Table 21 to Table 25. Although the numbers of "Situations wanted" advertisements were relatively small, it appears that back-of-house staff were more likely to actively seek employment.

The advertising of hotels indicates that proprietors had a reasonable degree of mobility between locations, but few staff were able to cross the divide between employment and becoming their own boss. In part, this reflects the gap between the cash required to enter into a lease and wages paid to hotel staff, and possibly the increasing control of the breweries as they became larger entities, leaving fewer options for a new proprietor. The staff who did make the move appear to have held administrative roles in the hotel, as clerks, as much as operational roles.

Table 21. Positions advertised as vacant by newspaper by year

Position	1920					1925					1930				
	NZH	EP	CP	ODT		NZH	EP	CP	ODT		NZH	EP	CP	ODT	
Cook (Male)	3	3	2		8	2	4	5	2	13	2	3	4	4	13
Cook (Female)	4	3		1	8	2	1			3			1	1	2
Porter	1	3	1		5	1	1	1		3	1				1
Hall porter					0					0					0
Boots					0					0					0
Waiter					0					0					0
Waitress	4	9	1	1	15	5	4	7	2	18	2	2	1	1	6
Barmaid	3	1			4					0		1			1
Barman							1		1	2		1			1
Hotel general	1		1	1	3		1			1	1	1		1	3
Housemaid	6		1	4	11	7	3	5		15	1	3	5	1	10
Pantry/Kitchen maid	2	4		1		1	1			2					0
Housekeeper		1								0			1		1
Laundry		2				2				2			1		1
Other	1				1					0					0
Management										0					0
	25	26	6	8	55	20	16	18	5	59	7	11	11	10	39

Table 22. Split between front- and back-of-house roles for situations vacant

	1920	1925	1930
Back of house	41 (63%)	36 (61%)	30 (77%)
Front of house	24 (37%)	23 (39%)	9 (23%)

Table 23. Situations wanted advertisement by paper by year

Position	1920					1925					1930				
	NZH	EP	CP	ODT		NZH	EP	CP	ODT		NZH	EP	CP	ODT	
Cook (Male)	2				2	9		1	1	11		3		2	5
Cook (Female)							1			1	5		1		6
Porter											2	1		1	4
Waiter						1				1					
Waitress	1				1										
Barman	4				4	1		1		2					
Hotel general						1			1	2	2	1			3
Housemaid	3				3		1	1	1	3		1			1
Housekeeper															
Laundry				1	1										
Other	1				1	4				4	2				2
Management	2	2			4						1				1
	13	2	0	1	16	16	2	3	3	24	12	6	1	3	22

Table 24. Split between front and back-of-house roles for situations vacant

	1920	1925	1930
Back of house	9 (69%)	21 (87.5%)	18 (82%)
Front of house	5 (31%)	3 (12.5%)	4 (18%)

Table 25. Ratio of situation vacant to situations wanted

	1920	1925	1930
Situations vacant: Situations wanted	4:1	2.5:1	1.77:1

6.3.5 Summary

Emergency regulation enacted during World War I closed some hotels and restricted the trading hours of those that remained in the decade 1920–1930. This had the effect of reducing the availability of hotels as an option to own and run a business. The decade also saw the height of efforts to eliminate the sale of alcohol or place it under direct state control, which increased the uncertainty of tenure and discouraged small operators from investing. This left space for the breweries, which were consolidating into larger national entities. It also widened the gap between the large-scale hotels, primarily focused on accommodation, and smaller businesses, more dependent on the bar trade and therefore likely to become rundown during this period.

While there were still long-standing proprietors who spent considerable time at a single location, there was also an increase in movement between sites. The gap between wages paid and the initial investment required increased, resulting in a growing divide between those who owned and managed hotels and those who worked in them. Boarding houses and private hotels became more prominent in the advertising of properties for sale. They also, at the top end of the market, garnered a reasonable level of prestige, though not at the same level as the large hotels. Private hotels tended to be managed by women because there were fewer restrictions where a liquor licence was not required. As noted in Section 6.2.1 on respectability, married women could not hold a liquor licence in their own right, which limited their official role in licensed hotels.

6.4 Power

This section examines the power structure of the time within the context of the hotels. Although the intended focus is on accommodation, the sale of alcohol and how this affected the exercise of power in hotel operations does tend to take centre stage. This section outlines the legislation governing hotel operations, and then examines the impacts in terms of race and gender. It also briefly considers the position of the hotel workers' unions, implications of the emergence of larger corporate entities in the industry, such as the Mount Cook Company. Finally, an overview of how the power structures affected the response to rising unemployment at the end of the decade is provided.

6.4.1 Legislation

The 1908 consolidation drew together what had previously been multiple pieces of legislation governing the sale of alcohol and the provision of accommodation. The 1908 act incorporated the previously separate administration of the Native districts and prohibited sale of alcohol to Māori women unless they were married to European men. It also barred single women from

holding a licence of any type; only widows and married women whose property was protected under the Married Women's Property Act 1908 could hold a licence in their own right ("Licensing consolidation," 1908). Early closing, known as the six o'clock swill, had been introduced as a temporary war measure in 1917 and become permanent in 1918 ("Sale of liquor restriction Act," 1917). When the act was amended in 1920 to clarify points concerning the issuing of replacement licences within a district when a licence had lapsed, Prime Minister Massey commented that the act required reform, but there was no intention to do this prior to the next election ("Licensing law," 1920; "Licensing law: "Reform from top to bottom"," 1920). In the event, there was no further legislation until 1931.

The New Zealand Alliance continued to push strongly for prohibition on the American model ("Licensing reform," 1925). Opponents argued it would not reduce drunkenness, only accommodation, and would lead to bootlegging and lawlessness ("Prohibition the pitiless," 1925; "You'll be durned sorry if yo' get it," 1925). The New Zealand Alliance presented itself as a counterweight to the interests of the liquor industry but held a considerable degree of political influence ("Parliament: The final session," 1925). There was some concern that the presence of the licensing issue at each general election distracted attention from other, possibly more important issues ("A disturbing element," 1925).

The Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act originated in 1894 but gained teeth after the industrial unrest of 1911 to 1913 (Belich, 2001). The 1925 act laid out the structure for state-led conciliation and arbitration, consolidating a number of amendments between 1908 and 1925 into one parent act. The act gave the requirements for industrial unions representing workers. Although the aim was to avoid multiple unions representing a single occupational group, the reality of the limitations of communication meant that most unions were limited to an individual district, although this decade saw the rise of federations of unions and the emergence of near national awards. Similar requirements allowed for groups of employers to form representative bodies, such as the Licensed Victuallers Association. From there the act set out who could be a party to an industrial agreement or award and the process by which it was to be negotiated. Disputes went first to the Councils of Conciliation, then to the Arbitration Court for resolution. The act limited the ability of workers to strike or employers to lock out workers in pursuit of settlement; it also laid mechanisms for enforcing awards. The enforcement actions could be brought before any Magistrates Court, important in light of the workload of the Arbitration Court ("Arbitration Court," 1930).

6.4.2   The position of women

While the Licensing Act mentioned only prostitutes not being allowed to remain on licensed premises "longer than required to obtain reasonable refreshment" ("Licensing consolidation," 1908, s 182), the licensing committees of the period took a somewhat stricter view. The Auckland Licensing Committee in 1920 noted they had "no power to prohibit the practice of women drinking in hotels, but felt very strongly about. If the committee had the opportunity to deal with the matter it would do so" ("Local and general," 1920, p. 6). In 1925, it named six hotels that the police and committee felt encouraged women to drink ("Licensees warned," 1925; "Women drinkers in hotels," 1920). Likewise, the Wellington Committee in 1925 noted that women were entitled to a drink but licensees should "prevent them from exhibiting any signs of liquor after leaving the hotel" ("Licensing committee," 1925, p. 8) and noted that the committee disapproved of women drinking in general ("Conduct of Wellington hotels," 1925). In Christchurch, women were reported as drinking after shopping, and that their "tastes lean towards spirits and liquors which men generally avoid. Gin, whisky and cocktails are served..." ("Untitled," 1930a, p. 6). In 1930 the Wellington Licensing Committee held "the view that a licensee should not encourage that class of trade and regard[ed] unfavourably the making of facilities in some hotels which encourages women to go there and stay there and drink." ("Women in hotels," 1930, p. 10). That same year the inspector's report to the Auckland Licensing Committee stated "if licensees had exercised proper supervision they should have observed these women and checked them to a certain extent" ("Drinking by women," 1930, p. 12) – despite the fact that the women were not seen to be intoxicated or even to remain too long on the premises in the inspector's own judgement.

This did generate some return fire, with a (presumably female) letter writer in *The Evening Post* querying "Why are our fathers and brothers to decide the question?" ("Women in hotels," 1925, p. 7). Similarly, *The New Zealand Herald*, reporting on hotel conditions in Adelaide, noted that "Since the war, they say women seem to consider they are entitled to the same pleasures as men. They openly go in for smoking and drinking" ("Liquor for women," 1925, p. 9). However, the Women's Committee of the New Zealand Alliance felt that the practice should be discouraged and that this should be done by the licensing committees until the movement was able to have legislation passed ("Drinking among women," 1925). "Prevalence of evil" headlined to a story on the covering the Dunedin Women Citizens' Association, with the association viewing drinking among women as having reached "a deplorable stage" ("Drinking by women," 1925). The story also noted the existence of private areas where women could be served and a request for a message to be taken being interpreted as a request for drink ("Drinking among women," 1925; "Drinking by women,"

1925). Drinking by young women was a particular concern, although it was noted that judging a woman's age was problematic – "a woman might look under 21 and yet with the modern short skirt and other aids to youthfulness might well be over that age" ("Drinking by women: A difficult problem," 1930, p. 10).

While women drinking was a concern, mixed drinking was seen as even more undesirable "tending to lead to improper situations", according to the Dunedin Licensing Committee in 1930 ("Dunedin complaints," 1930, p. 11). In fact, the headlines often contained references to evil in this context, such as "A growing evil" ("A growing evil," 1930, p. 12), "Evil of mixed drinking" ("Conduct of hotels," 1930a, p. 3) and "Timaru free from evil" ("Drinking by women: Timaru free from evil," 1930, p. 11). Mixed drinking was viewed as even more shocking when the licensee's wife knew about it ("Conduct of hotels," 1930b).

6.4.2.1 Occupations/Independence

Women had a growing choice of occupations. An article in *The Otago Daily Times* noted the draw of retail work, describing the well-dressed, well-spoken young women enjoying being surrounded by pretty things in the large Christchurch retailers. Although positions on the shop floor were preferred, even jobs in the work room and offices attracted plenty of applicants. One of the businessmen interviewed for the article noted that there was difficulty in securing girls for domestic service and wondered why it did not hold the same appeal ("Women workers," 1925). A follow-up article interviewed a Dunedin draper, who felt that there was a degree of necessity for young women to work because of the high cost of living. Interestingly, most of the applicants he dealt with had completed a secondary school education. Another employer noted that in Dunedin, office work was even more attractive than retail, and even in retail, the conditions were preferable to domestic service ("Girl shop assistants," 1925). The problems of attracting domestic servants were noted to extend to staff for hotels, with one letter writer expressing the opinion that private hotels would convert to apartments to let ("The domestic problem," 1920). A second writer in the same letters to the editor column raised the issue of the need for educated young women to learn housekeeping in order to marry well ("The domestic problem," 1920). With the rise of unemployment in 1930, there were calls for preference to be given to employing young men over young women in office work particularly ("To the editor," 1930). Likewise, it was felt that married women whose husbands could support them should not be working while men were looking for work ("To the editor," 1930).

Women were expected to 'return' roles to the men in 1920, and the range of occupations available to women made hotel work, which shared many characteristics with domestic

service, less attractive. That said, the requirement for married women to give their marital status rather than their occupation in most official records means that their work is invisible to history in many ways. Despite calls for women to limit themselves to traditional occupations, such as teaching, nursing and domestic service ("To the editor," 1930), or to remain dependant on their husbands ("To the editor," 1930), women's participation in the workforce was critical to the economy and the household.

6.4.3 Māori

The Rātana movement, a supratribal body somewhere between a religion and a reform movement, required that members not drink to excess. In part, this reflected the close relationship between the Methodist Church and Taranaki Māori, from whom the Rātana movement emerged. It also had practical roots in the desire of Wiremu Rātana, the movement founder, to improve the situation of Māori economically and socially (Newman, 2006). Those who lived at Rātana Pa were subject to fines for disregarding these requirements ("Wahines' day out," 1925). Māori were also active participants in the temperance movement and various prohibition campaigns ("Prohibition campaign," 1925). However, those on the Māori rolls were not included in the licensing polls on the question of prohibition ("Parliamentary news," 1925; "Prohibition campaign," 1925).

The assumption on all sides was that Māori were not to be trusted with alcohol,[13] for example, on an application for a licence for a hotel in Northland, the representative of the police stated "a hotel at Ngunguru is undesirable and he emphasised the contention it would be patronised chiefly by Māoris". The promoters thought it would appeal to holidaymakers from Whangerei. ("Opposition to hotel," 1925, p. 10). While there was acknowledgement from some sections of the Māori community that alcohol was used to excess at tangi ("Prohibition campaign," 1925), a European business leader felt that "tangis had become disgraceful orgies" ("Native land," 1920, p. 7). However, he then went on to state that this was but one example of Māori wasting their money and resources, and to complain that Māori did not manage their lands the way a European would ("Native land," 1920). Historians such as Belich (2001) and Walker (2004) have noted that this was due in part to difficulties in accessing financing. Āpirana Ngata's land development programmes were designed to address these challenges through the provision of government funding and tax relief while still respecting traditional Māori ownership and land management practices (Belich, 2001).

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[13] The Licensing Act of 1908 still contained specific references singling out Māori as a category of guests subject to special restrictions and continuing the ability of Māori to request prohibition in Māori majority rural areas.

6.4.4 Unions

Hotel workers were represented by a range of unions around the country. In most areas, there were separate awards for private and licensed hotels, but workers were often represented by the same union. There were separate unions for each industrial district. There were also Federation of Hotel Workers unions, which formed in 1909, initially covering only the main centre unions. By 1925 there was a requirement that union rules be consistent with the federation and that award agreements be approved. An initial goal was to abolish private registry offices and compel employers to use the unions to engage workers (Department of Labour, 1909).

The act gave a formal structure to negotiations, with the balance of power intended to be held by the Councils of Conciliation and the Arbitration Court, but the operation of preference clauses in the award gave the unions some degree of power. The preference clauses required that new employees either had to join the union or the employer had to replace them with a union member. Wage rates appear to have been largely set by the awards, since rates disappeared from job advertising, unlike newspaper situations vacant for domestic servants, which still often noted hourly or weekly wages. The awards set minimum rates and the Arbitration Court also set minimum wage rates adjusted for cost of living for all employees regardless of industry, which put a floor under award rates ("The basic wage," 1925; "Editorial," 1925).

As noted in Section 6.3 on independence, the operation of the arbitration and conciliation system and the awards created a formal structure and reinforced hierarchies both within and across occupations. The unions were active participants in this formalisation; for example, in Nelson in 1925, the employers and workers felt that there was no need for a formal award because the workers were all local girls whose interests would be protected by the links between their employers and the community. The union representative noted that they did not want any sentiment ("'Home life' in hotels," 1925).

6.4.5 Unemployment

While the impact of the Wall Street Crash of October 1929 made the headlines, New Zealand spent the entire decade being buffeted by external economic events that affected the labour market. The early part of the decade saw economic growth in New Zealand constrained by austerity measures taken in the UK. In 1925, the Department of Labour noted that although trade conditions had improved, this was not reducing unemployment to any degree. The department noted that labourers made up half of those seeking work, and hotel workers and clerical workers were other occupations seeking work ("Labour Department annual report,"

1925). *The New Zealand Herald* published fortnightly reports of unemployment figures, recording those who were seeking work. Table 26 summarises these, giving total numbers listed as registered, and a second figure for hotel workers and cooks, who were classed together. It also notes those moving into work.

Table 26. Reports for *NZ Herald* of unemployment in Auckland 1925

	23/3	1/6	15/6	29/6	7/9	14/9	21/9	28/9	14/12	21/12
Total	140	183	189	206	193	203	189	185	171	182
Hotel	11	11	8	13	16	16	18	21	10	11
Placed	18	20	24	28	24	31	41	24	28	30

In the wake of the Wall Street Crash of October 1929, a commission was formed to identify ways to address unemployment. The commission recommended the provision of payments to the unemployed at some minimal level to limit the attractiveness of this option, funded from a poll tax and/or special income tax. It also noted an approximate cost of £1 million a year for unemployment relief but stressed this was only an estimate because the funding came from the Consolidated Fund and could not be easily identified. The article concluded that the "great aim will be to discuss and develop avenues of employment for surplus labour available when other avenues are slack" ("Unemployment: Committee's recommendation," 1930, p. 8). These proposals did not enjoy universal support; many letter writers and businesspeople thought that relief work was a preferable solution to payments to individuals ("Unemployment taxation," 1930). There were also calls for Buy New Zealand Made campaigns to place "New Zealand secondary industries on a sound economic basis" ("Relief for the workless," 1930, p. 8).

While this debate was taking place, there was also concern about the accuracy of the register of unemployment. In Dunedin, the Otago Labour Council took registrations of local unemployment; 192 people registered in the first two days the register was open ("Relief for the workless," 1930). In a letter to the Minister of Public Works, the Labour Council complained that the government was claiming there was limited unemployment in Otago but would not disclose the figures it had recorded for unemployment or how they had been arrived at. By 27 March 1930, the register stood at 540 people, dominated by labourers, but with five hotel workers, two barmen and three cooks among the men and a waitress and a cook among the women registered. As well as approaches to central government, the Labour Council approached the City Council looking for relief work. These jobs were primarily manual labour such as road formation and flood prevention schemes ("Unemployment returns," 1930).

The Unemployment Act was finally passed in October 1930, setting up provision for the levy to fund the payments and an unemployment board to administer their distribution ("Unemployment Act," 1930). In December, the Unemployment Board offered local authorities subsidies for work schemes that were being carried out without government funding. By 6 December, £19,358 had been allocated ("Unemployment board," 1930).

6.4.6 Summary

The findings provide evidence of the power structures that operated in hotels and in the relationship of the hotels to broader society. The operation of the conciliation process and the power this placed in the hands of the unions allowed for a formalisation of occupational hierarchies and their relative values. This structure included both explicit and implicit gendering, with roles typically held by women being paid at a lower rate. Similarly, despite the broad range of occupations and increasing education available to young women, they were still expected to limit themselves to the traditional occupations involving caring and service. However, this did not imply value for domestic service provision; indeed, it became increasingly difficult to find and retain traditional domestic servants. Modern girls were seen as too independent and not domestic enough.

Bodies such as the licensing committees, established to administer legal frameworks, felt it appropriate to enforce moral standards beyond the scope of the law. This was particularly true for the behaviour of young women or situations such as mixed drinking that might undermine marriage and family, which was held as the ideal state for both men and women. The licensing committees were called on to put public morals ahead of business interests and protect those who were felt to be unable or unwilling to act in their own best interests.

Māori were moving to establish more effective ways to address the challenges they faced, both through Parliament with the Young Māori Party members such as Carroll and Nagata, and more traditional Māori avenues such as the Rātana movement. They were, however, still largely treated as second-class citizens in hotels and governed by additional strictures that had not changed despite World War I and the contribution of Māori to the war effort, as both soldiers and workers. There was a presumption that European land management practices and social structures were the only appropriate ones and that Māori must give up their culture and identity. The efforts of Māori to find solutions to their own problems that did not fit this model were disparaged.

6.5 Silences

This section examines the assumptions and implications of what was and was not reported and how stories were covered. The section considers what stories were and were not covered in

each of the papers, whom they were written for and by whom. It also investigates the ways in which New Zealand society was developing in light of world events and what this implied for the microcosm of hotel workers and their place in society.

6.5.1 Issues covered

Throughout the decade, there was discussion of temperance issues and the relationship between sale of alcohol and the provision of accommodation, as shown in the graphs in Appendix 4. The question of the link between the two had been raised but not seriously discussed in 1920 when the licensing legislation was revised ("The licensing law," 1920). As the potential of tourism, and its existing contribution, became more apparent, the appropriateness of accommodation supply became a major issue in 1925. This was most apparent in Dunedin, where the exhibition stretched accommodation to breaking point, and indirectly led to the rise of motor camps as empty ground was pressed into service ("Where all roads lead," 1925). However, it was an issue facing most locations. In Christchurch, the deteriorating condition of some of its hotel building stock was the major contributor; in Auckland, the large number of tourist arrivals in peak session was the issue. Even given this importance of tourism and need for accommodation supply, when unemployment climbed in the last half of the decade, the solutions focused on land and manufacturing rather than services ("Relief for the workless," 1930).

While *New Zealand Truth* used its own correspondents, and society columns were bylined with pen names, personal bylines were still not in use. Much of the content was supplied by the Press Association, alongside local editorial comment. *The Otago Daily Times* continued its tradition of social commentary and campaigning for change. *The Evening Post* was a typical capital city paper dominated by happenings in Parliament, whereas *The Press* and *The New Zealand Herald* were much more locally focused and legislation was discussed for its local impact, with *The New Zealand Herald* showing something of a business bent. *New Zealand Truth* favoured human interest stories, consciously positioning itself as common, whereas *The Otago Daily Times*, *The Press* and *The Evening Post* were more highbrow and *The New Zealand Herald* somewhere in between.

6.5.2 Unemployment

Although figures such as the Otago Labour Council register do show a preponderance of labourers among those unemployed, the letter writers framed their suggestions on the assumption that the unemployed were all manual labourers, or that anyone who had the misfortune to become unemployed should accept whatever work was available. There was an assumption that young women could and should be supported by their families but young men

needed to work ("To the editor," 1930). At the same time, there was disdain for the idea that employed young women would expect treats such as the cinema to be paid for by young men courting them ("To the editor," 1930). Husbands were expected to support their wives, and married women were under some pressure to relinquish their employment, with an assumption there would be a man qualified to do the job ("To the editor," 1930). Likewise, the wage structure was based on a family wage (Paul, 1920) with provision for two children; the unemployment allowance increased this to four children. Large families were still taken as the norm and seen to be virtuous ("The family man," 1930).

Although there was a certain level of acceptance that unemployment was due to the economy and therefore beyond the control of those who found themselves out of work, the writers of letters and editorials still projected an attitude that it was something that happened only to those at the lower levels of society. In providing relief, there was still a separation between deserving and undeserving poor. Part of being deserving was being grateful and being frugal and visibly curtailing their lifestyle with no expectation that those at the top of the hierarchy would do likewise.

6.5.3 Guest lists and conspicuous consumption

The publication of guest lists and the number of hotels and guests willing to share this information increased during the decade. Despite the worsening economic conditions, there appears to have been an increasing willingness to exhibit status by consumption and participation in travel activities. According to the 'notes for women/society' columns as a rough proxy for leisure rather than business travel, the reporting shifted to include more business travel, but the level of leisure travel remained fairly consistent as a percentage of reporting between 1925 and 1930 (see Table 27). The mention of employer or company names and meetings or events implies that the majority of the men mentioned in the 'personal' columns were travelling for business purposes and publication of where they were staying was intended to facilitate making connections, which was seen as desirable. This gave a feel of the importance of connections and social relations as an appropriate use of time and resources.

This evidence implies the formation of status if not class groups (Jenkins, 2002). Even while recommending economy for others such as the unemployed and Māori, these status groups at the top of society consumed resources such as travel and accommodation that could be viewed as luxuries as part of defining themselves as a group. This was also related to remaining part of the broader British culture by following the London trends of public rather than private entertaining and the rise of restaurants as part of accepted social display.

Table 27. Total guest lists printed showing notes for women/society columns as a percentage of that total

	1920	1925	1930	Totals
Guest list – total	156	707	1103	1966
Notes for women column	66	176	286	528
	42.3%	24.9%	25.9%	26.9%

6.5.4   Gender and race

New Zealand had a somewhat complicated relationship with the eugenics movement of the 1920s. There was concern about the behaviour of young women and an expectation of women staying home to raise healthy strong children for the nation ("The family man," 1930; "To the editor," 1930). However, the subtle encouragement towards intermarriage with Māori women did not fit the eugenic agenda ("Licensing consolidation," 1908). This led to concerns about women drinking and particularly mixed drinking. It was also present in more subtle forms, with the 'for women' columns, which largely focused on weddings and running a pleasant home. The women who were brought to the readers' attention beyond this sphere were often in the fields of nursing or teaching. The praise for the home economics team at Otago University was primarily concerned with their contribution to successful homes rather than commercial businesses ("Home science," 1925).

Women who were working were expected to be primarily young and unmarried. There was an assumption that families would take care of each other, as shown in the statement that "the girls were practically family" in the Nelson union case ("'Home life' in hotels," 1925). This was despite the presence of capable women in hotel management ("Domestics wanted," 1922; "Domestics wanted," 1923; "System of bells," 1930) and the fact that for many country hotels to be viable the contribution of the proprietor's wife was essential ("Hotel for sale in the country," 1920; "Hotel long lease," 1930).

There was subversion of these norms. Although respectable women could not be seen to drink in public, private rooms where liquor would be served could be made available. The request might have to be coded to ensure the illusion was maintained ("Drinking by women," 1925). However, women were supposed to police each other's conformity. A breach of the social rule about women drinking in public was deemed more damning when the proprietor's wife was aware of it, the implication being that she should have insisted that it not occur. The breach was social not legal; the provisions in the Licensing Act referred only to "reputed prostitutes" ("Licensing consolidation," 1908 s 182) or Māori women who were not married to European men (s 271) as not being permitted on licensed premises as customers. This was of a piece with the expectation that official bodies act to uphold social conventions, as in the call for the

Auckland Licensing Committee to act as "guardians of the public morals" in refusing to grant a licence to a hotel on the waterfront ("The Thames Hotel license," 1925). There was no legal prohibition applying to the location, merely a social perception that labourers were prone to misusing alcohol.

Some of the discussion regarding Māori behaviour reflected the belief that there was only one way of realising value from land and one way of sharing resources in a community, a view driven entirely by money and the raising of commercial crops ("Native land," 1920). The desire of Māori to negotiate the adoption of European ways on their own terms was also a continuing irritant, even to some of their own leaders. Therefore, alcohol was forbidden to Māori, particularly women, although the relevant section stated "shall not apply to any female Māori being the wife of a European" ("Licensing consolidation," 1908 s 271). Conversely, Māori steps to undo the damage done by alcohol, such as those by Rātana, were portrayed with derision by the newspapers ("Wahines' day out," 1925). As noted in under the theme of power in Section 6.4, Māori, like working-class Europeans, were presumed not to be capable of making these decisions for themselves.

6.5.5 Summary

The findings show evidence of the emergence of status groups in relation to the consumption of accommodation and hospitality services, despite the continuing narrative that New Zealand was an egalitarian society. In fact, this very image sometimes assisted in the closure of status groups. While documenting a society in which some people could consume luxuries, such as travel and commercial accommodation, dances and elegant weddings, the newspapers also upheld the notion that New Zealand was a place where there was no formal class structure. The social stratification reflected in the growing divide between hotels that were primarily accommodation providers to those who had the means to travel and the corner hotel serving the locals passed largely without comment.

Tourism and the need for accommodation to support this were raised but service work did not increase in status in response. Discussion of work creation in response to unemployment from 1929 focused on manufacturing and increasing the availability of land for farming. Likewise, returning veterans enjoyed prestige in society and the path for their return to civilian life spoke of farms and factories; in some cases, hotel work was stated to be below them. Women were expected to step back from employment, which required them to effectively return jobs viewed as borrowed.

This was an era that did not talk about the chaos it was emerging from but sought order and structure. That these very efforts lent themselves to the rise of authoritarianism that would plunge the world back into chaos again is a sad irony that is apparent mostly only in hindsight.

6.6 Chapter Summary

The decade 1920 to 1930 saw the formalisation of hierarchy and the hardening of divisions into those who had social permission to consume and those who were required to exercise restraint. The social disruptions of World War I and its resultant economic dislocations resulted in an extreme concern about morals and rules of behaviour. In combination with the rising eugenics movement, this created a potent brew for discrimination. Hotels with their links to liquor and their function as a venue for socialising often ended up as battlegrounds for these concerns. Morals must be defended and hotels, as tightly regulated businesses, were an easy place to make a stand.

At the same time, rising capital requirements increased the distance between those who owned and managed hotels at all levels and those who worked in them. The rise of unionisation and the strengthening of the awards process formalised the hierarchies of workers within the hotel. By creating an us/them process based on manufacturing norms, it also contributed to reducing workers to cogs in a machine, replaceable and interchangeable. While the 1920s may have roared for some, and high-end hotels such as the Chateau Tongariro and the Hermitage certainly saw their share of conspicuous consumption, for hotel workers and proprietors of smaller hotels, there was a decline in social prominence and acceptability. This consumption was not as marked as it was in the US or UK but represented an understandable reaction to World War I, as people looked "for new ways to mend a broken world" (Moon, 2011, p. 145). The reporting of social news such as guest lists gave a definite sense that life was short and enjoyment deserved in light of past trials. Chapter 7 examines the response to World War II and post-war economic developments covering the period between 1945 and 1985.

Chapter 7: The Golden Weather and Its Ending (1945/1965/1985)

7.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the broad period from the end of World War II to the rise of the Fourth Labour Government. There was an evolution from the restrictions put in place to deal with the challenges of war to a complex set of social contracts between government, capital and labour – the 'social compact' that was the defining feature of this period (Belich, 2001; Williamson, 2016). For hotels and their workers, change came in sudden bursts, such as the removal of the link between accommodation and alcohol in 1962 and the arrival of jet aircraft in Auckland and Christchurch from 1965. The increasing openness to the world changed the requirements for accommodation providers and saw the development of larger hotel properties. This period also saw a shift from brewery ownership to specialist hotel companies and the movement of the premier properties from direct government ownership to the THC. Because of time constraints on sampling, this chapter draws on data from 1945, 1965 and 1985 rather than the decade slices of the other chapters.

The findings are presented under four themes. Social contracts describes the evolution of social structures as the norms of respectability no longer operated in a larger population. Independence examines the changes in hotel ownership and how this related to wages. Power attempts to untangle the power structures underlying this evolving social landscape. Silences considers who spoke and who was spoken for.

7.2 Social Contracts (Respectability)

Although there was a certain level of legislative framework, the concept of 'respectability' was largely socially defined and enforced. This social norm, or at least the society that had enforced it, lost form. The social contract hardened into being almost entirely based on legislation, particularly regarding labour relations but also in the realms of the licensed premises and the key issue of the relationship between the provision of accommodation and the sale of alcohol.

7.2.1 Legislation

7.2.1.1 Royal Commission 1945

In January 1945 a Royal Commission was appointed to:

inquire into the workings of the laws relating to the manufacture and importation, sale and supply of intoxicating liquors and into the social and economic aspects of the question, and to examine and report upon proposals that may be made for amending the law in New Zealand in the public interest. (Royal Commission on Licensing, 1946)

In his opening address, JD Willis, the counsel assisting the commission, noted that the governing legislation was a patchwork of amendments that did not necessarily take account of present needs ("Licensing laws: Royal Commission sittings commenced," 1945). There were also issues related to the provision of accommodation and the lack of uniform standards for existing accommodation ("Grading of hotels," 1945). The structure of the industry in terms of ownership or control of hotels by large brewery companies were also raised as a concern ("Licensing laws: Royal Commission sittings commenced," 1945). The report detailed the mischiefs the commission felt arose out of the current legislative structure, including the fact that because of the way the licenses were allocated, hotel accommodation was not always in the locations required nor of the standards expected, with Rotorua being noted as of particular concern. There was also considerable concern about the sale of liquor to Māori, with the King Country meriting its own section in the report (Royal Commission on Licensing, 1946).

In their recommendations, the majority of the commission members felt that the manufacturing of liquor should be a state monopoly but that the requirement to provide accommodation should be separated from the ability to sell liquor. The commission proposed a simplification of the licence classes and the creation of a bar licence that did not require the provision of accommodation, along with allowing chartered clubs to hold a licence permitting sale to members. They were strongly in favour of the licensing trust model (discussed below). They also proposed an extension of the trading hours but with closed periods through the day so that licensed premises could be open from 10am to 2pm, from 4 to 6pm and then from 8 to 10pm during the week, and from 12–6pm on Saturday, but retained the prohibition on Sunday trade except to house guests. The commission wanted to retain restrictions of sale of liquor to Māori and place Polynesian residents under the same restrictions as Māori. The dissenting members of the commission disagreed with the state control model rather than any of the other recommendations, although one did express concern about continuing to have separate rules for Māori (Royal Commission on Licensing, 1946).

7.2.1.2 Liquor legislation

The 1948 legislation established a licensing commission to oversee the distribution of licences for the country as a whole, although the ability of objectors to force a local poll meant these powers were not particularly effective. The 1948 act also removed the restrictions on Māori

and allowed for new chartered clubs. The question of extending hours was made subject to a referendum, which in 1949 confirmed six o'clock closing. In 1952, it once again became possible for a woman to hold a licence in her own name, regardless of her marital status. Despite the commission's recommendations, it would take until 1962 to separate the provision of accommodation from the sale of liquor. With 15 types of licences, the 1962 act did not simplify the structure. It would take until the 1989 Act (discussed in more detail in Chapter 8) for the 1945 Royal Commission's recommendation to be put in place, although the licence types were slightly different to those the commission had envisaged.

The 1962 act gave the Licensing Commission the power to set minimum standards for accommodation and attempted to clarify its ability to allocate new licences. The legislation (s 75.3) favoured the issue of hotel licences over tavern licences and to

> secure the provision of reasonable and adequate facilities so that those who wish to do so may drink in reasonable comfort and so that the demand for facilities for the purchase and consumption of liquor is met but not stimulated. ("Sale of Liquor Act 1962," 1962, s 75.4)

Part VII sets out the division of responsibility between licensees and managers. The licensee is required to select a manager who will "conduct the business in a proper and efficient manner and will comply fully with the provisions of this Act, and shall take all reasonable steps to ensure that the business is so conducted" ("Sale of Liquor Act 1962," 1962, s 181–214). There was still an explicit requirement to provide accommodation when requested and meals were required to be at least two courses during dining periods of at least an hour in length. Outside of the set dining hours, food still had to be provided, but personal service was not required. Section 186.6 sets out the limits of when accommodation may be refused. The act also required that a register of lodgers be kept, in ink, and be made available to the police on request.

Barmaids under the age of 25 were still prohibited. The act also stated that managers could not be paid commission on liquor sales. The prohibitions on prostitutes and bookmakers dating back to the 1881 act were maintained. Opening hours were not extended apart from an exemption for social events that had been approved by the Licensing Committee. Six o'clock closing, which started life as a temporary war measure in 1917, enjoyed a life span of 50 years before a referendum in 1967 finally voted for extended hours. This came into effect in October 1967 and permitted bars to open from 11am to 10pm.

7.2.1.3 Licensing trusts

The first licensing trust, in Invercargill, was created by a special Act of Parliament in 1944. The trust was to provide accommodation and other facilities for the travelling public, as well as establish hotels and suitable places for the sale of intoxicating liquor after the district voted for restoration of the trade after being a dry district. The trust was able to determine the number and location of hotels subject to public consultation. Although the trust did not pay the standard licensing fees, it did have to pay £40 per premises to the City Council. The trust was allowed to borrow on the same terms as a local authority body. The most important provision of the act, however, was the provision for distribution of profits within the trust area for philanthropic purposes such as sports grounds and community halls.

After four years of successful operation in Invercargill, the 1949 Licensing Trust Act made provision to extend the model to other districts. This act allowed for direct election of trust members as opposed to the appointment model used to establish Invercargill. The functions and powers section of the act were basically identical to those used in the Invercargill act. The provisions for determining the number and location of hotels and, in particular, the procedures for public consultation were clarified and extended. The act granted the right for objectors to require a poll to determine whether a hotel should be established. Section 44 set limits on the profit distribution, making it dependent on the trust's overall financial performance, requiring that liabilities be less than two-thirds of assets if more than half the after-tax profit was to be distributed ("Licensing Trusts Act," 1949, s 44). New trusts were to be permitted to operate breweries or own shares in breweries, and the Invercargill act was extended to include the Invercargill trust. In 1950, the Invercargill Licensing Trust was reconstituted as an elective body to bring it into line with the new trusts created under the 1949 act. There were to be 28 licensing trusts created under the act by 1975, usually in previously dry districts. Of these, 19 remain active, although no new trusts have been created since 1989, despite the last dry districts being abolished in 1999.

7.2.2 Proprietors and managers

The period from 1945 to 1985 saw the transition from proprietors to managers. It also saw the strengthening of corporate as opposed to individual ownership, from the brewery companies in 1945 to the specialist hotel companies such as Queenstown Resorts in 1985. The individual owners moved from hotels into motels and motor camps, while managers took over the running of the large-scale accommodation providers along with properties owned by the licensing trusts.

Under-Secretary of Justice BR Dullard, in his submission to the Royal Commission, noted the increase in salaried managers and felt this was being utilised as a means of brewery control, in effect, evading the tied house regulations in place ("'Tied houses' possibility of monopoly," 1945). Similarly, Commissioner of Stamp Duties J Caradus noted that managers were a means of brewery control, and that even where licensees held the leases these were granted subject to a month's notice of termination ("Ownership by breweries," 1945). In the New Zealand Breweries evidence, manager's salaries were noted as ranging from £8 to £15 a week, managers were expected to live in and their food was provided. They may also have had access to a spending allowance for entertaining potential clients ("Hotel managers," 1945). In their final report, the Royal Commission noted that by 1936 Dominion Breweries had moved from a policy of subleasing owned hotels to using managers to run the business. Hancocks had been using managers for major hotels since 1901. Campbell & Ehrenfried, in their evidence, explicitly linked the trend to managers to the start of six o'clock closing when leasees wanted a major reduction in rent to compensate for the expected downturn in trade (Royal Commission on Licensing, 1946).

The commission's report also presented length of service for managers for three of the hotel-owning companies, which ranged from one year to 30 years, with most managers at the three companies having two to five years' service. One of the major arguments against managers in the commission's opinion was that the service was less personal and the ability to be 'mine host' was lost. Since managers did not have their own funds invested, they were perceived to be less concerned with the care of the guests. There were also concerns that their conditions of employment left managers vulnerable to pressure to maintain beer sales to the detriment of accommodation provision. However, leaseholders of properties owned by the breweries often had to sign transfer forms that effectively allowed the breweries to dismiss them despite the finds the leasee had invested (Royal Commission on Licensing, 1946). Interestingly, there is limited comparison between managed, leased and independent in terms of accommodation standards or after-hours trading, both of which were major concerns to the commission.

In 1965, underage sales were still as much a concern as after-hours trading, although stories were as likely to concern proprietors ("Magistrate's Court," 1965; "Police appeal against licensing decision," 1965) as the manager ("Magistrate's Court," 1965). Managers were more likely to be in larger properties, such as the DeBrett in Auckland, where the manager had to cope with pop fans trying to invade his hotel when it hosted the Dave Clark Five ("Seeking entry: Day-long siege of pop group," 1965). In some cases, properties that would be run by managers were reported with reference to their owners, such as the story on the opening of

the Oamaru Licensing Trust's Waihemo Lodge, although the story also noted the manager's prior experience ("Waihemo Lodge – Palmerston opens today," 1965).

By 1985, individual owner-operators had largely moved to the motel and bed and breakfast space because of the capital requirements for hotels completing the transition, which had started with Hancocks putting a manager into the Grand Hotel in Auckland after being unable to find a tenant ("Hotel management: Company's heavy losses," 1945). The reporting covered appointments ("People in business," 1985), along with comments from opening managers, for example, at the Cotswold Inn in Christchurch ("Authenticity in design of inn," 1985) and the Stamford Plaza in Auckland ("Crocodile in style: 300 are ready and waiting," 1985). The decision by the sales manager at Noahs Hotel to leave the industry to manage The Shades shopping precinct received a half-page story noting that she had started as a restaurant supervisor at the hotel. Although part of the reason to change positions was to reduce the travel commitment, the other reason was the rarity of this type of position becoming available for a woman in Christchurch (Airley, 1985). New Zealand was also becoming part of the international market for hospitality personnel. Tomoko Sato, who was the manager of the Picton summer youth hostel in 1985, was on a working holiday from Japan, where she worked for a shipping company, having previously been an assistant manager at a hostel in Hokkaido ("Picton youth hostel a haven after Tokyo," 1985). Similarly, the new owner of Huka Lodge chose managers with "wide European experience of hotel catering and management" when the property reopened after refurbishment (Bloxham, 1985, p. 25).

A strike by hotel workers in March 1985, primarily over wage rates, also put managers in the news. In Auckland, the manager of the Sheraton noted that 200 staff would be out during the strike but the hotel had 40 salaried staff available to clean rooms on change. At the South Pacific Hotel, there were only five salaried staff to do the jobs of 200 and the hotel had nearly 100% occupancy over the two days of the strike action ("Auckland hotels face grim 48 hours," 1985). Similarly, managers in other locations pitched in to clean rooms and in some cases provide meals, although this was limited to house guests only because the restaurants were closed to the general public ("Hotel workers form pickets," 1985).

7.2.3   Unions

With the election of the first Labour Government in 1935, in reaction to the employment impacts of the Great Depression, the unions became a more formal party to the social contract (Moon, 2011). Compulsory unionism was introduced in 1936 and the arbitration system, which had been suspended in 1931, was brought back into operation. The first Labour Government also introduced support for farmers and addressed business concerns to build what Belich

(2001) described as "an unholy alliance of sectors" to create a corporatist approach to economic management formally supported by legislation (p. 318).

This alliance between sectors provided the context in which the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce set out their guidance for employers. The guidance emphasised the need to take care of their employees, pay a living wage and offer secure employment including sick leave, with consideration to contribute towards superannuation. The Social Security Act of 1938 was still new enough that charities remained an option; however, they were viewed as degrading. The chamber also felt that the unions had a broader role to play. Beyond their role in the protection of employees, they should also involve themselves in educating workers on the relationship between productivity and wages and raising the status of employees as an important part of the economy ("Industrial relations," 1945).

The New Zealand Federated Hotel, Restaurant and Related Trades Employees' Union presented evidence on behalf of workers to the Royal Commission. The evidence presented argued that the tourist trade did not warrant the extension of either bar or restaurant hours and that the registration of barmen would not address problems of after-hours trading ("Licensing trade. Suggestions made: The union's evidence," 1945). The union also supported the granting of additional chartered club licences and was in favour of a model similar to the licensing trusts, where profits from liquor sales would be distributed to support local communities ("Unfair refusal," 1945). There were cracks in the harmony, such as the request to the Dunedin Arbitration Court for clarification of the demarcation between the Shop Assistants Union and the Hotel Workers Union ("Arbitration Court: Application for award," 1945). Similarly, although the Arbitration Court issued a new award in June 1945, the Auckland union took action against five hotels owned by Hancocks & Co Ltd to clarify the impact on staff who were already paid over award rates ("Hotel strike: Dispute over wages," 1945). The dispute was settled once the employers agreed that the rise of 10s would be applied over the existing rates ("Hotel strike ends," 1945).

On the whole, 1965 was a quieter year for the hotel unions with no reported strikes. The award reached in June included reducing the working day from 13 to 12 hours along with requiring that time sheets were kept for all workers. Staff who were not provided with accommodation and board were granted an additional allowance to cover their meals the two days a week they were not working. There was still an expectation of staff living in, although the need for allowances seems to indicate this did not always suit employers ("Hotel workers get wage rise," 1965). The increase in wages for waitresses brought them more closely in line with the wages paid to office and factory workers ("Better status for hotel waitresses," 1965);

however, in peak periods it was still necessary to recruit additional staff. In December, the union noted that university students and teachers had been hired, but Australian staff were still common ("Burned out day after they arrived," 1965; "Hotel staff from abroad wanted," 1965; "Staff for hotels: Students given jobs," 1965).

The arbitration system was starting to show signs of strain after the 1968 zero wage order, and in 1973 a new act, the Industrial Relations Act recognised direct bargaining between unions and employers outside of the system (Williamson, 2016). This brought a degree of flexibility to the system; however, in the face of oil shocks and rising inflation, it dissolved into frequent strikes. In June 1982, a wage and price freeze was instituted, effectively putting the system into abeyance until after the 1984 snap election. When the wage freeze was lifted and wage bargaining for all sectors began in 1985, there was considerable unrest and a large number of strikes. The lifting of restrictions happened to coincide with a period of economic growth and the expectation that the Fourth Labour Government would return to compulsory unionism, which all combined to make industrial unrest more probable in response to any problems in negotiations (Haszard, 1985). The removal of the wage freeze came with considerable debate on the respective roles of government, unions and employers in setting wages. The wage negotiations were still held at set dates within the year. which the union movement viewed with some dismay in light of the floating dollar. The unions felt this created instability and removed fairness, and they were unhappy with what they saw as a lack of consultation on policy ("Renewed attacks on wage controls," 1985). The tripartite talks that preceded wage rounds were very compressed for the March 1985 round. The talks for the October 1985 round commenced in April and the position of low-paid workers was a particular focus. The hotel unions were concerned that percentage-based guidelines from the tripartite talks disadvantaged the lower paid workers, who made up the bulk of their membership ("Low-pay people in the spotlight," 1985; "Pay is poor says rest home staff," 1985).

Despite guidelines from the government and calls for disagreements to be taken to the Arbitration Court ("Hotel staff support industrial action plan," 1985), hotel workers were among the many groups that used strike action to attempt to raise wages in the March wage round. The union's initial claim was for an across-the-board increase of $45 and increased penal rates for a nine-month term ("Union leaders to blame: Meyers," 1985). Job security, particularly for part-time workers, was an issue of concern to the union and their members ("Hotel worker's case for a wage rise," 1985). The employers' initial offer of an 8% increase, which was at the top of the guidelines issued by the government ("Hotel strikers talk of further action," 1985), was met with rolling two-day stoppages. Queenstown, however, was hit with a four-day stoppage (Fea, 1985; "Tourist towns hit by strike," 1985). For heavily unionised hotels

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such as the Travel Lodge, with only six non-union staff out of 130, this was exceedingly challenging at the end of the peak season ("Tourists making own beds – Staff on strike," 1985). Hotels where non-union staff did choose to work were also picketed ("Mid-Canterbury: Hotel picketed," 1985; "Tourists making own beds – Staff on strike," 1985). Talks broke down several times ("Hotel strikers talk of further action," 1985), and settlement finally came after an all-night meeting with a wage increase of 8.1% and concessions from employers on allowances ("All-night meeting ends hotel dispute," 1985).

In many regions, the union that represented the hotel workers also covered domestic workers in hospitals and staff in cafeterias and tearooms. Some of the reporting on hotel unions therefore covers actions taken at non-hotel operations, such as the strike at Carrington Hospital over the staffing levels for domestic staff ("Hospital staff go on strike," 1985). Strike actions were also taken at a single site, such as the actions to try to obtain better accommodation and other conditions for staff at the Chateau Tongariro. The THC responded by saying it did not have awards for individual sites ("Chateau staff stop work," 1985).

7.2.4 Staff

As would be expected in 1945, staff availability was a major issue, despite hotels being classed as an essential industry ("Hotel accommodation. Licensees express concern," 1945). However, even the removal of wartime restrictions did not really change this, as shown by comments on the reliance on Australian women to staff positions ("Burned out day after they arrived," 1965) and calls from employers to be allowed to recruit overseas ("Hotel staff from abroad wanted," 1965). There was less general comment in 1985, although the housing situation in Queenstown meant there was a mismatch between supply and demand for workers ("Tourism impact on Queenstown housing revealed," 1985). For example, there was a discussion on the need for a commuter service from Cromwell, which had accommodation, to Queenstown, where the jobs were located ("Job bus fills need," 1985).

Hospitality industry staff became less visible over the period and what reporting there was switched from the subject of accommodation and bar staff to focus on restaurant staff, particularly chefs, by 1985. This is the beginning of the chef and foodie culture discussed in Chapter 8. The reduction in prominence of bar staff is partly a reflection of the separation of the liquor trade from accommodation in 1962.

This period also saw the transition from most staff living in to the majority of staff having to find their own housing. The Tourism and Publicity Department's submission to the Royal Commission recommending hotel grading standards included reference to the standard of staff living quarters ("Grading of hotels," 1945). In 1965, the Prince's Gate Hotel in Rotorua

was still providing staff quarters ("Burned out day after they arrived," 1965). In Queenstown in 1985, approximately 20% of employers provided accommodation, although this was mostly in the form of subsidies for rentals rather than provision of free staff quarters ("Tourism impact on Queenstown housing revealed," 1985). Similarly, despite recommendations to establish formal training courses in 1945 (Royal Commission on Licensing, 1946), it was 1966 before the first programme started at what was then the Auckland Technical Institute ("No end to learning in work of chef," 1965). Trying to enhance the status of hospitality work was seen as partly related to wages, although one union secretary also tried to position waitresses as tourism ambassadors – "I can see the day when waitressing will be a glamour job in the fast-growing New Zealand tourism industry" ("Better status for hotel waitresses," 1965, p. 1).

The involvement of staff in after-hours sales and the shifting of blame between staff and management was commonly reported in the court news. With the extension of trading hours in 1969, such reports became less prominent; however, reporting on sales to underage patrons grew. In 1945, there were still reports of thefts by staff from guests; these are missing from the later samples. When reviews of hotels and the service they provided became more common over the period, the staff could also review guest behaviour, as shown in the comments by a motel cleaner on the state that guests left their rooms.

7.2.5   Summary

The end of World War II saw the reconsideration of many elements of the social contracts and compacts that underpinned New Zealand. There was a desire to clarify and formalise these, as shown by the Royal Commission into liquor sales in 1945. These clarifications were, however, often added over existing legislation and introduced their own level of complexity, the 1962 Sale of Liquor Act being a prime example ("Sale of Liquor Act 1962," 1962).

From the perspective of the accommodation industry, this accelerated the division into large properties being run by managers and the smaller owner-operated premises. In many cases, the owner-operators left classic hotel provision to move into motels or to taverns. This changed the relationship with staff and the potential career paths available within the industry. Although the industry still received coverage and discussion as part of tourism, the staff were largely invisible. There was discussion on the need for training for hotel staff, but training focused on chefs and managers did not raise the status of the industry as a whole. With the formation of large organisations to represent them, the divisions into employers and workers became more fixed and adversarial. The social compact moved from being an individual, personal one to being a formal contract guided by legislation and arbitration. Although there were strong communication channels between the actors, this was driven by

the 'breadwinner' model. This role of legislation led to the contract becoming unable to respond effectively to change. This was particularly evident following the floating of the New Zealand dollar in March 1985. The period closed with uncertainty on how to move forward and respond to the changing conditions in the labour market, and for hotels, how to be more responsive to the demands of increasingly sophisticated customers.

7.3   Independence

The capital required to own and operate a hotel had been increasing since the 1930s. This theme examines how the industry evolved in response to this, especially combined with growing numbers of international visitors and New Zealanders travelling. The availability of hotels for purchase and the comparison of workers' wages and real estate prices show the extent of the changing balance and the closing of options for workers.

7.3.1   Industry structure

7.3.1.1 Industry development 1930 to 1945

The Royal Commission's report gives a clear overview of the structure of the licensed accommodation industry in 1945 as well as some useful pointers on its evolution between 1930 and 1945, which are summarised in this section.

In 1945, there were 1,098 hotels, of which 631 were considered by the commission to be under the control of brewery and wholesale interests. They noted that this control was most obvious in Auckland, where nearly all the hotels were brewery or wholesaler controlled. New Zealand Breweries held interests in 202 hotels across the country, Dominion Breweries had 46 hotels in the North Island, Ballins Breweries had 61 and the related Ballins Brothers held another 20 (Royal Commission on Licensing, 1946).

New Zealand Breweries Ltd, a major beer brewing company that also owned hotels, was formed in 1923 by the amalgamation of 10 major brewing companies. In some cases, such as Hancocks, only the brewing interests were transferred to the new entity and ownership of the hotels remained with the original company, with an agreement to purchase liquor supplies from New Zealand Breweries. Dominion Breweries Ltd, formed in 1930 to compete with what had become a virtual monopoly, used a similar business model driven by its brewing interests and owning hotels to secure its distribution channels. The report also noted that while there were some specialist hotel operating companies, it was not uncommon for a brewery to be a major shareholder. This led to concerns that the hotels were restricted to buying liquor, particularly beer, from their parent company (Royal Commission on Licensing, 1946). Even for specialist hotel companies, with no brewing interests, such as Hancocks, which owned two of

Auckland's premier tourist hotels, the trade was challenging during this period, with losses of £40,000 between 1931 and 1940 for the two hotels and a halving of profit for the company as a whole. The company was only able to continue trading because of large reserves, approximately £230,261 at their 1944 balance date. Similarly, Campbell & Ehrenfried, primarily a brewing company with a small number of hotels in Auckland and the Waikato, had reserves and shareholders' funds of approximately £192,612, which allowed it to sustain losses over the period. Gross profit levels over all hotels, regardless of ownership structure, ranged from 52.5% to 69% for a sample of Auckland hotels (Royal Commission on Licensing, 1946).

Because of continuing concerns through the 1920s regarding the possibility of prohibition (discussed in Chapter 6) and the limited ability to invest during the 1930s owing to economic conditions, the New Zealand hotel stock in 1945 was ageing, averaging 45 to 50 years old and rundown. The trade argued that accommodation alone, separate from the bar trade, did not justify investment. That said, the commission noted that in only one case, the Empire Hotel in Wellington, were accounts kept that distinguished between the house and bar trade. Patronage tended to favour new hotels. The hotels in Rotorua were a particular concern, with only four licensed hotels and concentrated ownership. Three of the hotels were owned by Hancocks jointly with L.D. Nathan Ltd, Hancocks managing two of them and the other being leased to a tenant. The fourth hotel was owned by L.D. Nathan but leased to New Zealand Breweries. Technical constraints limited construction but the lack of accommodation provision drew complaints to the commission from the Rotorua mayor. The companies claimed there were large losses over long periods (Royal Commission on Licensing, 1946).

7.3.1.2 Tourist Hotel Corporation

The corporation was founded in 1955 in response to both the lack of accommodation and questions whether a government department was the correct body to be running hotels. It was only semi-independent, given the assets that it would receive; however, it was intended to bring specialist knowledge to the management of the government-owned hotels. Therefore, the purpose of the legislation was given as "to encourage the development of the tourist hotel industry" and "to provide for the transfer to the Corporation of the Government tourist hotels" ("Tourist Hotel Corporation Act," 1955, s 1). The general manager of the Department of Tourist & Health Resorts was automatically a director of the corporation; the other directors were to be appointed on the basis of specialist knowledge.

The THC was able to partner with commercial bodies and was able to access funds from the Tourist Accommodation Development Scheme created in 1963, as a clearer evolution of the fund that had existed as the Licensing Fund. The fund was administered by the State Advances

Corporation. One of the first major openings was what is now the Pullman hotel in Auckland, the InterContinental, which opened in 1968. New Zealand Breweries also opened a major tourist hotel in that same year, what is now the Grand Mercure on Custom Street. Although it was not part of the official mandate of the job, the first general manager of the corporation was very active in the area of staff training (McClure, 2004).

7.3.1.3 The rise of taverns, motels and major corporate investors

Motel development gathered pace in the 1960s and the standards of accommodation provided by motels were improved ("Federation defends tariffs at motels," 1965; "Motels not intruding on tourist hotels," 1965), but building hotels continued to be constrained by the availability of licences ("Objections to extended hotel premises," 1965). The 1962 act gave more flexibility to create new licences and reallocate them within a district, but objections could slow the process down ("North Canterbury hotels under review," 1965). The new airport at Mangere in Auckland and extensions to the runway in Christchurch ("Christchurch on the jet map," 1965) allowed jet aircraft such as the DC8 to fly all the way to New Zealand instead of requiring passengers to change planes in Australia. This made New Zealand more accessible to overseas visitors, which in turn increased demand for accommodation at international standards. These types of development had a considerable capital cost and there was opposition to government investment at the level required, for example, the £2.8 million for what is now the Pullman on Princes Street in Auckland ("£2,888,000 guaranteed by government towards hotel," 1965).

The THC also invested heavily in redeveloping existing assets, such as the Hermitage at Mount Cook ("Plans for Hermitage," 1965), and improved provision at Te Anau ("Te Anau hotel ready for next tourist season," 1965). The work at Te Anau included rebuilding a fire-damaged wing. The hotel at Franz Josef took considerably longer to have its fire damage repaired. The building was damaged in 1954 ("Opening of hotel delayed," 1965); however, even in 1965 the rebuild was not complete because of bad weather and access difficulties ("No date set for hotel opening," 1965).

There were also private investment schemes such as the ones to build the Carlton in Christchurch ("£1m project for Carlton Hotel," 1965). The Southern Cross Hotel in Dunedin was financed by a mixture of private ("New Dunedin hotel," 1965) and public funding ("Dunedin hotel loan guaranteed," 1965). Hotel projects were on an even larger scale by 1985, but were still prone to problems, for example, the Chief Post Office hole in the ground in Wellington ("Post office hole stays unfilled," 1985) and issues with the Victoria Square development in Christchurch ("Big changes in inner-city traffic patterns ahead," 1985). The THC faced a

challenge in the Environment Court over their planned development in Queenstown ("Hotel bid disallowed," 1985); similarly, the Abbey Lodge in Dunedin was unable to secure planning permission to add conferencing venues ("Abbey Lodge owner to appeal against decision," 1985).

By 1985, Lion Breweries, as New Zealand Breweries was by then known, managed only 100 of the 1,050 hotels and taverns in New Zealand ("Lion copes well with formidable competition," 1985). Dominion Breweries was looking to partner with an overseas firm, rumoured to be the Holiday Inn ("DB a link in a hotel chain," 1985), to improve the image of its accommodation operations ("US help sought for better hotel image," 1985). Dominion Breweries was also reconfiguring its hotels to remove the large bar areas, the so-called booze barns, and replacing them with conference space. In addition, the company sold 90 hotels and taverns between 1983 and 1985 to allow them to focus on the most profitable ("US help sought for better hotel image," 1985).

Alongside the breweries were a mix of local and international brands. Queenstown Resorts focused on South Island luxury properties and in 1985 took over the leases for the Lakeland Regency in Queenstown and the Chateau Regency in Christchurch ("Queenstown Resorts adds to leases," 1985). Another publicly traded company, Kingsgate, had bought the American Hyatt brand into the market. It had acquired the Auckland property built for the Intercontinental Group ("Tourist hotel backers to look again at economics of plan," 1965). Kingsgate had struggled in 1984, recording a loss of over $3 million. By 1985, despite the construction delays in Rotorua and the need to refurbish the Auckland property, it achieved a $1.5 million profit ("Kingsgate turns to $1.5M profit," 1985). The company was, however, rationalising its portfolio, selling its property at Fox Glacier to a local group, Fox Inns ("Vacation sale," 1985). Other international brands, such as Sheraton, had a presence in the New Zealand market ("Sheraton announces super Kiwi rate," 1985). 1985 also saw the opening of properties, such as the Regent in Auckland ("Crocodile in style: 300 are ready and waiting," 1985) and the West Plaza in Wellington ("Wellington's newest hotel changes name," 1985) backed by corporate investors. The South Pacific Hotel Corporation was also a relatively major presence with its Travelodge brand and was trying to obtain finance for construction beside the Town Hall in Christchurch (Tourist Reporter, 1985). The problems encountered by even large companies in securing finance and planning permission led to complaints from industry bodies and promises of intervention from politicians ("Hotel projects 'bogged down'," 1985).

Real estate advertising

In this period it is very difficult to show trends in real estate advertising for several reasons. The most obvious is the change in what was considered a hotel in 1962. The 1965 advertising is the most problematic because it is very unclear whether the premises still provided accommodation or had transitioned to a tavern. Table 28 gives a summary of the advertising that could be identified as referring to accommodation.

Table 28. Count of real estate advertisements by year

	1945				1965				1985			
	CP	EP	NZH	ODT	CP	EP	NZH	ODT	CP	EP	NZH	ODT
Hotels	8		2		2		9	2	5		9	10
Motels					1	1	4		8	3	35	

The 1945 sample is clearly a continuation of the earlier advertising, but at this stage pricing was subject to approval by the Land Sales Committees in each region ("Sale of hotel," 1945). The subject of goodwill for hotels exercised the Land Sales Committees as much as it did the Royal Commission ("Goodwill £17,270," 1945; Royal Commission on Licensing, 1946; "Sale approved: Prince of Wales Hotel," 1945; "Sale of hotel: Criticism of vendor," 1945). The Otago Land Sales Committee went as far as appointing an advisory accountant to assess the trading figures to justify the goodwill values in hotel transactions ("Sale of hotel," 1945). The Royal Commission specifically identified excessive goodwill, rents and premiums on sale as a mischief of the liquor trade. The Royal Commission noted that goodwill tended to be driven by both profit and scarcity, and the bulk of the profit seemed to come from the bar trade rather than accommodation. The Royal Commission was of the opinion that this led to neglect of the accommodation side of the business. The report noted the Land Sales Committee's opposition to including goodwill in sales valuation and the belief that the high valuations paid encouraged illegal trading, particularly after-hours sales (Royal Commission on Licensing, 1946).

In the 1965 advertising, as noted, it is difficult to determine the status of some properties. However, advertisements did make statements such as "all bar trade" or "mostly bar trade, 8 bedrooms", indicating the businesses operated for all intents and purposes as taverns ("Leasehold licensed hotel," 1965; "Monopoly licensed hotel," 1965). Even for 1985 it can still be difficult to judge whether the business still provided accommodation because the word 'hotel' was commonly used in business names for taverns. There were still advertisements noting "mainly bar trade ensures good profitability" ("Hotel freehold," 1985) and blocks of advertisements from brokers with a mixture of hotels and taverns ("Hotels for sale," 1985).

Motel advertising varied very little between 1965 and 1985. The advertising positioned motels and motor camps as a family business to be run by a couple.

7.3.2   Job availability and advertising

As noted in Section 6.2 on social contracts, in 1945 staff availability was a major constraint. The number of job advertisements reinforces this point, particularly for positions such as waitresses and housemaids, which tended to experience high turnover even in optimal conditions, as noted in Tables 29–31.

Table 29. Count of job advertisements

	1945				1965				1985			
	CP	EP	NZH	ODT	CP	EP	NZH	ODT	CP	EP	NZH	ODT
Cook – Male			2	1	1		1	1				
Cook – Female	2	3	2		1		15	1				
Cook – Non-gender	21	13	22	17	17	2	27	18	4	6	7	1
Chef						1	2	1	6	4	7	
Porter	10	14	6	6	4	4	9	6		2	2	
Waiter		1			1	1	1		4	7	10	
Waitress	19	23	12	19	10	2	30	13			2	
Barmaid					12	3		1				
Barman	2	4				2	25	9	2	3	5	4
General	18	14	6	6	3	2	11	1				
Housemaid*	23	34	27	18	25	2	24	9	1	1	2	2
Pantry maid	16	10	12	6		2	4	2				
Management	1	1					1			12	5	1
Kitchen man	2	12	4	1	4	2	6	3				
Clerical		3	3								2	
Reception					2	4	11		3	4	10	2
Laundry				2				3				
Maintenance/other						1	2		1		4	

* A combination position of waitress/housemaid was not uncommon – for simplicity, these have been coded as housemaid in the table

Table 30. Division of job advertisements in front and back of house

	1945	1965	1985
Front of house	124	150	62
Back of house	292	195	64

Table 31. Count of management positions advertised

	1965				1985			
	CP	EP	NZH	ODT	CP	EP	NZH	ODT
Front of house								
Managers								
Front office							3	1
F&B/Bar					2		5	
Head chef								
Executive								
General manager	1		2	1	2	4	5	1
Assistant GM				1	2	1	1	1
Rooms division							1	
Corporate positions		1			2	2	2	
Traineeships								1

Male staff were largely unavailable and it is notable that advertisements for cooks' positions mostly stopped specifying gender. Similarly, particularly in *The Evening Post*, there were advertisements for 'kitchen hands' rather than kitchen men or pantry maids.

From 1965, there were advertisements specifically looking for reception or front desk positions under those titles, although the first advertisement looking for telephone skills appeared in 1945 ("Girl, capable," 1945). The term 'chef' also started to appear from 1965 in much more common use than earlier periods. As was the case for real estate, the status of bar staff is difficult to determine from 1962, because it is unclear whether their employer was a tavern or an accommodation provider. This becomes easier to determine in the 1985 sample with the rise of display of advertising and recognisable branding.

In 1945, given the shortage of labour, the advertising focused on convincing people to apply, noting above-award wages ("Situations vacant," 1945) or good conditions, for example, "most congenial position" ("Experienced housemaid-waitress," 1945; "Wanted housemaid," 1945). Where worker characteristics were mentioned, they tended to be reliable ("Urgently wanted," 1945) or capable ("Girl, capable," 1945). Although some employers did want experience, for entry-level positions, many stressed that no experience was required. Many positions, particularly in *The Evening Post*, required applicants to apply in person. In 1965, more personal characteristics were requested, such as a pleasant personality and appearance ("Barmaid," 1965), although the requirement for applicants to be capable and reliable were still common . In comparison with 1945, more of the advertisers wanted experience or qualifications ("Hotel staff wanted," 1965; "Qualified chefs," 1965). The 1985 sample has many more advertisements mentioning personality and professional appearance. The statements of age and gender that had been common in the earlier periods were prohibited by the Human Rights Act of 1977. There were also specific mention of guest service ability ("Night auditor," 1985; "Receptionist telephonist," 1985).

The advertising of management roles in 1945 matched the terse style of staff advertisements and noted the areas of experience required. The major breweries were using managers (Royal Commission on Licensing, 1946), but there appears to have either been limited turnover or newspaper advertising was not used as a tool for recruitment. In 1965, Dominion Breweries in their advertising for managers for their newly refurbished Royal International Hotel at Auckland Airport called for a married couple, both of whom needed to have experience ("Manager," 1965). In common with staff advertising, a pleasant personality was starting to be a requirement. By 1985, the requirements were more detailed, with terms such as "professionalism", "self starter" and "problem solving" appearing. Emphasis was placed on the

challenge of the manager's role but also the opportunity to build a career. Most of the management advertising in 1985 carried either a corporate brand or that of a specialist recruitment agency.

7.3.3 Wages versus hotel purchase prices

While many of the real estate advertisements, particularly for 1985, did not give prices for purchasing a leasehold or freehold hotel, those that did give prices provide evidence of the growing gap between wages for staff and the funds required to purchase an accommodation business. Bar staff were generally the best-paid staff after the cooks. Where there was only a single cook, their wages were slightly below that of the bar staff. In 1945, bar work was the rare instance in the hotel industry in which there was no differential between male and female staff. Bar staff in 1945 received an award rate of £4 5s per week and newspaper advertisements noted some employers paid above-award rates. The price of leasehold hotels in smaller or rural areas ranged from around £2,000 to £4,000. The price of freehold properties in the cities, such as the ones that caused the Royal Commission and the Land Sales Committee such grief, could range as high as £37,000, although around £20,000 including goodwill was more common.

The cost of leaseholds, in 1965, remained around £2,000 to £4,000; however, the cost freeholds had increased. When advertisements stated prices, they were around £30,000, although one property was quoted at £50,000 ("New Railway Hotel sold by Ballins Industries," 1965). Male clerical staff at licensed hotels were paid £13 18s a week, but if they lived out they were entitled to approximately another £4 in allowances. Assistant managers at the THC received £750 annual salary with £100 annual increments for length of service. For the non-clerical staff, there was now a formal bar manager position, which paid £14 0s 4d a week with barmen starting at £11 17s 11d.

The 1985 real estate advertising did not include major hotel properties, which were by this stage owned by either investment groups or development companies. The hotels for which prices were given ranged from $139,000 for a rural hotel with minimal accommodation to $1,200,000 for a freehold hotel in a tourist area ("Hotel – Freehold," 1985). Motels also ranged broadly in price, from $250,000 to $1.5 million. By way of comparison, annual salaries for THC head office staff started at $6,128 and front desk staff in the THC hotels started at $7,493 per annum. The clerical staff in other hotels, who were covered by a separate award, had weekly rates, with a differential between staff under and over the age of 21. The weekly rates started at $153.16 per week for those under 21 and $185.41 for those over. For other workers in licensed hotels, chefs started at $161.64, bar managers at $186.65, bartenders $163.90 per

week, inverting the previous hierarchy between bar and kitchen staff. The housekeeping staff were paid $154.52 and the wait staff $154.52, maintaining the relative positions of these two areas, although the housemaid-waitress role that had been a feature of hotels since the 1920s disappeared in 1985.

This brief comparison of award wage rates and hotel prices tends to support the comment that the ability to raise sufficient capital to buy into the industry had already become problematic in 1945. By 1985, even motels and small hotels moved out of reach for most staff.

7.3.4   Summary

The evidence shows that the capital requirements for hotels rose substantially over the period, making ownership a larger step. The period also showed a change in industry structure, particularly after 1962 when accommodation was separated from alcohol. Even so, the breweries still retained a major interest in the accommodation sector, although international brands and companies entered the market progressively from 1965. The presence of the THC as a more commercial entity and the licensing trusts also changed the face of the market. Taverns and motels retained some degree of availability as a path to independence in 1965. By 1985, even a low-priced motel was equivalent to 27 years' wages for the best-paid hotel workers.

7.4   Power

This theme considers the various pieces of legislation and the activities of the main actors to identify how power structures were built and reinforced.

7.4.1   Legislation

Although the Land Settlement and Sales Act of 1943 ("Servicemen's Settlement and Land Sales Act," 1943) was not directly aimed at the sale of hotel properties, the idea that the correct value of property could be determined heavily affected hotels. The main aim of the act was to provide farms for returning servicemen; it also aimed to "prevent undue increases in the prices of land, the undue aggregation of land and its use for speculative or uneconomic purposes ("Servicesmen's Settlement and Land Sales Act", 1943, s 1)". It was in this later role that Land Courts turned their attention to the transfer of ownership of hotels. Hotels had value purely as buildings, but their main value was in the fact that they met the requirements of the Licensing Act and their existing trade. This value, captured as goodwill, was fiercely disputed by the Land Sales Commission, particularly in Dunedin. As mentioned in the section on independence, it also attracted the attention of the Royal Commission into the liquor trade. For the purposes of this theme, the act and its interpretation by both the Royal Commission and the Land Sales

Commission are examples of the beginning of the building of rules to control a market. It also shows the desire to shape society in a particular image – smallholders settled on independent farms and cities of small business owners trading on their own behalf. There was also disapproval of what was seen to be unearned wealth being captured by private individuals, such as the example of Amy and Eva Dwan, who along with their husbands owned the leases of six hotels in the Wellington area, some of which were subleased, in one case for £7,810 more than the main lease cost ("The public pay hotel finance," 1945).

The Royal Commission itself was an exercise in power and setting conditions. The need for accommodation was acknowledged, but the overriding concern was the harm caused by alcohol. The commission did accept that hotels and bars in New Zealand did not meet the needs of overseas visitors and that already in 1945 New Zealanders were beginning to travel and have higher expectations based on their overseas experiences. However, the majority recommendation from the commission was for state control of the production and distribution of liquor and more intervention in licensed premises, including hotels. They did favour liberalisation of the hours of trade, although with closed periods during the day, so that people could only drink when it was deemed appropriate. The discussion of the quality of accommodation and service was very much focused on the proprietor personally, rather than on the staff complaining, because managers were often promoted barmen who did not give the same level of care. In this they echoed the submission of a proprietor who felt that "personal contact between owner and guest tend[ed] to make for contentment and satisfaction" ("'Free houses urged," 1945, p. 8). That said, there was a recommendation that training for staff be formalised and improved, along with proposals to set uniform standards for quality and prices.

The Invercargill Licensing Trust was in operation prior to the convening of the Royal Commission, and the Royal Commission was very interested in how it operated as a means of minimising harm and returning profits to the community rather than private individuals. The commission spent time in Invercargill and was impressed by the inclusion of seating areas in the bar fit-out but did not comment on the accommodation provision (Royal Commission on Licensing, 1946). The model of community control proved sufficiently successful that it was extended to other locations. The constitution of the trust board was changed to being an elected rather than an appointed body in the more general legislation and Invercargill's board was reconstituted on this basis ("Invercargill Licensing Trust Act," 1950). This was a rare instance of decentralising control, although the Licensing Trust Act ("Licensing Trusts Act," 1949) set stringent conditions on the trusts in terms of finance and control of sale of alcohol.

Despite the recommendations from the Royal Commission that later hours would reduce some of the harm caused by alcohol, the government did not make a decision, instead choosing to hold a referendum on the question in 1949. The temperance movement still had sufficient strength to enforce its notion of correct behaviour and retain six o'clock closing. By 1967, the mood of the public had changed, in part because of the advent of the jet age in 1965. This not only increased the tourist trade but also made it easier for New Zealanders to travel.

The THC, created in 1955, is one of the examples of the government moving into commercial business. While the government had developed and owned hotels that formed the company's early portfolio, these had been a small part of the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts activities. The department had been largely reactive to demand, giving the THC a mandate to be proactive and identify opportunities and develop in advance of demand. It was also able to enter into partnerships with commercial entities. Along with farm subsidies, the corporation was an example of the government trying to pick winners in the export arena. That said, tourism in general and accommodation to meet the requirements of overseas visitor were not seen as an appropriate way for the government to spend money. Although the Land Settlement Act was broadly popular, the THC was not so much, and appropriations for government and the required loan guarantees brought disapproval ("£2,888,000 guaranteed by government towards hotel," 1965; "Tourist hotel backers to look again at economics of plan," 1965). By 1985, large portions of the economy and infrastructure were directly controlled by the government. This was an accepted norm, even if the level of service delivered by these organisations was not always satisfactory. The level of power of the unions, to be discussed shortly, compounded this dissatisfaction.

After the zero wage order of 1968, the Arbitration Court had limited credibility. The Industrial Relations Act ("Industrial Relations Act," 1973) allowed for more direct negotiations between employer associations and unions. It was still expected that most workers would belong to a union and that industry bodies such as the Hotel Association would represent the employers. The act created the Industrial Relations Council to advise the government on employment issues. The Industrial Commission held the ability to hear disputes of interest, but disputes of rights remained with the Industrial Court, as the Arbitration Court was known. The court retained jurisdiction over questions of law but the commission and the Industrial Conciliation Service were responsible for the application of particular awards and mediating between parties. There was an option for voluntary settlements between the union and the employer association without the involvement of the arbitration system. However, the system created a complex set of interlocking bodies that came to represent their own interests rather than those of their members.

In 1977, the United Nations covenants on human rights were brought into New Zealand legislation with the Human Rights Commission Act ("Human Rights Commission Act," 1977). This act had a major focus on discrimination in employment. Discrimination on the basis of colour, race, ethnic or national origins, sex, marital instances were forbidden and employers could not use them as selection criteria. These requirements also applied to membership of unions, professional bodies and vocational training such as apprenticeships. The act also attempted to impose some limits on the power of unions and professional and trade bodies to enforce unity of action by their members. The Equal Opportunities Tribunal created by the act was intended to assist employers in making necessary adjustments and to develop appropriate policies to ensure all staff had the same opportunities for advancement. For hotels in which the workforce was becoming increasingly diverse, particularly in terms of ethnicity, these were important issues. The unions had been established in an age of family wages and male breadwinners and were not particularly representative of this new workforce.

7.4.2 Unions

The most obvious example of the power of the unions was their ability to strike ("Hotel strike: Dispute over wages," 1945; "Short strike by hotel workers," 1985), but they also held a more subtle power in their influence not only on wages but also on conditions and who could do which work. The enforcement of wage differentials was also important to the unions, as was ensuring that workers who were paid above-award rates did not lose out in general wage increases ("Hotel strike: Dispute over wages," 1945). Industrial action in this case was limited to a small number of the major Auckland hotels, that were owned and operated by Hancocks. In 1945, there was a mixture of live-in and live-out staff, and commuting board and lodging to a cash allowance made a certain amount of sense ("New awards for hotel employees," 1945); however, by 1985 most workers lived out but allowances were still a separate item for negotiation (the 1985 award). The reduction of the workday to 12 hours from 13 in 1965 and an allowance for broken shifts did begin to change the structure of the work roster and allow employers a greater degree of flexibility ("Hotel workers get wage rise," 1965). By 1985, the tourism industry was being acknowledged as a major export income source, and with brewery profits running at 30%, allowances became a way to allow the two parties to reach agreement without breaching a wage cap set by the government ("All-night meeting ends hotel dispute," 1985; "Hotel staff support industrial action plan," 1985).

The union also used its power to enforce certain social norms such as attendance at Labour Day parades ("Bars closed," 1945; "Closed bar. Public resentment," 1945). Williamson (2017) noted that there were tight connections between the union bosses, the hotel associations and major players, such as the breweries and the THC. This was protective of workers but heavily

paternalist and based on the family wage model that had existed since 1945 ("Industrial relations," 1945). The balance between the main hotel workers' union and the hotel clerical workers' union also changed over the period with the growth of the larger properties and the development of the front desk.

7.4.3 Ownership structures

While the hotel associations and their predecessors, the Licensed Victuallers Associations, generally presented a united front, there were instances of individual employers breaking ranks to avoid action against them ("Strike off as hotel owner meets claim," 1985). The THC had separate awards with the unions but sometimes worked in conjunction with other operators, such as in discussions about the need for additional training provision to address staff shortages ("Hotel industry ponders staff shortage," 1965). In 1945 and 1965 the breweries were the major power holders. The Royal Commission was concerned about the hold the breweries had over licensees; one licensee was even quoted as saying there was a risk of never getting another hotel if they went against the brewery's requirements or complained about terms. Although the Royal Commission talked about the consolidation of ownership and the use of managers as a new problem, the evidence they heard showed that Dominion Breweries in particular had made extensive use of managers from the mid-1930s (Royal Commission on Licensing, 1946).

When the 1962 Sale of Liquor Act formally separated accommodation from alcohol, the breweries began to divest from the accommodation side of the business. However, even in 1985 they still had relatively substantial holdings. They had been joined by specialist hotel companies such as QR and Kingsgate, alongside the THC. This change in ownership and split between domestic and international tourist accommodation saw the emergence of larger hotel properties and changed the balance of power. Although the union could consolidate their strength with large numbers of members in one location, the personal connection between employer and staff lessened. The family feel decried by the union as "sentiment" in 1925 ("'Home life' in hotels," 1925) had largely disappeared in all but the smallest properties by 1985. Instead, large collective bodies were representing the interests of employers and staff.

7.4.4 Gender and race

The Sale of Liquor Act 1962 also removed the special provisions regarding the sale of alcohol to Māori and moved the Native district provisions into the Maori Community Development Act. The reporting regarding Māori, and the Pacific Islanders who arrived from the 1950s, was still as problem drinkers, however. The role of Pacific Island women as hotel workers was not

directly reported. The prime period of the immigration dawn raids, 1975–1977, was not sampled as part of this study and the impacts had largely disappeared by 1985. This invisibility will be discussed further under the silences theme.

Women as hotel workers did not disappear to the same degree; however, women managers were still unusual. Women regained the ability to hold a licence in their own right in 1952 and the prohibition on barmaids was removed in 1961. The Licensed Hotel Clerical Workers award of 1985 marked the first time a sexual harassment clause was written into a New Zealand industrial award. This included provisions for addressing harassment ("Award deals with sex pests," 1985).

7.4.5 Summary

The evidence shows that power structures in New Zealand broadly had evolved into a very formal regulated structure based on a tripartite relationship between government, employers and unions. Within the hotels, hierarchies of roles were maintained from earlier periods, but the growth of clerical roles into the current front office model was raising the status of the directly facing customer roles. Race and gender were identified as power bases, with white men holding the positions of power and speaking on behalf of women and non-Europeans, although this period saw the emergence of women leaders in the unions. The Human Rights Act was intended to level the playing field and carried into awards, for example, the harassment clause in the 1985 Hotel Clerical Workers award. Towards the end of the period, the legislative and social structures that underlay the social compact became too rigid to be able to respond to a rapidly changing external environment, and power structures would become even more contested in light of the deregulation of the economy undertaken by the Fourth Labour Government after 1984.

7.5 Silences

This theme examines what was left unsaid in the reporting, who spoke on behalf of whom and the circumlocutions utilised.

7.5.1 Coverage

In 1945, the availability of paper was not a major issue for New Zealand as it was in some European locations; however, most were on restricted page counts (Griffith et al., 1997). Length recovered after the war and most of the papers were using distinct sections by 1985. Even in 1985, the majority of stories did not carry a byline. There were some named columnists, particularly among the reviewers. Pseudonyms were equally common for columnists, for example, *The Otago Daily Times*'s long-running "Civitas" column, which still

appeared in 1985. Guest lists, however, had disappeared by 1965, having still appeared in both *The Otago Daily Times* and *The New Zealand Herald* in 1945.

The coverage in 1945 was dominated by reporting on the Royal Commission, which raised a broad range of issues, including the unspoken acceptance that alcohol was an issue (see the graphs in Appendix 4). The other topics covered were the problems of recruiting and retaining staff with the manpower regulations in place ("Hotel accommodation. Licensees express concern," 1945) and the consequent high numbers of job advertisements. In 1965, the conversion of licences from hotel to tavern licences and the degree of compulsion was a major story. Hotel development as a story topic started to emerge in 1965, along with coverage of the THC, and was prominent in 1985, even in the face of the intensive coverage of the March strikes.[14]

Temperance, which had been a major issue even into the interwar period, lost ground. The separation of accommodation and the sale of alcohol takes the temperance issue somewhat out of the scope of this project from 1962; however, even allowing for this the direct temperance movement was no longer mainstream by 1965. Its influence, however, remained in the conflicted legislation and attitudes and disparaging comments on alcohol use. The legacy embedded within the word hotel carried this shadow into the realm of accommodation provision.

7.5.2   Hotel development

The reporting on hotel development similarly reveals a conversation about class and economic development that was not directly discussed. The Royal Commission examined whom hotels were provided for and what levels of service was required. Their recommendations focused mainly on physical facilities and creation of standards but also stated that tourism was of sufficient importance that the government should undertake the construction of hotels at key resort locations if private enterprise did not deliver what was required. The commission also recommended making adjustments to service provision to meet the expectations of overseas visitors, despite submissions from the unions that there was insufficient trade to warrant this ("Licensing trade. Suggestions made: The union's evidence," 1945).

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[14] March 1985 was the first round of wage bargaining after the wage and price freeze of 1982 to 1984 took place. Because of the floating dollar and resulting rapid price increases, there was considerable industrial unrest and many unions, including the hotel workers', resorted to strike action in support of their claims.

This conflict between the needs and desires of New Zealanders and those of tourists also appeared in recommendations to the Licensing Commission in 1965. The Chief Inspector of Licensed Premises stated that city hotels needed to have at least 40 rooms to be economical at a tariff that could compete with motels ("Needs for hotels: Small ones not wanted," 1965). The provision of tourist class hotels was a matter of civic pride as well as economic necessity. For example, the promoter of the project to build what is now the Southern Cross Hotel in Dunedin opened the offered shares to Dunedin residents first, hoping the hotel "to serve Dunedin interests could be built with Dunedin money" ("A Dunedin hotel," 1965, p. 4). However, these large-scale projects often required funds beyond what could be raised in New Zealand, and often a government guarantee was needed to secure loans ("Dunedin hotel loan guaranteed," 1965), or in the case of the InterContinental in Auckland, direct funding under the Tourist Hotel Investment scheme ("£2,888,000 guaranteed by government towards hotel," 1965). The support for the hotel in Auckland was subject to vigorous debate in Parliament as to whether this was an appropriate use of State Advances funds, to the point that the project had to be fully reviewed prior to the release of the funds ("Tourist hotel backers to look again at economics of plan," 1965).

Tourist class hotels were felt to be out of reach of New Zealanders, and the mayor of Rotorua framed his complaints about rising motel tariffs by comparing them to the cost of a five-star hotel as a criticism ("Motel charges too high for average family," 1965). The New Zealand Motel Federation defended the charges saying that the mayor was only considering the newest and most luxurious properties, although they did say that the overall standards for motels had also improved ("Federation defends tariffs at motels," 1965). In reporting their results, the THC commented that a number of the larger city motels could compare in standard to its hotels but, in the main, functioned as gateways to the corporation's properties in remote locations rather than direct competitors ("Motels not intruding on tourist hotels," 1965). The THC also held itself up as providing an example of appropriate facilities and service standards for other providers of accommodation. Motels tried to position themselves as available to New Zealanders, both as accommodation and as investment ("£100 investors will build tourist chain," 1965); however, they were also able to access government funds. There was a clear but unspoken divide between domestic and overseas visitors, and the modern type of hotel was targeted at the American market, whom it was felt deserved a better standard.

This divide between hotel class accommodation and the needs of locals was still present in 1985 in a somewhat different form. The proposal by the THC to build a hotel on the lakefront in Queenstown shows these tensions in action; the corporation and its architects argued that the hotel would enhance the scenic beauty ("Hotel design would enhance area's beauty,"

1985) and the locals wanted to preserve access to the reserve on the site ("Guardians angry," 1985). Hotels were positioned as vital pieces of economic infrastructure ("Post office hole stays unfilled," 1985; Tourist Reporter, 1985), despite possible issues of exclusion. including the need for accommodation for workers and local residents ("Abbey Lodge," 1985), balanced against opportunities for economic development ("Abbey Lodge," 1985). The government viewed the need for hotel development as so important that a cabinet member even proposed legislation to try to remove planning delays ("Hotel projects 'bogged down'," 1985).

This tension was symptomatic of the pressures at play in 1985 between a structured, rules-directed society and economic reality in the broader world. The place of tourism in the economy and the need for accommodation of the standard expected by international travellers had been downplayed by the Muldoon Government in favour of large-scale industrial projects such as the Marsden Point Oil Refinery and the expansions at New Zealand Steel and the Tiwai Point aluminium smelter (Belich, 2001). A 'Wild West' investment attitude and a desire for change for the sake of change was waiting to be let free from these constraints, for example, the Abbey Lodge project ("Abbey Lodge owner to appeal against decision," 1985) and the investors in a proposed Auckland hotel project that did not obtain planning approval and collapsed (Tourist Reporter, 1985). An attitude, most evident in 1965, was dividing tourists from locals. The accommodation for international visitors felt remote from local expectations and needs. Hotel accommodation was portrayed as not relevant or inaccessible, although the view of it as competing for the use of resources was not often stated. Even in 1985, when the demand for a better quality of accommodation was growing, there was still something of 'the other' about tourists and even those locals who had the experience to want better.

7.5.3 Who speaks for whom?

Silence can also come in the form of being spoken for. This is particularly evident in the stories about the various unions that represented hotel staff. Table 32 shows the total number of stories coded with the union code from the sample and notes the gender where a spokesperson was identifiable.

Table 32. Gender of speaker in union-related stories

	Named spokesperson		Total
	Male	Female	
1945	6	0	15
1965	6	0	9
1985	43	7	80

The high number of stories in 1985 was heavily influenced by the major strike that occurred that year. However, it is notable that even in 1985, 86% of the stories that quoted a spokesperson or gave one as the source, that person was male. The exceptions were the president of the Otago Hotel Workers Union, Gwen Hays, who was elected that year ("Union post filled," 1985), and the Wanaka delegate, Shirley Waltham, who was an occasional contributor to *The Otago Daily Times* column on union affairs (Waltham, 1985). Sonja Davies was also active in the Federation of Labour during this time ("Renewed attacks on wage controls," 1985). Similarly, almost all those in a position to speak for the union, and therefore the workers, were European, despite the strong Pacific presence in the workforce from the late 1950s. Nor was it only the unions attempting to speak on behalf of the workers. At the end of the 1985 strike, the head of the Dunedin Hotel Association claimed that there were staff who disagreed with the union stance workers resulting strike action ("Hotel workers back," 1985). This was refuted in letters to the editor ("Hotel workers," 1985). The importance of female and non-European workers to the accommodation industry was largely invisible as was the evolution of the workforce.

7.5.4   Terminology and hierarchies

With the passing of the Human Rights Commission Act in 1977, technically gender could no longer be used as a criterion in employment. For some positions, such as cooks, this change had occurred naturally after 1945, given the unavailability of men to take the role. Advertisements for bar and wait staff were still heavily gendered in 1965; waitress jobs tended to be for breakfast or family-style dining, whereas waiter jobs were for evening work or silver service. This continued to some extent into 1985 ("South Pacific Hotel," 1985). Similarly, in 1965, barmaids were required to have a "pleasant personality and appearance" ("Barmaid," 1965), whereas barmen were asked to have strength and experience ("Barman," 1965; "City Hotel," 1965).

Most advertising by 1985 had switched to using "people" or "waiter/waitress" to describe positions. However, job titles had not entirely evolved, as indicated by hotels advertising for "a number of people for housemaiding duties" ("Housemaids," 1985, p. 38). The essential work of cleaning and preparing rooms for guests was positioned as female. The position was further feminised and given sexual overtones with the use of "chambermaid" ("Hard day for hotel managers," 1985). This terminology created heavy linkages to a largely bygone era of domestic servants and served to further position hotels as locations of privilege.

The assumption that hotel work would be low paid is also important. In reporting the beginning of the tripartite talks ahead of the 1986 wage round, which was positioned as being

heavily focused on the low paid, the newspapers relied heavily on quotes from the secretary of the Auckland Hotel Workers Union ("Low-pay people in the spotlight," 1985). Similarly, in seeking comment on the Higher Salaries Commission, *The Evening Post* chose the Wellington secretary as liable to give a good contrast of high- and low-income earners ("'Fat cat' pay rises criticised," 1985). Even the hotel workers unions, along with the hotel clerical workers unions, saw the workers as being in a vulnerable position and needing protection ("Workers confused by changed union stand," 1985).

7.5.5   Summary

With changing social structures, the relative position of hotel work shifted to being low paid and held by vulnerable workers. However, even those who spoke on behalf of the workers were not particularly representative of those workers. As the possibilities to move from employee to owner closed, as discussed in the independence section, and domestic servants became less common, this perception was strengthened. Although the Human Rights Commission Act should have removed gender bias, gender bias merely mutated and, by making it less overt, may have made it more insidious.

Immigration and the use of Pacific Island workers to hold wages down and especially the uncertainty of employment was 'noises off' for the hotels in this period but started some of the labour practices that later became entrenched. The move to shorter hours, while benefiting workers, gave rise to shift work and casualisation, which was not discussed.

7.6   Chapter Summary

The period from 1945 to 1985 saw major shifts in who worked in the industry and its relative position in the job hierarchy. From being an essential industry under manpower regulations at the end of the war, it struggled to hold position against factory and office work, particularly for women. This was despite the efforts of the unions to position hotel workers as ambassadors to the world. By 1985, hotel work was positioned as low paid alongside hospital domestic work and caregivers in rest homes. It did not yet have the image of being insecure and uncertain that it would gain in the 1990s as the power of the unions diminished. Ownership of accommodation provision in hotels moved to large companies. Even motels started to increase in price, moving them out of range as a career path. The Sale of Liquor Act of 1962 broke the link between alcohol and accommodation that had existed since 1881. However, even in 1985, the breweries still had a strong presence as owners of hotels. The formation of the THC in 1955 had moved New Zealand's premier resort hotels into more professional hands. This had also been something of an acknowledgement of the importance of accommodation provision to tourism. Similarly, the establishment of training programmes raised the status of the industry,

most particularly for chefs. The period closed with a brittle, unresponsive system of legislation and labour relations facing a challenging environment, demanding new strategies and approaches. The next chapter picks up the story in 2005, and covers the situation that emerged from the deregulation of employment conditions and the economy.

Chapter 8: Wired World (2005–2015)

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the view of modern New Zealand and its hotels, the current endpoint of the evolution, if you will. The period 2005 to 2015 bears similarities to the period from 1920 to 1930, being dominated by the influence of global economics, in this case the GFC.

The chapter considers the ways that respectability changed in the period, with a move to a concept more akin to professionalism. The section on independence follows two strands: the operators of small businesses not affiliated to global chains and the fortunes of those global chains and what this meant for the options to buy and operate an accommodation business. The section on power examines the legislative environment and how this affected employment relationships in particular, as well as considering broader social power structures. The section on silences picks up the threads of an unacknowledged past along with what was said and not said about what constitutes skill.

Although the sources for this chapter remain the same as in the other chapters, note that *The Evening Post*, the Wellington evening daily, merged with *The Dominion*, its morning daily, in 2002 to form *The Dominion Post*, known to locals as the DomPost. Similarly, the use of bylines means that, rather than article titles, author names appear in the references.

8.2 Respectability and Professionalism

This section examines the portrayal of the accommodation workers and managers in terms of their attributes and career paths. It first discusses how and when managers appeared in the news, examines the career paths of manager in the large hotel companies and then compares their experiences with managers and owners in smaller, independent accommodation. From there it considers how the managers described their staff, as well as descriptions from other news items, including hotel reviews from newspaper travel sections. It also compares accommodation staff and management with the portrayal of chefs. From there it considers the positioning of accommodation within the wider tourism context.

8.2.1 Managers

Managers appeared in news stories in a variety of contexts. These include advertorial promotions, primarily of functions and conference capacity. Both *The Press* newspaper in Christchurch and *The Dominion Post* in Wellington ran regular features allowing hotels to promote themselves as conference venues at the beginning of their off season. In many cases, the functions manager was the one to comment ("The complete wedding package," 2010;

"Latimer ideal," 2005; "Location close to town and airport," 2015; "A taste for the James Cook," 2010); in others, either a property level or regional level sales manager was quoted ("Hotels cater to individual tastes," 2005; "Wellesley perfectly placed to impress," 2015; "With every facility you could wish for," 2015). In the main, these pieces focused on physical resources, capacity, catering and pricing, though occasionally staff are mentioned, which will be discussed further below.

Hotel general managers, along with independent operators, were also quoted as experts in pieces on the state of the accommodation industry, particularly as part of the broader tourism context. These pieces range from supply issues related to special events such as the Lions tour in 2005, which stretched accommodation to its limit, particularly in Wellington. The Bolton Hotel used the occasion to launch their seventeenth-floor penthouse suite, taking the opportunity to price it at the top of the market to establish positioning. There were concerns about how much of an increase in pricing the market would stand, despite the level of demand (Allen, 2005a). The manager of the newly opened flashpackers, Nomads, noted that this kind of demand was unusual and could not justify additional provision (Allen, 2005a). Despite this, there were concerns about the potential for price gouging due to supply constraints in the run-up to the Rugby World Cup (RWC) in 2011 (Greenhill, 2010a). These events affected operations beyond demand and pricing, for example, the general manager of the James Cook in Wellington was among the business managers asked to comment on the effect of road closures for a cycle race (Patterson, 2005). Similarly, the general manager of the InterContinental responded to criticisms of security arrangements for the Lions by saying that these were "still quite low key compared with other countries ... no stricter than dignitaries could expect at any five-star hotel" (Chalmers, 2005). General managers also provided comment on supply issues more generally, for example, noting the strong seasonality and need for events in the Wellington market (Harris, 2010a; "New beds on way as hotels fill up quick," 2015) and the potential to use brand strength to counter some of these problems (Stewart, 2010c). They also commented on broader issues in their area, such as Peter Gee, the manager of the Stamford Plaza, commenting on problems with maintenance of the surrounding buildings, which could not be demolished because of their heritage status, but which the owner could not afford to maintain (Gibson, 2010g), and comments on pub noise in Queenstown (Hazelhurst, 2005).

Independent operators were not quoted as commonly on industry issues. However, they were positioned as examples of business success, as in the case of Warwick Angus's recovery from the collapse of his family's construction business in 1989 and subsequent move into hospitality to become the "managing director and visionary behind the Bolton Hotel" (Wild, 2010, p. B12).

On a smaller scale, stories of the Herbertville Hotel (Harris, 2015a) and Arthur's Court Motor Lodge (Steeman, 2010b) highlight the requirements for both capital investment and pure hard work. In both cases, the fact that they owned rather than leased the property enabled certainty to make the required investment.

On 4 September 2010, a magnitude 7.1 earthquake struck near Darfield, 40 kilometres from Christchurch. While there was reasonably substantial property damage, the fact that the epicentre was 10 kilometres deep and the event occurred at 4.35am meant there were no fatalities and only two serious injuries. In the subsequent earthquake on 22 February 2011, neither of these fortunate circumstances held. Although the quake had a magnitude of 6.3, it was only five kilometres deep and centred on Lyttelton, only 10 kilometres from the centre of the city. The quake occurred at 12.51pm on a Tuesday afternoon, and combined with the damage from the earlier quake, led to 185 deaths and numerous injuries (GeoNet, 2011).

In the immediate aftermath of the 2010 event, hotel managers were keen to confirm that even if there had been damage to their property, they were still very much operational. The Crown Plaza reported that only visual repairs were needed (Steeman, 2010c), and the New Zealand managing director of Millennium and Copthorne called rumours that the Copthorne Durham Street had been condemned "irresponsible" (Sachdeva, 2010, p. A4). However, aftershocks between the two major events did require evacuation of some properties over the December peak occupancy (Greenhill, 2010b). In 2010, although there were concerns that the images of the cordons around the city would cause visitors to cancel travel plans (Wood, 2010b), managers felt that tourism would suffer minimal damage given the limited cancellations that had occurred (Steeman, 2010c). By 2015, in light of the additional damage from the 2011 event, they were also commenting on the problems raised by the slowness of the rebuild (Moore, 2010; Wood, 2015a), particularly the uncertainty around the fate of the Cathedral ("Why is Christchurch like that?," 2015). One property developer, Miles Yeoman, felt that the "lack of action on the cathedral could paralyse his development", and he stated, "I can't build a five-star hotel behind a potential ruin" (Wright & McDonald, 2015, p. A1) The development implications of this are discussed in more detail under the next theme.

Managers at the corporate level (national and regional offices) were commenting on market conditions, particularly as they related to brand plans. For example, InterContinental Hotels Group (IHG) had identified New Zealand as a growth opportunity for Holiday Inn, its mid-range brand (Bathgate, 2005a). Likewise, boutique brands such as Peppers were looking at growth opportunities in New Zealand because they felt there was not a solid brand offering smaller luxury properties (Bathgate, 2005b). Accor made regular adjustments to its brand portfolio

over the period, taking over management of the Hyatt Auckland and rebranding it to Pullman (Parker, 2010), and confirming its continued interest in the troubled development site becoming the first SO Sofitel property in New Zealand (Gibson, 2015b). The Hyatt brand would disappear from the market until 2016. TFE Hotels also saw opportunities but were more cautious because they wanted exactly the right match of location and brand (Bradley, 2015). Hilton expanded its New Zealand presence, taking on the management contract for hotels at Kawarau Falls just outside of Queenstown (Carroll & Roxburgh, 2010; Stewart, 2010a). With hotel chains moving from owning hotel properties to focusing more on running them (Bathgate, 2005a; Bloomberg, 2005), reportage also appeared on the sale of properties and consequent changes in branding (Gibson, 2010b; McNicol, 2015).

Reports of transfer and new appointments to general management positions in hotels provide a useful overview of the career paths of managers. Brad Watts, opening manager at Marque Christchurch, referred to by *The Press* as a "hotelier" (Wood, 2010d, p. 11), was following a family tradition in hospitality, having started as a trainee in his family's pub in Picton. From there he had moved between Australia and New Zealand, working for both major companies, such as Sheraton and Copthorne Millennium, and smaller independents, before moving to what was then the Rendezvous Hotel Group, a Singapore-based group. Marlene Poynder, the opening manager for the two Hilton properties in Queenstown, was noted as having come from the Park Hyatt Sydney. The article did not give many other details of her earlier career because it was focused mostly on market conditions in Queenstown as the hotels opened (Stewart, 2010c). The story reporting the appointment of the opening manager for the SkyCity Grand stressed his familiarity with Auckland through his roles as assistant manager at the Heritage Auckland and, earlier, front office manager at the Carlton Hotel Auckland. The article also positioned managers as dedicated, commenting that "Paul Gallop was in such a hurry to get to his new hotel job that he skipped his Christmas holidays" (Gibson, 2005a, para 1).

At a corporate level, David Shackleton was moving on from a four-year stint as general manager at InterContinental in Wellington to be group manager for IHG in Eastern China. Despite being English born, he had spent most of his career in Asia and was now at a point at which his children were grown up, allowing him to travel again (Harris, 2010b). BK Chiu, who was appointed managing director of CDL Hotels in 2005, had a broader career path, having worked for chemical firms Monsanto and Merisant, as well as the Bank of New Zealand (Jaquiery, 2005).

Because he was co-owner of Terrace Downs Resort, *The Press* interview with Jonny Henderiksen's story covered more detail. Henderiksen started his career in hospitality as a

bellboy while he was at high school, and pursuing his dream of living in Japan, he ended up working as a doorman at 18. His parents wanted him to come home, but he managed to qualify for university in Japan. Failing a paper in his final year diverted him from hospitality into online businesses before he bought Terrace Downs with his partner, Tim Williams (Eleven, 2010).

Geoff Faulkner moved from a corporate career in international marketing to join his father as owner-operator of Furneaux Lodge on the Queen Charlotte walk in Marlborough. This allowed him to spend more time with his young daughter, which the level of travel required in his previous role prevented (van Wel, 2010).

The new generation of owner-operators, such as the Gain sisters at The Spire in Queenstown, tended to bring in more direct qualification. Lucy Gain had completed a Diploma in Hospitality Management at Queenstown Resort College, and Amelia Gain was in the process of completing an information technology qualification to allow her to provide the technical support at the hotel. However, they had both worked in hospitality while they were studying (Beech, 2010b).

Although independent accommodation operators, particularly in the luxury market, weathered the storms of the GFC relatively well, for the country pubs times were more challenging. Publicans pointed out that it is not something you do to become rich, that it is done for love, particularly given the hours, which Phil Lemmon at Blackball described as "like being on a ship, if you're on you can't get off" (O'Connor, 2015, p. C1). This did not stop people staying in the industry for long periods, such as the publican at Criterion Hotel in Westport who spent 20 years in what he called "the game" (O'Connor, 2015). Likewise, when Lorraine and Art Bloom bought the Herbertville Hotel after a farming career, they very quickly realised that if they wanted to make a success of a hospitality venture, they would need to provide most of the work and add accommodation since it would not be viable as just a pub (Harris, 2015a).

8.2.2   Staff

A major source of coverage of accommodation staff is the hotel reviews in the travel sections of the newspapers. These reviews regard mainly the front office staff. Staff were expected to be friendly and obliging, and divergence from this caused unfavourable comment (Keating, 2015). In reviewing their stay in Rotorua, Rosie Dawson-Hewes generalised this to the whole region, commenting on "warm welcomes" and being "met with broad smiles and impeccable service" (Dawson-Hewes, 2010). A review of the Langham had similar comments about "unflappably polite staff" and the ability of the staff to respond gracefully as being an expected part of five-star service (Mackay, 2010). Likewise, the front desk staff at the Millennium Hotel

and Resort in Taupo were described as "charming efficient women" (Easther, 2015). Similarly, when the functions managers talked about their staff in the promotional pieces noted above they described them as "experienced ... providing flexibility and professionalism" ("Hotels cater to individual tastes," 2005, p. 11), "we love it. The staff all take part and get dressed up to match the theme" ("A taste for the James Cook," 2010, p. C8) and "our friendly team" ("Wellesley perfectly placed to impress," 2015, p. B3).

Housekeeping was only really mentioned in one review, although the person was not directly encountered but implied: "the chambermaids who have devoted their lives to reinventing soap" (Pilley, 2015, p. C19). Housekeeping staff were also mentioned in reports of two cases of theft, one a case of credit card fraud ("Cleaner on spree with guest's card," 2005) and the other involving items stolen directly from guest rooms ("Theft," 2005). In both cases the workers were described as "cleaners" rather than the industry term of "room attendant". Murdered backpacker Birgit Brauer was described as a "hotel housekeeper" in interviews with her employer in Queenstown, her employer also talked about her love of the outdoors, trusting nature and willingness to work hard (Jamieson, 2005b; Wynn, 2005).

The concierge station of the InterContinental Wellington was noted as having been moved away from the "administrative burble of reception" (Mulligan, 2015, p. C39), implying a higher status and level of service. The status of the concierge role was also raised by membership of international bodies such as hotel concierge society Les Clefs d'Or of New Zealand, there were only four members based in South Island hotels in 2005 ("Stirling effort," 2005). Likewise, Jason Eade's winning the Hotel Management award for top concierge stressed the passion and connection with the guests (Papalsoumas, 2015). Interestingly, this external perception closely matches the internal hierarchy that tends to operate in luxury hotels (Sherman, 2005).

Although some degree of variation in employment level due to seasonality is inherent in the industry, prospects became increasingly precarious following the GFC. However, guests were described as being "bemused" by the protest actions of workers about to be laid off (New Zealand Press Association, 2010c) when Westin lost rooms from its pool in a dispute between unit title owners and the development company Melview (Gibson, 2010h). Although the loss of jobs was mentioned, the primary issue for most of the sources was the disruption to booking for the RWC in 2011 and damage to New Zealand's image as a safe investment destination (Gibson, 2010h). Likewise, even as they were proposing strike action to secure a share of the windfall profits from the Cup, Unite were quick to stress they did not want to disrupt the games or compromise service to guests. Unite represented approximately 25% of industry workers and had a large presence at SkyCity in Auckland (McCracken & Lewis, 2010).

Unite[15] had also been one of the leading unions in the campaign for an increase in minimum wages in 2005, noting that service workers formed a large proportion of those earning close to minimum wage. Accommodation wages were noted as having slipped from 74% of the average to 66% in the nine years to 2003, along with more rigidity in time on the clock and demands for increased flexibility in availability making it more difficult for staff such as room attendants to fit their work around children's school hours (Collins, 2005). However, Roger Kerr of the Business Roundtable, an employer lobby group, felt that an increase in minimum wage would not force businesses to raise productivity but create pressure for room attendants to be less thorough or drive room rates up to a level that would make New Zealand unattractive as a destination (Collins, 2005).

Prices and their relationship to service delivered were now more globally driven, with online booking sites making the exact position of supply and demand visible, along with guests' opinions on the value provided (Churchhouse, 2010a). Even though the hotel industry paid close to minimum wage, lower wages in Asia allowed for a higher staff to guest ratio, making them more attractive as destinations. As Simon Milne from the New Zealand Tourism Research Institute pointed out, "The only way forward in the way of rates is to look at the quality being delivered to the consumer. And that's where New Zealand does lag behind the world" (Churchhouse, 2010a, p. C1). Adam Cunningham, chair of the Hospitality Association in Wellington, noted that the strength of New Zealand service was the genuine charm and warmth shown, but this led to a great deal of variability in service delivery. He described the service as "slightly maniac but personable", which he attributed to "the lack of an established and professional culture of hospitality" (Churchhouse, 2010b, p. 2).

Adam Cunningham commented that this personal care element cannot be taught. This lack combined with growth and demand in the industry meant that competition for talent was a very real challenge for employers (Bradley, 2015). For example, when the Hilton properties in Queenstown were planning for their opening, they anticipated needing over 100 staff, (Stewart, 2010c). However, when Distinction Hotel advertised for staff ("Distinction Hotel," 2015) (see Figure 3), they received nearly 400 applications for the 40 positions they had available (McNeilly, 2015).

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[15] Unite is a general membership union that represents approximately a quarter of hospitality staff. Union presence in hotels between 2005 and 2015 is discussed in detail in Section 8.4.2

Figure 3. Employment advertisement – Distinction Hotel 2015

Hotel restaurants have been affected by the rising public interest in celebrity chefs, from the presence of name chefs, such as Peter Gordon ("Signature restaurant," 2005), Al Brown and Nic Watt in the SkyCity complex (Sky City Auckland, 2016), to trying to build reputations for their own restaurants, for example, Hippopotamus (Catheral, 2015) and Hectors at The Heritage Auckland (Heritage Hotel Group, n.d.). Chefs are portrayed as hard-working, with the expectation that they work long hours (Stuff, 2015) and demonstrate great dedication (Kirk-Anderson, 2005). The opportunity to work family-friendly hours is given as an exception to the norm (Simpson, 2010). Like the stories about hotel managers, stories about chefs often traced their career paths through various locations and work with name chefs that the reading public was presumed to know (Fraser, 2005; Simpson, 2010). The rise of television chefs and the awareness from this attracted more people to the kitchen side of the restaurant business (Quirke, 2005).

However, despite the number of culinary courses on offer (McCarthy, 2010; Quirke, 2005; Stuff, 2015), the shortage of top talent and the need to bring in overseas trained chefs was a constant battle (Wood, 2005). Immigration New Zealand were reluctant to grant work permits to specialist chefs, claiming there were New Zealanders available (Rutherford, 2010b). Similarly, the need for flexible availability made students popular employees, which led to contention over the employment of international students (Fallow, 2015). Queenstown had such problems securing sufficient staff over peak session that they made temporary changes to the rules on recruiting put in place (Roxburgh, 2015; Williams, 2015b). This was part of a broader problem with labour supply in Central Otago, where the peak fruit-picking season

coincided with the peak of summer tourism demand (van Kempen, 2015). This was compounded by the lack of affordable worker accommodation in the district (Cropp, 2015). In the original plan for the Five Mile development in Queenstown, worker accommodation was a major part of the development (Jamieson, 2005a).

As well as the professional cookery and culinary arts courses on offer, there was an increasing number of hospitality training courses ("NZMA student takes hospitality award," 2005; "What career would you rather have," 2005), alongside modern apprenticeship schemes in the food and beverage area (Taylor, 2010). The demand was sufficient to support a number of specialist institutions, such as the Pacific International Hotel Management School (2016) and Queenstown Resort College ("Queenstown Resort College," 2005). There were also degree and postgraduate level qualifications in hospitality management ("WelTec degrees," 2010; "What career would you rather have," 2005), along with substantial research programmes (Staff reporter, 2010; Wood, 2015c). Student successes in events such as the Culinary Fare ("NZMA student takes hospitality award," 2005) and Modern Apprentice competitions that were international (Goodwin, 2010) were reported, and the level of skill required was noted to some degree. *The Otago Daily Times* also reported on an industry event for housekeeping teams, pointing out that even bed making can have a competitive and skilled element (Cook, 2010).

In a few instances, the students were invited to comment on their studies or the industry. The ability to travel was mentioned as a reason to study hospitality or tourism and build a career in the industry ("WelTec certificate just the ticket," 2005). A recent graduate felt that "a diploma is just a piece of paper, but it shows management you have put in the extra effort and have got the skills. They can have confidence in you" ("NZMA student takes hospitality award," 2005, p. 6). Similarly, a successful food and beverage modern apprentice felt that "just because anyone can work in hospitality, doesn't mean they should" (Taylor, 2010, p. 13) noting that attitude and willingness to provide service were critical attributes.

8.2.3 Summary

Managers, particularly those who worked for the large multinational brands, held prestige for having worked their way up within organisations or the industry, and chefs were held up for admiration for their long hours. Entry-level roles were positioned as low skilled and the employees as somewhat interchangeable. Ownership of a business still gave a certain level of prestige, but being part of the global economy and having skills valued by this broader market was now more important. The requirement was not for personal respectability but for membership of a global professional class. However, owners of very large or high-end luxury properties also attracted respect. The dichotomy between small and large business owners

had grown, as had the division between lifestyle owners and professional owners, in part reflecting the additional capital required, which is investigated further in the section on independence. Although West Coast pubs and accommodation providers in the old hotel buildings in smaller communities retained a role in the local community, most of the branded hotel providers were more focused on conferences and meetings and on attracting outside spending, with the exception of occasional weddings. They were typically not as integral to their local community.

The social positioning was now drawn from a broader global definition and related to the possession of defined knowledge and skills (Cockburn-Wootten, 2012), rather than adherence to a set of social rules that had formed respectability (Belich, 2001). The legislative framework that had been built around the social contract underlying respectability was largely removed in the deregulation of the economy after 1984 and the reintegration into the global economy driven by freer trade. This had implications for the hierarchy of status surrounding employment and the resulting social position, which is discussed in more detail in Section 8.4 on power.

8.3 Independence and Ownership

This theme examines how owners and operators of commercial accommodation were positioned within the period. First, it considers the broad issue of accommodation supply within the New Zealand market. Then it covers the smaller operators, inheritors of the settler dream of owning a business and controlling one's own livelihood. The accommodation in this category includes motels, lodges and camping grounds, and the challenges and opportunities these businesses presented and how their owners were portrayed is examined. This category is then compared with the corporate players, both the hotel operating companies and the developers. A number of the major development projects over the decade are considered and how these were affected by the GFC. Finally, a comparison is made of the advertising of these ownership opportunities and the qualities required, with the positioning of employment opportunities at management and staff levels.

8.3.1 Tourism and accommodation supply

Although 2004 saw an increase in overseas visitor numbers but a decrease in their total spending (New Zealand Press Association, 2005), industry bodies still felt there was potential for growth (Oldham, 2005c). However, there were concerns about the level of government support for promotion, the strength of the New Zealand dollar, and compliance and employment costs (Bennett, 2005). There were also signs of changes in the types of products desired by the market, such as by what was termed geotourists, who wanted both cultural

experience and environmental resources (Oldham, 2005b). In 2005, New Zealand was voted "best country in the world" by readers of *Condé Nast Traveller* (Allen, 2005c). Despite the impact of the GFC, tourism demand remained relatively steady in 2010 and the expectation of demand for the RWC in 2011 buoyed the industry in general (McNeilly, 2010), although there was concern that changes to local government spending rules could potentially limit the ability of councils to invest in tourism development (New Zealand Press Association, 2010a). By 2015, although visitor numbers were still growing strongly, there were concerns about the ability of infrastructure to keep pace with demand (Adams, 2015). There was a growing awareness of environmental and social impacts from travel; however, guests appeared to have a limited willingness to change their behaviour (Groundwater, 2015). This led to calls for targeted levies on visitors, particularly in places such as Queenstown that struggle with funding infrastructure because of the imbalance between a small number of permanent residents relative to the numbers of visitors ("Visitor levy for Queenstown," 2015).

Accommodation supply, particularly during peak periods, was one of the infrastructure issues constraining tourism growth. Data from the Accommodation Survey (Statistics New Zealand, 2015a) show that motels dominated the number of establishments; however, hotels and holiday parks provided more capacity as shown in Figure 4. The average length of stay was shorter for hotels and motels, see Figure 5 but at a higher occupancy level than backpackers and holiday parks achieved. Hotel and motel occupancy dropped below 50% in early 2010, when recovery from the GFC was only starting. For 2015, hotels peaked at 73.4% in March 2015 and the September 2015 shoulder hit 68.3% as shown in Figure 6. Some of this reflects the continuing reduced supply in Christchurch subsequent to the February 2011 earthquake and delays in the rebuild in the central city area.

Figure 4. Number of establishments by accommodation type 2005 to 2015
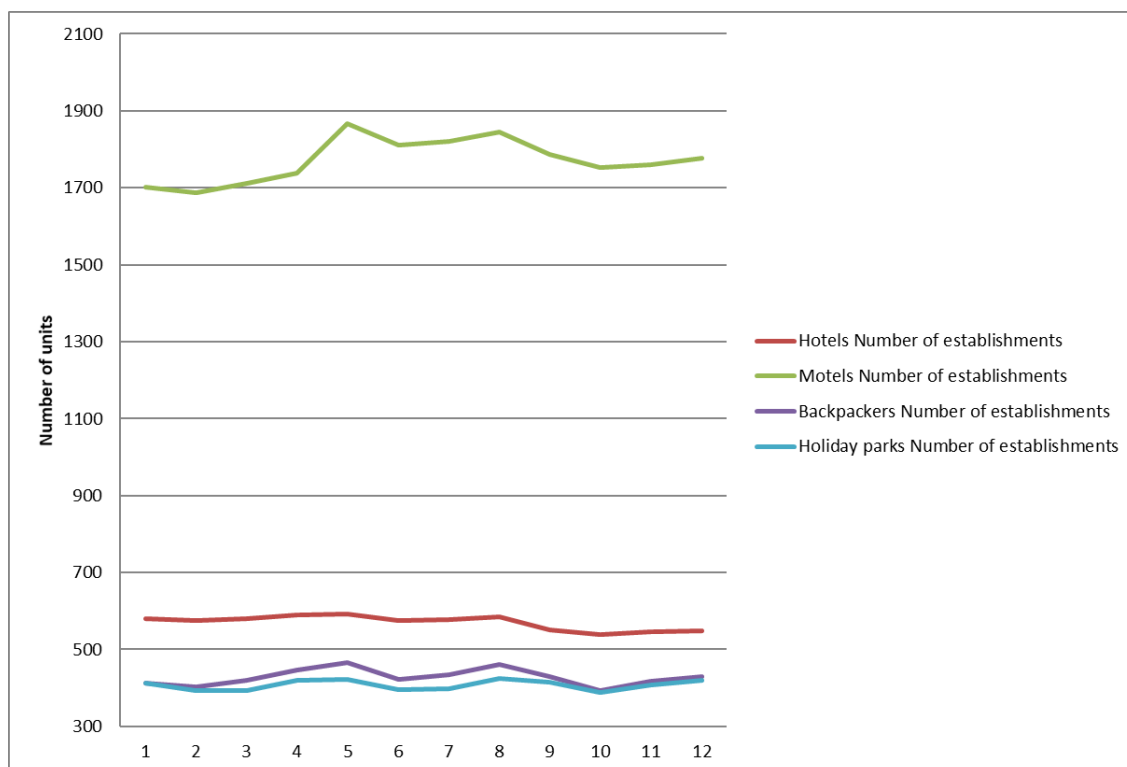

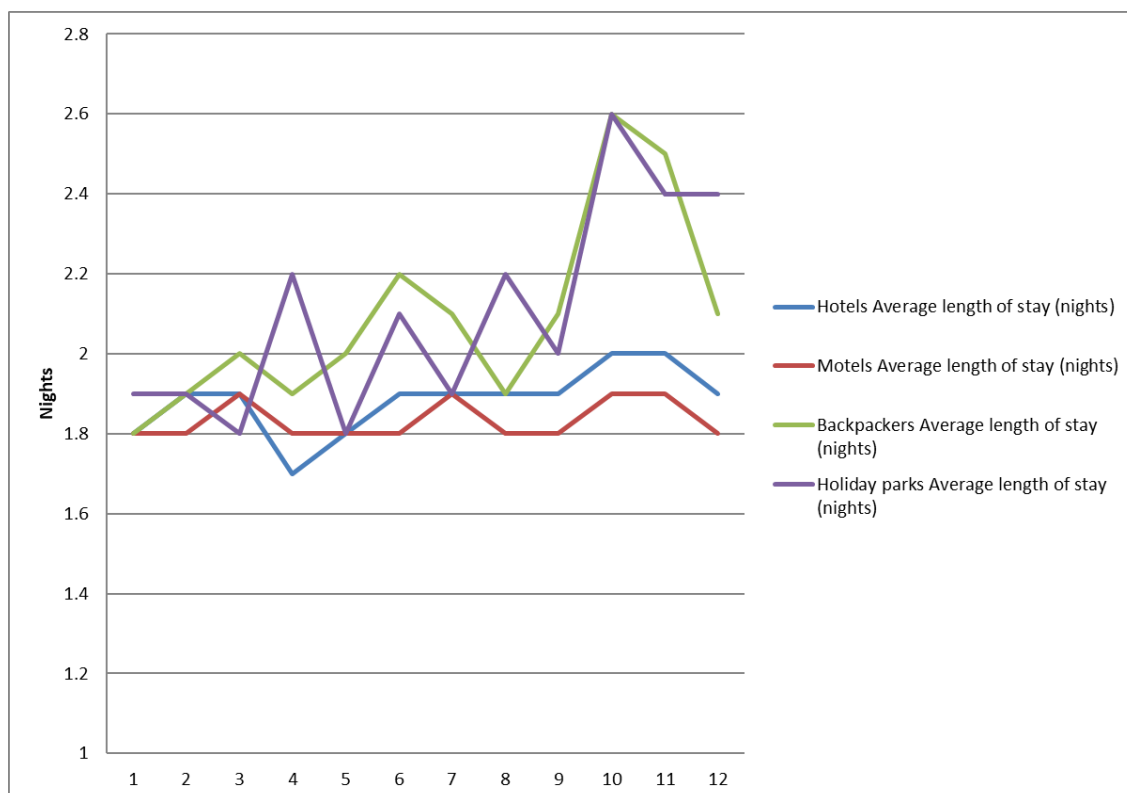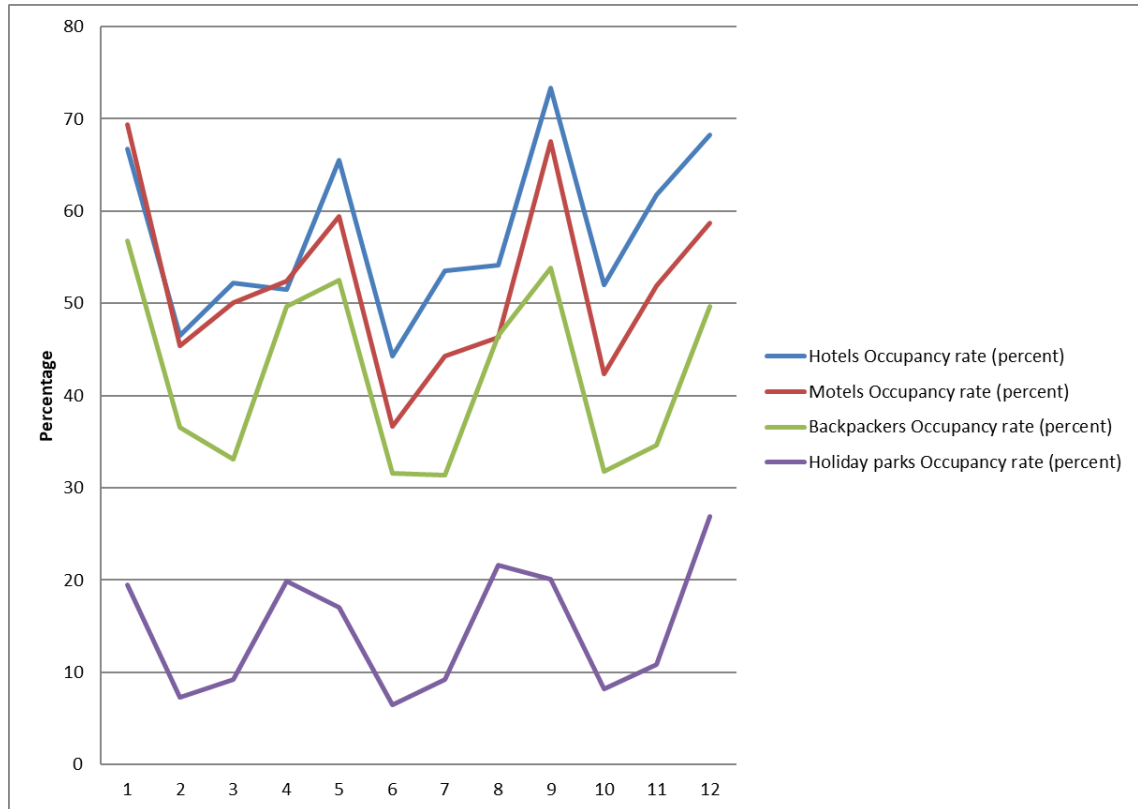Figure 5. Average stay length by accommodation type 2005 to 2015

Figure 6. Occupancy percentages by accommodation type 2005 to 2015

Major events attracting large numbers of visitors put a serious strain on accommodation capacity. During the 2005 British Lions rugby tour, even with a large number of visitors opting for motorhomes, an estimated fleet of 1,400 vehicles (Gamble, 2005), and the use of cruise liners berthed in Lyttelton and Wellington (Kiong, 2005), there were concerns regarding the availability of accommodation (O'Brien, 2005). In Wellington, the opening of Nomads Capital, a luxury backpackers, added 180 rooms immediately ahead of the tour (Allen, 2005a), but most accommodation was booked out and the city saw substantial rate increases for the test weekend (Schouten, 2005). The tour increased occupancy by over 80% compared with July 2004, in an otherwise flat growth trend (Allen, 2005b).

The need to move rates upwards to capitalise on demand again caused comment in the lead-up to the 2011 RWC (New Zealand Press Association, 2010b), with some guests opting to fly in from Australia for matches (Easton, 2010; McCracken, 2010). Even with this, there were concerns that there would not be sufficient accommodation for the semi-final and final matches, despite RWC boss Martin Sneddon's confidence that there would be a bed for everyone (Vass, 2010). Taking seriously comments that "visitors to Auckland may end up dossing down on someone's couch" (Vass, 2010, p. C4), a few enterprising homeowners started planning to rent out their homes (Hurley, 2010). This was before the arrival of Airbnb into the market, which made this sort of sharing easier to arrange. By 2015, Airbnb had 6,000

New Zealand properties, and New Zealanders were establishing a reputation for being excellent hosts (Devlin, 2015a).

In general, operators tended to note that when events were occurring there was good demand; however, the market could be tough otherwise (Harris, 2010a). Even for major events, the benefits could be unevenly spread and not generate the anticipated accommodation business. For example, although the Scenic Circle Group saw additional occupancy in the cities that hosted matches on the Lions tour, they did not see increased business for the period outside those locations (Allen, 2005b). Similarly, hotels in Wellington did not see the anticipated increased occupancy when the city hosted the World of WearableArt (WOW) Awards; however, the Wellington branch chair of the Hotel Council admitted, "we just didn't get in behind WOW. We thought it was all going to happen without us having to do very much" (Churchhouse, 2005, p. 4). In 2010, motels in particular faced challenges in filling rooms, even over the traditional peak Christmas period (van der Stoep, 2010). Christchurch hoteliers had anticipated a difficult winter (Wood, 2010a), and their Wellington counterparts also anticipated a drop in trade after Easter (Harris, 2010a). Queenstown recovered relatively quickly from the impacts of the GFC but did see a substitution of Australian guests rather than those from long-haul destinations (Beech, 2010a).

In the face of this drop in trade, many of the calls for additional supply tended to come from outside the industry, such as Christchurch mayor Bob Parker's support for new hotels (Wood, 2010c) and calls for additional hotel accommodation after the city lost a bid for an international conference, although in this instance airlift capacity was also a factor (Morris, 2015). In the main, operators felt there was not the demand to support additional rooms (Gibson, 2005b), pointing out static room rates (Morrison, 2010) that could not justify the cost of development ("Room squeeze," 2015). The exceptions were at the top end of the market: the head of the regional tourism organisation from Hawkes Bay said the region needed a large four-and-a-half-star property to meet the requirements of tour operators ("Luxury hotel called for in bay," 2005) and Warwick Angus at the Bolton Hotel in Wellington said the market had space for an additional five-star property (Rutherford, 2010a).

By 2015, occupancy was starting to increase to the point it was driving up room rates (Anthony, 2015). Forecasts showed that Auckland would require 3,800 rooms over the next five years ("Room squeeze," 2015), and both Auckland and Queenstown were operating at near capacity in the peak periods (Mackenzie, 2015). There was high demand in the early part of 2015 due to good weather in January and February (Devlin, 2015b; Weir, 2015) and the situation was repeated at the end of the year (Campbell, 2015). In Wellington, this did lead to

additional investment, both in refurbishing and in rebranding existing rooms, as well as building of additional rooms ("New beds on way as hotels fill up quick," 2015).

8.3.2 Proprietors

By 2005–2015, Internet-based sales channels for businesses were well established, meaning that newspaper advertising was possibly less indicative of the availability of accommodation businesses. A search on Trade Me on 17 January 2017 showed 439 listings in the accommodation category (Trade Me, 2017a). Some of these were listed by traditional real estate agents and likely to be promoted via multiple channels –a strong overlap of the brokers and agents with those found in the newspaper advertising does occur. There were also a few specialist online brokers such as TourismProperties.com, which has grown out of a traditional agent but now works solely online and on 17 January 2017 had 132 properties listed (TourismProperties.com, 2017). Table 28 shows the distribution between newspapers, but is subject to the caveat that the decline in numbers from earlier periods was likely due to the move to online advertising. That said, the copy used by newspapers and online advertising was very similar in terms of key messages and headlines, although the online space allowed for more extensive copy and use of photographs.

Along with the trend to online advertising, there was also a reluctance in some cases to have it visible that the business was for sale (Livingstone First National, 2005). Similarly, given the relationship between price and business performance, the majority of advertising was on a 'price on application' basis – vetting of potential buyers being part of the service the brokers offered. Most of the real estate advertising in all categories focused on the characteristics of the property itself, such as the number of rooms/units, additional facilities, and whether it was the lease or freehold that was for sale. When potential buyers were mentioned, statements such as "Ideal for a couple with hospitality experience" ("Moeraki tourism opportunity," 2005, p. 79) were common. Both motels ("Lifestyle home & income," 2005) and bed and breakfasts ("Catlins Retreat Guesthouse," 2005) were positioned as a lifestyle option and an opportunity to live in an attractive location. Similarly, the businesses were positioned as easy to run ("Hotels/Taverns," 2005), though with the potential for growth – "ready to take to the next level". Occasionally, an advertisement indicated that the business was already growing strongly – "You'll be run off your feet owning this booming business" ("Oamaru Cafe/Motels," 2005, p. 79). In a further acknowledgement of the potential commitment required, the same advertisement noted that there was no evening dining.

For owners of the direct descendants of the licensed hotels, this very hands-on element (Blundell, 2005) and the need for owners to work in the business to enable it to be financially

viable ("Bulls pub looking for a keen couple," 2010) was both part of the attraction and a reason to leave. However, these businesses were often a key resource for the town and proprietors had a fierce devotion to this —"it's our town we weren't going to let the pub fall over" (O'Connor, 2015, p. C1).

For all types of accommodation, the seasonality and unpredictability of demand presented challenges; motels in particular had limited margins and ability to bargain on price. Guests were used to being able to bargain in retail environments where the margins are higher and they did not understand why this is rarely an option for small operators (van der Stoep, 2010). Guest also had high expectations of the standards of facilities at all levels, which added to the time and cost involved in developing properties ("Huntley home away from home," 2005; Keast, 2005; Steeman, 2010b). Even for established businesses, the operating environment could alter unexpectedly, such as occurred when Dunedin City Council decided to move bed and breakfast premises from the residential to the commercial basis (Morris, 2010a, 2010b), which meant a number of operators were no longer viable (Morris, 2010c). Similarly, Queenstown Lakes District Council decided in 2005 to bring management of some of the area camping grounds in-house as leases expired, which meant lessees' plans and investments would be lost (Cook, 2005).

Table 33. Real estate advertisements 2005 to 2015

	2005				2010				2015			
	CP	EP	NZH	OTD	CP	EP	NZH	OTD	CP	EP	NZH	OTD
Holiday parks					1							1
Motels	4	1	2	1	4	1	9	2				1
Lodges, B&B	5				2		5					
Hotels (pub type)	3		5			1	1	1				
Hotels (corporate)					1							

8.3.3 Corporate owners and developers

For the larger hotels, which often operated under international brands, the risks involved in developing new supply could be even higher because of the scale and complexity of these projects. To examine some of the issues, and because of their prominence in the reporting, two projects and their developers are presented, along with a summary of issues related to financing.

In 2005, two major projects in the Queenstown area that were intended to include hotels commenced. Five Mile, next to Queenstown Airport, received resource consent for the first stage to include worker and backpacker accommodation along with retail and other commercial space (Jamieson, 2005a). On the Frankton waterfront, Melview Developments purchased the site of the Kawarau Falls campsite, intending to develop visitor and residential accommodation to include at least three hotels (McDonald, 2005).

The man behind Melview was Nigel McKenna, Irish-born architect and property developer. In 2005, McKenna's various companies were working not only on the Queenstown project but also the Holiday Inn development in Wellington (Slade, 2010) and the Westin on Lighter Quay in Auckland (Gibson, 2010e), McKenna having earned a reputation for high-quality design and development with his work on the Viaduct Basin in Auckland. However, by 2010, McKenna's empire was facing serious problems. The collapse of the Bank of Scotland, his major lender, during the GFC and an inability to source substitute lending led to projects being forced into receivership. Stage one of the Kawarau Falls development entered receivership in May 2009, and the remaining stages joined it in March 2010 (Steeman, 2010a). The Holiday Inn Wellington was placed into liquidation in November 2009 when contractors could no longer be paid (Slade, 2010). The Westin in Auckland opened in 2007; however, because of the GFC the hotel did not perform as expected (Gibson, 2010e) and investors were unhappy with the returns (Gibson, 2010d). Although McKenna initially contested the applications by his creditors to have him declared bankrupt (Gibson, 2010f), by April 2011 he was forced to admit defeat and enter bankruptcy (Krause, 2011). At Kawarau Falls, the receivers, KordaMentha, elected to continue development of the two hotels in stage one, a four-star and a five-star property (Steeman, 2010a). However, the initial operators dropped out of the project and new operators had to be located (Stewart, 2010b). A contract with Hilton was concluded (Stewart, 2010a), and the hotels opened in June 2011 (Henley, 2011). Legal proceedings from the receivership were still proceeding in 2015 (Williams, 2015a), including actions against an investment company for failing to honour a guarantee to buy units if buyers defaulted (Taylor, 2015).

David Henderson, developer of Five Mile, was a much more colourful character, having come to national attention in the 1990s for a book chronicling his tax difficulties, which involved the Inland Revenue Department auditing him 27 times between 1992 and 1995 ("The rise and fall," 2010). His investments were focused more on Christchurch and the South Island, including Hotel SO on Cashel Street in Christchurch and his redevelopment of Lichfield Street, also in Christchurch. Five Mile itself was an early casualty of the GFC, going into receivership in 2008 (van Beynen, 2010). However, the complex structure of guarantees between Henderson's various companiesand the links to the failure of a number of New Zealand finance companies kept Henderson and Five Mile in the news ("Developer's sorry saga ends in bankruptcy," 2010; van Beynen, 2010).

The involvement of the finance companies with lending to hotels and other hospitality businesses and whether this was appropriate caused major controversy when they were able to become part of the Crown Retail Deposit Guarantee Scheme (Bennett, 2011). In Henderson's case, South Canterbury held the first mortgage and was largely repaid when Hotel SO was sold (Gibson, 2010c). More troubling was the company's lending for the refurbishment and extension of the Hyatt in Auckland, where the company held subordinate debt (Gibson, 2010a).

By 2015, with lending becoming slightly easier and the supply from prior to the GFC having been absorbed by the market, demand for new room supply was rising. There were still concerns as to whether the rates justified additional supply (Anthony, 2015). For Christchurch, which experienced a 55% reduction in hotel rooms after the 2011 earthquake (Wood, 2015b), uncertainties about the redevelopment of the central business district hampered development (Wright & McDonald, 2015), as noted in Section 8.2.1. In Auckland, resource consents were granted for a Park Hyatt on the waterfront (Tapalesomoana, 2015) and a number of projects along Albert Street (Harris, 2015b). One of these, the NDG Tower, received resource consent in 2014 (Gibson, 2015a); however, site work had not commenced in at the time of writing this thesis. Even when construction work commenced, there could be problems, as occurred with the Sofitel SO, which was in development for over two years because of problems with the demolition phase of the project, and then disputes with the main contractor caused the contractors to walk off the job and the site sat idle for months while new contractors were found (Gibson, 2015b).

8.3.4 Job advertisements

As noted above with regard to real estate, employment advertising has largely moved online, and specialist sites such as Seek (Seek Limited, 2017), the major auction site Trade Me (Trade

Me, 2017b) and many of the large hotel companies also use their own website as part of their recruitment strategy. This has reduced the use of print media in job advertising, although the papers do display their classifieds online. The ANZ bank compile a count of the number of job advertisements appearing in each source; at the beginning of 2005 this noted 29,000 newspaper advertisements and 9,500 Internet advertisements. By 2015, the Internet accounted for 28,500 advertisements with approximately 3,500 newspaper advertisements. The newspaper series was removed from the survey in October 2016. Table 34 and Table 35 show a summary of the advertising that did appear for the sampled days – for 2015, the sampled days did not include Saturday or Wednesday, which is where the bulk of situations vacant are concentrated.

Requirements for staff described in the advertising that was sampled were flexibility, reliability, presentation and grooming. For housekeeping staff, physical fitness was often mentioned, and front office staff required skills in customer service, communication and teamwork. For front office, most of the advertisements wanted computer skills, preferably with the property management system in use at the employer, which was mostly Fidelio. Similarly, for most front office positions, previous experience was either desirable or essential. Conversely, room attendants' positions went as far as saying no experience was necessary ("Hotel opportunities," 2005). As mentioned in Section 8.2 on professionalism, advertisers expected a high level of response, with advertisers noting that only shortlisted candidates would be contacted ("Room attendants," 2010), which makes Aaron Lodge's advertisement, shown in Figure 7, to acknowledge applications even more unusual ("Aaron Lodge," 2010).

Figure 7. Acknowledgement of applications – Aaron Lodge 2010

Table 34. Count of employment advertisements by year – staff

	2005				2010				2015			
	CP	EP	NZH	OTD	CP	EP	NZH	OTD	CP	EP	NZH	OTD
Front office												
Reception	1				2							
Porter	2		2			1						
Supervisor			1									
F&B												
Waiter	1		1									
Chef	1	1		1	1	2						
Back of house												
Room attendant												
Hotel	1	1			1	1	1					
Motel	2		2	2	4		1	2				
Supervisor				1								
Maintenance	1											
Other	2		1			1	1					

Table 35. Count of employment advertisements by year – managers and supervisors

	2005				2010				2015			
	CP	EP	NZH	OTD	CP	EP	NZH	OTD	CP	EP	NZH	OTD
Front office												
Junior												
Senior			2		1							
Back of house												
Housekeeping			1									
General manager	1		2									
Other	1		3					1				

For supervisors and junior managers, the elements of teamwork and guest service closely resembled the requirements for the staff they would be directing ("Assistant food and beverage manager," 2010). At this level, there were more advertisements specifically requiring qualifications, although these were mostly at a diploma level. At a senior level, such as general managers' positions, the requirements included innovative thinking and leadership ("National hotel group manager," 2005). For smaller properties, managers cover a much broader range of activities and advertisements asked for things such as maintenance skills ("Live in manager," 2005; "Motel managers," 2010), which would be a specialist role in a larger property. For motels and holiday parks, the advertisements for managers closely resembled real estate advertising, asking for couples and promoting the lifestyle ("Motel manager," 2005). By contrast, the hotel groups focused on opportunities for career development, such as SkyCity's "turn your housekeeping job into a career" ("Executive housekeeping positions," 2005) shown in Figure 8.

Figure 8. Job advertisement – executive housekeeper 2005

8.3.5 Summary

Although accommodation had always been subject to seasonality and destinations to the vagaries of fashion, in 2005 the growth in tourism encouraged the commencement of developing additional room supply to meet anticipated growth in demand. However, large projects require sustained funding over longish periods of time and the collapse of global financial flows led to project failure, which in turn took down local finance companies, further constraining lending potential. When this happened, the finance companies collapse was blamed on frivolous lending into accommodation and other hospitality projects. South

Canterbury Finance[16] was particularly castigated for lending into the Auckland market, showing the perceived differences in cultures and values between the North and South Islands, and an assumption that Auckland was a 'flashy', risky place compared with the solid values of South Island farmers. Similarly, in 2005, developers such as Nigel McKenna were held up as examples of bold innovative thinking but were held personally responsible when events beyond their control took down projects such as the Westin Hotel in Auckland.

For smaller operators, lifestyle elements, such as a rural location, were still held to be highly desirable, showing continuity with the view of independent living in prior periods. However, although these independent operators had the volume in terms of numbers of businesses, growth and innovation came from the large chains from overseas. Even the Scenic Hotel Group, which traded heavily on its New Zealand–owned positioning, was founded by an American (Scenic Hotel Group, 2017). In some ways, this reflected a presumed preference among New Zealand small businesses to focus on attaining a particular lifestyle and then letting the business coast rather than continuing to grow (Luke, Verrynne, & Kearins, 2007). Even within this, the level of risk and sheer hard work involved were rarely discussed.

The international chains largely absent from New Zealand before the 1980s, has a visible presence in most major cities and linked New Zealand into the global accommodation market. They also linked it to the global employment markets, leading to additional opportunities for management staff. For the front-line staff, these opportunities were not promoted as part of recruitment. Staff were largely viewed as interchangeable, and it was not until management level that the transition from job to career was made.

8.4 Power

This section considers the power relationships in operation concerning hotels and hotel workers. First, it examines legislation. Although sale of alcohol was no longer such a major part of the hotel experience, the influence of liquor licensing still held some sway. Of more importance was the legislation governing employment terms and conditions. A summary of the legislative changes since 1985 and the evolving deregulated environment is presented along with a brief consideration of union responses. Lastly, the issues of gender and race are considered, including the position of immigrant workers. In a few cases, comparisons are drawn with non-hotel food and beverage operators and aged care providers to give a clearer understanding of the dynamics at play.

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[16] South Canterbury Finance was a Timaru-based privately owned finance company. It was viewed as a safe investment but was making increasingly risky loans in the early 2000s and collapsed in 2010. Charges were bought by the Serious Fraud Office as a result of the collapse.

8.4.1 Legislation

Although the requirement to provide accommodation in order to be able to sell alcohol was removed in 1962, many hotels in this period were still licensed premises with bars or licensed restaurants. Therefore, the legislative control over the sale of alcohol was still a determinant of their operating environment. The importance of the shared history from their shared origins is discussed under the theme of silences in Section 8.5. This section gives an overview of the changes in legislation and considers the practical implications.

The 1989 Sale of Liquor Act owed something to the Fourth Labour Government's tendency to deregulate anything that moved, but the 1962 Sale of Liquor Act and its subsequent amendments had created a complex and increasingly unwieldy regulatory environment. Four different types of licences governed the operations of accommodation premises alone and 29 different licence types in total ("Sale of Liquor Act 1962," 1962). The 1989 Act simplified this to four types: an on-licence for the sale of alcohol to the general public for consumption on the premises only, an off-licence for alcohol to be consumed off the premises, a club licence for chartered clubs and sport clubs that permitted sale to members only and a special licence for one-off and special events such as festivals and markets ("Sale of Liquor Act 1989," 1989). The act amalgamated hotels and tourist hotels, which had previously been able to sell only to guests and granted a specific exemption for homestay operators who hosted fewer than 10 guests. There was also a simplification of the processes for application and renewal of licences. Of most note at the time were the provision that allowed wine to be sold at supermarkets (extended to include beer in 1999), the removal of dry districts and the lowering of the drinking age to 18 in most instances.

The lowering of the drinking age and easier availability of alcohol raised concerns regarding alcohol-related harms, which were addressed in the 2012 Sale and Supply of Alcohol Act ("Sale and Supply of Alcohol Act 2012,"). The new act reduced trading hours for bars and supermarkets and formalised the operation of one-way door restriction that required operators to not admit or readmit patrons during set hours. The 2012 act also granted the local authorities the ability to set more rigorous conditions and to have different conditions apply to premises in different parts of their jurisdiction. Local authorities were also able to set maximum numbers of licences they were prepared to grant in an area and impose one-way door restrictions and limits on operating hours; their ability to set alcohol ban areas under their by-laws was also confirmed. Alcohol bans meant that alcohol must not be consumed or transported through the area in open containers; in Auckland, the entire downtown area was covered by a 24-hour ban, and many of the local parks had bans in place overnight (Auckland Council, 2016).

Large accommodation providers in some cases contested provisions of local alcohol policies but in the main were beneficiaries of the operation of alcohol-free areas and increased policing in central city areas in terms of a safer and more pleasant environment for their guests (Cameron, 2007). For operators of the direct descendants of the original hotels, these were mainly in smaller communities, where they were part of the infrastructure of the town. There was less evidence of the kind of informal understandings regarding enforcement that were characteristic, particularly on the West Coast, in earlier periods. That said, West Coast publicans still tended to look after their own and often had their own standards such as self-imposed one-way door policies (O'Connor, 2015).

8.4.1.1 Employment legislation

Like liquor licensing, the legislation governing employment was subject to the Labour Government's deregulatory impulses. The 1987 Labour Relations Act removed compulsory arbitration, but given the Labour Party's historic ties to the unions, compulsory unionism remained intact, along with unions' exclusive rights to represent workers and blanket award coverage ("Labour Relations Act 1987," 1987). However, this opened the door for the National Government's Employment Contracts Act of 1991, which abolished national awards and compulsory unionism. The act made no mention of unions, which meant they had to be incorporated as societies and thus required a minimum of 1,000 members. This effectively demolished the union movement in many sectors of the economy, including the accommodation sector (Hubbard, 2005).

When the Labour Party returned to power in 1999, they attempted to redress the balance in the Employment Relations Act of 2000. This returned formal recognition to unions and their rights to negotiate collective agreements on behalf of members. However, individual contracts remained an option and union membership was voluntary. One of the act's guiding principles was "acknowledging and addressing the inherent inequality of bargaining power in employment relationships" ("Employment Relations Act 2000," 2000, s 3a(ii)). The addition of a 90-day trial period, initially for employers with fewer than 20 staff but extended to all employers on 1 April 2011, raised some concerns regarding whether the balance was moving towards employers again, and this is investigated in the next section.

The provisions of the Holidays Act 2003 set a requirement that employees either be given a day off on public holidays or paid time and a half and given a day off in lieu if they were required to work. It also set a requirement for annual leave provision, set at three weeks for a full-time worker, to be increased to four weeks in 2011 ("Holidays Act 2003," 2003). As 24/7/365 businesses, hotels faced increased operating costs; however, the majority of the

reporting was focused on the impact on food and beverage businesses (Oldham, 2005a). Even in 2015, it was still common for food and beverage outlets to apply a surcharge if they opened on a public holiday, although some businesses specifically promoted not doing so in order to attract additional customers.

8.4.2 Employment relations

Union membership had already begun to decline in 1985, but in 1991, the Hotel Workers Union amalgamated with a number of other unions representing service workers to form the Service and Food Workers Union (SFWU). This move, it was hoped, would give the combined union the strength to withstand the removal of compulsory unionism and move to enterprise-level bargaining ushered in by the Employment Contracts Act (Williamson, 2016). However, by 2001 hospitality and retail were among the least unionised sectors of the economy (Hubbard, 2005). The Employment Relations Act of 2000 returned the right to collective bargaining. In mid-2003 a group of former Alliance Party activists started a drive to reunionise using Unite, a general membership union, as their vehicle. The goal was to focus on younger workers in low-paying jobs. This led the group to focus on fast food, cinema chains, call centres and hotels. By the end of 2004, they had collective agreements in place for about a dozen hotels and some of the staff on the casino floor at SkyCity in Auckland. As well as SkyCity, union organisation Unite negotiated collective agreements with the two largest hotel companies, Accor and MCK Millennium & Copthorne Hotels New Zealand Ltd. Workers at fast-food companies made up a large part of the membership and therefore Unite was active in campaigns to increase minimum wages, limit abuses of 90-day trial periods and remove zero-hour contracts (Treen, 2014). Although Unite represented approximately a quarter of hospitality workers (McCracken & Lewis, 2010), the union noted that with a semi-casualised and high-turnover workforce, it was difficult to reach workers (Treen, 2014). SFWU, which merged with the engineers' unions in October 2015 to form E tū, had a strong presence in the commercial cleaning sector and represented hotel room attendants as part of this. The merged union was heavily involved with campaigns for a living wage and an end to zero-hour contracts (E tū, 2017).

Zero-hour contracts, which combined elements of permanent and casual employment, gave no guaranteed hours of work but required employees to be available at all times (Green, 2015b). Zero-hour contracts were most common in the fast-food industry; however, the varying demand and employer requirements for flexibility when combined with a tendency to release rosters close to work dates meant that although accommodation did not use formal zero-hour contracts, the implications for employees were very similar (Collins, 2005). As Helen Kelly noted, the effect was "to shift the risk of employment to the worker" (Kelly, 2015, p. B18). However, as one fast-food worker noted, people would still sign up because they needed the

money and options were limited, particularly for young workers (Green, 2015b). By mid-2015 the combination of union pressure (Green, 2015a; Kelly, 2015) and bad publicity prompted the government to act and amend the Employment Relations Act to prohibit zero-hour contracts, requiring hours to be stated in the contract, cancelled shifts to be paid for and staff compensated for availability (Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2015). However, given the rise in outsourcing and moving people to be contractors rather than employees described by Helen Kelly, a trade union activist, (Kelly, 2015), particularly in housekeeping, many hotel employees still faced very insecure employment conditions and subsequent lack of power.

8.4.3   Intersection with gender and race

Although the explicit gendering of roles and stated pay differentials were no longer permitted, in the broad economy, women's pay rates were lower, to the extent that the median wage for women was $8,000 less than the median wage for men. As part of their campaign to address this, E Tū supported aged care workers to take a court case to the Employment Court (E tū, n.d.).

In hotels, according to reports in the newspapers, managers and chefs who held positions of power were typically male. Where female managers appeared, they were mainly involved in the functions area, although the opening manager at the Hilton Hotels in Queenstown was female (Stewart, 2010c). At a staff level, the female staff who appeared were receptionists ("WelTec certificate just the ticket," 2005) or food and beverage staff ("NZMA student takes hospitality award," 2005; Taylor, 2010) in direct customer service positions. The male staff were concierges, whom the stories positioned as having access to privileged information (Mulligan, 2015; Papalsoumas, 2015), although there was also one female concierge recognised ("Stirling effort," 2005).

As noted in Chapter 7, the separation of alcohol from accommodation changed the portrayal of Māori. From the late 1990s, Māori re-emerged as owners and operators of accommodation businesses. With the settlement of their Treaty claims[17] in 1995 for $170 million and 35,000 acres of land, Tainui Group Holdings[18] entered into a partnership with Hamilton City Council to build the Novotel Tainui in central Hamilton, which opened in 1999. The Ibis Hamilton opened in 2007 and Tainui bought the Council out in 2013 ("HCC sells Ibis and Novotel stakes to Tainui

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[17] Under the provisions of the Waitangi Tribunal Act, breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi are able to be heard by the Tribunal and claims for restitution made.

[18] Tainui Group Holdings is the commercial arm of the Waikato Raupatu Land Trust owned by the 35 hapu and 68 marae of the wider Waikato region.

for $12m," 2013). Tainui Group Holdings also developed the Novotel at Auckland Airport, which opened in 2011 ("Maori King speaks at new airport hotel opening," 2011). Hotel management was positioned as an opportunity for young Māori with initiatives such as the Ngāti Whakaue Education Trust scholarships in partnership with the Sudima Group. This offered trainee management positions along with tertiary study grants. Alongside the success stories were the unemployment statistics and the acknowledgement from hotel companies of an absence of Māori leaders (Kinita, 2013).

International students along with other temporary migrants became an important part of the hotel workforce, to the point that Winston Peters[19] was moved to complain that young New Zealanders were missing out on jobs (Fallow, 2015). However, a Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment study in 2013 pointed out that international students were at high risk of being exploited in the workforce. Given that the cost of living in New Zealand was often higher than what they were used to at home and their lack of awareness of labour laws, they were often forced to work long hours at what to locals appeared to be low wages. This often placed them in breach of the conditions of their visa, which restricted them to 20 hours of work a week, making them even less able to complain. Along with their desire to secure employment to be able to stay once they completed their studies, this made them a vulnerable group (Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2013). Although there was some degree of mutuality in the need for flexible employment, there were also opportunities for exploitation on the part of employers. The insecurity that could be involved further increased the power imbalance, summarised by Helen Kelly , as a situation likely to "breed deference in the workforce" (Kelly, 2015).

8.4.4 Summary

The exercise of power in this period was much more subtle than in the earlier periods. The message of 'mind your betters' was much less explicitly stated than in 1930, for example. However, the hierarchy and possession of privilege had not changed greatly. The hotel, with its bifurcate workforce, was in some ways society in microcosm with a small permanent management class and a much larger and worse paid transient workforce facing increasingly insecure conditions. That this workforce was often young, female or immigrant only further emphasised the power structure at play.

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[19] Winston Peters is the leader of the New Zealand First Party, the third largest political party in New Zealand. Under the MMP electoral system Mr Peters and his party often holds the balance of power between the two major parties being able to determine which party can form a government.

Economic insecurity and limited protection of workers' rights constrained the ability of the workforce to demand better conditions. The availability of large numbers of workers who had goals other than wages as such, for example, international students seeking residency and backpackers on working holidays, also limited bargaining power for all workers. The power went to those who had the career not the job and it was becoming more difficult to transition between those two groups.

Although the Human Rights Act prohibited outright discrimination in employment, changing social and economic structures had created more groups of vulnerable workers. There was also a degree of tokenism, with small numbers of women or Māori or Pacific Islanders being incorporated into organisations to satisfy social expectations. These representatives were expected to conform to the norms of those holding power; their presence did not alter the underlying power structure. Often these groups were encouraged to oppose each other to reinforce this lack of power.

8.5 Silences

This theme examines how issues were covered and what was left unsaid or implied in the newspaper reporting to uncover additional details on social structures and the positioning of hotels and hotel workers within these. One strand of this was contained in the heritage of the word 'hotel' and the legacy from the past it carried. Another was the relationship between the concepts of tourism and accommodation and their contribution to the economy. Related to this was the unspoken definition of 'skill' as it related to hotel workers. Lastly, this section examines the assumptions about the role of backpackers and international students as hotel workers, compared with New Zealanders of the same age.

8.5.1 Coverage

By 2005 most stories were being published with a byline, although attribution varied between printed and online versions of the paper. The emergence of Internet sites as an important distribution channel for news also had a dramatic impact on ownership and coverage as New Zealand newspapers consolidated into two major groups.

The hotel companies and hotel development were major areas of coverage in all the papers. In 2010, the stories were dominated by the collapse of developers facing problems arising from the GFC. Accommodation supply was also a consistent issue over the period, particularly in Christchurch in the wake of the 2010 and 2011 earthquakes and the delays in rebuilding after them.

8.5.2 Skills

The definition of 'skilled' that was most often used was related to one used by Immigration New Zealand:

> Skilled employment is employment that meets a minimum remuneration threshold and requires specialist, technical or management expertise obtained through:
>
> - the completion of recognised relevant qualifications; or
> - relevant work experience; or
> - the completion of recognised relevant qualifications and/or work experience.
>
> Assessment of whether employment is skilled for the purposes of the Skilled Migrant Category is primarily based on the Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (ANZSCO) which associates skill levels with each occupation, and the level of remuneration for the employment. (Immigration New Zealand, 2004, 2017, p. SM6.10)

Hospitality broadly was often positioned as low skilled and entry level. However, these roles were seen as vital stepping stones in employment – "Young Kiwi workers are also missing out on low-skilled jobs as foreign students, most of whom want permanent residence, take over in supermarkets, service stations and hotels" (Peters, as cited in Fallow, 2015, p. C9). McLeod and Mare (2013) examined temporary migrants, including international students and those on working holiday visas, to uncover the impact on New Zealand workers, particularly youth workers and those moving off benefits. Their figures showed that temporary migrants contributed most of the growth in months worked in the accommodation sector between 2001 and 2011. Temporary migrants formed 14% of the accommodation workforce in the 2011 tax year, and workers aged 16 to 24 years contributed 19%. By way of contrast, the food and beverage sector had 39% of its workforce in the 16-to-24-year age bracket. The bulk of youth workers in the accommodation sector were aged 20 to 24, which would be those who were in the final year of degree study or had recently graduated. Their findings broadly showed that temporary migrants were a complementary source of labour supply and did not appear to displace local workers, apart from in the immediate aftermath of the GFC.

This perception of the work as low skilled was not necessarily shared by the industry. However, these views tended to be subsumed by other issues in reporting. For example, Director of Marketing Emma Fraser raised recruiting and retaining staff as a key issue for the industry as demand grew, talking about a war for talent, but this was a very small part of a larger article (Bradley, 2015). However, it was also acknowledged that the industry was perceived as transient and that the hotel companies needed to work with their staff to address this ("Travel

talks: Emma Fraser, hotel marketing head," 2015). Although hotel managers were acknowledged as being skilled, and the importance of front-line experience was often discussed in reporting of managers' roles and progression was acknowledged (Eleven, 2010; Gibson, 2005a), the industry was not always consistent in its messages. For example, in advertising for executive housekeepers, SkyCity positioned being a room attendant as a management career job ("Executive housekeeping positions," 2005).

Education providers tended to try to position their qualifications, even at the diploma level, as leading to a career rather than a job. For cookery, apprenticeships had been the traditional means of entering the industry. Other parts of the hotel had used cadetships or management trainee programmes based on the apprentice-type model with a set time to commitment. The change to industry-led training programmes through industry training organisations in 1992 along with tightening economic conditions made apprenticeships less available. Even the move to modern apprenticeships in 2002 made only minor improvements because many organisations saw training as a cost, not a necessary part of developing the workforce. In some cases, education providers positioned qualifications as a way to obtain an initial entry to the industry ("Hands on learning that gets you earning," 2005; McCarthy, 2010). Development of management skills to allow further career development may have also been part of programme (McCarthy, 2010; "What career would you rather have," 2005). However, the industry struggled with the balance between entry-level skills to allow graduates to be immediately useful and potential management development (Cameron, 2007). The polytechnics attempted to bridge this divide by developing degree programmes that drew on their vocational training strengths to provide practical experience alongside the more advanced management and critical thinking skills ("WelTec degrees," 2010; "What career would you rather have," 2005). The universities were also positioning their research efforts in hospitality and tourism as having direct value to the industry (Wood, 2015c). However, the very hierarchy of institutions and qualifications plays into a hierarchy of employment and implies that intellectual pursuits are more valid and valuable, thus failing to acknowledge the skills involved in most practical roles. As Stienberg (1990) noted, many of these activities are assumed to be attributes of the person not an actual skill.

8.5.3 Tourism

Since 1995, Statistics New Zealand has published tourism satellite accounts, taking data from the main national accounts and reanalysing them to give a clearer view of a particular sector of the economy. The tourism satellite accounts consistently show that tourism-related expenditure is an important source of export earnings and domestic tourism is also a major contributor of economic activity. Over the period from 2005 to 2015, tourism expenditure took

a major hit from the GFC, although there was less downturn in domestic tourism expenditure as people substituted local holidays for overseas trip. Transport, particularly airfares, was the major component of expenditure, and accommodation costs tended to average around 9% of expenditure (Statistics New Zealand, 2005, 2010, 2015b). Accommodation as part of the tourism product tended to be discussed mostly in terms of availability of supply unless there were particular issues locating appropriate staff, as was the case in Queenstown. There was also an expectation that service styles would change to fit overseas expectations (Churchhouse, 2010b), despite a desire from at least sections of the market for more experience of local culture and style (Oldham, 2005b). Standardisation was held to be more valuable than authenticity (Churchhouse, 2010b). These challenges in delivering accommodation and the overall tourism product, along with threats from social and environmental impacts, were rarely acknowledged (Gnoth, 2005).

8.5.4 Heritage/Legacy

The legacy embedded in the word hotel drew in the contention about alcohol and the elements of roughness and non-conforming behaviour. The other element, the roles hotels have played as hubs of community, hosting business meetings and social events, was not acknowledged. Thames in its heyday had 100 hotels, mostly of the six guest room variety, and the image was of hard-drinking miners. However, as a local historian pointed out, the hotels were an important location for the bustling commercial culture of the town, along with the churches, lodges and fraternities, many initially formed in the hotel lounges. Similarly, the bold and brassy barmaids of gold rush Thames stuck to the image of staff (McNeish, 1957), and efforts to make Miss Waitress the equal of Miss Office and Miss Factory had limited success ("Better status for hotel waitresses," 1965). The importance of caregiving and the need for ambassadors did not reach the public consciousness. The other strand of the word, associated with the international brands since the 1960s, was also somewhat outside local experience. Mass travel moved more into public awareness, with most newspapers having dedicated travel sections and printing hotel reviews; however, there was a clear divide between those who were guests and those who were workers.

The legacy of the past could also be seen in the survival of some of the early hotels, such as the Leviathan Dunedin, Wains Dunedin, which become a Mercure, the first international branded hotel in Dunedin("Sailing Fiji hotel savings," 2005), Albion Auckland, the Junction in Thames, the Te Aroha hotels and Princes' Gate in Rotorua. The use of the word hotel remained attached to other survivors that became taverns providing only liquor service, such as the Windsor and the Exchange in Parnell and Brian Boru in Thames, the latter two now more licensed cafes than pubs. In other cases, the sites continued to be used as accommodation but

changed forms, for example, the Te Aroha Motel and the Millennium in Rotorua, both of which occupy the site of the first commercial accommodation in their respective locations.

8.5.5 Summary

The findings show that definitions of skill became formalised despite the general trend to deregulation. For accommodation, along with the rest of the hospitality industry, there was a strong link between migration requirements and perceptions of skill. This construction of skill relied heavily on both pay rate and qualifications to define and rank skill levels. Training for entry-level jobs requiring practical hands-on skills were placed on the lower rungs of the qualification framework, implying that these are less valuable than intellectual pursuits The requirement for flexible work, along with low pay rates, which the industry claimed were essential, positioned hospitality work as something to be moved through on the way to somewhere else, both physically and professionally. The prominence of students and working holidaymakers in the workforce reinforced this sense of transience. There was limited questioning of whether these conditions needed to exist and what constraints the industry faced, particularly regarding pay rates. The implications for the long-term development of accommodation provision was barely touched on at all. This related to the problems of managing accommodation supply and addressing other potential issues around tourism capacity management. These tended to be dealt with on a reactive basis to address immediate crises. The changing demand and desire for more authentic experiences and encounters was dealt with on a surface level not acknowledging the co-option of culture and the limits of this tolerance. Similarly, even the heritage of European settlement was presented as physical artefacts and locations without considering the social history embedded in these. In choosing to focus on global links and openness, New Zealand reinforced its position as "a people without songs", as Belich (2001) called the separation of the country from its own past.

8.6 Chapter Summary

The period from 2005 to 2015 showed the outcomes of the deregulation and opening to the world that occurred after the 1984 snap election. This was reinforced by the effects of the development of the World Wide Web from the mid-1990s. Tourism gained a more public acknowledgement of its economic importance; the position had not changed but the acknowledgement was new. Hotel development as a strand of property development also gained visibility in the period prior to the GFC. While many companies suffered because of tighter financial conditions and reduced ability to borrow post 2007, lending to hotel developers attracted particular opprobrium as finance companies collapsed. Although the commentary showed a deep north–south divide and a certain disdain for outsiders, in other

ways, it was very much of a piece with the discussions on government funding to support development in the 1960s.

The deregulation of employment and the breaking of the unions in the 1990s left a range of flexible working practices that did not enhance the status of hotel work. Although the major excesses of zero-hour contracts occurred in the fast-food industry, hotel work also attracted attention. The hotel industry became a prominent example of the emerging two-tier workforce, with long-term employment for a small group of management-level staff and insecure shift work for many front-line staff. Making the transition between these two tiers, traditionally a point of pride for the industry, became increasingly difficult. Even the managers were more likely to be cogs in large corporate machines, required to move regularly to build their career. The large capital requirements for modern accommodation meant that moving into ownership was less likely. Both of these patterns removed the ability to integrate and become a key element of community life.

The heavy reliance of the accommodation industry on international students and young travellers increased the perception of service work as something done by others – outsiders. It also reinforced the image of hotel work as temporary, done on the way to something and somewhere else. This also left the industry at the mercy of changes in immigration regulations. Despite tourism being a major economic contributor since at least the 1870s, the issues of accommodation supply and the provision of the appropriate workforce were still not being addressed in a structured way.

Chapter 9: Synthesis

9.1 Introduction

The aim of the research was to trace the evolution of the portrayal of hotel work and analyse the influence of this history on the current positioning of hotel work in New Zealand. As part of meeting this aim, the following objectives were sought:

1. Track the portrayal of hotel work in New Zealand media from 1890 to 2015.

2. Identify the changes in underlying values and attitudes:
    a. towards hotels work,
    b. in society itself.

3. Analyse the contingent factors and continuous influences within this dynamic system.

4. Identify the influences of these assumptions and this context on the positioning and behaviour of the modern hotel industry.

To arrive at a synthesis of the evidence, drawing together the elements described in each of the findings chapters, this chapter works through each objective to form a connected whole, an analysis of the influences of history on the current positioning of hotel work in New Zealand. Objective 1 presents a summary of the changes between the periods to track the evolution from 1890 to 2015 of the themes discussed in Chapters 5 to 8. The next section, reviewing the values and attitudes to address Objective 2, begins to draw in comparisons with the academic literature. From there the discussion of Objective 3 examines the ways these historical influences operate, and Objective 4 considers the impact of these influences on the current positioning of hotel work in comparison with the global experience described in literature and discusses the broader potential implications from this.

9.2 Objective 1 – Track the Portrayal of Hotel Work in New Zealand Media from 1890 to 2015

This section presents the overall evolution of each theme across the periods sampled, building on the evolution within each individual period from the thematic analysis presented in Chapters 5 to 8. From this, a summary of the developments in the portrayal of hotel work in New Zealand is given, with the links to theory being primarily discussed in this closing section.

9.2.1 Evolution by theme

9.2.1.1 Respectability

The evolutions within this theme are the morphing of the measure from respectability to professionalism and the increasing invisibility of staff. In the portrayal of hotel workers, the evidence shows a change in the measures of the worth and value of particular job roles and those holding them. The portrayal of hotels and hotel work has focused on the owners and managers, but staff were also expected to conform to these social structures.

As New Zealand moved out of the first phase of settlement, a new model of society began to emerge that placed a very high value on the concept of respectability (Belich, 2001, 2009). The evidence from 1890 to 1900 and 1920 to 1930 reveals that hotels were one of the places in which this new version of New Zealand society was constructed. The model of respectability presumed and accepted the idea of a social hierarchy but required enforcement of new social norms. Hotel proprietors were judged and positioned by their ability to enforce the required respectable behaviour.

Domestic service was positioned as a stepping stone to independence, a female equivalent of being a farm labourer (Andrews, 2009; Belich, 2001). Working for someone else enabled one to be a 'decent' person as opposed to the 'disreputable poor' who did not have set and steady employment fixed to one location. Hotel work shared some of the characteristics of domestic service and wage labour but potentially enabled those who worked hard, particularly men, to rise to respectability by owning their own hotel.

As capital requirements rose over time, it became more difficult to make this move from working for someone to being your own boss. This path was almost completely closed to women from 1889, although the evidence from 1890 to 1900 and 1920 to 1930 makes it clear that although their official position was 'wife of the proprietor', some women were effectively running the hotel. The change in ownership structure combined with the social impacts of two successive world wars also widened the gap between staff and management, making the transition into management or ownership more difficult.

The rising status of professions such as accounting and law with entry controlled by education also changed career paths and perceived prestige. The impact of this was somewhat muted in hotels, where managers were still expected to have operational experience. The early training schemes from 1965 were aimed at managers and chefs; training for front-line staff came later. By 2005, there was an expectation of post-secondary training for even front-line staff.

However, this did not entirely remove the perception of the job being something anyone could do.

The social structure, which had a legislative underpinning but largely relied on adherence and enforcement at an informal level that required a connected socially involved class, gave way to a formal structure after World War II. In some ways, the social compact between farmers, employers, unions and the government was the logical endpoint of the developing social norms. Given its origins as a response to social dislocation, it was reactive and had a built-in tendency to maintain the status quo. It did not respond well to external shocks or increasing global integration. The neo-liberal market-driven models that replaced it tried to be very transactional in their approach to structuring the labour market (Menz, 2005; Parfitt & Wysocki, 2012; Westwood & Lok, 2003). This led to a focus on formal qualifications as a route to professionalism and to denote status. This focus does not fit particularly well with hotel work, but the internal hierarchies described in reporting give higher prestige to roles with more white-collar elements, in which the New Zealand experience matches the U.S. research (Sherman, 2005) . The standardised model of performance brought in by the growth of multinational brands is also evident in the reporting. This links hotel work into the global employment market, particularly at management level.

This evolution is part of the emergence of hierarchies, both occupational and social, over the period. In fact, it also reflects the rise in prominence of occupational hierarchy as the dominant form of social hierarchy, the emergence of the so-called meritocracy – from being focused on personal characteristics and social actions in the first two periods to a very formal social compact in the post–World War II period that shattered into a purely professional hierarchy, with other characteristics such as personal integrity and community service being far less important. The findings demonstrate the role of prestige as a mediating variable to balance social norms and changing economic circumstances (Sawinski & Domanski, 1991; Treiman, 1977; Wegener, 1992).

From as early as 1890, hotel work was largely portrayed purely at the level of the proprietors. Other workers, such as dock workers, sailors and factory workers, appeared in newspaper coverage as they tried to improve their working conditions by striking. The Sweating Commission did consider shop workers and bar staff but did not look at domestic servants or their commercial counterparts working in the accommodation industry. The few mentions of hotel workers were largely focused on the bar side of the business and were often condescending, viewing the staff as prone to corruption and disrepute. The economic pressures that the staff were under and the degree of social distance between the housemaid and the lady guest did not factor into the reporting of mostly minor property thefts. Likewise,

social disapproval was poured on the barmaid, not her customers. By 1920, staff were portrayed as unavoidable automatons, who had to be managed and controlled. Not requiring staff was seen to make a business more desirable, both economically and by reducing risks. Workers were to be invisible, competently making things happen as if by magic. Economic pressure led to some staff running side businesses such as acting as bookmakers' agents, despite the risks involved and the social disapproval that was expressed. In 1890 and 1920, the discussion focused on social interaction and rule enforcement, showing there was a moral meaning attached to work as described by (Wolfe, 1997).

In the structured social compact of the post–World War II period, people become almost ciphers, spoken on behalf of. Managers were visible in 1985 mostly because of the strike, but staff were largely invisible through the whole period, with comment coming from the union representatives in the main. Hotel workers suffered particularly badly from the union-busting and casualisation of the late 1980s and early 1990s. Although hotels did not use the zero-hour contracts common in fast food, the nature of the work and the power imbalances between employers and workers accomplished much the same effect. With the focus on standardisation, there was negative comment about the "slightly manic but personable" (Churchhouse, 2010b) quality of service. As Allen and du Gay (1994) noted, services gained recognition and prestige as they more closely resembled manufacturing, and the inconsistencies of New Zealand hotel staff were portrayed as problematic.

9.2.1.2 Independence

The independence theme examined the ability to become your own boss, including the potential path from employee to owner. It traced the evolution of the industry from advertising of hotels for sale and lease alongside jobs advertisement along with the reporting directly on the structure. The ability to move from employment to ownership can be partly judged through a comparison of wages with purchase prices in advertising. This section first traced the evolution of the portrayal of the industry structure and then analysed the advertising.

The breweries noted rising capital requirements for 'tourist' hotels and the threat of prohibition as dating from the end of World War I, but the division between high-end hotels catering primarily to overseas visitors ('name' hotels) and the smaller establishments gathering locals ('the local') is evident from 1890. The name hotels can be regarded as the ancestors of today's multinational branded properties.

The major North Island destinations of Te Aroha and Rotorua acquired the majority of their name hotels by 1890. Rotorua had most of its stock – that is, Lake House in 1875 and the

original Palace in 1880, moving to Fentonville, what is now the current town centre of Rotorua – from approximately 1890, and the Grand Rotorua in the early 1900s. The Grand Auckland came later, as did the Cadogen, both being built early in the interwar period. By 1920, there were prominent tourist or society hotels in most main centres, and they featured in the society columns and guest lists published from 1920 to 1930. The bulk of the trade was smaller; Rotorua township had a hotel "on virtually every street corner" (Matthews & Matthews Architects Limited et al., 2007). Alongside the largely brewery-owned name hotels were the stock of tourist-focused hotels provided by the government in remote locations. The impact of the Great Depression and World War II left almost all the hotel stock somewhat rundown, and it was partly in response to this that the government-owned hotels were moved from the Department of Tourism to the THC. Alongside this, government-backed loan schemes were made available to private investors. Although non-licensed premises and the smaller 'local' hotels had always catered to the domestic travel trade, the divergence between international class and domestic product became even more noticeable after the 1962 removal of the accommodation requirement to be able to sell alcohol. The period from 1965 to 1985 saw investment to develop accommodation suitable for the increasing tourism demand after the arrival of larger aircraft, but also protest and resistance to the expenditure and changes required. The sale of the THC and general economic deregulation made the provision of high-end accommodation somewhat less contentious. In the boom years prior to the GFC, property developers were lionised. However, the view of hotels and other hospitality provision as frivolous came roaring back in the wake of the crisis, and investment in Auckland was viewed with particular scorn.

In the wake of the 1962 licensing changes, most of the locals moved out of the accommodation business to become taverns and bars. However, they faced stiff competition from the suburban booze bars built by the breweries. With the evolution of the cafe scene, some of these moved into that space and became focused on coffee. Those that stayed in accommodation are often portrayed as problematic and low rent unless they moved into exclusive, lodge-style provision.

In the advertising of hotels for sale or lease, in the earlier two periods there was disclosure of the investment required and often the annual trade figures. The advertising often included a description of the type of person the buyer should be. For 1890 to 1900, this focused on personal characteristics and the willingness to work to achieve success. By 1920, however, commercial experience, preferably in the hotel industry itself, was being required for leaseholds. As the structure of the industry changed, less information was given about the price and trade, and more emphasis was placed on the characteristics of the business in terms

of facilities and amenities. Large-scale properties were not directly advertised, although some of them were presented in advertorial form with the broker details included in the story. In all cases, there were limited opportunities for novice owners to enter the business and these tended to be concentrated in motels or small rural hotels.

Similarly, employment advertising traced a path from personal qualities to technical skills. The advertising in 1890 to 1900 and 1920 to 1930 took a very mechanistic view, wanting staff who were "useful" or "reliable", especially those who were available immediately. In 1945, when staff were scarce, the advertising focused more on appearing to be a desirable employer by stressing pay and conditions. This change in focus was related to the requirement for experience: the tighter the labour market, the greater willingness to train staff. This can be observed in the advertising in 1945, 2005 and 2015, whereas in 2010, in the wake of the GFC, employers preferred to hire experienced staff only and were very specific about the skills they required. Over all periods, regardless of market conditions, there was a greater willingness to train housekeeping staff, but from 1985 hotels showed a stronger preference for experienced staff in front office roles.

Although hotel workers' unions existed from the early 1900s, and by 1925 the national federation had enough strength to ensure awards were consistent in all districts and to enforce preference clauses, until 1945 it was still common for employment advertising to state wages. During the period of the social compact, advertising simply noted if an employer paid above-award wages. It is also worth noting that the early awards closely matched the wages offered in the previous advertising and particularly the differentials between roles. The awards appear to have captured the emerging internal hierarchy of hotel workers and then perpetuated and reinforced these hierarchies. Once blanket award coverage was removed in the 1990s, the pattern of disclosing wages had disappeared. This made it harder for employees to know what others were paid and easier for employers to hold rates down. This information asymmetry also prevailed in property advertising, and both of them were often justified on the basis of commercial sensitivity.

Real estate advertising is part of the positioning of the hotel industry within an institutional and occupational hierarchy. Employment advertising provides an insight into employer attempts to address issues of image and external perceived prestige. Despite the importance of wages and career path information to recruiting (McGinley et al., 2017), the evidence indicates that commercial sensitivity has been considered more important. The evolving portrayal in this theme confirms that as increasing capital requirements moved hotels out of the options for an independent living, they became less desirable as employers and as

institutions, illustrating the role of social norms in the building of occupational hierarchies (Treiman, 1977).

9.2.1.3 Power

This theme recorded the evolution of the power structures connected to the hotels as reported by the newspapers. The findings demonstrate the changing balance between formal legislation and social norms, the impact on power structures of the presence and absence of unions in the hotel industry and the role of education in enforcing professional closure and defining status for workers and managers.

Legislation always depends on social acceptance for part of its enforcement, but this balance shifted over the course of time for hotels. Legislation and social norms were relatively closely aligned in 1890 to 1900, with the possible exception of opening hours on the West Coast. By 1920 there was an expectation that licensing committees would enforce social norms beyond the legislation, such as by restricting the presence of women in bars, particularly as customers. The social compact of 1945 to 1985 was subject to both heavy legislative structuring and reinforcing social connections and expectations. This was the tightest expression of Belich's (2001) tight society, with a very high premium on conformity. There were strong connections between the employers and the unions, but the protection they offered was only for a narrow version of society, basically white family men. The deregulation of the early 1990s shattered many of these connections but left workers with no more power, either socially or legally. The current environment puts fewer expectations or social sanctions on employers but heavy expectations and requirements on workers.

As noted earlier, union formation began in the early 1900s, and therefore, the hotel workers' unions had a limited presence in the reporting on hotel work from 1890 to 1900. By 1920, they were one of many voices in the conversation. The social compact made them in many ways the voice speaking on behalf of workers for the period 1945 to 1985. However, particularly in the later part of that period, it becomes questionable how representative of the workers the unions' public face was. The union reps tended to be middle-aged white men and union policy was directed as much to retaining the unions' place in the social compact as it was to advancing the interests of their members. As Williamson (2016) noted, this produced a struggle inside the union that along with the dispersed nature of the industry meant the hotel workers' unions were poorly placed to cope with the union-busting efforts of the 1991 Employment Contracts Act. Therefore, in 2005 to 2015 hotel work and hospitality generally were non-unionised. Even some of the efforts to rebuild union representation were about rebuilding union presence in and of itself, and hospitality, including hotels, was viewed as an

"easy" location to do so (Treen, 2014). Up to the early 1990s the unions in general supported the need for a family wage, indirectly reinforcing a single view of the correct structure for society.

From being an open independency with no entry requirements beyond available capital and the willingness to work hard, hotels have moved to require specialist training for many positions, especially for those wanting to make the transition from front-line to management roles. In some ways, this is part of a broader movement to formal qualifications throughout Western society (Goldthorpe, 2013; Mandler, 2016). Hospitality education in New Zealand takes place across a range of providers and regulatory frameworks. The level of responsiveness to industry demands varies depending on provider type and therefore regulator, along with variation between individual providers. Similarly, the relationship between vocational and academic knowledge and their relative importance and contribution to individual and societal success is a point of continuing tension. Related to this is the positioning of disciplines within the hierarchy of education.

Despite calls from as early as 1945 (Royal Commission on Licensing, 1946) for vocational training to improve service quality and therefore economic performance, it took until 1965 for training institutions to emerge to supplement on-the-job training. The early focus was on chefs and management-level hotel staff. However, as the move to a knowledge economy took place, education generally became expected for all jobs. Therefore, hotel management developed from diploma- to degree-level qualifications, although in reporting on successful managers their experience is emphasised rather than education. Part of this is time lag; professions such as accounting and law have had qualification requirements for much longer, and prestige is slow to adjust (Sawinski & Domanski, 1991; Treiman, 1977; Wegener, 1992). The requirement for training and education can also address issues of perceived external prestige (Lynn & Ellerbach, 2017; McGinley et al., 2017), although the findings do not present evidence of hotels actively attempting to utilise this. However, the evidence does support the view that New Zealand has followed the trend of viewing higher education as a means of social mobility and the resulting rising education requirements for even entry-level roles (Goldthorpe, 2013; Mandler, 2016).

As noted above, in the context of the unions, the New Zealand social structure is portrayed as built around a model of a male breadwinner and the dominance of the European settlers and their descendants over other ethnic groups. This power structure has been embedded in the portrayal of hotel work just as it has been in all other areas of society, at least as viewed through the newspaper reporting. Women as workers were expected to be caregivers but at the same time their work was not regarded as important, either as income for their families or

as part of the functioning of the hotels, unless there was a failure or refusal to work. The findings illustrate the problems of gendered work (Washington et al., 2009) and the definition of skill (Stienberg, 1990) in determining the occupational hierarchy, with a circular relationship between low social power and low occupational status. The role of gender in hotel work and its position in the occupation hierarchy are discussed in more depth as part of Objective 3.

9.2.1.4 Silence

The theme of silence examined the evolution of the subtext behind what was reported, exploring what was left unsaid. Although media consumption is not uncritical (Meyrowitz, 2008), it is shaped by shared understandings and assumptions (van Dijk, 1993). Language and communication have the potential to change society, in their role of communicating power structures and in the reaction of the audience to those messages (Fairclough, 1992, 2010; Kogler, 2011) as well as how different groups are described and represented (van Dijk, 1993) Broadly, gender was a constant thread running through the subtext. Temperance moved from open discussion to unspoken influence over time. Questions about what constitutes skilled work moved between spoken and unspoken, intersecting with the role of education and migration policy. The role of tourism in the economy and what adjustments in local behaviour are appropriate to meet guest needs also transited in and out of view. As would be expected, the structures and issues in this theme bear a strong similarity to those in the power theme, given the role of media as representing the social elite (Fairclough, 2003; van Dijk, 1993).

In 1890 to 1900, despite the pivot to protein production and the increasing deference to Britain by New Zealand companies, there was still an assumption that, of course, the tourists would come, but not an acknowledgement of their economic importance. Tourism was viewed as part of the relationship to Britain, and tourism marketing was in part designed to encourage settlement. The interwar period and the modern (2005 to 2015) period shared an openness to the world and a sense of global connection but disorganisation in addressing the needs of tourism. The 1945 to 1985 era was notable for its inward focus and unwillingness to make accommodation meet the needs of tourists, dining and bar hours being notable examples. Although the contemporary reporting noted the importance of tourism income, the political and popular opinions alongside this often dismissed or discarded the importance. There was a desire for the income tourism could bring but an unwillingness to discuss and manage its impact.

In the first two periods, the issues of Māori and women in a hotel context were focused on the use of alcohol. In many cases the stories were virtually interchangeable: you could substitute women for Māori and vice versa and the stories would still fit with other reporting. From 1920

to 1930, the stories about women often had a strong eugenic undertone, the impact on future motherhood and fitness to raise children being raised as reasons to prohibit women working in or frequenting licensed venues. This undertone probably passed without comment at the time but is striking in hindsight. In discussions of unemployment in 1930, it was assumed families could and should support women and that women should not be taking jobs from men. In the era of the social compact, as noted, everyone was spoken on behalf of, usually by white middle-aged men. However, the inclusion of a sexual harassment clause in the Licensed Hotel Clerical Workers award of 1985 acknowledged that women's experience could be problematic and the existence of power differentials.

In the later periods, particularly 2005 to 2015, the discussion of race and racism as it intersected with hotel work focused on immigration policy and numbers. In this respect New Zealand shares similarities with Canada (Guo, 2015) and the U.K. (McCollum & Findlay, 2015). Although some groups of Māori were able to use Treaty settlements to move into ownership of even large properties, the industry still struggled to move Māori into management roles more generally. In the context of workers, the presence of international students and other immigrants from Asia drew popular ire. It is worth noting in the case of international students from China and India that the backpackers from Britain, Europe and Latin America, who are not as immediately identifiable, did not draw the same censure, despite working alongside the students. In this case, young Māori people were sometimes named as those disadvantaged by the presence of international students in front-line and entry-level hospitality positions, including hotel housekeeping.

As noted, access to and use of alcohol was a continuing thread and one of the elements of social hierarchy building in New Zealand. It was mostly accepted that Pākehā[20] men would use alcohol, although drinking to excess was somewhat frowned upon. For Pākehā women and all Māori, access to alcohol was viewed as undesirable, although for Pākehā women this was modified by wealth and status. Apart from the decade from 1920 to 1930, the key age of prohibition pressure, a well-to-do white woman was permitted a glass of wine, but no woman should be drinking spirits or remain in the bar. Poor women should not be allowed to drink at all and poor or unemployed men who drank were looked down on. The temperance movement's various attempts to prohibit or control drinking contributed very heavily to the New Zealand binge-drinking culture, notably the legacy of the six o'clock closing. This combined with social hierarchy to particularly condemn excess drinking in women or Māori

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[20] Pākehā is the Māori word used to describe those of European descent.

while partly excusing it for men. Despite the separation of liquor sales and accommodation, the image of accommodation providers as employers has also been tainted by this legacy.

The need for hard work in running a hotel was acknowledged and respected from 1890 to 1900, but as hotels moved out of being an independency this attitude was lost. In this period, the efforts of staff were also broadly acknowledged, especially when staff served for long periods, and the acknowledgement continued into the 1920 to 1930 period. A level of respect for hotel workers still existed at the beginning of the social compact because it was an essential job under wartime manpower regulations. Hard work as a virtue in its own right became more muted, and the skills of providing services were downgraded by a focus on manufacturing in the more closed trading economies after 1945. The fact that many hotel workers were women, especially in the roles driven by customer demand, in an era of family wages for a male breadwinner further marginalised hotel work. Similarly, a relatively flat hierarchy and expectations of moving locations to progress made hotel work slide down the occupational hierarchies. The descriptions of hotel work as something 'anyone could do' became more common after the deregulation of the early 1990s, but the groundwork was laid in the social compact era. Skills of care giving, sheer hard work and attention to detail were devalued in a non-manufacturing context.

9.2.2   Summary of overall evolution in portrayal of hotel work

While the overarching themes remained broadly consistent over all four time periods, there was some variation in the sub-themes and specific codes as shown in the network diagrams in Appendix 2. The changes in subthemes and underlying codes were more obvious in the Power and Silence themes and less dramatic in Respectability and Independence.

The evolution of Respectability and the attributes used to determine the positions of particular occupations in New Zealand show complex interaction of social and economic factors (Guo, 2015; Pietrykowski, 2017; Treiman, 1977). In the early stages of this evolution, the potential pathway to ownership offset the overtones of servility in hotel work. While the work of women, particularly the proprietor's wife, are evident in the reporting, these women tend to be written out of official history as described by Belich (2001). While neo-liberal models try to position work as purely a source of income, the evidence from the newspapers show it still retains a moral meaning in New Zealand context which will be discussed in more detail in Section 9.4

The decreasing privilege available to hotel workers is revealed in the thematic analysis people became less visible as individuals. Even the reporting about managers increasingly represented them as cogs in a large complex system rather than individuals. As is discussed further in

Section 9.3 of Objective 2, the social hierarchies changed to reflect neo-liberalism's desire to

	1890 to 1900	1920 to 1930	1945/65/85	2005 to 2015

equate all worth with occupation and resultant wealth (Menz, 2005; Parfitt & Wysocki, 2012) and none with social or personal connections and contributions. The exercise of power within hotels, as reported, appears to reflect the broader social power structure, with older white men holding power. The focus of whom was to be controlled changed. Women and Māori in the first two periods with a nasty side order of eugenics were the focus from 1920 to 1930. From 1945 to 1985, the social compact required everyone to conform to set expectations. Immigrants and the poor were the targets of power in 2005–2015. Overseas visitors have been positioned as important but simultaneously a nuisance when they would not conform to New Zealand social structures, their long-running complaints about mealtimes and food quality in hotels being a case in point. History as seen through the lens of hotels shows New Zealand as classist, snobby and insular, with hotels as venues where these tensions regarding correct behaviour play out. Tourism has been continually portrayed as a potential economic saviour but tourists have very definitely been 'other' and not entirely welcome ("£2,888,000 guaranteed by government towards hotel," 1965; "Licensing trade. Suggestions made: The union's evidence," 1945; McCracken & Lewis, 2010). Similarly, the follow-on requirements and need to plan accommodation supply have been ignored until they have become a crisis.

9.3 Objective 2 – Identify the Changes in Underlying Values and Attitudes

The evolving portrayal presented in the findings chapters and summarised above in part traces the changing nature of hotel work itself as the country grew and developed. But it also reveals social attitudes towards hotel work and the broader occupational hierarchy and social meaning of work. This section presents an analysis of the underlying values and attitudes exhibited in each of the periods surveyed. These values and attitudes include the meaning of work, how power and prestige were defined and enacted, the role of women in the workforce, the importance of business ownership, and the relationship between accommodation provision and the sale of alcohol, as summarised in

Towards hotel work	Hotels are an essential service Domestic work is not desirable Rising industrial brewing Women are not permitted to own or manage hotels	Structured hierarchy of workers codified in the award Rise of unions Domestic staff becoming less available Women no longer able to work in bars	Hotel proprietor or manager answerable for staff behaviour Transition from essential industry to low paid Union controls create barrier to part-time work Women able to hold licences from 1952	Managers becoming more common than proprietors Entry level Anyone can do, rite-of-passage role for young people Done by backpackers and international students High level of flexibility Glamour from travel
In broader society	Women are expected to marry and keep house Family comes first Stratified society Ownership of land or business is a priority	Emerging skills hierarchy Unemployment Increasing employment options for women High of the temperance movement – calls for prohibition	Social harmony by regulation Sectoral alignment	Personal choices determine success Work is a means to an end Wealth is most important

Table 36. Summary of values and attitudes

. The section closes with a summary of the evolution of these values and attitudes and their impact on the occupational hierarchy of New Zealand.

Table 36. Summary of values and attitudes

	1890 to 1900	1920 to 1930	1945/65/85	2005 to 2015
Towards hotel work	Hotels are an essential service Domestic work is not desirable Rising industrial brewing Women are not permitted to own or manage hotels	Structured hierarchy of workers codified in the award Rise of unions Domestic staff becoming less available Women no longer able to work in bars	Hotel proprietor or manager answerable for staff behaviour Transition from essential industry to low paid Union controls create barrier to part-time work Women able to hold licences from 1952	Managers becoming more common than proprietors Entry level Anyone can do, rite-of-passage role for young people Done by backpackers and international students High level of flexibility Glamour from travel
In broader society	Women are expected to marry and keep house Family comes first Stratified society Ownership of land or business is a priority	Emerging skills hierarchy Unemployment Increasing employment options for women High of the temperance movement – calls for prohibition	Social harmony by regulation Sectoral alignment	Personal choices determine success Work is a means to an end Wealth is most important

9.3.1   1890 to 1900

The attitude towards hotels and hotel work were somewhat confused during the period 1890 to 1900. The need for accommodation, particularly in the tourist districts, was acknowledged. Even in their pub role, hotels were an expected amenity; however, there was debate about the role of alcohol and need for control of its presence in society. The legislation of the decade was starting to focus on respectability and guarding the 'idealised family', setting expectations for both genders regarding participation in family life. The types of skills involved in hotel work were beginning to be devalued by their association with domestic service (Stienberg, 1990). Likewise, visibility of hotel workers was decreasing, particularly for married women, who were expected to focus solely on running their own households, their marital status effectively becoming their occupation. This positioned hotel work poorly in the emerging hierarchies, from having been a desirable and accessible form of independence in the early part of the decade to being both less available and less valued as numbers were limited in the later part of the decade.

The view of New Zealand history through the lens of reporting on hotel work still accords with the view of major historians (Belich, 1996, 2001; King, 2003). That is, through the legislation and the reporting of licensing committees, it is possible to see the tightening of control and the conscious efforts to enforce conformity or at least its surface appearance. There was a certain tolerance of transgression, such as after-hours drinking, so long as it was concealed. Here we can see habitus being built and adapted with certain paths of action being favoured; however, the very instability of the situation required creativity and innovation (Frere, 2011). The accepted model for New Zealand society, at this time, was of a stratified society but with a wider dispersal of what had previously been marks of privilege in the UK, where most of the settlers had come from. For example, the requirements for hotels to provide stabling for horses arose from the expectation that many guests would have access to horses for riding.

The definition of what constituted skill was beginning to be affected by the rise of industrialisation. This period marked the emergence of national breweries; both L.D. Nathan Ltd, now owned by Kirin, and some of the companies that would go on to form Dominion Breweries trace their origins to this period. The growth of population and transport enabled large-scale brewing to become economic, moving away from the publican brewing his own house beer. Similarly, domestic skills, such as preserving and kitchen gardens, were becoming less significant to household economies.

For the proprietors, and to some degree their staff, there were beginning to be social divisions and closure of groups by right of the lifestyle they could claim, as per Weber's (1968) model

reflecting rights of ownership and status symbols only available to members of particular occupational status groups. However, the primary bonds in New Zealand society at this stage were still mainly mechanical bonds, tying people to those doing the same job. Durkheim (1984) positioned this type of mechanical bond as typical craft guild, with industrialisation leading to organic bonds through which workers connected primarily to those on either side of them in the process rather than those in the same role. Proprietors worked to protect their interests against encroaching social legislation while also wanting to be seen to conform and participate in the desired social structuring. There was disapproval of backroom dealing, whether at the national political level or in business deals, such as the Auckland proprietors' nominations for licensing committees, in part because of the risk of losing the desired social coherence.

Newspapers also sought to position themselves as influential and arbiters of prestige and structure. Although partly an artefact of sampling, the smaller rural papers being less well preserved, the metropolitan newspapers sampled spoke very much with one voice. The clearest exception to this comment is *The West Coast Times*, which was much less critical of transgressive behaviour. The use of Press Association and wire coverage emerging in the period accounts for some of the similarity. The willingness to use this coverage without modifying it indicates not only economic pressure on the papers but a level of commonality of views. The shared coverage also gives a sense of smallness – of everyone in everyone's business and the whole country gathered around the parish pump. Hotels provided a venue where the illusion could be shattered in a society that was in transition and attempting to build stability. Therefore, they were subjected to tight controls, and proprietors and workers faced scrutiny of their actions. They had to be seen as guardians and gatekeepers separating polite society from its own demons, regarding the use of alcohol and the variance between the desired social roles and the impact of economic necessity, for example, the work of the hotel proprietor's wife.

9.3.2   1920 to 1930

During the period from 1920 to 1930, there was a clear hierarchy of occupations, with technical and skilled occupations ranked highly alongside farming in New Zealand. This ranking was somewhat different to Europe, and New Zealand did not have the divides of wealth and status that Europe experienced (Orwell, 2013). Owning and running one's own business was valued but more so in the craft trades that required apprenticeship than in an open independency such as a hotel. Within the hotel, the structuring provided by multi-employer collective wage agreements known as awards formalised the hierarchy of occupations, as least as expressed in wages and wage differentials between occupations within hotels (Tyree & Smith, 1978). These wage rate and status hierarchies favoured the kitchen, which had

elements of a craft trade with an apprenticeship structure, and the bar. Both of these areas were among the most tangible of the services (Allen & du Gay, 1994) provided in the hotel. They also tended to be male dominated. In the case of bar work, the ability to employ women was limited by law (Belich, 2001). This exclusion of women interacted with the social expectations of men providing for families and the concept of family wages to enhance and reinforce the prestige and pay of these roles. The roles of housemaid and waitress, which provided intangible but direct service to the guests, were less valued. Because they were primarily female roles, wages were presumed to be less important to household income despite this often not being the case. As early as 1920, those services that were able to mimic and model on manufacturing and have a degree of standardisation were able to gain a higher level of prestige and be seen as more 'real' (Du Gay, 1996).

Although union membership was not yet compulsory, the newspaper reporting implied that the unions had sufficient representative strengths to ensure adherence to awards and to enforce their preference clauses. In this way, they were able to build a level of mechanical solidarity (Durkheim, 1984) between workers performing the same roles across small and somewhat isolated workplaces scattered throughout New Zealand. In doing so, the union presence also enabled a clearer division between proprietors and workers, thus closing status groups (Weber, 1968). However, this was not the only model of employment relations in operation; smaller communities were attempting to maintain a more informal family-based relationship in which employees were protected not by formal awards but by tradition and community relationship on a craft or guild model (Du Gay, 1996)

The response to the unemployment crisis of this decade reveals some interesting perceptions of work, and its meaning and value in New Zealand at the time. The moves to place unemployed workers onto the land or into manufacturing showed that Adam Smith's (1976) views on wealth generation as had been captured in the Wakefieldian settlement plans still held sway in New Zealand, despite some writers, such as Fisher (1933 as cited in Allen & du Gay, 1994), pointing out the utility that could be produced by using workers in service roles or industries. Even though tourism as an industry was a major and growing area of economic activity and the need for accommodation provision to support it was acknowledged, it was not seen as a source of work. In fact, jobs in this sector could be portrayed as completely unsuitable for some classes of workers, such as war veterans, and although the reasons were not clearly stated, there may have been a perception that service work was beneath the dignity of these men. Although it was accepted that addressing the problems caused by unemployment was a collective responsibility, there was considerable resistance to payments

made without work being required to earn them. Contributing to the community and paying one's own way were highly valued. Part of the value of work was in making this contribution.

Questions were also raised about the difficulties of attracting and retaining domestic staff. These reports did not directly acknowledge the long hours, poor working conditions and level of control imposed on these workers, which were also imposed on hotel workers. In the 1920s hotel workers were still largely expected to live in and be available and answerable to their employers at all times. This expectation combined with the fact that hotel proprietors were held accountable for all actions and expected to supervise work closely left hotel workers with limited control and autonomy. This positioned hotel work as low level and with limited potential. Women were seen as less valuable and important as workers than men, but even for women office and factory work held more prestige. Retail also ranked above domestic service in the hierarchy. The comparison to hotel work was not drawn directly, but given the many similarities hotel work would have ranked only slightly higher than domestic service.

In summary, by deliberate choice this thesis has examined periods when dislocation of social structures occurred in order to identify the values of the periods as society tried to repair itself and accommodate change. In this case, multiple disruptions were played out: the impact of World War I itself and the adaptations to the absence of the men who served, and the return of those who survived, which occasioned another set of adaptations against a background of continuing economic disruption. The social expectations and resulting structures brought a certain level of rigidity and reduced social mobility when combined with the economic strictures of the decade. After the disruption of World War I, there was a distinct sense of the need to reimpose control and certainty. The arguments over prohibition, which had nearly carried before the men serving overseas were able to vote, showed the tension between freedom and control. Drinking was viewed as a possible source of immorality and threat to the family, which was held up as a treasured institution, but it was also viewed as a deserved reward for the sacrifices of the war years. Women's power here was acknowledged, as campaigners but particularly in their ability to change men's behaviour by withholding access to the social desirable state of marriage and family. For example, letter writers called for young women not to associate with men who drink. That either party might have ambitions other than marriage and family was not acknowledged. There was a general acceptance of the right to monitor others' behaviour and impose moral as well as legal standards.

Similarly to 1890 to 1900, there was a strong expectation of conformity to a limited set of social roles. However, the changing structure of the economy and increasing capital requirements moved hotel proprietorship into a more marginal role as a means of potential social mobility. The position of veterans and the appropriate work for them to take up was a

key issue of social mobility and valuing of occupations in the early part of the decade. In the later part of the decade, the impact of unemployment on social standing and the ways for the community to address the needs of the unemployed were obviously more important.

9.3.3   1945 to 1985

The period between 1945 and 1985 saw a fairly drastic change in the value accorded to hotel work. From being an essential occupation subject to manpower regulations during World War II, by the close of the period there was concern about job security for part-time workers and hotel work was being given as an example of low-paid work where workers needed special protection.

The Royal Commission of 1945 explicitly stated that managers were viewed as less desirable than proprietors. Concerns were raised that because most hotels were owned by breweries and managers were incentivised to sell beer, the accommodation side of the business might be neglected. A perception was also expressed that a manager, not having a direct financial stake in the business, would not be as diligent in taking care of guests. By 1985, the changing structure of the industry made owner-operators rare and managers were the accepted norm. The reporting on the 1985 strike, throwing managers back into operational work, implied that reliance on staff to provide the required quality of service was the expectation by 1985.

Although women were able to hold a licence in their own right again from 1952, and the Human Rights Commission Act of 1977 prohibited the use of gender as a criterion for hiring and promotion, women managers were still not common in 1985. In terms of staff, by 1965 the union was trying to improve the status of hotel waitresses by both negotiating for improved pay and trying to position them as tourism ambassadors, but conceding the higher status of office and factory work for women.

The prominence of the unions in the newspaper reporting of this period means that the changing face of the workforce was largely hidden. The union secretaries who tended to talk to the press were still mainly European men, despite the growing number of Pacific Island workers, particularly Pacific Island women. The union view was that race and gender were not relevant; maintaining union cohesion and standing was more important (Williamson, 2016). The separation of accommodation and the sale of alcohol and the move to have Māori wardens enforce the social norms regarding drinking by Māori meant that the portrayal of Māori as customers no longer intersected with reporting on hotels defined as accommodation providers.

As described in Chapter 7, the period between 1945 and 1985 was characterised by increasing regulation to maintain the appearance of sectoral harmony between farmers, employers, the unions and the government. In response to changing circumstances, both internal and external, the 1973 Industrial Relations Act loosened control somewhat by permitting direct negotiation between employer associations and the unions without necessarily involving the Arbitration Court. However, the imposition of the wage and price freeze in 1982 showed that the government was prepared to reimpose direct controls on the economy. The deregulation of the economy subsequent to the 1984 snap election fractured many of the surrounding social norms and structures and partly reordered the occupational hierarchy without completely removing the desirability of being one's own boss.

9.3.4   2005 to 2015

In the last period examined, 2005 to 2015, the prevailing attitude was that hotel work was something anyone could do and an entry-level position, despite comments by workers and managers that this was not true. Entry-level roles were acknowledged as a stepping stone to a career, and specifically cited in concerns about international students preventing young locals taking on these roles. Interestingly, there was a disconnect with where the stepping stone led to, with hotel management roles not necessarily seen to follow on from the entry level. Managers who had succeeded, especially in international roles, were accorded prestige but the path to arrive there was not. Similarly, property developers in the hotel space were celebrated when they were successful and vilified for failure even if this was beyond their control, as was the case during the GFC.

Race and gender were considerably less visible in the newspaper reporting between 2005 and 2015. Careful observation shows that women managers were still less common than men, although their ability was not questioned as it was in the earlier periods. Academic research has shown that gender can be a barrier to advancement in the hotel industry (Mooney, 2007), but this was rarely acknowledged in the reporting. There was token representation of Māori as owners, and this was occasionally mentioned in discussions of potential opportunities for Māori young people to advance. As noted earlier, job opportunities being lost to Māori youth was sometimes cited as a reason to prevent international students and backpackers from being able to work during their stay. Discussions on low wage rates and wage inequity were generally more focused on fast-food than hotel work and generally linked to young workers (Poulston, 2009; Poulston & Jenkins, 2013) rather than race or gender.

Education and wealth had become the major elements of building prestige and determining the position of occupations in the hierarchy, as could also be seen in the UK (Goldthorpe,

2013; Mandler, 2016). Similarly, the occupational hierarchy had become the dominant hierarchy in New Zealand society, reflecting the rise of the neo-liberal ideology in the country (Menz, 2005). Because of the historic influence of the reasons for settlement, occupations that allowed for self-employment ranked higher than they might have in other societies, but this was still modified by a wealth effect.

9.3.5 Summary

Although the modern perception of hotel work in New Zealand has been heavily influenced by the requirement for social distance (Kensbock et al., 2014) and resemblance to unpaid domestic work (Washington et al., 2009), this has been modified by the persisting historic value of being one's own boss. This perception is illustrated in the reporting of those who have achieved this goal and made a success of the business (Eleven, 2010; Gibson, 2005a). Similarly, managers benefit from the perceived prestige of travel, overseas experience and the requirements for a reasonably high level of education (Goldthorpe, 2013; Tuna et al., 2016). The experience that enables a manager or owner to be successful is seen as valuable once it is completed but the process of attaining it is positioned as entry level and unskilled.

Prior to the deregulation of the late 1980s, hard work was viewed as valuable in its own right, but the neo-liberal attitude to work as a means to an end now appears to hold sway in New Zealand. However, work still has a moral value (Wolfe, 1997), with a failure to support one's self being seen as a personal fault. The populist compact between employers, unions and government from 1945 to 1985 largely rebuilt the mechanical bonds (Durkheim, 1984) by means of union membership. These were broken again by the restructuring of the economy, with no replacement bonds, either organic or mechanical, having formed as yet. However, the desire for social harmony and aversion to economic insecurity persists. This tension with the idea of all value being determined by wealth and the desire for harmony and security can be seen as defining New Zealand attitudes to occupations.

As the possibility of moving from hotel worker to owner-manager became more unlikely, hotel work, never particularly prestigious, tumbled further down the emerging hierarchies. The employers' requirement for flexibility and resultant uncertainty for staff, which means that few hotel positions are able to prove economic security, even as a secondary income, reinforces the lower occupational ranking. The consolidation of hotel ownership and replacement of owner-operators by managers also did not help, despite the rising requirement for formal qualifications from the 1960s.

9.4 Objective 3 – Analyse the Contingent Factors and Continuous Influences within This Dynamic System

This section delves into the mechanisms by which the influence of history operates in the context of hotel work in New Zealand. After reviewing the concepts used to frame this, it presents each of the four main continuities emerging from the analysis to this point and how they interact with the contingencies. From there, the role of the meaning of work and the occupational hierarchy in transmitting these influences is described.

In addressing this research objective, it is useful to briefly review the definitions of the two concepts 'continuities' and 'contingencies', which are drawn from Gaddis (2002). Continuities are patterns that recur with sufficient regularity that they can be expected to continue for the foreseeable future. These patterns, such as birth rates declining with economic growth (Gaddis, 2002) or division of labour leading to the formation of occupational hierarchies based on power and privilege (Treiman, 1977), enable generalisation about human experience. Contingencies do not form patterns because they are unpredictable prior to their occurrence. They can derive from a sensitivity to initial conditions, the varying interactions of continuities or the actions of individuals, and can only be understood in retrospect. The action of contingencies can be explained but not predicted, which is the reason that experience can only ever be an imperfect guide to the future. Table 37 summarises the continuities and contingencies identified from the findings and analysis of the thesis.

Table 37. Continuous and contingent influences on the position of hotel work in New Zealand

Continuities	Contingencies
Arcadian myth and desire for social harmony Role of women Influence of temperance Antagonism to tourism/tourists	Labour market conditions Degree of reliance on regulation to enforce social norms

9.4.1 Myths of settlement - the search for Arcadia

For New Zealand history generally, there has been an obvious dependency on initial conditions given the comparatively brief duration of human settlement. The country's geographic location heavily influenced the timing of its discovery by both Polynesian and European navigators. The remoteness and relationship to the prevailing wind patterns means it was one of the last discoveries for each group (Belich, 1996; Fairburn, 2006). The other influence gifted by geography is climatic variability, which rewards adaptability over the building of strong local traditions (Giuliano & Nunn, 2017). For European settlers, the timing also meant that Australia and the US as well as Britain provided cultural influences. Fairburn (2006) argued that the distinctiveness of New Zealand culture is its hybridism of these influences adapted to suit

circumstances, and this adaptability and openness goes some way towards explaining the lack of strong local traditions.

European settlement of New Zealand was driven in part by publicity, propaganda and myth (Belich, 1996; Fairburn, 1989; Moon, 2007). As Belich (1996) noted, initially New Zealand lacked the pull factor of chain migration, nor was success certain enough for economic improvement to push potential immigrants, especially in light of the dangers of the long sea voyage. This made the role of publicity in creating images and expectations even more important. The Victorians were not unsophisticated consumers of advertising; they knew 'puffery' when they saw it (Belich, 1996). However, the sheer volume of agents' pamphlets and promotions along with editions of letters home formed a powerful influence. The supposed benefits of New Zealand also formed a direct contrast to the problems of progress that were beginning to emerge in the 1840s and 1850s. The great industrial cities of Britain held great potential, but the rewards were unevenly spread and there was great want in the midst of plenty (Belich, 1996; Fairburn, 1989). This created a receptive audience for the vision of a clean land of farmers and craftsmen promoted by Wakefield and the other promoters of settlement, turning the clock back to before the Industrial Revolution (Moon, 2007). Referred to as Arcadia in reference to Greek mythology, this was supposed to be a place where hard work was rewarded with economic security and social harmony (Belich, 1996; Fairburn, 1989). Although this was not necessarily true, as less-edited selections of settlers' letters show, the myths did create "a prospectus New Zealand was considered obliged to fulfil, a history written in advance" (Belich, 1996, p. 279).

Although planners such as Wakefield wanted to return to an imagined golden age (the Arcadian myth) (Moon, 2007) and the settlers did not entirely disagree (Belich, 1996; Fairburn, 1989; Moon, 2007), the reality was that New Zealand was always going to be a developed economy with the division of labour driving the hierarchy. This means that one continuity in the story of New Zealand hotel work is that a hierarchy of occupations would inevitably emerge (Treiman, 1977). A small population would limit the level of specialisation possible (Fairburn, 2006) and for a considerable part of New Zealand history the desire for social harmony would block some of the paths for accumulating power and privilege, but the hierarchy that emerged is not vastly dissimilar to that of other economies. The resistance to the formation of a tight class (Belich, 2001) and the tendency to adopt class markers rather than promotion between classes modified the hierarchy, as did the favouring of occupations that have a path to ownership.

9.4.2 Role of women - gender and status

On the time scale of the total project (1890–2015), the role of women can be regarded as a continuity as per Alesina, Guilano, and Nunn (2010) model, New Zealand being a plough based society with women's roles typically being more domestic based. However, the negotiation between tradition and current need was contingent on labour requirements and social conditions. The findings of this thesis provide a range of examples of this negotiation. In the decade 1890 to 1900, New Zealand had just emerged from a period when there was an intense need for labour to establish farms and businesses, so women had been able to step outside traditional household roles. As growth slowed and the economy took on a new role of supplying protein to Britain, women were expected to return to domestic roles, and this was portrayed as the ideal structure for society. This pattern of women being expected to return to domesticity was repeated after both world wars. Although women were able to secure some degree of agency as voters and some protection in labour legislation during the 1890s, the notion of a family wage and explicit attempts to exclude women from some types of work and social situations simultaneously tried to limit their power in society. In hotels they were expected to be commercialised versions of this idealised domestic self, providing food, welcome and care. This was mentioned favourably in reviews; women who proved themselves capable managers were more of a dilemma. Although it is possible to catch glimpses of women with agency successfully running their own businesses, such situations were reported with disapproval. Women were expected to be competent but not too competent. After each of the world wars, women were expected to return the majority of employment roles to men, thus limiting their choices to a smaller range of occupations. Planners of early settlement, such as Wakefield, envisaged a considerable apprenticeship as domestic servants for working-class women before they married and moved into helping their husbands set up independent businesses or farms. Since many of the single women who came to New Zealand were actively trying to avoid work in domestic service, as other choices in factories and retail came available, these were preferred.

There was also a tension between women as agents of virtue in a domestic context and the risk of their corruption, or being a source of 'temptation' to men if they stepped outside it. The hotel barmaid was a particular example of this, as adding grace but also temptation, and from 1911 barmaids were banned unless they were a member of the owner's family. The expectation Biswas and Cassell (1996) noted of mothering by housemaids and flirtation by other female staff formed early, but the women were expected to manage this very carefully and any misstep was blamed on the woman. It would take until 1985 for there to be formal acknowledgement of the power men held and that this could be abused as harassment of

female front desk staff. Women were actively excluded from formal management roles between 1889 and 1952, and are still struggling to regain the lost ground. From Mrs Silk, successfully running the Leviathan Hotel and investing in mining in the 1890s, to the Gains sisters and Marlene Poynder, opening general manager of the two Hilton properties in Queenstown, it has been a long road. In the modern era, few women managers appeared in newspaper reporting and most of those mentioned were in the functions area, housekeeping or in marketing, and only a few general managers. This pattern of women being limited to certain roles has been described in literature both for hotels (Mooney & Ryan, 2009; Mooney, Ryan, & Harris, 2017) and in the labour market generally (Elkins, 2015). Despite 20 years of efforts to increase the number of women in top roles, the glass ceiling still holds women in middle management, made worse by the fact that the areas where women gather, such as human resources and marketing, are not usually the areas from which general managers are promoted (Powell & Butterfield, 2015).

9.4.3   The influence of temperance - industry structure and status

For hotel workers, the celebration of the domestic ideal ironically devalued the position of those who provided the same services in the commercial realm. The idea of a family wage positioned women's work as secondary. The internal hierarchy of the hotel was based on the male-dominated roles, and the awards then codified the wage differentials and status. Domestic service in a commercial context was acceptable while it could lead to ownership. Hard work and continuity of employment was valued until late in the social compact era. The fall of the status of hotel work started with the rise of the breweries and the resulting rise in the use of managers.

The rise of industrial brewing, rather than each hotel making its own beer, had started by 1890, and the breweries grew in size as storage and transport technology improved. Breweries had always owned hotels but tended to mostly lease them out for operation. However, with the passage of six o'clock closing in 1917 and the rising threat of complete prohibition, existing lessees requested reductions in rentals and it became difficult to find people willing to invest money in buying or leasing hotels. This was further compounded by the need for larger, better equipped hotels, meaning the capital at risk became higher and therefore more difficult to raise. This led to the consolidation of the brewing companies to form a virtual duopoly, New Zealand Breweries and Dominion Breweries, and the increasing use of managers rather than proprietors. Being a manager ranked lower on the occupational hierarchy in New Zealand than owners, so hotel work moved down the hierarchy and has not recovered with the rising status accorded to management in other areas; hotel managers have both lower average salaries

than other managers and less likelihood of being recommended as a career path (Michael Page Recruitment, 2019).

It is one of the ironies of New Zealand history that the successes of the temperance movement, dedicated to controlling or abolishing 'the demon drink', actually increased brewery control of both accommodation provision and the sale of liquor. Similarly, the early closing may have sent men home to their families at 6pm but at the price of encouraging a binge-drinking culture, or more accurately, reviving one that had largely died out. The previous culture of hard drinking had been that of the crews of progressive settlement, the navvies, miners and foresters, who had a not entirely undeserved reputation for drinking and fighting (Belich, 2001; Fairburn, 1989). However, as early as 1860 drinking among the crews was starting to decline, as were arrests for drunken behaviour (Belich, 2001). The men who had made up the crews either left New Zealand as the work was exhausted or married and became part of settled society. Nevertheless, the tension between the norms of the settlement phase and the Arcadian myths and norms of settled society play as a continuing undercurrent in the story of hotels and hotel work in New Zealand.

The main influence is in the linking of accommodation to the sale of alcohol for most of New Zealand's history. From 1881, at least six sleeping rooms had to be provided in order to obtain a licence to sell alcohol. This would persist until 1962, despite calls from as early as 1945 to separate the two functions, citing both the mismatch between accommodation provision and demand due to licences being fixed within districts, and questions about the quality of service being provided. Concerns that accommodation did not meet the standards required by international guests were reported in all periods surveyed, and the 1945 Royal Commission questioned whether many hotels even met the needs of domestic travellers, or indeed drinkers. The police comments to the commission on 'vertical' drinking, where drinkers could only stand, is telling of an attitude that drinking was something people should not be doing and they definitely should not be permitted to enjoy it. Although accommodation provision and drinking have now been separated, there is still a view of hotel work as not entirely reputable because of the possibility of unruly customers and also ideas that could potentially disrupt social harmony.

9.4.4 Antagonism to tourism

This links to another continuity, a degree of antagonism towards tourism despite its undeniable importance to the economy. The Arcadian myth, with its focus on settled hard work and social harmony in a tight-knit community, does not provide much space for outsiders, especially those in search of leisure and relaxation. This leads to the questioning of

the appropriateness of government involvement in tourism, particularly in the social compact era of 1945 to 1985. The evidence from the thesis research also shows an expectation that tourists would take what they were given and be grateful for it. The latter runs from comments justifying the quality of food in the 1890s to dinner hours until the removal of early closing in 1967 and defence of service standards in the present.

The most recent period shares with the interwar years an acceptance of the consumption of luxury goods such as tourism. There was higher visibility of those who had the means to consume luxury products, for example, in the interwar years, the general emergence of guest lists in major metropolitan dailies as well as at the tourist resorts themselves. This included reporting of those travelling to high-end resorts, such as the Chateau Tongariro, which was out of reach for the majority of the population. This consumption was not as marked as it was in the US or UK but represented an understandable reaction to World War I – people "looking for new ways to mend a broken world" (Moon, 2011, p. 145). In the reporting of social news such as guest lists, there was a definite sense that life was short and enjoyment deserved in light of past trials. Similarly, in the latest period, despite concern about inequity, there was a certain level of buy-in to the idea of wealth as virtue, and luxury goods were not just aspirational but achievable if only you were willing to work hard enough. Despite this, there was still resistance to changing to a more structured service style and any failed investments attracted scorn. In the other two periods, but particularly in the era of the social compact, although those who could consume luxury goods were visible, there was more pressure in favour of equality. In the case of tourism, this led to an emphasis on providing motels available to New Zealand families rather than hotels to serve international visitors.

9.4.5 Summary

Driven by the reason people came to New Zealand, work acquired a strong moral meaning and was required to be a member of the community; failure to work was to break the social compact, as Wolfe (1997) described. This can be seen in the discussions of the impact of unemployment on social standing and the ways for the community to address the needs of the unemployed during the Great Depression. Prior to the Great Depression, as is the case today, it was assumed by the community that those who were not in work were lazy or otherwise at fault. Letter writers described those out of work as "indolent" or "loafers who would not take work" ("Unemployment," 1929; "The Unemployment Act," 1930). For most of New Zealand's history, steady employment was as important to personal status as the exact occupation, which meant long-serving hotel staff could occupy positions of prestige within their local community. The deregulation of employment conditions after 1984 and "the replacement of an egalitarian social culture with the celebration of income and social inequity" (Menz, 2005,

p. 51) only reinforced the view that poverty was due to poor personal choices. For example, Graham, Stolte, Hodgetts, and Chamberlain (2016) uncovered that the New Zealand health professionals' focus on education to improve nutrition ignored the fact that people could not afford better food. Similarly, academic literature has revealed a social expectation that food provided to those in need should not be enjoyable in terms of either taste or experience (Graham, Hodgetts, Stolte, & Chamberlain, 2017; Lindberg, Whelan, Lawerence, Gold, & Friel, 2015)

The building of New Zealand's occupational hierarchy was influenced by both the persistent settlement dream of social harmony and economic security and the meaning of work this created. Farming has retained a level of influence beyond its economic contribution, and prestige, particularly in the form of retained power, has operated to maintain the order expected by social norms (Sawinski & Domanski, 1991; Wegener, 1992). Hotels are also part of the history of cities in a country that wants to see itself as rural, including using quotas between 1881 and 1945 to maintain the power of rural electorates (Atkinson, 2003) and the status of farmers as distinctive partners in the social accords between 1945 and 1985 (Belich, 2001). The values and attitudes out of New Zealand history, particularly the building of the meaning of work, has driven the combination of power and privilege to generate the prestige underlying occupational hierarchy (Treiman, 1977). Similarly, the lack of desire for class or social distance helps explain the 3B (boat, bach, BWM) model of business; business owners want to achieve enough to claim or adopt selected markers but have limited motivation to move beyond this (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2007). The aversion towards economic insecurity has meant that as the path to ownership closed from the 1920s, the status of hotel work has tumbled. Prior to this, the potential path to business ownership was able to counter balance the requirement for servility, or the perception of hotel work as in some way feminine.

The desire for economic security, along with the neo-liberal emphasis on success, has also driven the internal occupational hierarchy of hotels. Managers with education and travel behind them hold a moderate external status as well as being at the top of the internal hierarchy of the hotel. Staff with roles likely to be full-time and that have a path into management occupy the middle ground. The functional areas dominated by contingent work and susceptible to outsourcing rate the lowest (see Knox, 2011; Sherman, 2005). The newspaper reporting and job advertising show little indication of a pathway from contingent to permanent or of potential career pathways. In part, this is because this pathway is indeed closing because of the reliance on part-time workers (Knox, 2011; Poulston, 2009; Sherman, 2005) and the difficulty of moving between types of employment (Buonocore, 2010; Edralin,

2014). However, the remaining possibility is not communicated despite literature showing the importance of this to recruitment (McGinley et al., 2017). The aversion to economic insecurity inherited from the history of settlement, especially given the importance of paid work to social connections, has reduced the privilege of hotel work in a New Zealand context. Combined with the lack of power inherent in producing social distance in service, this means that hotel work no longer ranks as prestigious given the removal of the path to ownership.

In tracing the influence of history on the current positioning of hotel work, continuities are the myths of settlement, the role of women, and the impact of initial link between accommodation provision and the sale of alcohol, combined with a degree of antagonism towards tourism. How these factors expressed themselves in each period depended on general economic conditions and the strength of the labour market. The history of settlement and the reasons people came to New Zealand have given a very particular meaning to work as a social activity. The occupational hierarchy reflects a preference for ownership, with hotel work having lost the potential to realise this goal through the actions of the temperance movement. Hotel work did not have other sources of prestige to draw on and the deregulation of the labour market removed the last vestiges of economic security and social connection. The discussion of Objective 4 that follows describes how these continuities and contingencies have influenced the current positioning of hotel work in New Zealand.

9.5 Objective 4 – Identify the Influences of These Assumptions and This Context on the Positioning and Behaviour of the Modern Hotel Industry

Objective 4 examines the current position and behaviour of the hotel industry in New Zealand described in Chapter 8 to identify how the continuities and contingencies described in Objective 3 operate. The present position of the New Zealand industry is compared to both global and New Zealand academic literature to identify where the influences of history can provide an explanation of the outcomes seen. From there, possible solutions to improve recruitment and retention of hotel workers in New Zealand are suggested.

9.5.1 History to positioning and behaviour

From the myths of settlement and resulting meaning of work, the findings of this thesis suggest that New Zealand has built an occupational hierarchy that favours ownership and working for oneself, with special privilege accorded to those who work the land. The modern equivalent of the craft guilds rank next and other open independencies come lower again. The desire for social harmony and limited distance in social hierarchies disfavours occupations that require social distance, particularly in a service context. Locations where social disharmony

and dispute could potentially occur are also not favoured places to work. Hotels as places for strangers, and with their past link to the sale of liquor, labour under this shadow. Hotel ownership, by individuals, still holds a certain level of prestige and the hard work required is seen as virtuous (Harris, 2015a; O'Connor, 2015). Long-term domestic service was similarly something the original settlers were trying to avoid, despite the celebration of domesticity in the family home (Belich, 1996, 2001; Fairburn, 1989). Hotels, especially the bars, were seen as no place for women. Women were never banned as guests, though not for lack of trying ("Conduct of hotels," 1930b; "Conduct of Wellington hotels," 1925; "Women in hotels," 1925), but they were banned as bar workers for nearly 50 years. Hotel managers were expected to police guest behaviour to ensure there was no disruption of social harmony.

As the evidence presented in Chapter 8 shows, in this period, hotel work was portrayed in New Zealand media as largely entry level, low skilled and dominated by students and other itinerant workers. Newspaper interviews with hotel general managers described their career progression, but the hiring advertising gave little indication of this possibility. The positioning of staff roles in the media followed the internal hierarchy described in global academic literature (Baum, 2011; Sherman, 2005), focusing on the glamour roles in front office, but even here the career path was not immediately evident to the reader.

This is important because the first step in recruitment is to attract potential employees, including those who may not have direct experience of the industry. McGinley et al. (2017) provided a useful model of the criteria people utilise in considering applying for a role in an industry they do not have direct experience of, citing factors such as perceived pay rates, career advancement opportunities and work–life balance. Comparing these factors to New Zealand reportage as a potential source of information for recruits uncovers some interesting points. With regard to pay rates, there is a strong information asymmetry in that the pay rates are rarely included in advertising, as discussed in Section 9.2.1.2. Pay rates are typically no longer included in employment advertising, meaning there is limited information for potential recruits, other than the generalised description of the industry as "low paid". As noted earlier, career progression was often absent in advertising and reportage. The other constraint McGinley et al. (2017) noted concerns expectations and perceptions of work–life balance. Here the stories particularly highlighted the opposite, describing long hours and sacrifice of personal life. The hiring advertising stressed the need for flexibility from potential employees and had little mention of how the hotel would enable employees to meet commitments outside work (Collins, 2005).

In terms of career path, the interviews with students and recent graduates ("NZMA student takes hospitality award," 2005; "WelTec certificate just the ticket," 2005; "What career would

you rather have," 2005) cited in Chapter 8, focused on the opportunity to travel, supporting Adler and Adler's (2004) categorisation of seekers positioning hotel work as a means to an end. Even interviews with successful managers emphasised the need to travel. Although the number of local managers means New Zealand's hotel industry is not as extreme as Crick's (2008) Caribbean examples in terms of the divide between expatriate managers and local staff, the newspaper reporting portrayed an industry in which progress in one place was unlikely to be possible. Similarly, the reporting showed that the divide between managers and other workers, as described by Knox (2011) and Sherman (2005), existed in New Zealand. In some cases, industry advertising itself served to reinforce the division ("Executive housekeeping positions," 2005).

The external portrayal of hotel work, from the findings of this research, showed it as entry level and low skills but was vocal if there were any service failures (Keating, 2015). Those within the industry tried to explain the skills involved, but such pieces were relatively rare and may not have been noticed. Roles on the front desk and concierge were positioned as glamorous (Mackay, 2010; Mulligan, 2015; "Stirling effort," 2005), but the aesthetic and emotional labour required to perform successfully were not acknowledged, thus confirming the global experience (Baum, 2006, 2008; Kensbock et al., 2014; Washington et al., 2009). By providing a more casual relaxed style of service rather than entirely adopting the overseas standards (Churchhouse, 2010b), New Zealand hotel staff made subtle protest against the commodification and standardising of staff.

The portrayal of chefs and managers in the hotel sector conformed to Williamson et al.'s (2009) experience in the restaurant industry, with other staff rarely being named. The exceptions were mostly in the glamour roles and tended to be young, attractive and European, creating an aesthetic barrier (Baum, 2008). Staff of other ethnicities tended to be held out as tokens or positioned as successful in spite of ethnicity (Kinita, 2013). This portrayal of a young workforce reinforced the impression that hotel work was not a long-term career option. This was in part about aesthetic requirements but it also contributed to the lack of age diversity noted by Poulston and Jenkins (2013), where hotel work is portrayed as not suitable or desirable for older workers.

As employers, the hotel industry requires flexibility from workers but puts little effort into creating the ability for workers to balance work and other elements of their lives (Collins, 2005). Although part of this is due to the 24/7/365 nature of the industry and fluctuating demand, other industries sharing these characteristics provide better work–life accommodation (McCollum & Findlay, 2015). The story the industry tells itself is very much that if you cannot work the hours you should not be in the industry, both in the findings of this

research (Gibson, 2005a; O'Connor, 2015) and in academic literature (Mooney & Ryan, 2009; Robinson et al., 2015). However, as McCollum and Findlay (2015) pointed out in their UK based research, the availability of workers who will tolerate these conditions limits the necessity of employers changing their behaviour. In the case of New Zealand hotels, the availability of international students has created a pool of workers who are used to lower wages (Fallow, 2015). The industry has an expectation that these workers should be available to them as of right, especially at peak periods, creating problems with employee supply when visa conditions change but limiting the pressure on employers to address pay rates and working conditions(see for example, Bradley, 2015; Roxburgh, 2015; Williams, 2015b).

The portrayal of hotel work in the New Zealand newspaper reporting is very guest centred unless labour shortages or retention are the direct focus of the reporting. Potential employees are rarely considered an audience for the communications. In an environment that has a strong bias towards social harmony and economic security, this is unlikely to be attractive. There will always be those who take roles because of economic necessity (Green, 2015b), but this is unlikely to build a committed workforce. Despite academic research in New Zealand and abroad on the importance of building trust and communication (Brien et al., 2015; Brien et al., 2017; Mooney et al., 2016; Moshin et al., 2013; Santhnanam et al., 2017), the view from outside the industry as described in newspaper reporting and recruitment advertising does not seem to indicate that this is happening.

The New Zealand based academic research has identified specific issues within the broader global context. The work of Brien and his collaborators (Brien, 2004b; Brien et al., 2013, 2015; Brien et al., 2017) has identified that New Zealand hotels in the neo-liberal context appear to be lacking organisational social capital. The evidence from history illustrates that one of the reasons this situation developed is due to the expectations of an externally enforced social harmony. Where this social harmony and resulting social connections are provided, workers will stay either with a single organisation (Harris, 2009) or within the hotel industry (Mooney et al., 2016). Similarly the prominence of chefs (Williamson et al., 2009) in reporting and reviewing is in part due to their position as owner of the business or the perception that it is possible for chefs to move into this coveted ownership role. While women generally struggle to move into management in all industries (Elkins, 2015) the impact of women having been banned from being hotel managers up until 1952 tends to be overlooked. Similarly the impact on external perceptions of hotel work due to the tight linkage to the liquor trade until 1962 has not been considered in the New Zealand research on hotel recruitment and retention of staff. However, (Williamson, 2016) points out that concentrated ownership by the breweries and the close relationships between the breweries and the unios may have made it possible

for new owners in the deregulated era to demand maximum flexibility from a workforce used to a partnership model.

The desire for social harmony and the history of the populist compact of 1945 to 1985 between unions, employers and the government have left an expectation that employees will maintain the obligations to sustain social harmony, but the reciprocal burden on employers no longer holds. The hotels are driven by operating in a global market and, in most cases, as parts of multinational chains, expected to conform to standard operating procedures (Churchhouse, 2010a). That these operating processes are drawn from mass manufacturing models and may need to be updated is only beginning to be discussed. These processes tend to create a very mannered style of service and a clear social distinction (Baum, 2006; Kensbock et al., 2014) that creates discomfort in New Zealand (Churchhouse, 2010b). The positioning of hotel work in New Zealand's occupational hierarchy has taken a double hit because of the domestic overtones and resultant low pay along with the lack of a path to ownership or other forms of prestige.

9.5.2 Possible solutions

Potential solutions to help New Zealand hotels to recruit and retain staff range across a number of areas, as summarised in Table 38 below. All are driven by the underlying desire for social harmony and economic security derived from New Zealand's history and the desire to be independent and own a piece of land, although in most cases land is now in the form of residential property. Some of these solutions can be addressed within a single hotel; others will require collaboration within the hotel industry or in the broader tourism context.

Broad tourism issues regarding the role of tourism in the economy and the social as well as environmental impact suggest there is a need for better planning and improved communications with the host populations. The importance of consulting with communities as part of tourism planning (Jamal & Getz, 1995; Simmons, 1994), increasing recognition of the broad range of social impacts on host communities, such as overcrowding and increasing prices for service (Tovar & Lockwood, 2008) and potential damage to heritage and built environment (Haley, Snaith, & Miller, 2005), have been discussed in academic literature for over two decades.

Table 38 Potential solutions to address recruitment and retention

Actions	Historic influence addressed
Tourism planning Community consultation Infrastructure support from central government	Antagonism to tourism
Encourage growth of social connections Continue mentoring relationships even when people are transferred Review use of contingent staff Socialisation as part of induction, creating social linkages as well as technical skills	Social harmony
Address wage rates Review cost management and the allocation of profit between owners and employees Corporate Social Responsibility requirements Educate guests on costs of service delivery	Path to ownership
Better scheduling Use of big data to better forecast labour requirements Shift start/finish times that respond to employee needs	Social harmony
Acknowledgment of skills Acknowledgement in pay and presentation Media commentary	Role of women Social harmony
Communication of career path and labour planning External communication of possible career paths Support for non-linear career paths Development plans for all staff Work with training partners to ensure delivery of both front line skills and management potential Education providers address industry expectations of graduates.	Links to alcohol sale Path to ownership Social harmony
Employee ownership Share schemes Collaborative ownership models	Path to ownership

The 2018 tourism strategy refresh (Ministry of Business Innovation & Employment, 2015) noted that tourism may be losing its social licence to operate since the numbers of New Zealanders feeling tourism was creating pressure on services had doubled since 2016 (Cropp, 2018). This suggests that the point at which New Zealand communities can no longer absorb the impacts of tourism may be close to being reached and additional consultation may be required. The evidence from this research shows a pattern of leaning on tourism for its economic potential while not following through with planning for accommodation supply or managing the impacts on local communities. The current government has made funds available to alleviate the economic impact on small communities of providing tourism infrastructure, but consideration of the social impact and willingness to share space, resources and stories is still limited (Cameron, 2014). Hotel operating companies and owners have a role to play in influencing policy and in ensuring their communications acknowledge the importance of tourism to the economy.

Mooney et al. (2016) noted that workers who have strong social connections within their workplace are more likely to build long-term careers in the hotel industry, even if they move between properties. The findings of this thesis suggest that this is due to the desire for social harmony and the value placed on consistent work. Numerous academic studies have identified ways hotels can support the growth of these social connections (Brien et al., 2013; Brien et al.,

2017; Moshin et al., 2013; Santhnanam et al., 2017), but they have also noted that this does not appear to be happening (Brien et al., 2017).

New Zealand hotels are part of a globalised industry that constrains the prices they can charge guests (Churchhouse, 2010a), but cost structures can be revised and better use made of technology to allow for better wages for workers (Cameron, 2007). Better use of existing data can permit rosters to be released further in advance, provide fairness in allocating shifts and enable better responsiveness to work–life balance. Even small changes such as scheduling housekeeping shifts to finish at 2:30pm to allow for school pick-up can make a huge difference to workers.

As individual employers, hotels or operating companies can take a number of steps. Some of these include a broader acknowledgement that although technology is improving, there is still a large number of tasks that only humans can perform, especially those that require empathy and human connection. This experiential intelligence (Baum, 2006) needs to be directly acknowledged as a skill by the industry. Conversely, the skills involved in what appear to be routine tasks, such as housekeeping, need acknowledgement and their importance should be communicated more clearly to other teams within the hotel (Enehaug & Mamelund, 2014).

Since the perceived career path is an important factor in both choosing an occupation (McGinley et al., 2017) and remaining in it (Santhnanam et al., 2017), hotels need to consider whether the divide between permanent and contingent staff serves them well. Easing the path to moving between types of work for those who desire to do so; for example, students completing qualifications through better labour planning would appear to serve the industry well. Hotels also need to support workers who are not looking for the traditional career progression to build long-term careers, by supporting their social connections and providing reciprocal flexibility to enable this to occur without their having to repeatedly change employers (Mooney et al., 2016; Poulston, 2009). The need to move managers for their own development needs to be balanced with the need to maintain mentoring relationships and provide training and development to support the career path of those working for them. Lastly, the hotel industry needs to communicate these career paths, including the non-traditional paths, more clearly to both current employees and the general public (McGinley et al., 2017).

One way to address the desire for a path to ownership is to examine collaborative employee ownership (Timur & Timur, 2016), although care would need to be taken not to further entrench the divide between permanent and contingent staff. This measure could also

contribute to enhancing the economic security of employees alongside better rostering and reviewing cost structures to allow higher wage rates.

9.6   Summary

This chapter has traced the evolution of the portrayal of hotels and hotel work through New Zealand history. Hotels were once the hubs of their communities and hotel work was a potential pathway to business ownership, but the success of the temperance movement drove consolidation of ownership by the breweries. This reduced the status of hotel work, eventually leaving hotel work positioned as a contingent entry-level option despite the evidence of management roles.

From this, the changing attitudes towards work and the evolving meaning of work can be deduced. Within this system are continuous underlying influences regarding the importance of social harmony, the desirability of being your own boss, debates on the role of women and of alcohol, and the role of tourism in the economy. How each of these manifests depends on the level of labour supply and the success of other export options. When the labour market is tight, women are permitted a broader range of occupations, and the wife of the nominal proprietor was often a force in the success of the business.

New Zealand history has built a culture with a strong demand for social harmony and an unusually high aversion to economic insecurity. This makes hotel work and tourism more generally somewhat problematic. Possible solutions include developing long-term career options, particularly for those who do have the mobility required for the traditional industry pathways. Although the nature of the hotel industry requires flexibility to respond to fluctuating demand, it may be possible to use technology and data mining to better forecast demand and alleviate the economic insecurity that the need for flexibility places on workers. Hotel ownership may no longer be possible because of the high capital requirements for all but the smallest units, but a pathway to the substitute of home ownership may be. The industry cannot continue to expect workers to carry all the risk of flexibility and needs to examine its own behaviour. At present, it takes maximum advantage of the flexibility offered by New Zealand's deregulated labour market without considering whether this is a major cause of the staff turnover it complains about.

Chapter 10:   Conclusion

This chapter draws the strands of the research together and presents a summary of the main findings, then discusses the contribution of the research and makes suggestions for further research.

The aim of the research was to trace the evolution of the portrayal of hotel work and analyse the influence of this history on the current positioning of hotel work in New Zealand. As part of meeting this aim, the following objectives were sought:

1. Track the portrayal of hotel work in New Zealand media from 1890 to 2015.

2. Identify the changes in underlying values and attitudes:
    a. towards hotels work,
    b. in society itself.

3. Analyse the contingent factors and continuous influences within this dynamic system.

4. Identify the influences of these assumptions and this context on the positioning and behaviour of the modern hotel industry.

10.1 Key Findings

1. The status endowed by ownership was able to override the service orientated and gendered nature of hotel work. However, the shifting views on appropriate roles for women in New Zealand society have had a long term impact of the advancement of women in the hotel industry.

2. Despite the value of social connection in New Zealand culture and hotels' role in creating social connections in the community, the provision of service to outsiders has always been viewed with some scepticism; reflected in the current position of hotel work in the social hierarchy.

3. Addressing these historic influences gives rise to a broader range of potential solutions to the problems of staff turnover, for example higher certainty of scheduling and connection to the work team. Such solutions are built on social connection as much as linear career paths but require better planning and communication from hotels.

10.1.1 Ownership, status and gender

The settlers came to New Zealand to create a harmonious community of farmers and small business owners, where hard work was rewarded and families could prosper. This created a

culture that placed a high value on business ownership. As New Zealand moved into being a settled society (from approximately 1890), hotels offered the opportunity to achieve business ownership status and were often thriving hubs of the community However the actions of the temperance movement, from 1917 onwards, made hotel ownership more precarious, leading to consolidation of brewery ownership, so that the path to respectability through ownership closed. This closure overlapped with the rise of the negotiated social compact between employers, unions, farmers and the government, which effectively locked the existing hierarchy and wage differentials in place. Hotel work then sat as a required but not prestigious occupation dominated by large brewing interests who viewed themselves primarily as manufacturers and drew their strength within the system from this fact.

With the brutal shattering of the social compact between government, farmers, employers and workers in the late 1980s, worker protections were almost completely removed through the deregulation of employment conditions and the virtual destruction of the union movement. Hotels moved into the hands of overseas operators who took maximum advantage of the flexibility offered to leverage profitability. Hotel workers became interchangeable, low-paid cogs in hotel operating systems focused on economic efficiency through standardisation. However, the processes and systems did not always produce the required level of guest service, so that staff turnover has begun to challenge the economic rationale of the structure.

Related to this downward evolution of status was the role of women in New Zealand society. New Zealand's starting point at European settlement began from an idealised image of desirable feminine domesticity (Belich, 2001; Fairburn, 1989). This view of women's role as homemaker collided with the realities of establishing farms and businesses. As Belich (2001) notes women's work was critical but was written out of official versions of history. Women wanting to build a career in the hotel industry were also hamstrung by the achievements of the temperance movement. The temperance campaigners viewed work in the vicinity of alcohol as no place for a woman and were able to virtually remove the ability of women to be managers in their own right from 1889 to 1952. Similarly, women were not able to be bar tenders which was a key path into management from 1925 to 1967. This helps explain the scarcity of women General Managers in New Zealand hotels beyond the global barriers to the advancement of women (Elkins, 2015).

Up until the 1930s, the importance placed on ownership status was able to counter the simultaneous valuing and devaluing of domestic work. Once the path to ownership closed, the requirement to provide service through creating and acknowledging social distance, along with feminine overtones caused the status of hotel work to drop.

10.1.2 Service to outsiders

This thesis has revealed the importance of hotels, hotel staff and proprietors to the social structure of New Zealand. Hotels were originally a site where the tension between the dynamism of early settlement and the social norms of the settled society trying to realise its Arcadian dream played out. As sites of social display, the limits of conspicuous consumption were tested. Although the workers who took care of the guests were often expected to be invisible, their voices, concerns and views of their own roles surface in the reporting, telling stories of pride in service and striving for achievement. For New Zealand, the story of hotels and hotel workers is tightly linked to the story of the breweries and the irony of this being due to the attempts of the temperance movement to restrict the sale and consumption of alcohol. Beyond this, the history of hotels and hotel workers brings the tensions regarding tourism into clear focus. Tourism has been repeatedly touted as the great economic hope for New Zealand, but the planning to support it has been notably absent, resulting in repeated scrambles to provide adequate accommodation and recruit, train and retain the workers required to deliver service of an acceptable quality.

10.1.3 Potential solutions

Prior scholarship has highlighted the need for social connections to retain hotel employees (Brien et al., 2017; Mooney et al., 2016; Santhnanam et al., 2017). This thesis is pivotal to illuminating the reasons this social connection is so valued in New Zealand. Although the newspaper reporting does not necessarily understand the skill involved in hotel work, the historical trends analysed in this thesis demonstrate that the workers were trying to explain this and have always had pride in what they did, having successfully constructed a self-identity valuing their work. This illustrates how this self-identity can be built to address potentially negative external perceptions (Helm, 2013) while also showing the importance of social context (Robinson et al., 2015). However, both the reportage and advertising contained in this thesis suggest that the hotel industry does not consider the consequences of their actions and the resulting portrayal will influence potential job seekers, as described by McGinley et al. (2017). Similarly, despite academic literature highlighting the importance of tourism planning in general and community involvement in particular to mitigate social impact (for example Haley et al., 2005; Tovar & Lockwood, 2008), there is little evidence in this PhD research to support that this is occurring.

The uniqueness of New Zealand's culture as it has developed to date lies in the need for social harmony, aversion to economic insecurity, a degree of dislike for outsiders and a strong attachment to land ownership. Solutions to the problems of recruitment and retention of hotel

workers and attempts to change the ranking of hotel work in the occupational hierarchy need to take these factors into account. Within the hotels themselves, more consideration needs to be given to work–life balance and supporting social connections, both within the hotel and in the broader community. Specific areas, such as availability of rosters in advance and timing of shifts, overlap with addressing the economic insecurity inherent in many hotel roles. Career paths, in terms of both progression and long-term roles within a single site, need to be better planned and communicated. The hotel industry globally needs to review its cost structures and use of technology to identify how it can pay staff better. Increasing competition for workers in the care giving sectors is likely to drive up wages and hotels need to be prepared for this. This PhD research demonstrates that the solutions exist within the industry and that the seeds of change are strong, but need to be brought together and enhanced.

10.2 Contribution of Research

This section outlines the originality of the thesis. This is divided into contributions to theory, knowledge and generating potential solutions for the hotel industry.

10.2.1 Theoretical contribution

In terms of originality, most managerial studies of the meaning of work typically draws on economics, assuming rational actors motivated to maximise utility (usually read as income). They rarely acknowledge the deeper roots drawn in from theology and philosophy that create the potential for work to carry a moral meaning. While Dr Rebecca Graham and her collaborators have described the impact of this moral meaning in New Zealand (Graham et al., 2017; Graham et al., 2016), this thesis is one of the first pieces to independently trace this evolution, what was retained from the settlers' parent culture and how moral meanings have diverged. The thesis also draws the meaning of work into dialogue with the models of occupational hierarchy. By tracing a single industry it shows the impact of culture as a key influencer within Tremain's model. The PhD is also one of the few pieces of work tracing the evolution of an occupational hierarchy outside the US or the former communist Eastern bloc showing that the variables identified do operate in less extreme circumstances.

Treiman (1977) defined the prestige that determines occupational ranking as based on power and privilege but noted that although some components of these variables are consistent across locations, others are culturally determined, which accounts for the variations in hierarchies observed. This PhD body of work tested that theory in a different domain to that work, and has traced how the two variables of status and social connection were constructed in a hospitality industry and the occupations within it, as well as how the evolving economy

alongside the culture has influenced the position of this group of occupations over time. Further it confirms one portion of Treiman's (1977) views on the social and economic influences in defining power and privilege. The changing position of hotel work in New Zealand's occupational hierarchy confirms the operation of these social as well as economic influences. By tracing the role of founding myths and the importance of work as a structuring variable in society, this substantive PhD extends Treiman's (1977) theory regarding the building of occupational hierarchies, since prestige can be used to maintain social values in the face of quite drastic economic and social change as also noted Sawinski and Domanski (1991) and Wegener (1992). Examination of New Zealand history also confirms the deep persistence of occupational hierarchies, in this case, the retention of the value of ownership and hard work in the face of neo-liberalism.

10.2.2 Contribution to knowledge

This thesis is a innovative demonstration of the value of drawing on history to illuminate current behaviour (Kobrak & Schneider, 2011; Lynch et al., 2011; O'Gorman, 2005; Walton, 2009, 2012). By drawing on history, it is possible to show social elements in constructing power and privilege even in an environment supposedly driven by pure materialism. New Zealand history, seen through the lens of hotel work, provides a demonstration of the theories regarding historical persistence in action (Nunn, 2012; Sequeira et al., 2017). The influence of geography and climate produced cultures in which adhering strongly to tradition was not beneficial (Giuliano & Nunn, 2017) but social cohesion and flexibility were. The continuing influence of the European founding myths about the meaning of work demonstrates that the applicability of neo-liberal models can be subverted by strong social context (Parfitt & Wysocki, 2012).

The key contribution of this thesis is that it establishes a history of the perception of hotels across a wide time period. In light of the limited work in hospitality history generally (Walton, 2009, 2012) and particularly for New Zealand (Bremner, 2004; McNeish, 1957, 1984; Williamson, 2016), the historical narrative itself is also a significant contribution. The research further demonstrates the importance of newspapers as a source for understanding New Zealand society (Forde, 2013; Griffith et al., 1997). The present study demonstrates that as well as history being able to contribute to the understanding of current hotel management practice, using hotels as a lens on broader history can be revealing, in both cases, moving beyond how into why (Lashley, 2013).

10.2.3 Practical and policy implications

The thinking contained herein has substantial practical and policy implications. In New Zealand's occupational hierarchy, elements that contribute to prestige include not only money but also the path to ownership, economic security and social connections leading to social harmony. Empowerment does not speak to any of these desires. Although hotels are important employers in many locations and could potentially offer meaningful career paths that address these motivators, the current human resource management practices (Brien et al., 2013; Williamson, 2016) present a major barrier to improvement in the nature of work in this industry. Addressing the recruitment and retention problems requires a major review of industry behaviour regarding scheduling, risk sharing from flexibility and cost structures to enhance pay.

Further, although the importance of tourism planning is not new, this research emphasises and underlines that New Zealand's social structure makes effective planning critical. New Zealand history, while showing tourism as a long-standing economic resource, also demonstrates it has a very limited social licence to operate. As a small country in a fragile environment with a strong emphasis on social harmony, the impact of tourism on communities needs to be carefully considered, because social carrying capacity may be even more limited than environmental carrying capacity. Failures of planning increase the impact and therefore the resistance to tourism. The deregulated economy is somewhat more responsive in producing required resources, such as accommodation, but the supporting infrastructure, including workers, requires better planning and more collaboration between all levels of industry and government, including both internal and external training and development. It will also be necessary to more clearly communicate the importance of tourism to the economy and the role of accommodation provision within that to the general public to counter current perceptions of hospitality and tourism offering limited career potential (Auckland Tourism Events and Economic Development, 2018).

10.3 Further Research

This thesis has opened a small window into the history of New Zealand's hotel industry which needs to be extended to be more comprehensive both in time and in sources utilised. As discussed in the Methodology (see Section 3.6.1) due to issues of access the thesis was limited to the major metropolitan dailies and their business driven editorial stances. Alongside the rural newspapers that this thesis omitted, a large number of sources are available, from award documents, to company archives and national archives, including oral histories (National Library of New Zealand, 2019), which could be combined to produce a full social history of New Zealand hotels. The current thesis demonstrates that hotels provide an interesting lens

(Golubovskaya, Robinson, & Solnet, 2017; Lashley, 2000, 2008) through which to explore New Zealand history because of the important role played in New Zealand society. Similarly, a deeper examination of the data uncovered in the newspaper reporting, such as wages, property prices and guest lists published from 1920 to 1930, could extend understanding of the social roles of hotels and of the values of New Zealand society.

Replicating the study in other countries settled at the same time as New Zealand would further refine the specific influences at play. Within Australia, comparing New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia with their different settlement histories could be instructive. Comparisons on present positioning between the East Coast and the West Coast of the US could also enhance understanding of the various influences and their path of operation. Newspapers are a rich source of data for historians, and the methodology utilised in this thesis could be used to replicate the study in other locations, provided appropriate care was taken to confirm which newspapers to use and to identify other influential forms of media. Potential media bias needs to be borne in mind but is also revealing of the society under study, since media both shapes and is shaped by society (Meyrowitz, 2008).

To further explore the communication of roles and the division in portrayal, it would be useful to compare hotels' recruitment advertising with descriptions of employment conditions on company websites for divergence between the two. It could also be informative to investigate whether the existence of formal statements to improve employment conditions influences advertising and what differences exist between corporate and independent hotels. Similarly, examining how communication and divergence from formal statements vary between different job types could be informative and revealing.

In a purely New Zealand context, it would be revealing to explore the factors that determine survival and longevity of accommodation providers. Many of the hotels from the earliest years of this history have disappeared, but some, such as the Albion, Leviathan and Princes Gate, still exist. Alongside this, identifying the social and spatial factors New Zealanders use to almost instantly classify a licensed venue as a 'nice' pub or a 'rough' pub, how these two concepts are defined, particularly in small towns, and how this relates to the history of liquor licensing could be illuminating. This would expand the use of hospitality as a social lens (Golubovskaya et al., 2017; Lashley, 2000, 2008; O'Gorman, 2005), linking traditions to current practice. This thesis also demonstrates that this lens can be used in both directions, simultaneously viewing broader history through hospitality and hospitality management issues through history.

10.4 Closing

Tracing the evolution of the portrayal of hotel work as a lens on the values and attitudes of New Zealand society demonstrates both the depth of the challenge in addressing hotel staff turnover and the possibilities that exist for doing so. Although hotels have always served outsiders, they have also been much more tightly part of their community than they are at present and offered pathways to valued outcomes. Despite the shattering of the social compact, hard work is still respected but not always recognised. By showing that constraints are time bound rather than timeless, change becomes possible (Gaddis, 2002). This historical analysis has revealed that hotels in New Zealand have not always been the site of low-status drudgery but have played significant roles in social connection and development of status. There are influences from history that explain the positioning of hotel work in the present; however, others also indicate pathways for change to the current positioning of hotel work by addressing the desire for social harmony and economic security that arise from New Zealand's particular history.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Ethics Approval Letter

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

MANAGEMENT SCHOOL
Te Raupapa

15th October 2013

Ann Cameron
17/79 Wellesley Street West
Auckland Central
Auckland 1010

Dear Ann

Ethical Application WMS 13/149
Hospitality and Work: the portrayal of hotel work in popular print media in New Zealand from 1880

As per my earlier email the submitted modifications to the above research project, have been granted preliminary Ethical Approval for Research by the Waikato Management School Ethics Committee. Note you will need to submit a final ethics application before commencing data collection.

Please note: should you make changes to the project outlined in the approved ethics application, you may need to reapply for ethics approval.

Best wishes for your research

Regards,

Amanda Sircombe
Research Manager

Appendix 2: Network Diagrams
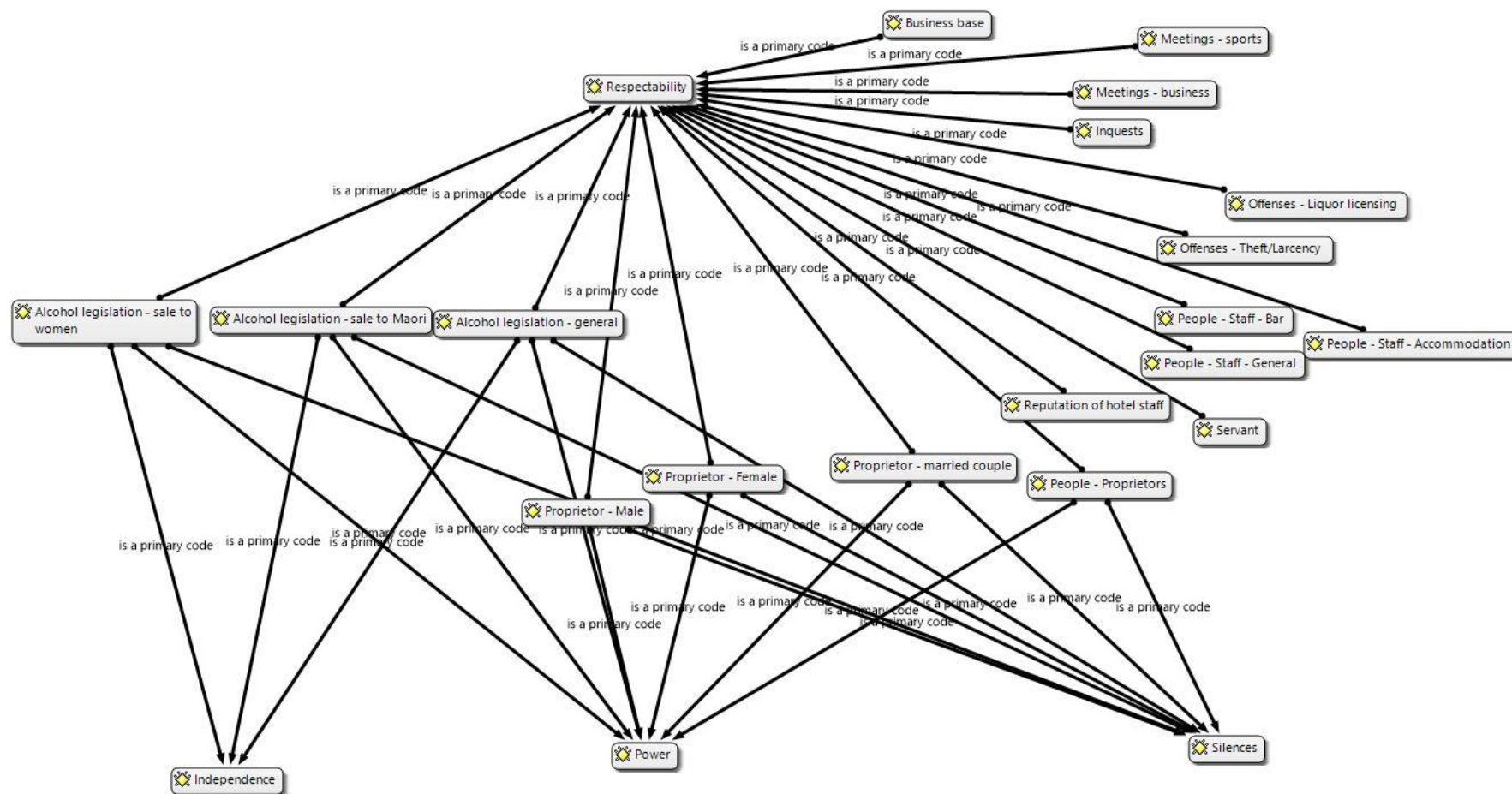
Respectability – 1890 to 1900
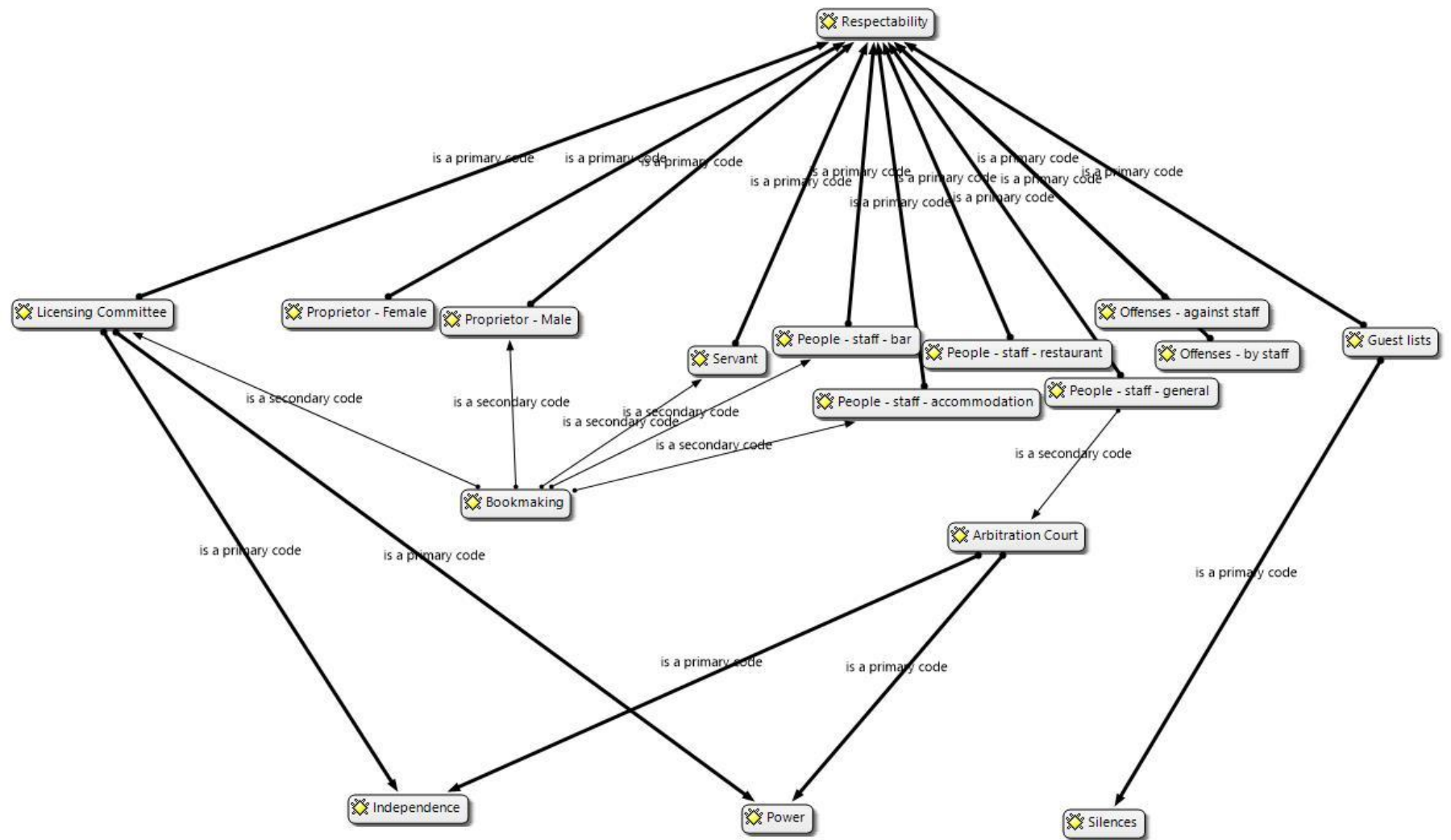
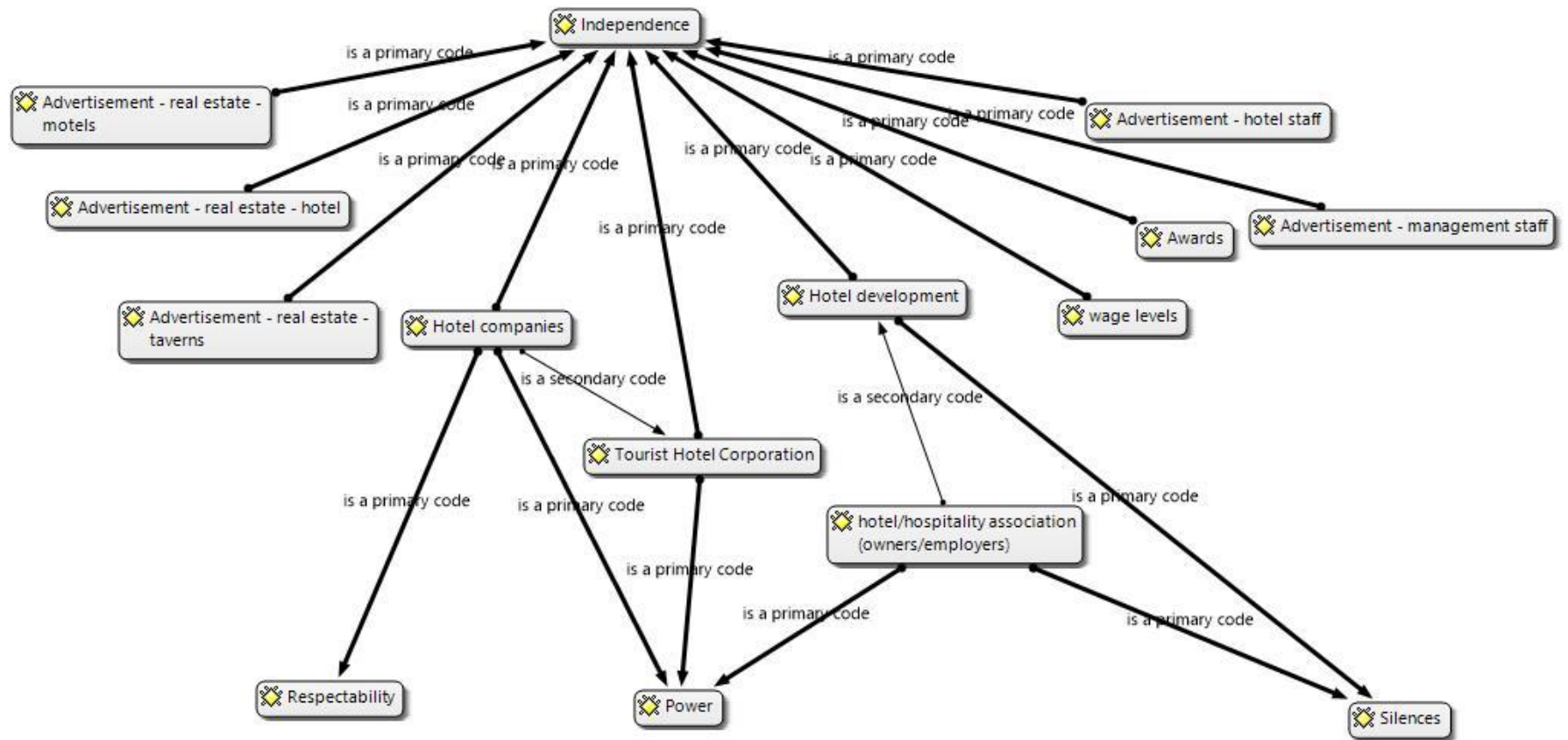Respectability 1920 to 1930
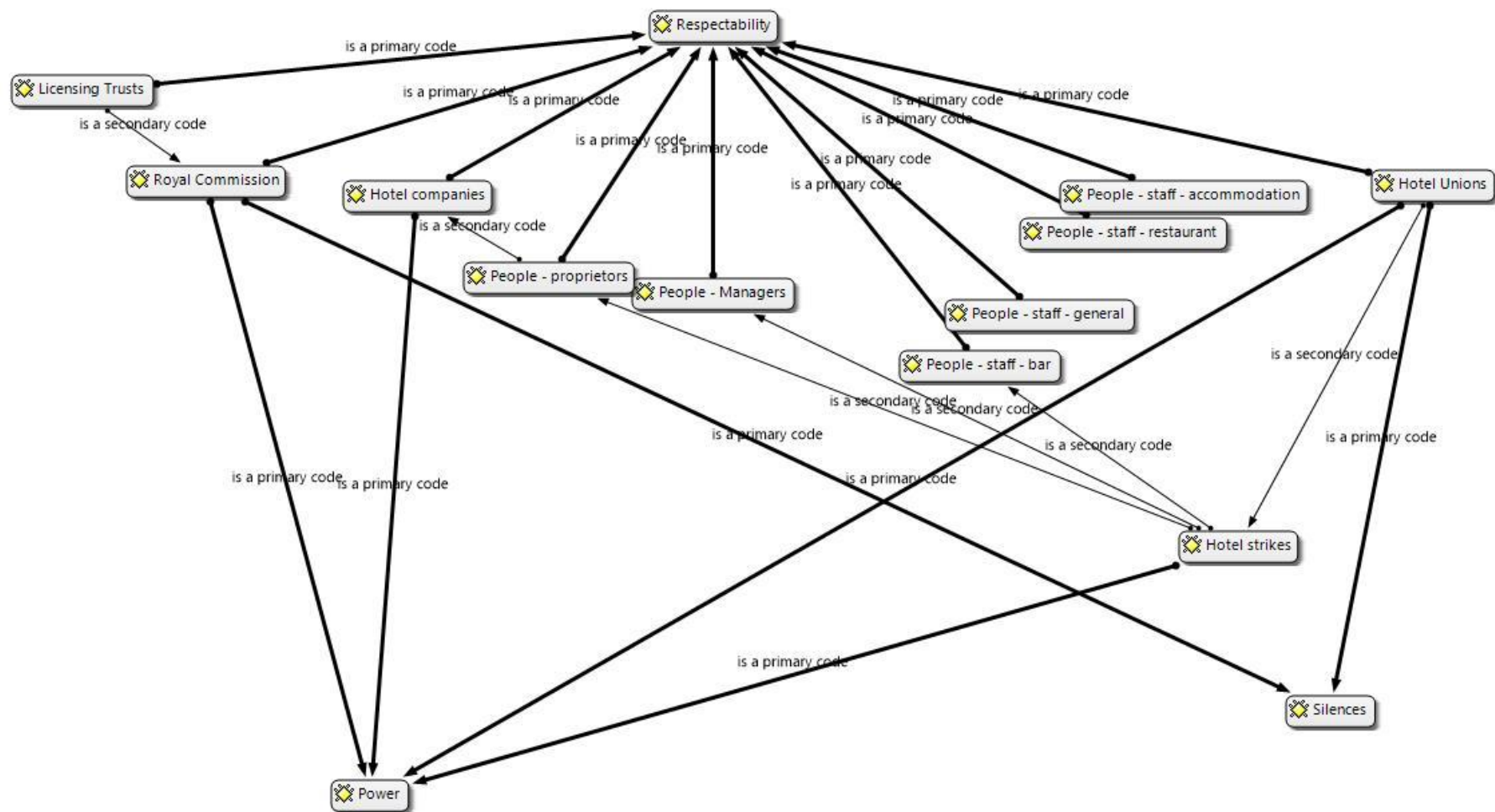
Respectability 1945/65/85
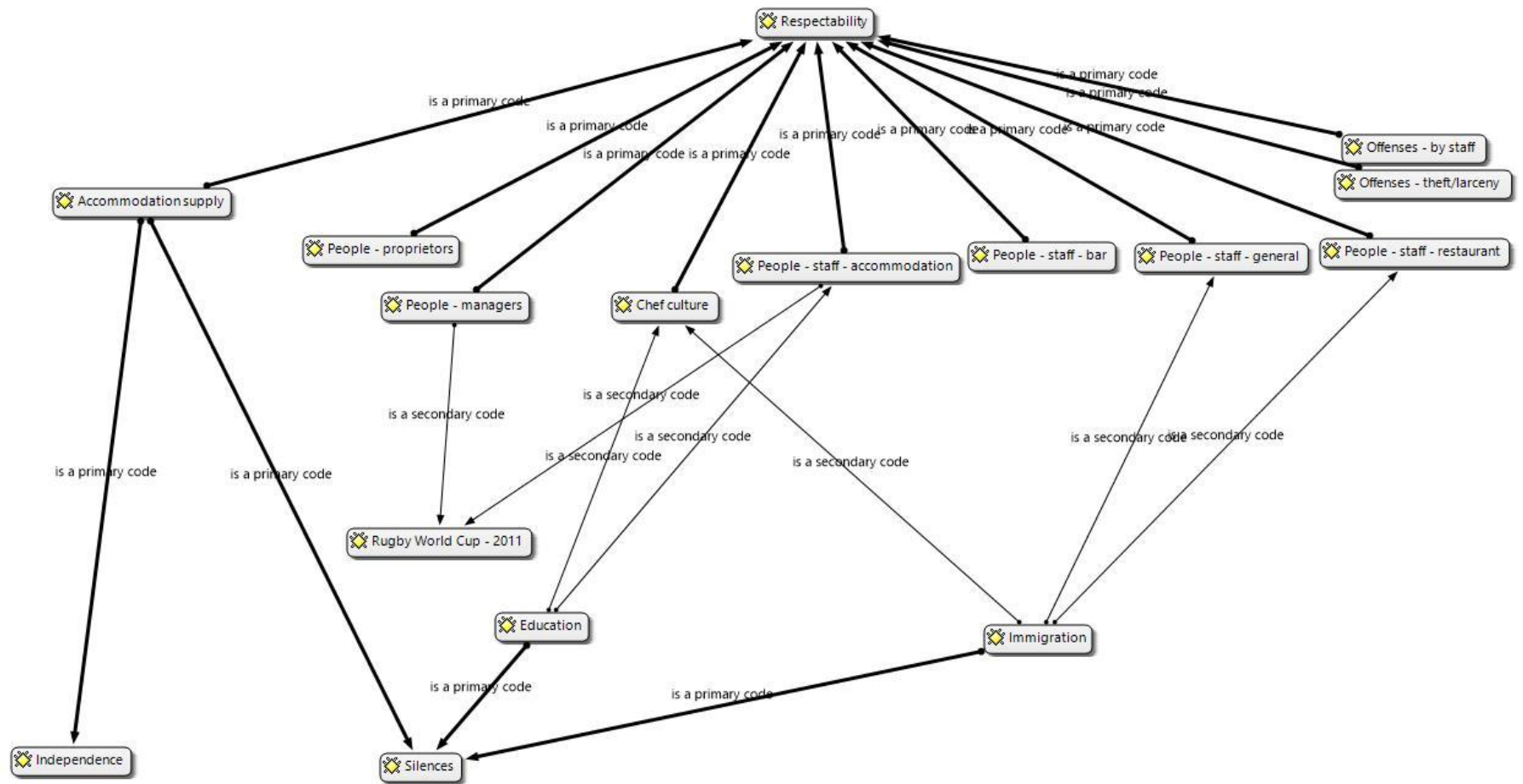
Respectability 2005 to 2015
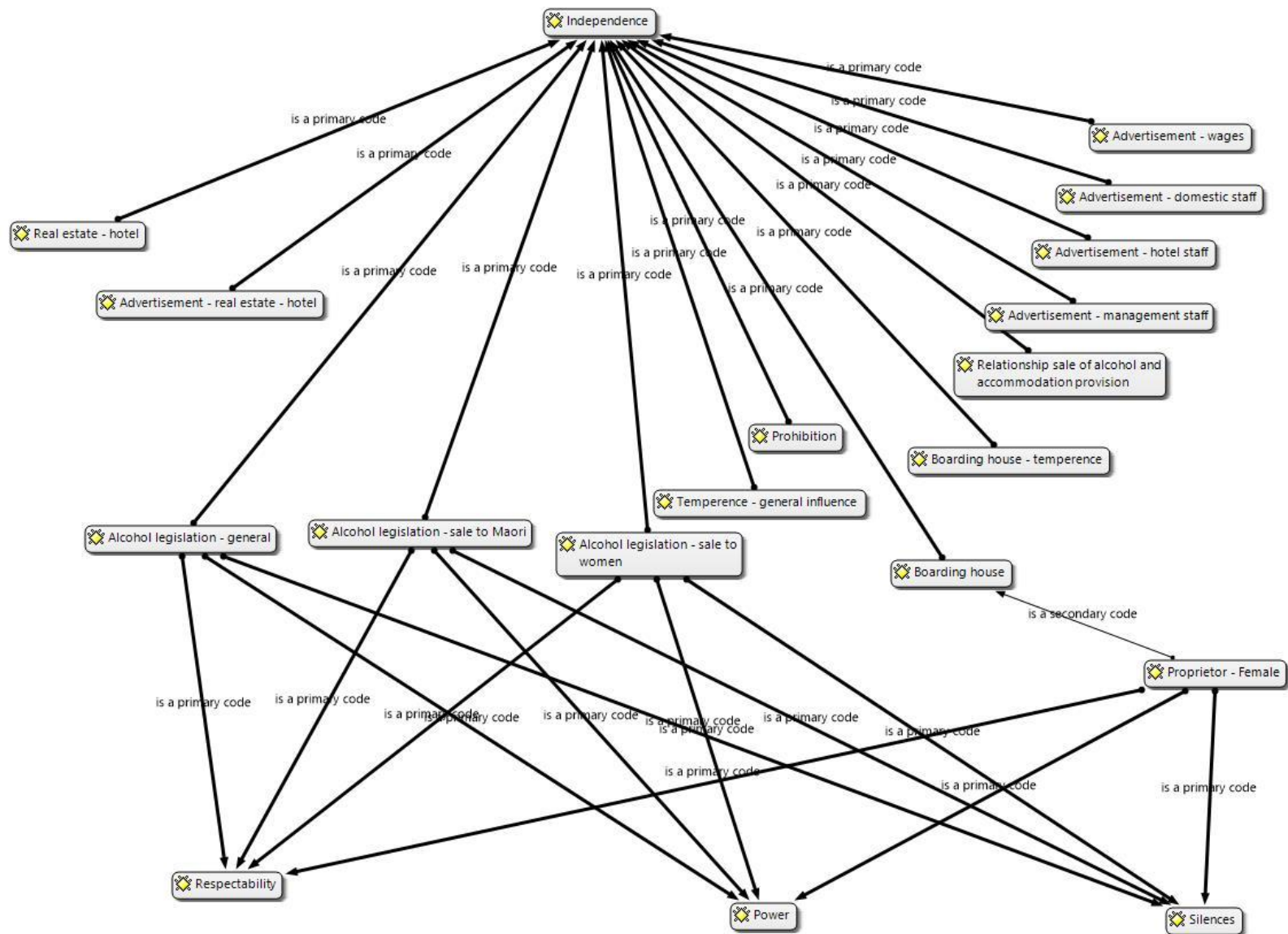
Independence 1890 to 1900
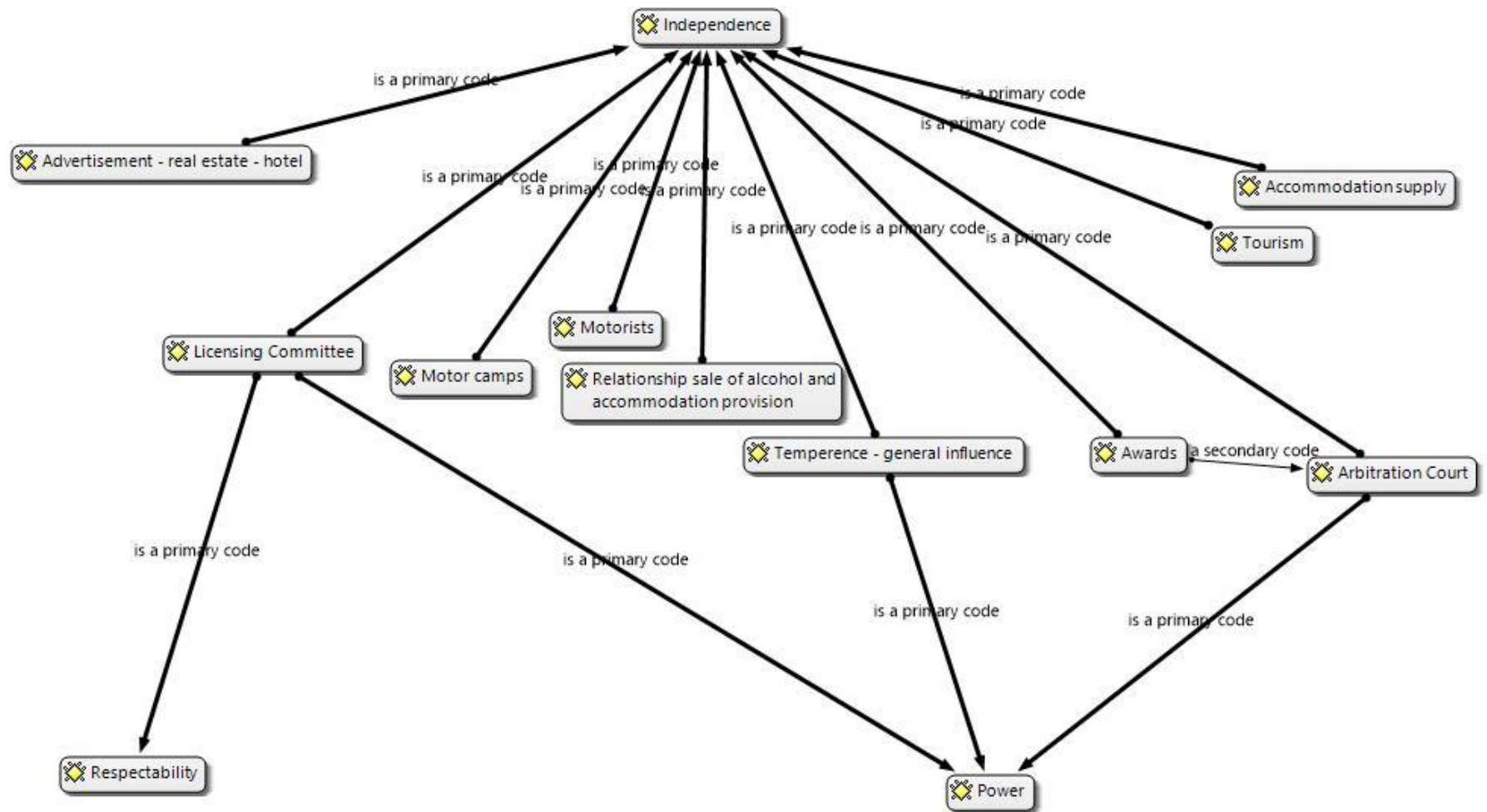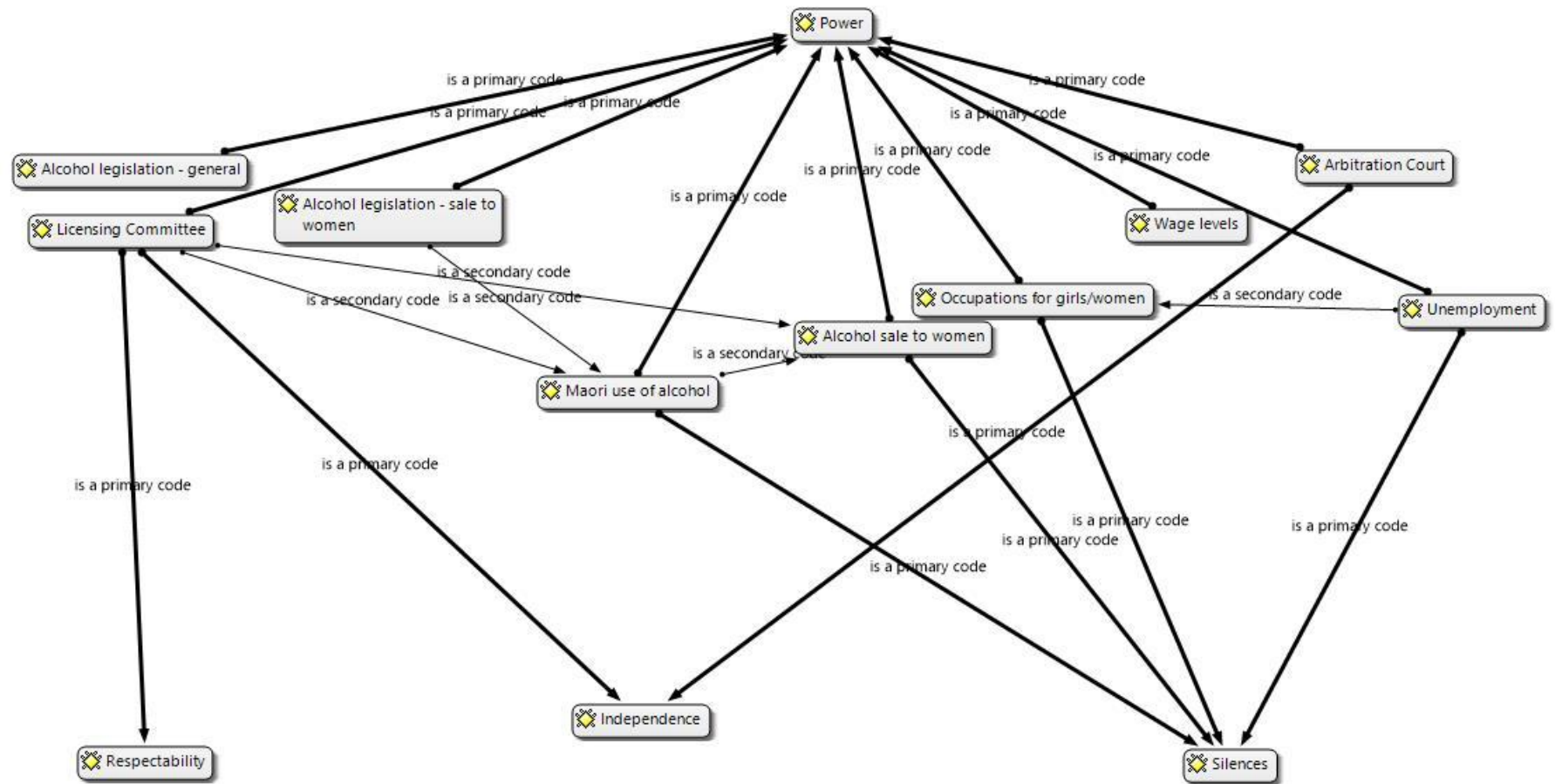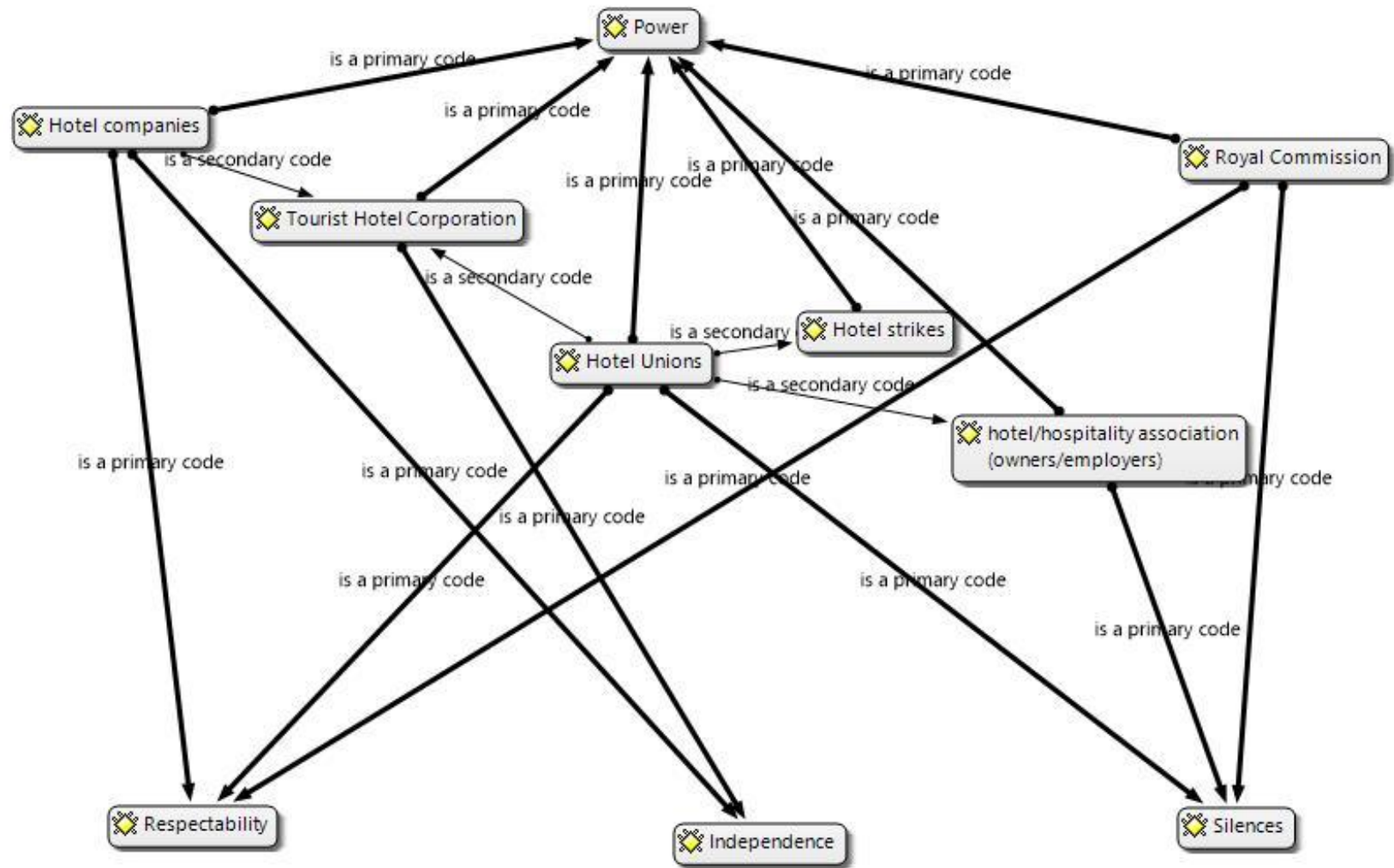
Independence 1920 to 1930
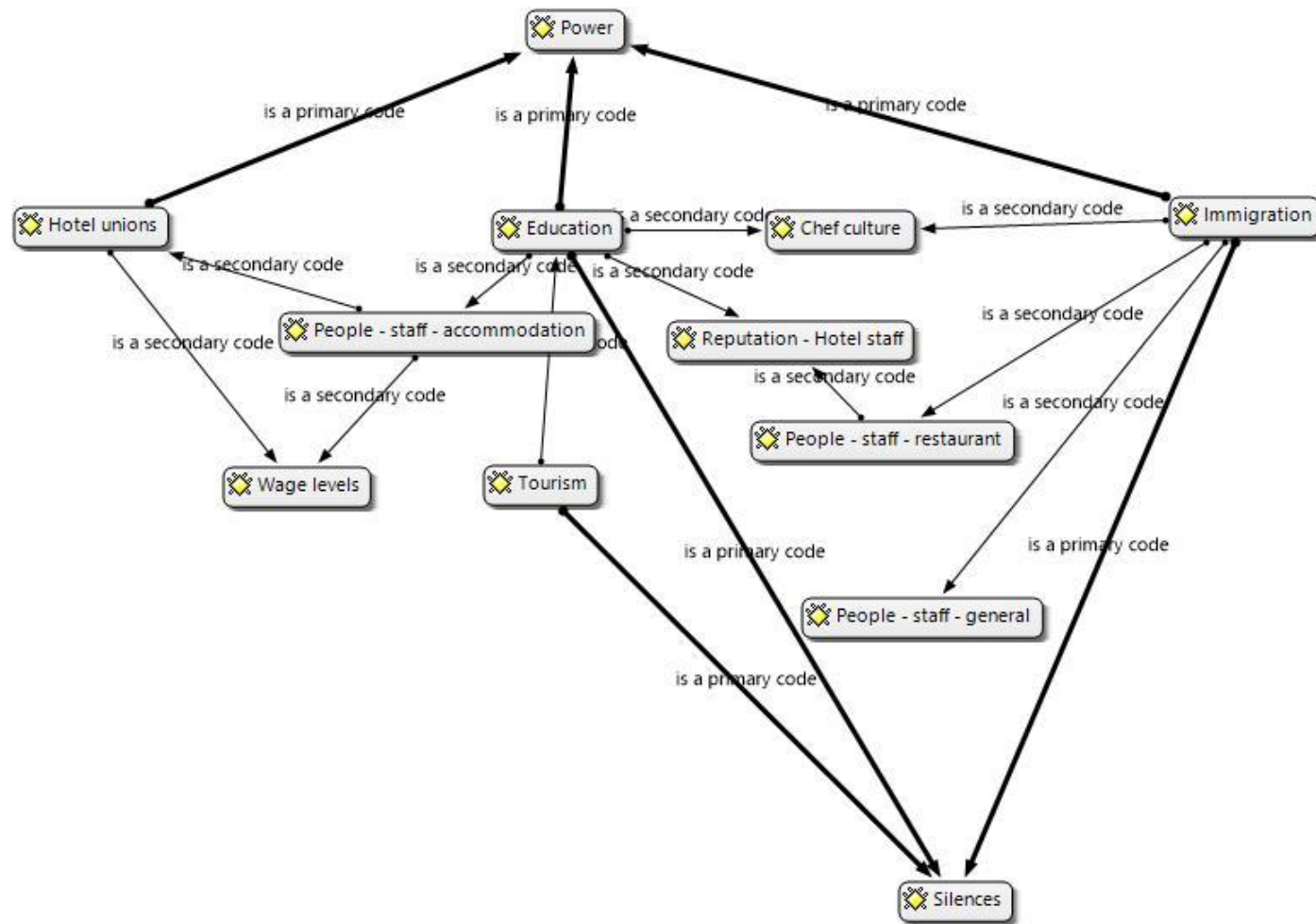
Independence 1945/65/85
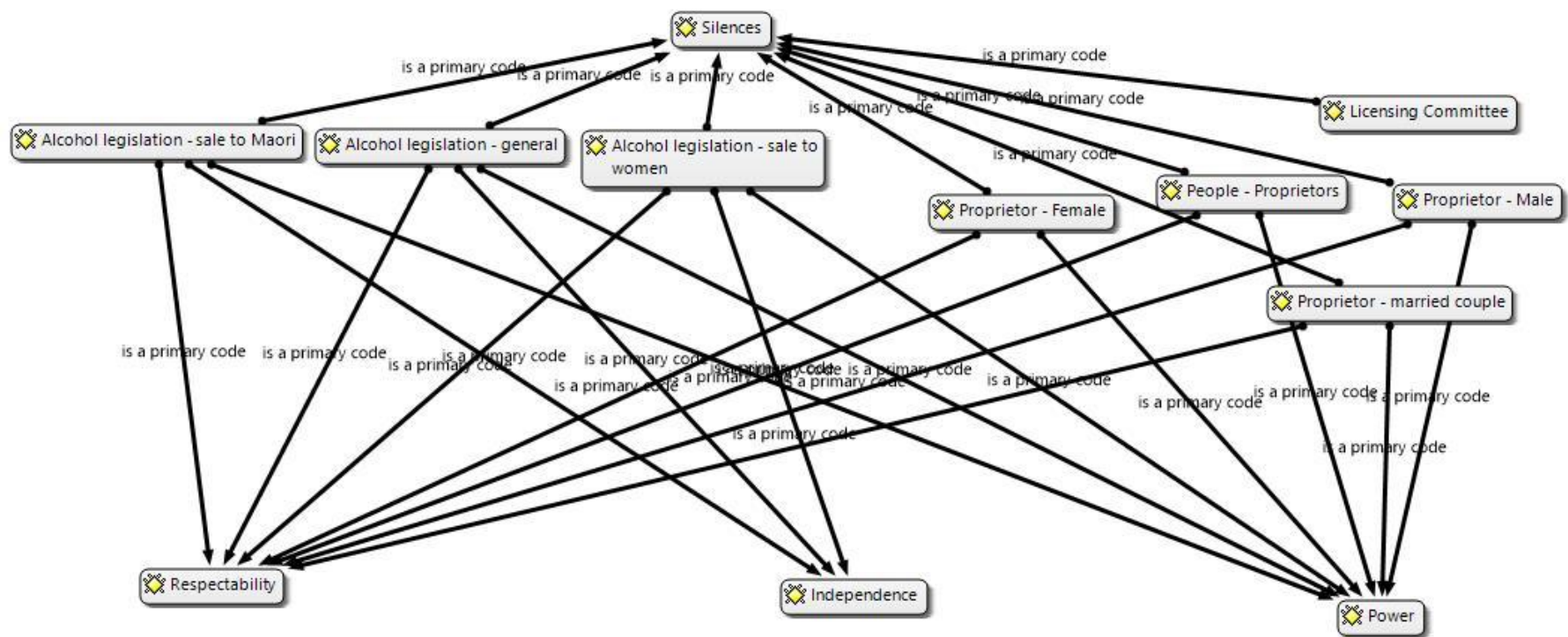
Independence 2005 to 2015

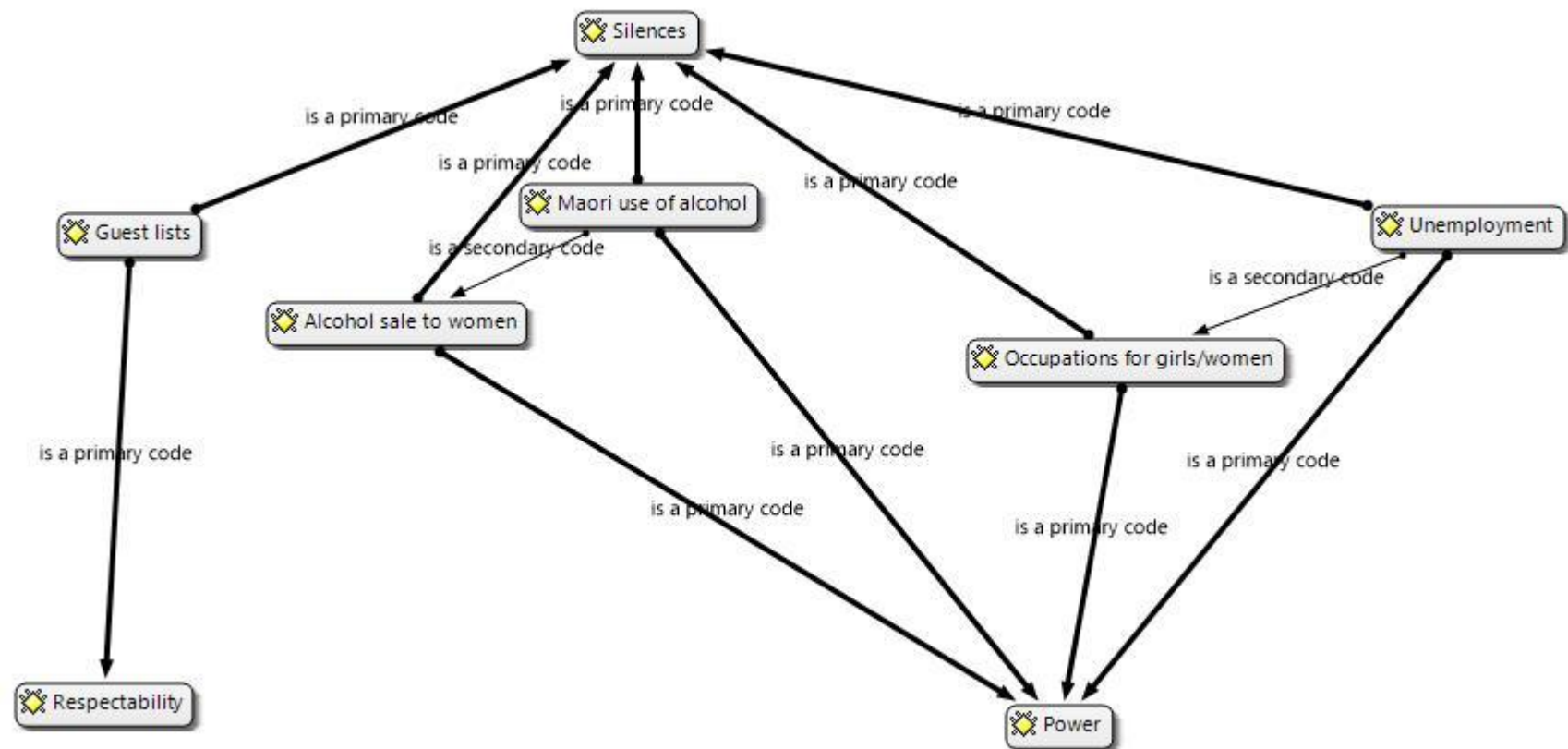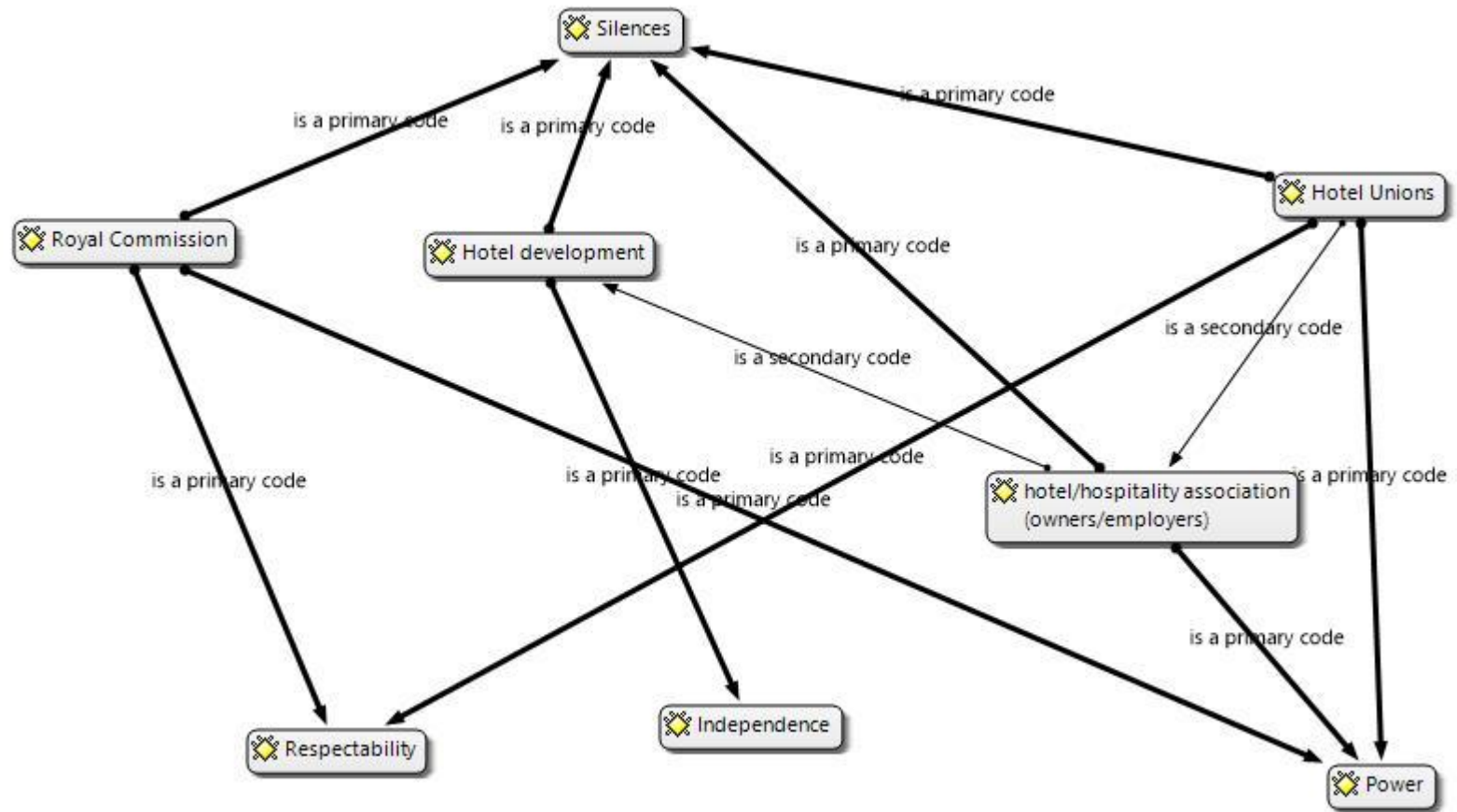Power 1890 to 1900

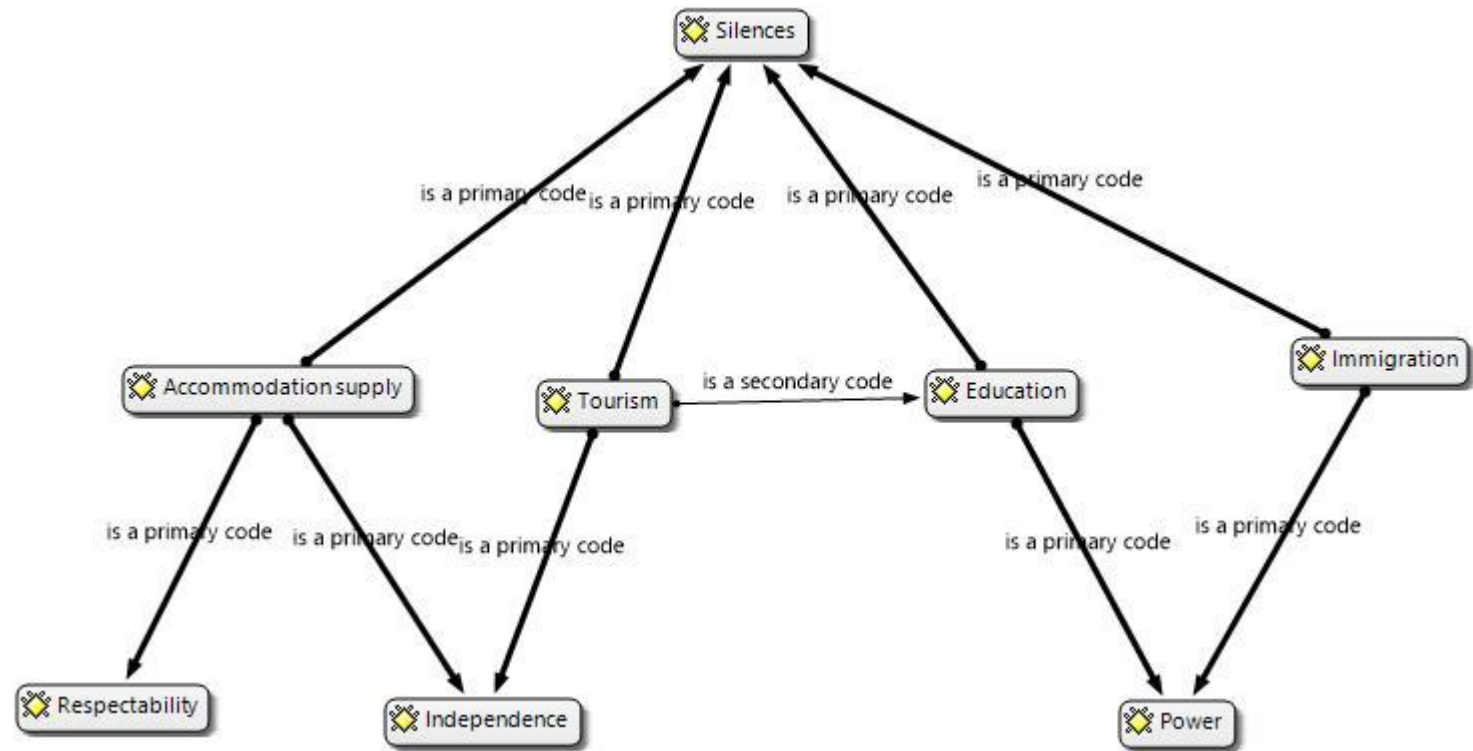247

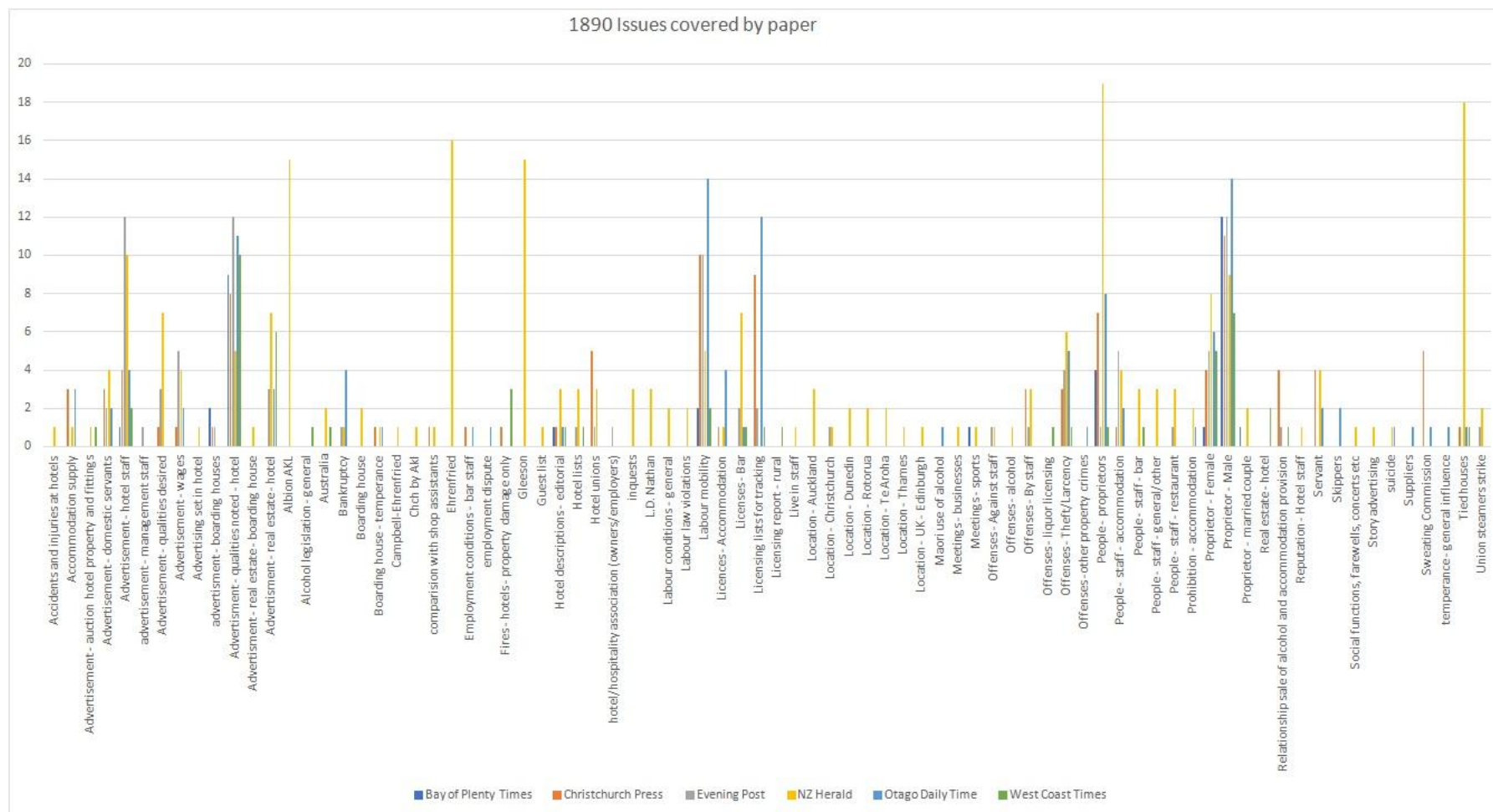Power 1920 to 1930

Power 1945/65/85

Power 2005 to 2015

Silences 1890 to 1900

Silences 1920 to 1930

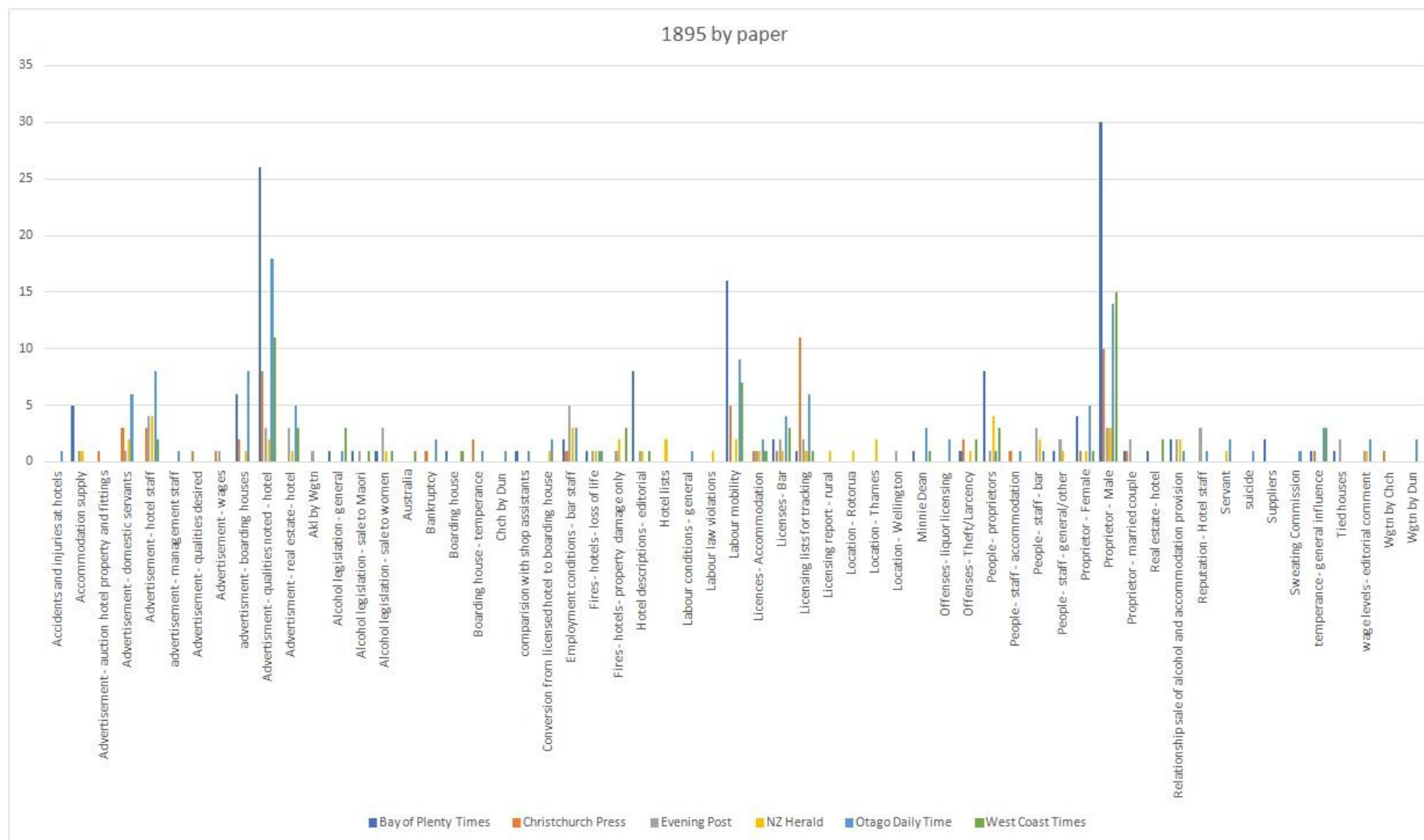Silences 1945/65/85

Silences 2005 to 2015

1890 Issues covered by paper

1895 by paper

Legend: Bay of Plenty Times, Christchurch Press, Evening Post, NZ Herald, Otago Daily Time, West Coast Times

1900 by paper

1920 Issues covered by paper

1925 by paper ex guest lists

1930 Issues by newspaper

1945 by paper

1965 by paper

Legend:
- Christchurch Press
- Evening Post
- NZ Herald
- Otago Daily Times

1985 by paper

263

2005 issues covered by paper

Legend:
- Christchurch Press
- Evening Post
- NZ Herald
- Otago Daily Times

2010 issues covered by paper

2015 issues covered by paper

Appendix 4: Guest Lists 1920 to 1930

Hotels mentioned in Guest lists by newspaper by year

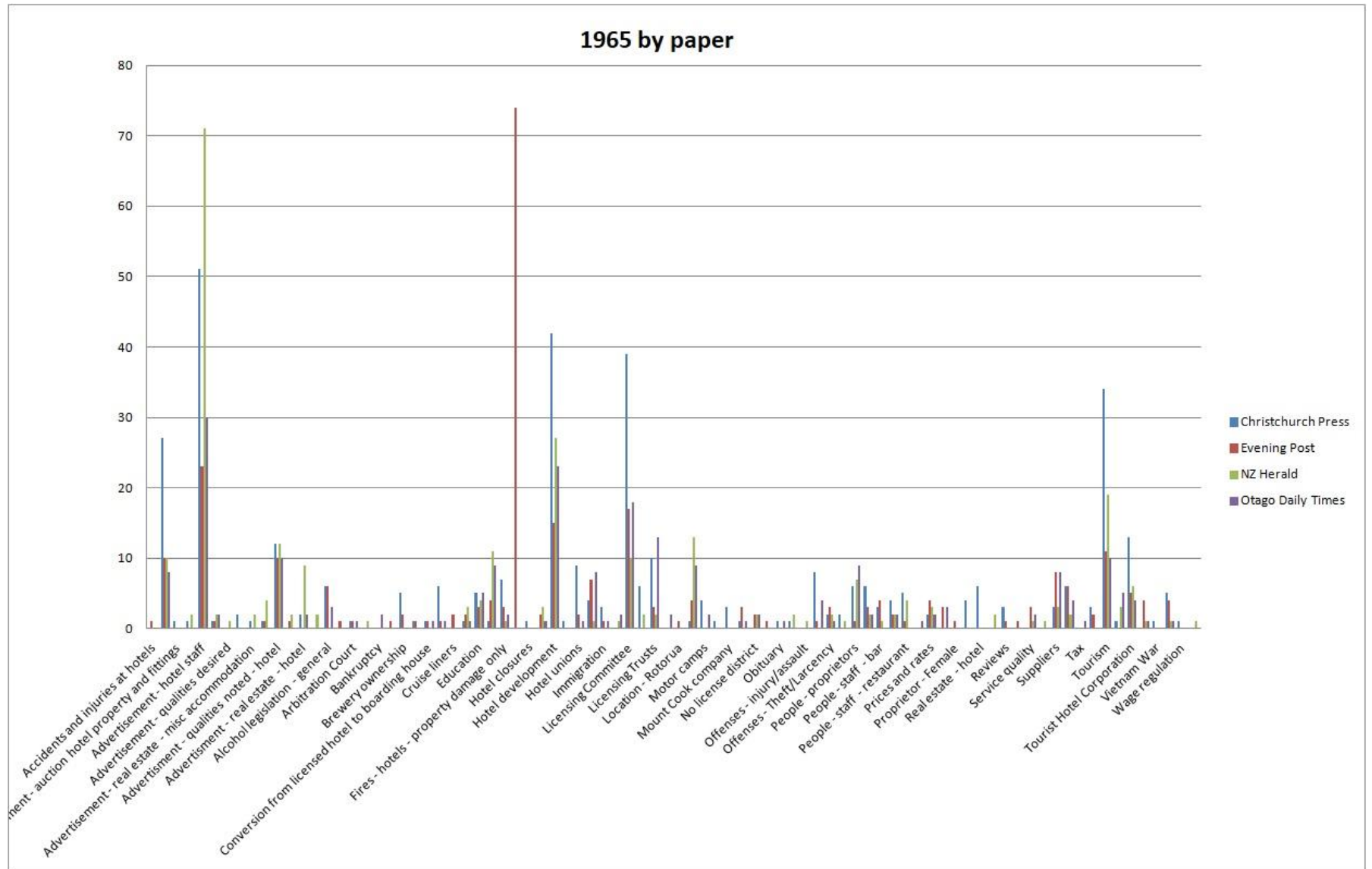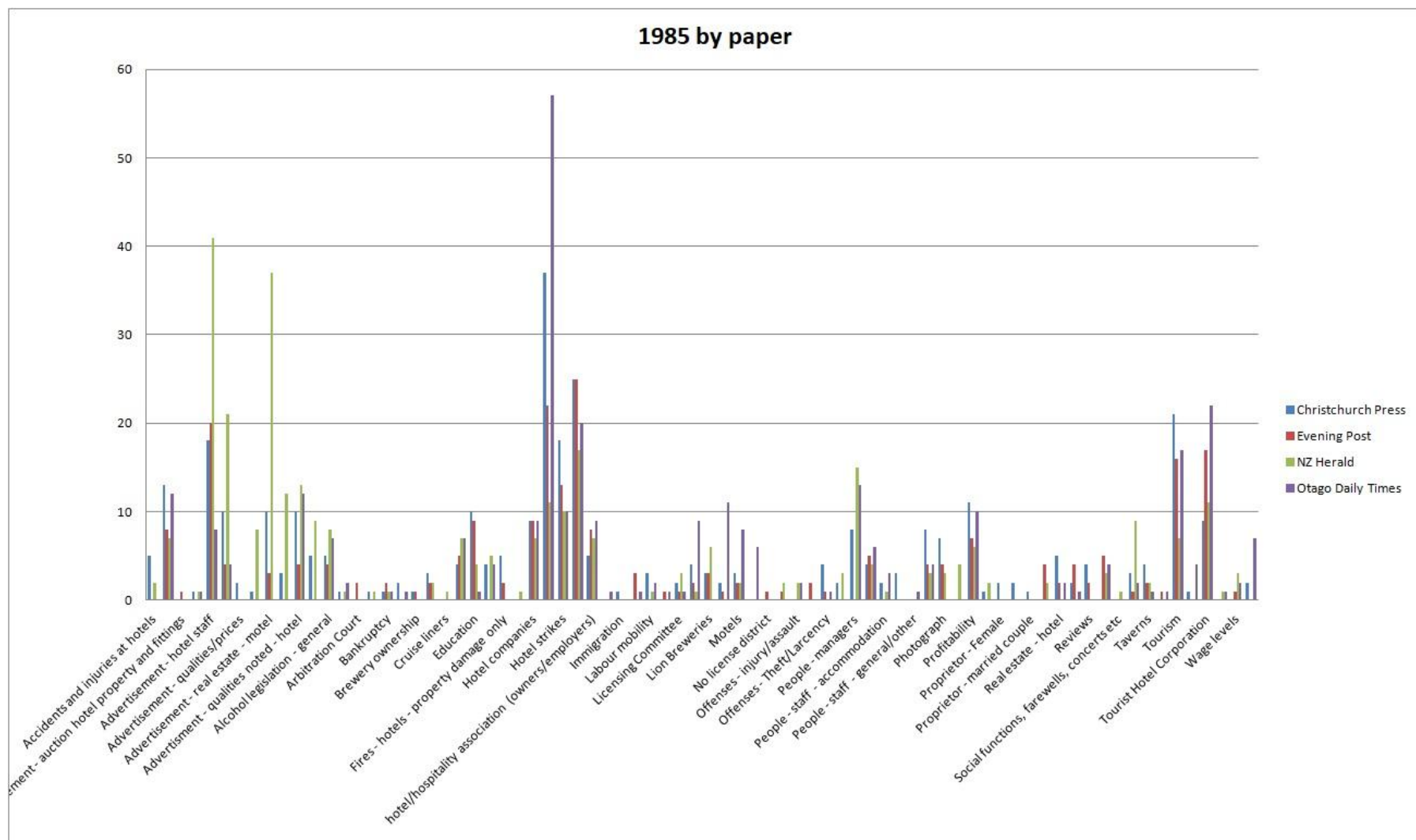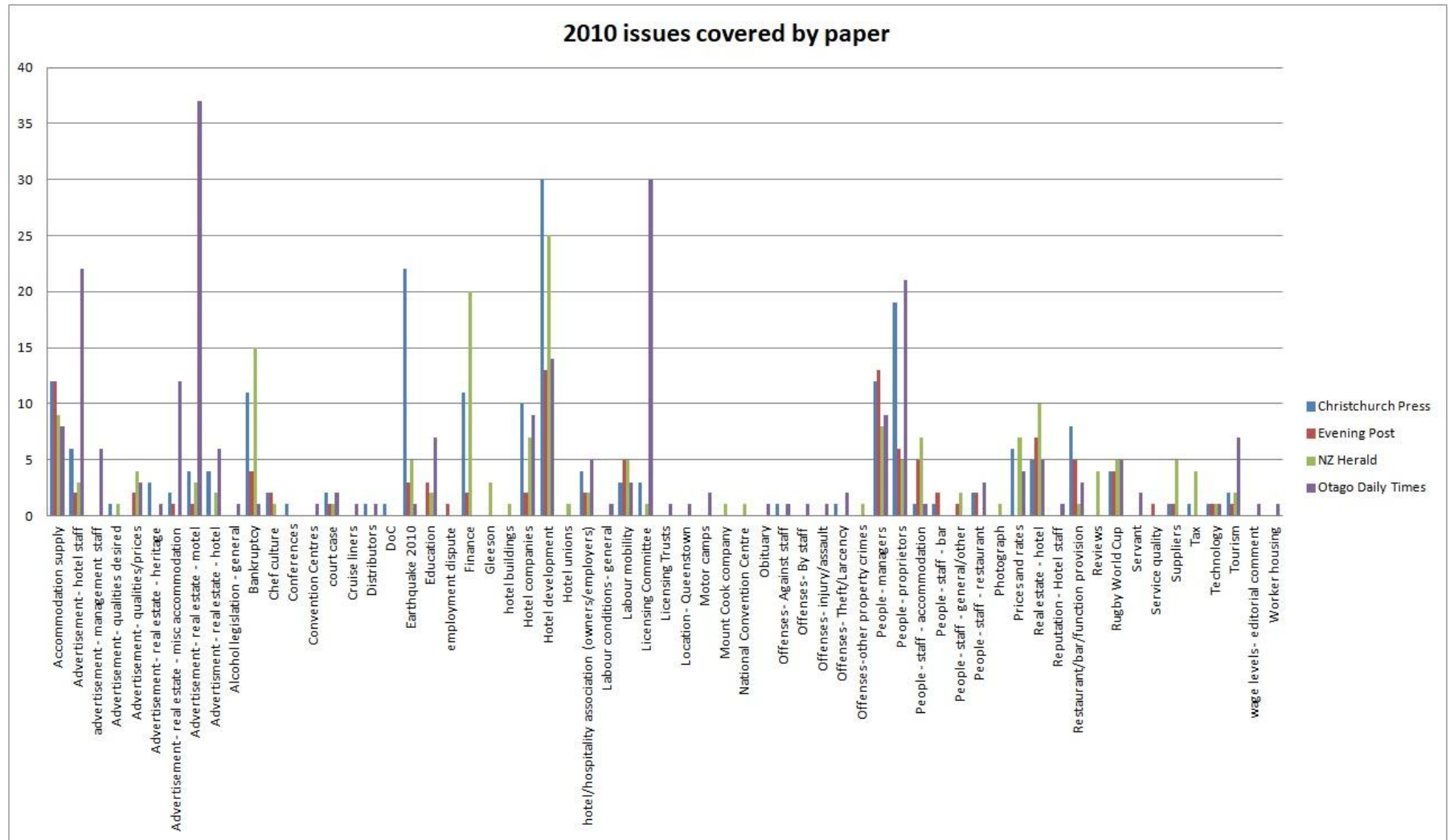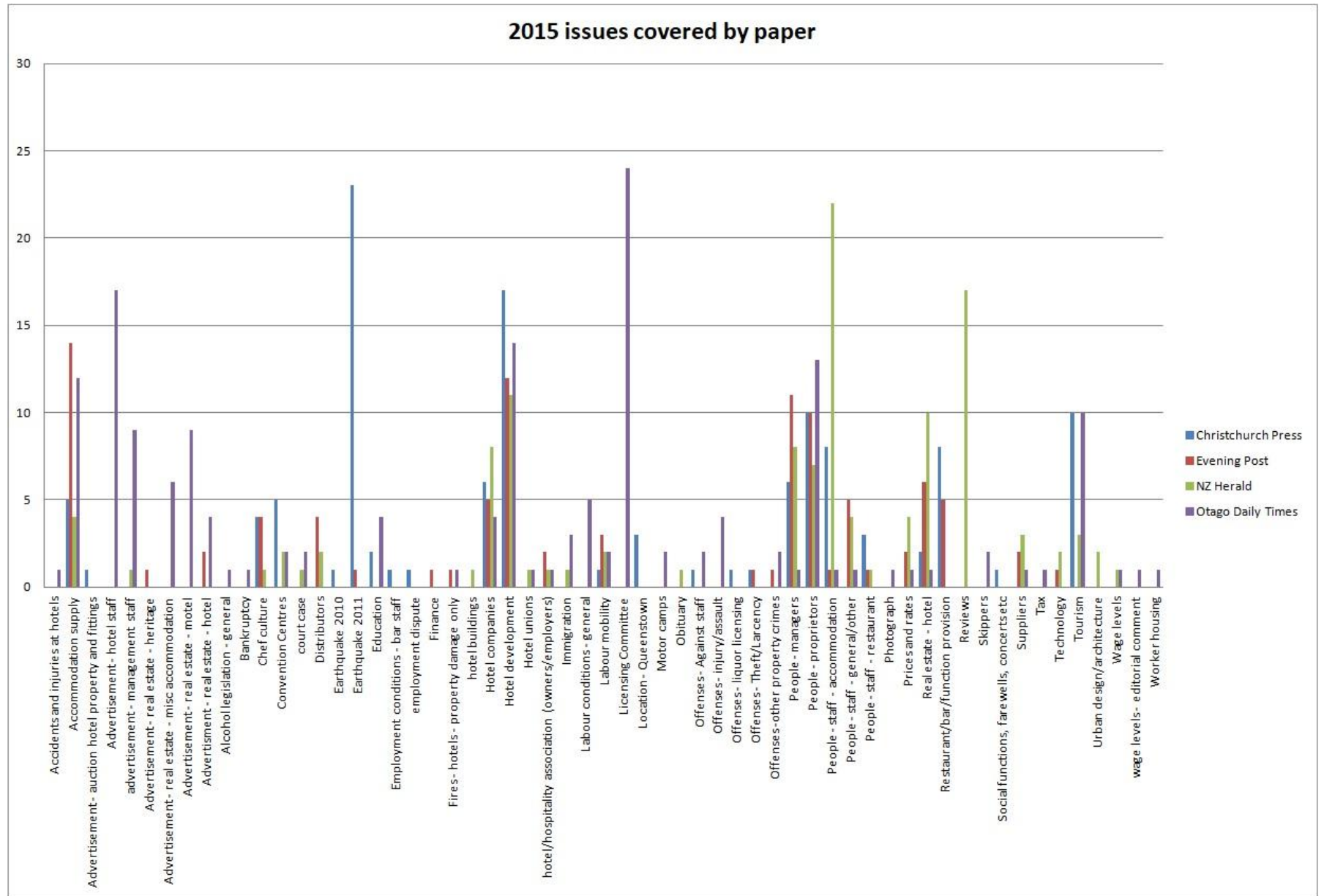| The Press (Christchurch)					
1920		1925		1930	
Business	Leisure	Business	Leisure	Business	Leisure
Warners Cokers	Warners Claredon United Service Royal Hotel Empire Marine Hotel – Sumner The Lodge – Hamner Springs New Club Hotel – Kaikoura	Claredon United Service Warners Kenilworth (P) The Hermitage – Mount Cook	Claredon Warners United Service Royal Hotel Excelsior St Elmos (P) Kenilworth (P) Warwick House (P) New Brighton Cafe (P) Godley House – Diamond Head (P) York House – Hamner (P) Victoria House – Geraldine (P) Glacier Hotel – Franz Josef White Star – Queenstown The Hermitage – Mount Cook	Claredon United Service Warners Dominion Federal Hotel Grand Hotel Grosvenor Hotel – TImaru The Hermitage – Mount Cook	Warners United Service Federal Hotel Grand Hotel Dominion Hotel Stonehurst Private Hotel (P) New Brighton Cafe (P) Mt Pleasant Rest House (P) Ilfracombe Private Hotel – Akaroa (P) Bruce Hotel – Akaroa View Brae – Hamner (P) Hamner House – Hamner (P) The Lodge – Hamner Tekapo House – Tekapo Fox Glacier Hotel – Fox Glacier Fox Glacier Hostel – Fox Glacier (P) Grosvenor Hotel – Timaru The Hermitage – Mount Cook

New Zealand Herald (Auckland)					
1920		1925		1930	
Business	Leisure	Business	Leisure	Business	Leisure
Grand Hotel Northern Club Hotel Cargen Royal Hotel Central Hotel Star Hotel Waverley Hotel	Grand Hotel Hotel Cargen Arundel (P) Mon Desire – Takapuna Midland – Wellington Grand Hotel – Rotorua	Grand Hotel Central Hotel Royal Hotel Star Hotel Hotel Cargen Metropolitan Hotel	Grand Hotel Central Hotel Hotel Cargen Hotel Braeburn Esplanade Hotel – Devonport Stonehurst (P) Gelnalvon (P) Hotel Cecil – Wellington	Royal Hotel Star Hotel Grand Hotel Hotel Cargen Central Hotel Hotel Stonehurst Commercial Hotel Hotel Auckland	Grand Hotel Hotel Cargen Royal Hotel Star Hotel Hotel Stonehurst Hotel Grand Vue – St Heliers Hotel Ventor – Devonport Esplanade Hotel – Devonport Mon Desir – Takapuna Braeburn (P) Arundel (P) Glenalvon (P) Waverley (P) Chateau Tongariro – Tongariro National Park The Hermitage – Mount Cook Lake House – Rotorua Hotel Arawa – Rotorua

Evening Post (Wellington)					
1920		1925		1930	
Business	Leisure	Business	Leisure	Business	Leisure

Royal Oak	Hotel Cecil Royal Oak Midland	Midland Royal Oak Windsor Hotel	Empire Hotel Barretts Berkley Hotel Oriental Bay Grand Hotel Hotel Cecil Royal Oak Waverley Private Hotel (P) Grand Hotel – Auckland White Star – Queenstown The Hermitage – Mount Cook	Midland Royal Oak Grand St Georges Hotel Grand Hotel – Auckland Hotel Cargen – Auckland United Service – Christchurch Claredon – Christchurch	Midland Empire Windsor Hotel Cecil White Star – Queenstown Chateau Tongariro – Tongariro National Park The Hermitage – Mount Cook Grosvenor Hotel – Timaru

Otago Daily Times (Dunedin)					
1920		1925		1930	
Business	Leisure	Business	Leisure	Business	Leisure
		Wains Grand Hotel City Hotel Jacksons Hotel Carlton Hotel Oban Hotel Leviathan Prince of Wales Provincial Greencliffs The Hermitage – Mount Cook	Wains Grand Hotel Excelsior Hotel Leith House (P) GFS Hostel (P)	Grand Hotel City Hotel Excelsior Wains Hotel Carlton Hotel Queen's Hotel – Oamaru New Club Hotel – Oamaru	The Hermitage – Mount Cook White Star Hotel – Queenstown Wanaka Hotel – Wanaka Chateau Tongariro – Tongariro National Park

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The A1 Hotel. (1920, December 10). *The Press,* p. 4.

Aaron Lodge. (2010, December 22). Advertisement, *Otago Daily Times,* p. 42.

Abbey Lodge. (1985, June 18). Letter to the editor, *Otago Daily Times,* p. 4.

Abbey Lodge owner to appeal against decision. (1985, June 18). *Otago Daily Times,* p. 3.

Accidents and fatalities. (1895, December 28). *The Press,* p. 8.

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An Act for limiting the hours of business in shops (1894 October 18).

An Act for repealing "The Servants Registry Offices Act, 1892" and for making other provisions in lieu thereof (1895 September 20).

An Act for the licensing and registration of Servants' Registry Offices (1892 October 11).

An Act to amend "The Alcoholic Liquors Sale Control Act, 1893" (1895 October 31).

An Act to amend "The Licensing Act, 1881" (1889 September 16).

An Act to amend "The Shops and Shop-assistants Act, 1895" (1895 November 1).

An Act to consolidate and amend certain enactments of the general assembly relating to the sale of liquor (1962).

An Act to consolidate and amend the laws regulating the sale of intoxicating liquors (1881 September 21).

An Act to consolidate certain enactments of the general assembly relating to the sale of intoxicating liquor, 104 Stat. (1908).

An Act to consolidate certain enactments of the general assembly relating to the settlement of industrial disputes by conciliation and arbitration, 24 Stat. (1925).

An Act to control the sale of intoxicating liquors within native districts (1878 November 1).

An Act to establish a corporation to encourage the development of the tourist hotel industry in New Zealand and to provide for the transfer to the corporation of the government tourist hotels and to define the functions and powers of the corporation (1955).

An Act to establish a Human Rights Commission (1977 November 21).

An Act to give the people greater control over the granting and refusing of licenses under "The Licensing Act, 1881" (1893 October 2).

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