Employee Transience in the Tourist Resort of Queenstown:
Subjectivity, Resistance and Place

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Abstract

The statement occupying the centre of this thesis comes from ‘Ann-Marie’, the general manager of a tourist accommodation hotel in the tourist resort of Queenstown, New Zealand. “It is an issue, getting really good long-term stay people attracted to the industry. It is the transient stuff that is still frustrating”, she says. This statement struck me as rather interesting when I first heard it. In a context where consumer demand is notoriously unpredictable and temporary and/or part-time employment relationships are distinctive managerial strategies for creating organizational ‘flexibility’, why would a senior manager declare a problem with ‘transience’? The research question generated from this statement thus asks: *why do tourist accommodation hotel managers in Queenstown constitute employee transience as a problem?*

While a managerial statement is at the centre of this thesis, the formulation of the research question and the construction of the thesis response are located within the critical management domain. The analytic agenda of this research, therefore, involves an explanation of Ann-Marie’s statement in terms of the relationship between power-resistance and identity in the contemporary capitalist organisation. As such, my main theoretical guidance comes from the work of Michel Foucault, with additional theoretical assistance from the Foucauldian informed labour process theory. In terms of the empirical material gathered in this research, 27 senior managers and 44 operational employees from seven Queenstown tourist accommodation hotels (QTAHs) were invited to join me in semi-structured research interview dialogue. In order to analyse the way in which particular hotel employee identities are constituted, promoted and resisted, I adopted a genealogical mode of discourse analysis of the interview texts.

I argue that managerial strategies for “getting really good long stay people” within the QTAH context includes practices of ‘governmentality’ that seek to ‘craft’ independently competent ‘professional’ hotel employees who maintain their commitment to and continuity with the ho
tel (industry) through their identification as a ‘career’ hotel employee subject. Resistance to this identity ‘crafting’ is of course possible and comes in many different forms. The particular form that this thesis focuses on is ‘transience’ (or the propensity to transience). Of the many possible alternate subject positions that produce transient conduct, the subject positions that are the focus of this thesis are those constituted within Queenstown discourses of place. Particularly, the discourses of place that constitute Queenstown as a tourist resort. The crossing and re-crossing over the discursive-subject boundaries of hotel career-employee and outdoor-adventure-tourist-worker or social-adventure-tourist-worker create possibilities for resistance to a strong identification with the hotel-career-employee subject position. The disruption that this transience creates for the hotel labour process is the reason for Ann-Marie’s frustration with transience and the reason why the QTAH managers constitute transience as a particular problem in the tourist resort of Queenstown.
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Chapter One

Introduction

It is an issue, getting really good long-term stay people attracted to the industry. It is the transient stuff that is still frustrating. (Ann-Marie)

1.1 Introduction

Having given a great deal of thought to ‘the first step, the point of departure, a beginning principle’, Edward Said counsels his readers that ‘there is no such thing as a merely given, or simply available starting point: beginnings have to be made for each project in such a way as to enable what follows from them’ (Said, 1978, p16). The statement (above) by Ann-Marie - a general manager (GM) in a tourist accommodation hotel in Queenstown, New Zealand - constitutes the point of departure for this thesis

In my initial interview I asked Anne-Marie what her most significant human resource issue was. “Training and length of stay,” she replied. During our second interview, Anne-Marie elaborated on the ‘length of stay’ issue. Your staff, I asked, have they changed in terms of who they are and what they are here for? She responded, “Generally no, just as frustrating as ever. It is an issue, getting really good long-term stay people attracted to the industry. It is the transient stuff that is still frustrating.”

The issue of ‘transience’ and Queenstown became a significant theme as my interviews with the Queenstown tourist accommodation hotel (QTAH) managers proceeded. Andrew, a food and beverage (F&B) manager, for example, suggested that while turnover is not generally a problem for the industry (particularly in the kitchens) “Queenstown is one of the more challenging places I have ever worked in terms of turnover.” As general manager (GM) Edward elaborated, “We’ve had some problems in the sense that we lack a base of certain skilled people in some areas...we have difficulties in housekeeping and we’ve had some problems with restaurant staff.”

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1 I have used pseudonyms for the research participants in the study. See Appendix D and G for the schedules of names.
result of this high turnover is that human resource (HR) managers Beth, Esther and Duncan describe their work as revolving around recruitment and training activities. Despite organisational energies being put into training, however, housekeeping manager Dale describes one season where it was “pretty rough. You’ve been here a week, you’re one of the oldies, you’ll be training a newy.”

Although these managers constitute employee transience as a problem, they also constitute temporary employment as a necessary labour management strategy. In short, the QTAH business environment is constituted as a context where consumer demand is notoriously unpredictable and temporary and/or part-time (Pt) employment relationships are specific managerial strategies for promoting vital ‘flexibility’\(^2\). In addition, hotel careers are constituted in terms of significant movement that is termed ‘mobility’. Given this organisational context, therefore, Anne-Marie’s statement struck me as interesting\(^3\). The formal research question generated from this contradictory statement thus asks: Why do tourist accommodation hotel managers in Queenstown constitute employee transience as a problem?

Encouraging a consciousness about the act of making a beginning Said (1978) explicitly acknowledges the crafting involved:

> The idea of beginning, indeed the act of beginning, necessarily involves an act of delimitation by which something is cut out of a great mass of material, separated from the mass, and made to stand for, as well as be, a starting point, a beginning…(p16).

Section 1.2 and 1.3 will discuss the acts of delimitation performed in this thesis. Specifically, the discussion in section 1.2 locates the research question while the theoretical framework is positioned in section 1.3. Section 1.4 discusses the contribution to the literature this thesis offers and finally, section 1.5 presents a plan of the structure of this thesis.

Before moving on to section 1.2, however, it is important to acknowledge the research background of this final thesis. In other words, what Said (1978) doesn’t address in this

\(^2\) I use single quotation marks around a term to disturb a ‘natural’ or taken-for-granted meaning of the term. As convention dictates, I also use single quotation marks to denote passages from the literature. As a strategy of differentiation, I use double quotation marks and italics for statements from my empirical material.

\(^3\) From this point, where I use Anne-Marie’s statement I am implicitly including the statements from other QTAH managers who articulate this same sentiment.
statement is that ‘beginnings’ and ‘acts of delimitation’ are invariably the result of ‘iterative’ rather than ‘one-off’ practice. From the ‘earliest’ beginning I have brought to this PhD research project a general interest in the philosophy and politics of ‘knowing’. The initial framing of my research task, however, was an exploration of the way in which the human resource management (HRM) discourse within the service sector is impacted by state regulation\(^4\). I selected the tourist hotel accommodation sector as the site of field research primarily because I identified tourism as having an expanding profile in the New Zealand employment market place\(^5\). In short, I felt if more people were being drawn into employment within the tourism sector, then more should be understood about the discourse that managers mobilize as they manage this sector. My proposed analysis of the operationalisation of employment legislation – by tourist accommodation hotel managers – was premised on the assumption that it would provide insight into the institutional patterns of formal and informal employment regulation of staff management. Queenstown was selected as a field site because of the concentration of – and the size of – the hotel workplaces. As my interviews with the senior managers of the QTAHs proceeded, however, the issue of transience and the specificity of the place-identity of Queenstown became impossible to ignore. I found my ‘manager’ interview scripts – while providing a rich account of staff management in the QTAH context - were speaking less about a conscious management of external (state) regulation and more clearly about the management of workplace subjectivities – including their own. As a result, I shifted my research focus to the explanation of Ann-Marie’s statement.

1.2 Locating the research ‘question’

The issue at the centre of Ann-Marie’s statement is the movement of employees out of the QTAH employment relationship. Within the discourse of management, the label

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\(^4\) I selected the service sector because of the way in which the social relations of production are inextricably connected with the social relations of consumption of the social service product.

\(^5\) The New Zealand Tourism Research Council stated recently that the ‘expenditure on international and domestic tourism activity in New Zealand was $13.2 billion in the year ended March 2000, with this demand directly or indirectly supporting an estimated 163,000 full time equivalent jobs’ (2002, p4).
generally given to this ‘transient stuff’ is ‘turnover’. Turnover can be presented as the percentage of employees leaving over the total number of employees – during a particular period of time. Generally speaking, however, managers refer to the entire process that is involved in the replacement of an employee who has left, when they refer to ‘turnover’ (Gustafson, 2002). Johnson (1986) reports that by 1980 an estimated 1,500 papers concerning the issue of ‘turnover’ have been published this century. While claiming Ann-Marie’s statement as a point of departure necessitates some review of the issue of turnover, in general, this review is limited to the more recent tourism and hospitality literature.

1.2.1 Hotel employee turnover

According to the hotel management literature, it is generally recognised that high labour turnover has long been a particular feature of the hotel and hospitality industry (Mars, Bryant & Mitchell, 1979, Johnson, 1981, 1985, 1986; Bonn & Forbringer, 1992; Hinkin & Tracey, 2000; Ghiselli, La Lopa & Bai, 2001; Birdir, 2002). More sociological (Shamir, 1978; Wood, 1992; Riley, 1990, 1991, 1993), labour process (Timmo, 1993) and industrial relations (Riley, 1994; Lucas, 1996) commentary on hotel organisations also refers to the high levels of mobility out of (and into) the hotel labour market. Not surprisingly, therefore, turnover features strongly in the hospitality management literature. Indeed, Riley (1994) describes it reaching the level of ‘obsession’ within the hotel and catering industry literature. As suggested above, my particular interest is in the constitution of turnover (or ‘transience’ more especially) as an issue of both normal hotel labour management and as a source of management ‘frustration’. This dual response is also reflected in the hospitality literature. Wood (1992) writes that there are two positions taken, one position ‘regards high turnover as an unavoidable and even necessary and desirable feature of hotels and catering’, while the other ‘sees labour turnover as problematic for the industry’ (p95).

1.2.2 Desirable turnover

A key factor used to explain turnover as a taken-for-granted necessity of managing labour in the TAH industry is the (seasonal) variation in demand (Riley, 1991, 1993).
As Ann-Marie also states, “As we say, if you are over staffed just wait until people leave”. Hence a major dynamic within the QTAH management strategy of labour flexibility, is the ‘voluntary’ turnover of part-time (Pt) staff (see Chapter Five, section 5.2.2). In other words, it is not just Pt hours that reduce as occupancy falls, it is also the numbers of Pt employees. As F&B manager Boris states:

*If there is no work there is no work...they could say I need five days a week, can you give me five days a week? If we can’t we may lose that member of staff, but it’s a fine line, you can’t have people standing around doing nothing... The roster is as per business.*

While formally the QTAHs don’t render Pt positions ‘redundant’, informally they do rely on Pt staff leaving ‘spontaneously’ due to inadequate hours of work. In this Ann-Marie is reflecting Guerrier and Lockwood’s (1989b) argument that ‘numerical flexibility is achieved because of the relatively high level of labour turnover in this [peripheral] group’ (p10). Thus ‘down-sizing’ is constituted in terms of employee-initiated ‘turnover’ rather than employer initiated ‘redundancy’ (Ball, 1988; Lee-Ross, 1995; Lucas & Ralston, 1996). At times, however, the ‘voluntary’ framing of the employee turnover becomes a little strained. There are seasonal workers who are left economically and emotionally distressed by the sudden ‘evaporation’ of their job (see Ellen’s account in Chapter Five, section 5.2.2). As a result, writers from more sociological, labour process and industrial relations orientated academic locations speak of the considerable employment insecurity associated with much of the hotel industry employment (Wood, 1992; Timmo, 1993; Lucas, 1996).

### 1.2.3 Problematic turnover

Most of the ‘problematic turnover’ discussion in the tourism and hospitality literature takes the form of quantitative surveys that seek to better describe the nature of the problem and to treat this problem for management. For example, in a recent research project, D’Annunzio-Green, Maxwell and Watson (2000) suggest that 44 of their 62 senior hospitality human resource specialists cited ‘managing labour turnover’ as a

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6 (a) A discussion of the ‘core’ and ‘peripheral’ labelling of the labour force will be offered in Chapter Five, section 5.3. (b) I use square brackets [ ] to denote my input into quotes from the literature and the empirical material.

7 An associated issue – but one that will not be explored in detail here – is the historically low levels of unionization in the tourism and hotel industry. ‘That unionism has never taken root in the [UK] industry’, explains Riley (1994) ‘is due to a combination of individualism, fierce employer opposition and the sheer fragmentation of the industrial structure’ (p244). See Rose Ryan (1996, 1998) for an account of labour relations in the New Zealand hotel and hospitality sector.
significant current human resource issue. A significant concern within the discourse of management is ‘cost’. Hinkin and Tracey (2000) estimate that the turnover of a ‘front-desk associate’ (or receptionist) costs between $5,965 and $12,881 in the USA. In the UK, Johnson (1986) reports a figure - for the total annual turnover - in the range of £41,430. Simons and Hinkin (2001) go on to recommend that hotel managers be aware of the cost-benefit ratio of efforts to reduce turnover. Hence, while companies can increase the financial rewards and increase management training to improve their sensitivity to the needs expressed by line employees, for example, such programs cost money and so ‘a shrewd manager will ask whether the payoff in reduced turnover actually outweighs the cost of the turn-over reduction program’ (Simons & Hinkin, 2001, p68).

In framing turnover as a problem, this literature gives some attention to providing a functional solution to the problem. Bonn and Forbringer (1992) recommend a human resource system model - incorporating recruitment, selection and retention programmes - as a method for managing the turnover problem. Wood (1998) laments the ‘labour crisis’ in hospitality and how difficult it is to attract and keep good employees. With a similar human resource management orientation to Bonn and Forbringer (1992), Wood (1998) suggests seven strategies for resolving this problem. These include selecting team members whose ‘style, values and work ethics are aligned with your organization’s’ (p56) as well as training and development, communication, leadership, performance management, trust and respect. Johnson (1985) identifies a link between turnover and workload – ‘as measured by staff/room ratio, occupancy level and overtime hours worked’ (p150) – and then goes on to develop a technique for predicting when levels of turnover will rise and fall based on levels of occupancy (Johnson, 1986). Arguing that hotel employee turnover is predominantly a problem for unit-level management, Johnson (1986) suggests that this turnover prediction technique ‘has been successful in that, for no other reason, it has kept the issue of labour turnover at the forefront of the personnel manager’s mind’ (p379).

Within the management orientated tourism and hospitality literature, some attempt is also made to explain the cause of this turnover. Johnson (1986) reports that a survey of

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8 Albeit with a more enthusiastic humanistic twist that is evocative of management guru writing such as Tom Peters, for example.
25 papers within the turnover literature ‘disclosed 56 causes of turnover, 27 of which had been specifically identified within the context of the hotel and catering industry’ (Cornewall-Walker, 1985 cited on p363). Studying contemporary employee turnover in private clubs in the USA, for example, Gustafson (2002) finds that turnover was lower where: ‘managers fill in for hourly employees; clubs hold social events for employees; there is promotion from within; there is flexibility in scheduling; there is high club loyalty; and there is little concern over labour shortage’ (p110). The explanation provided for the relationship between ‘managers filling in’ and turnover is interesting:

By managers working alongside the employees, a sense of teamwork shared vision, and common goals develops, which all lead to a sense of belonging and heightened communication. Another possibility is that employees recognize they are needed, hence valued, and therefore they would be less likely to leave. (Gustafson, 2002, p110)

This explanation is interesting in the way it draws turnover into the humanistic frame. Implicit in this statement, therefore, is the argument that ‘turnover’ occurs when employees don’t develop ‘shared vision’, ‘common goals’ and ‘a sense of belonging’. Although this is helpful for suggesting why QTAH transience may occur, in not explicitly theorising the relationship between this managerial ‘presence’ on the floor and employees developing these desirable traits, its explanatory power is very limited.

‘While the turnover rates of hourly workers are legendary,’ states Ghiselli et al. (2001), ‘even more challenging are the turnover rates among managers – especially because of the disruption caused by manager’s departures’ (p28). The statistical analysis Ghiselli et al. (2001) conduct indicates that ‘managers who were more satisfied with the intrinsic components of their job, more satisfied with their life, and (relatively) older were less likely to want to leave their position imminently’ (p36). Birdir (2002) also studies the turnover rates of managers; this time general managers (GMs) in hotels along the Turkish coast. This research finds that GMs quit their hotels on average at 3.3 years because of management conflict, difficulties between the GM and the hotel owners, and due to career moves. That these studies speak – in surprised and even alarmed terms – about managers’ turnover patterns is interesting for the fact that the researchers don’t appear to have read the hospitality career literature (see Chapter Seven).

Within the hotel career literature, employee movement is constituted as necessary ‘mobility’ for a successful career in hotel management. This lack of crossover links to
the narrow framing of much organisational research, particularly the more quantitative projects that come out of the functionally orientated managerial discourse. Juxtaposing these two (otherwise unconnected literatures), however, offers some insight into the way in which the discourse of the hotel career focuses explicitly on the mobile ‘individual’. As Chapter Seven (section 7.4) discusses, the mobile manager can have significant consequences for the turnover of a number of staff across several levels within the hotel. These papers offer little in the way of explaining the industry ‘turnover’ that is the cause of Ann-Marie’s frustration, however, they do raise the issue of ‘qualitative’ segmentation of the hotel labour force and this issue runs implicitly through the treatment of turnover in the hotel literature. In other words, an important feature of distinguishing between desirable and problematic turnover is the employment quality of the employee in question. In short, turnover is a problem when competent employees - who are expected to be committed to their employment in the hotel - suddenly leave.

The problematic nature of this turnover is captured in the ‘hobo phenomenon’ language used by Hartman and Yrle (1996). This pejorative language used to describe employee turnover captures the ‘irritation’ this disorderly movement of employees creates. The phrase hobo phenomenon is actually drawn from Ghiselli’s effort ‘to explain his observations that some workers tended to move from one job to another for reasons unrelated to better opportunities or other rational motives. He believes that this ‘behaviour was instinctive and often unpredictable’ (Ghiselli, 1974 cited by Hartman & Yrle, 1996, p11). The point Hartman and Yrle (1996) argue is that dissatisfaction is not the only reason that people leave hotel employment. The perception of promotional opportunities, training and career change also feature. Given this finding, the title of the paper is confusing. Promotion, training and career are generally constituted as purposeful and rational reasons for leaving current employment in the managerial career discourse. While Hartman and Yrle (1996) don’t make the link clear, it is actually a final group of ‘respondents’ that prompt the hobo title:

Fourteen of the 27 respondents had few fixed ideas about their next employment, and many seemed unclear about their goals or how to achieve them. At least some members of this group may fall into the category described by Hulin [Roznowski, Hachiya, 1985] as not orientated towards stable careers and lifestyles. These employees may report job satisfaction but feel little loyalty to the position or to the organization. If this group is significantly large, their motivations require additional study. (p15)
This paper is interesting because it draws attention – albeit using slightly different language – to the frustrating transients of Ann-Marie’s statement. Like the transients, the hobo workers of Hartman and Yrle’s (1996) study are constituted as implicitly valuable employees who don’t conform to conventional career patterns and thus don’t become “good long-term stay people [who are] attracted to the industry” (Ann-Marie). While offering me acknowledgement of the issue of ‘transience’ in the TAH context, Hartman and Yrle (1996) provide little theoretical guidance for an explanation of Ann-Marie’s statement.

1.2.4 Moving transience beyond the managerialist frame

With an academic management background spent largely in the field of ‘organisation theory’, I find the managerialist assumptions within these accounts of hotel turnover to be severely limiting. Organisation theory is not a unified or cohesive disciplinary field. Hassard and Parker (1994) relate this plurality ‘(i)n recent years [to] the currents of cultural theory, postmodernism, gender, critical theory, literary theory and so on [that] have provoked a number of attempts to re-theorize organization and organizing’ (px). These attempts to re-theorize organisation constitute organisation theory as a disciplinary location that allows for explicit connections between organisation and society to be made. As Mills and Simmons (1999) argue:

> It is neither possible nor desirable to divorce the study of organizations from the broader study of society. This is because all organizations are part of the history and culture of their respective societies and cannot meaningfully be analysed in isolation from these larger influences. (p27-28)

In short, the transient behaviour Ann-Marie describes is not an episode of social action that should be conceptually contained within a reified treatment of ‘the organisation’. Thus, in pursuing this hobo/transient hotel employee line further, I am lead to the more sociological-anthropological study conducted by Patricia and Peter Adler (1999a, 1999b) of ‘seekers’ working in a Hawaiian resort.

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9 By ‘managerialist assumptions’ I am referring to the premise (usually implicit) that ‘rational action within organizations is primarily, (if not exclusively), associated with the functions of management’ (Mills & Simmons, 1999, p232). Thus, action by employees that counters management convention – such as reliable and stable employment – is constituted as irrational.

This published study of resort employment and organisation at the Lukane Sands by Patricia and Peter Adler (1999a, 1999b) plays a significant role in the theoretical positioning and focus of the arguments of this thesis. There are three aspects of Adler’s work that I find thought provoking. The first is the parallels or connections between their research material and mine. As Adler and Adler (1999a) identify, there has been little in the way of sociological analysis of hotel/resort hospitality generally and more specifically transience in this context. After a comprehensive and lengthy qualitative exploration of work life at the resort, they organize the resort employee subjects into four distinctive ‘typologies: new immigrants, locals, seekers, and managers’ (Adler & Adler 1999a, p370). The significant parallel with my research material is particularly in reference to the seeker and manager groups. There is a resonance with the issues they describe in their accounts of managers’ lives, careers, and patterns of mobility. In addition, there are connections with the seeker group, whose participation in the resort employment relationship is described as heavily mediated by their leisure orientation. Indeed, an explicit reference to New Zealand gives me a sense that – in part - we are touching upon similar groups of people. For example:

Some people who made Hawaii their base of seasonal migration saved their money and lived cheaply during the off-season, travelling to exotic places like New Zealand where they could surf, windsurf, scuba, hike, or engage in other rugged outdoor activity during the summer. (Adler & Adler, 1999a, p385-386)

In other words, some of Adler and Adler’s research subjects also enter into the research field of my study – either as potential employee subjects or as part of the ‘tourist milieu’ of Queenstown.

The second point of interest in the Adler and Adler (1999a, 1999b) papers is that they offer me - unintentionally I’m sure - a much clearer sense of the way in which the problematisation of transience comes out of a normalization of ‘career’. In short, what strikes me about Adler and Adler (1999a) is their implicit normalization of career. ‘Managers’ for example, ‘expressed the belief that this was an arena where

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11 (a) The Lukane Sands is ‘a luxury resort in the Hawaiian Islands, with more than 700 rooms and between 900 and 1,400 employees (depending on the year and season)’ (Adler and Adler, 1999b: 370). (b) I also want to acknowledge the time gap here between my fieldwork – completed largely in 1997 – and the publication of these papers – in 1999. As discussed (in section 1.1 above) once ‘in the field’, my research agenda shifted focus from the impact of state regulation on the QTAM managerial discourse to that of exploring this issue of transience. Due to personal reasons I suspended my study during 1998. Thus in returning to the project in 1999, these papers by Adler & Adler prompted useful thinking about the focus of my analytical handling of the rich empirical material I had gathered in my fieldwork.
opportunities were limitless, where energy and effort determined success’ (p388). In addition, the managers ‘found their work intrinsically satisfying and made it their central life interest…they found excitement, autonomous expression, and creative fulfillment on the job’ (p394). A quote from a general manager in Adler and Adler (1999b), however, is both troubling and interesting. It concerns the relationship between career mobility and family or personal relationships:

I’m not married because of my work ethic. I’m married to my job. I’ve been in three or four serious relationships and each of them has lasted five years. One wanted me to become an accountant and settle down. Another one I asked to come to [this island], but she wouldn’t come … I feel like I stepped off an eighty-foot cliff one day and I’ve been stepping off for the next ten years. (Arthur Boggs, quoted by Adler & Adler, 1999b, p45)

While this profound displacement of the ‘non-work life’ to meet the demands of the ‘work life’ is certainly acknowledged as a tension by Adler and Adler (1999b) it is not constructed as a significant problem. Rather, this ‘stepping off an eighty-foot cliff’ is constituted as commitment to ‘a career’. Seekers, on the other hand, are constituted as having ‘stepped off’ the ‘career track’. This group is said to seek ‘to maximize their immediate life satisfaction. Escapists, they desired to rid themselves of the routine, scripted monotony of the everyday world, even if only temporarily’ (Adler, 1999a, p381). This language of ‘escapism’ and ‘ridding’ themselves of ‘the everyday world’ suggests that these statements are produced within a discourse where the discipline of career is highly normalized. As a consequence, there is a sense that the seekers are offering resistance to the normal – even if that normal produces significant constraints on the life they experience. A critical reading of Adler and Adler (1999a), therefore, renders obvious the relationship between employee transience and the social relations of capital.

1.2.5 Examining transience from a ‘critical’ location

Sensitivity to the relations of capital informing Adler and Adler’s (1999a, 1999b) argument comes from my intellectual location within the ‘critical’ region of management/organization theory. Operating from the premise that ‘management’ is a social process (Linstead, 1996) and further, that the generation of knowledge about (the

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12 I have adopted this practice of splicing ‘management’ and ‘organisation’ together in this thesis where I am referring to the broad conceptual field that incorporates both practices and knowledge of management and organisation.
social process of) management is also a ‘social process’ (Jacques, 1992), I treat the practice and knowledge of management and organisation as legitimate sites of critical social analysis. Alvesson & Deetz (2000) suggest that critical social research is:

Orientated towards challenging rather than confirming that which is established, disrupting rather than reproducing cultural traditions and conventions, opening up and showing tensions in language use rather than continuing its domination, encouraging productive dissension rather than taking surface consensus as a point of departure. (p9)

Critical management studies (CMS) address this critical analytical agenda to the specific field of management/organisation (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000). There are multiple ontological and epistemological approaches and research agendas contained within the ‘CMS’ academic label (Alvesson & Willmott, 1992; Alvesson & Deetz, 2000; Fournier & Grey, 2000; Jones, 2000). This thesis adopts the position articulated by Fournier and Grey (2000) when they suggest that: ‘at a basic level, CMS is a political project in the sense that it aims to unmask the power relations around which social and organizational life are woven’ (p19).

According to Fournier & Grey (2000), the process through which this ‘unmasking’ is approached includes the themes of ‘non-performative intent’ and ‘denaturalisation’13. In terms of ‘non-performative intent’, ‘CMS questions the alignment between knowledge, truth and efficiency…and is concerned with performativity only in that it seeks to uncover what is being done in its name’ (Fournier & Grey, 2000, p17)14. In other words, manageralist accounts of organisational phenomenon are deemed problematic because they are uncritical about the assumptions and attitudes of management (McCabe, Knights, Kerfoot, Morgan & Willmott 1998). As Knights and Willmott (1986) suggest:

The basic rationale of management is seen to reside in its functional contribution to the efficient and effective achievement of objectives whose origins and legitimacy are taken for granted. In this light, competent managerial work is regarded as morally and politically neutral… In fact, it is virtually unimaginable that management control could be deflected or resisted for reasons other than the failure of managers to effectively organize, motivate and reward their subordinates. (p1-2)

This thesis, however, is not a quest to unlock the problem of turnover for the QTAH managers so that a solution is found to restore their motivation of employees to stay. Rather, it seeks to explore the nature of the power relations that are involved in the

13 Methodological ‘reflexivity’ is also included. This theme is raised in Chapter Two (section 2.4).
14 A performativistic intent (Lyotard, 1984), here, means the intent to develop and celebrate knowledge which contributes to the production of maximum output for minimum input; it involves inscribing knowledge within means-ends calculation’ (Fournier & Grey, 2000, p17).
frustration felt by the QTASH managers that particular employees resist their managerial disciplinary practices.

‘Denaturalisation’ ‘is concerned with the proposition that things may not be as they appear’ (Fournier & Grey, 2000, p18). Alvesson and Deetz (2000) connect this ‘denaturalisation’ theme specifically to ‘knowledge’ of the management phenomenon. In short, their critical management research task of insight looks to the ‘various ways in which this [taken-for-granted] knowledge and the objective character of objects and events are formed and sustained’ (p17-18). Critique then ‘counteract[s] the dominance of taken-for-granted goals, ideas, ideologies and discourses which put their imprints on management and organization phenomena’ (p18). Denaturalisation is an important theme within the research question that structures this thesis. A central construct that is de-naturalised within this thesis is career. As suggested above, that individuals devote considerable time, effort and energy to their employment careers is taken-for-granted by writers such as Adler and Adler (1999a, 1999b) and a number of QTASH managers of this study. As Knights and Murray (1992) suggest:

By describing the career politics of organizations uncritically, the theorist contributes to their reproduction and, by default, to the undermining of the productive power and potential of the organization that is their outcome. (p213)

To conceptually step outside of this taken-for-granted assumption, therefore, opens up the possibility of interrogating the relations of power invested in this notion of career and the alternate non-career behaviour labelled transience.

1.2.6 Transience and identity

Having profiled the work orientation of their two management and seeker groups, Adler and Adler (1999a) return to ask the question ‘what makes people work hard, put in long hours on the job, and make sure that their tasks are done well?’ (p394). In constructing a response Adler and Adler (1999a) invoke the notion of a core essential identity:

Although members of these groups lodged their central life interest in different places, they all lodged it where they found their greatest degree of personal enjoyment, self-fulfillment, and identity. To the extent that they found these attributes in work, they

15 As opposed to other careers, such as careers in deviant behaviours, for example drug addiction that were examined by early University of Chicago sociologists (see Barley, 1989).
This relationship between identity and transience leads into the third point of interest I have in the Adler and Adler (1999a, 1999b) material. Adler and Adler (1999b) title their paper *Transience and the Postmodern self*. They begin by stating that: ‘different types of resort workers are impelled to undertake transient lifestyles through a combination of self-selection and inner drive factors as well as through the external demands of career paths in the hospitality industry’ (p32). While their agenda for the paper is to look at the nature of the transience – as evidenced through the accounts of hotel managers and seekers – they mediate this experience of transience through a dualistic ‘model of the
self’. In short, they set up a dualism between a ‘modernist’ ‘core self’ and a
‘postmodern’ ‘decentered self’ and then ‘consider the various ways that transient resort
workers embody these conflicting models of the self’ (Adler & Adler, 1999b, p33). I
have considerable difficulty with their use of the notion of the ‘postmodern self’16. In
particular, I suggest that by translating these analytical constructs into a descriptive
typology, the Adlers are erasing the possibility of any productive insights into the
identity politics of transience. As a result, Adler and Adler (1999b) construct a rather
strange argument of psychological redemption for the ‘apparently lost’ seekers. First
they constitute seekers as socially and psychologically marginal transients:

They are fragmented through their loss of stability, evoked only situationally by the work,
leisure, and relationships they encounter in their travels...Much of their lives is
emotionally flat, depthless, and decentered by the loss of their central base in recurrent
and predictable place, people, structure, and routine. They form relationships that they do
not need to negotiate or touch a core base to function. (Adler & Adler, 1999b, p53)

Having constituted the emotional and psychological state of the transient in these
clearly negative terms, however, Adler and Adler (1999b) then go on to conclude that
these transients do retain a ‘core self’. In other words, they are not completely lost.
Hence: ‘it seems that the postmodernists’ most pessimistic view of the demise of the
self has not been borne out: rather, the core self has adapted to contemporary conditions
and thrived’ (Adler & Adler, 1999b, p54). While I have difficulty with much of the
content of this paper, the title I find helpful. In other words, the ‘gap’ this paper alerts
me to is the contribution a Foucauldian analysis of the constitution of the transient
employee subject position could offer the critical management organisation literature.

Before I move on to discuss the role of Foucauldian theorising in response to this
research question, however, it is important to discuss briefly the particular labour pool
that is at the centre of this study. In focusing my attention on the managers and seekers
of Adler and Adler’s (1999a) study, I have erased their account of the ‘immigrant’ and
‘local’ workforce. Like the Lukane Sands, QTAH also has other groups of workers that
fall outside the manager or transient classification. Due to population size,
demographics, politics, geography and my own theoretical position, I would argue that
the QTAH workforce cannot be so clearly differentiated into these four segments
constructed by Adler and Adler (1999a, 1999b). There are, however, important

16 I can only explain this difficulty in terms of competing academic discourses through which the term
‘Postmodern’ and ‘self’ are constituted according to conflicting assumptions and theories.
movements and links between the different employment identities of employees within the QTAH context. To gain a sense of these connections and how they might relate to the research agenda of this thesis, I want to briefly return to the explanation of turnover provided by Johnson (1981).

1.2.7 Turnover as ‘ambivalence’

While Johnson (1981) also considers turnover to be a problem in the hospitality industry, he looks to the relationship between the different internal labour pools working within the hotel for an explanation and ultimately a solution. In short, he divides the hotel workforce into three levels: the ‘core’, the ‘transients’ and the ‘opportunists’. A description provided by Wood (1992) is worth repeating here:

At one extreme is the hard core of staff, stable and settled at work with long service to their credit. At the opposite extreme are the transient workers, those who frequently change jobs and rarely survive in a single organisation for any length of time. A third group … [the] ’opportunists…have survived an induction period but have not yet joined the hard core. (p97)

This three-tier employee model constructed by Johnson (1981) can be drawn into the profile GM Desiree draws of the Jupiter Hotel workforce. In terms of Johnson’s (1981) core group, Desiree describes the management employees:

In Queenstown one would assume that the majority of people in the management team would stay in the industry because for most of them it has been a career choice and it is difficult to get out of – or easy to stay in – because it is comfortable.

At the other end of the continuum, Johnson’s (1981) transients are depicted by Desiree as short-stay employees who have primarily been drawn to the place of Queenstown and work in the hotel is a side issue:

Non-managerial people, I assume, will not be in the industry in two years time. [It is] age and stage and the environment we live in Queenstown... They treat Queenstown in the same way they would treat another country, i.e., they really don’t care as much because they are only here for a short time and they are doing things here that they perhaps wouldn’t do in their own home town...[For example] a constant problem is turning up. Sunday am if there are four people who don’t turn up and a full house of people...it puts a huge pressure on the others to do additional 40 rooms.

While traditionally the focus has been on the transient group of employees, Johnson (1981) suggests that the ‘opportunists’ are ‘the crucial group in understanding and thereby controlling the labour turnover process’ (p11).
This is because this group of staff are caught in a dilemma. They can either join the “hard core” staff or they can join the “transients”, depending on whether they stay or leave. In this ambivalent position they are subjected to conflicting forces. On the one hand the hard-core staff may accept them and in doing so encourage them to stay. Whilst on the other, the “transients” may stress the opportunities that lie outside the organisation rather than within it. These two influences are obviously pulling the “opportunists” in opposite directions and their relative strength will determine the eventual outcome. This outcome will have a marked influence upon the total turnover situation within the organisation. Therefore attention should be focused upon the relative strengths of those opposing forces. (Johnson, 1981, p11)

A connection can be made between this ‘third’ middle group that Johnson (1981) labels the opportunists and the employees that are rewarded with more rostered hours as the seasonal demand weakens. In relation to the employees who do turn up for work on a Sunday morning – compared to those who don’t – I ask Desiree if they might get more rostered hours. “Yes, oh absolutely”, she replies:

> And coming into the next few months that is when it’s important. A lot of these kids don’t understand that they are Pt and while they may have been working 30-40 hours a week and having a reasonable income, over the next two or three months they might be lucky to get 20 hours a week.

Thus, in terms of Johnson’s (1981) turnover model, rostered hours can be constructed as a tactic of persuasion whereby a transient employee may be drawn into becoming a core employee.

As housekeeping manager Fran suggests, however, this process of persuasion is in constant flow or tension. Fran describes her core workers as her “main workers. If there is work to do, they do it”. She describes the commitment of two of her core workers, however, in decidedly uncertain terms. “I call [them] my core but their minds seem to change pretty quickly. They might decide next week there’s another job somewhere else. So it’s very transient.” In her account of the flow of labour, HR manager Esther articulates the relationship between the core and transient groups within the QTAH context specifically:

> Queenstown does have a high turnover, higher than any other hotels. I guess we accept that...obviously it’s really good to keep a core staff who will carry on but a certain amount we are quite happy to come and go, come and go.
Thus, in picking up the career-transience dynamic from Adler and Adler (1999a, 1999b) I will insert it into this ‘ambivalent space’ of the opportunist\textsuperscript{17}.

In short, the most interesting group within the QTAH workforce is this middle level that I would prefer to call ‘the ambivalents’. These employees are more interesting because their commitment to the industry is much more ambivalent. While the managerial ‘core’ (Johnson, 1981) is generally committed through their adoption of a hotel-career-employee subject position (see Chapter Seven) and thus can be relied on, it is the important supervisory and senior operational level (both Ft and Pt) that I would label as ‘the ambivalents’\textsuperscript{18}. While they are here now, they may not be for long. If they leave, they have to be replaced and finding a knowledgeable, capable and competent replacement is where the problem is. For GM Eric the replacement of these trained and competent operational staff is his most significant staffing issue:

\textit{The transient nature of the Queenstown population, training people up and then they leave and then you’ve got to hire some else and find the right one. Finding the right one is our biggest problem.}

The importance of persuading this ‘ambivalent’ group to commit themselves to their employment is exacerbated in the QTAH context due to the low skilled labour pool the hotels tend to have to draw from and because of their (traditional hotel) reliance on the external labour market for handling seasonal variation in demand (see Chapter Four). As Nickson (1999) argues, however, this problem is not restricted to Queenstown.

Organizations and managers in the hotel industry face real challenges in recruiting, selecting, developing and maintaining a committed, competent, well-managed, and well-motivated workforce which is focused on offering a high quality service to the increasingly demanding and discerning customer (p201).

Like Johnson, therefore, this thesis argues for more consideration of the processes that may influence the ambivalents to either become part of the committed and continuous QTAH career-employee subject group, or join the transient ambivalent group. Where Johnson assumes that opportunist are influenced to stay by the core and to leave by the

\textsuperscript{17} In other words, Johnson’s (1981) model interests me less for his prescription and more for the way it captures an important dynamic within the TAH internal labour market.

\textsuperscript{18} By ‘operational’ staff I am referring to the group of employees who perform the guest–service interaction (such as reception, porters and food and beverage attendants) and the hotel support functions (such as room attendants and kitchen staff) that are central to the operation of the hotel. Managerial staff are those whose primary task is the management of the operational staff.
transients, however, I will examine how this ‘influence’ or ‘persuasion’ is affected in the QTAH context more specifically. In short, I will develop this theme of influence on the ambivalents into an argument concerning their decision to adopt a hotel-career–employee subject position or not. GM Eric states that recruiting the ‘right’ employee is an important issue. In this thesis it is assumed that the right employee is one who will survive an induction period (Johnson, 1981) either in the current hotel or in the industry generally. In other words, the ambivalent has shown himself/herself to be an independently competent employee (in other words a professional-hotel-employee subject)\(^{19}\). In so doing, it is assumed that the ambivalent is constituted as a valuable employee by those QTAH employees – managerial and operational – who are practicing the persuasion. It is the transience or non-commitment of this valuable but ambivalent employee that is the focus of this thesis. As such, any reference to employee transience is in relation to this (professional) but ambivalent QTAH employee group. The empirical material in this thesis, therefore, is primarily from the managers and the longer-term – either hotel or industry – operational employees. In short, material is not used from Johnson’s (1981) category of transients. Having discussed the formulation of the research question, section 1.3 now turns to the acts of delimitation I have engaged to theoretically position my response to this research question.

1.3 Theorising the thesis ‘response’

A growing interest in the work of Michel Foucault by the English speaking management/organisation academic community has resulted in a proliferation of Foucault inspired analyses of management/organisation history, theory and practice. This thesis is located squarely within this ‘proliferation’. I do acknowledge that the selection of a Foucauldian theoretical framework could be viewed as part of this trend. My motivation to draw on Foucault’s theorising of discourse, subjectivity and resistance, however, is due to its general appeal and its specific usefulness for the research agenda contained within this thesis\(^{20}\).

\(^{19}\) In Chapter Six and Eight I shall discuss the nature of this independent competency further.

\(^{20}\) By ‘general appeal’ I am referring to my general comfort with the premises that sustain this body of theory. In particular, the political constitution of knowledge and practice through discourse, the power/knowledge relationship and the dynamic and power invested treatment of subjectivity. I have no explanation for why assumptions operating within Foucault’s theorising ‘work’ for me while they leave
1.3.1 Foucault and ‘critical’ management/organisational analysis

As Carter, McKinlay and Rowlinson (2002) state:

The work of Michel Foucault has, over the last 15 years or so, gained considerable prominence in the field of organisation studies. The diffusion of Foucault across organisational studies attests to the broad-ranging appeal of his work. (p515)

In arguing for the relevance of Foucauldian theorising for organizational analysis, Chan (2000) states that ‘organizational analysis has to be conceptualised as a resistance’ (p1060). Within Foucauldian theorising, ‘resistance’ is described as the ‘same coin’ – albeit the other side of the coin – to ‘power’ (see Chapter Three, section 3.5). Implicit within this statement by Chan (2000), however, is Foucault’s discussion of ‘critique’. Foucault (1978/1997) makes the argument that from the 15th century on there was a veritable explosion of the art of governing including ‘how to govern one’s own body and mind’ (1978/1997, p27). ‘Outside’ this ‘governmentalization’ is a challenge, or, in other words, critique:

I mean that, in this great preoccupation about the way to govern and the search for the ways to govern, we identify a perpetual question which would be: “How not to be governed like that, by that, in the name of those principles, with such and such an objective in mind and by means of such procedures, not like that, not for that, not by them.” (Foucault, 1978/1997, p28)

Thus within this wide reaching ‘governmental dynamic’, Foucault (1978/1997) locates ‘the critical attitude’. Specifically, he proposes as a first definition of critique ‘the art of not being governed quite so much’ (Foucault, 1978/1997, p29). More specifically, not wanting to be governed ‘like that’ means: ‘questioning the truth in the scriptures’ (p30); challenging ‘the limits of the right to govern’ (or invoking ‘natural law’) (p31); ‘accepting ‘truth’ not because an authority tells you it is true but because you think it is valid’ (p31). In this sense, argues Foucault (1978/1997):

Above all, one sees that the core of critique is basically made of the bundle of relationships that are tied to one another, or one to the two others, power, truth and the subject. And if governmentalization is indeed this movement through which individuals

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21 For papers by Foucault that have been re-published in collected volumes I have combined the original date of publication with the current date of publication. I do this to aid clarity and precision with the references. This practice is also followed for other re-publications (from other authors) throughout this thesis.
are subjugated in the reality of a social practice through mechanisms of power that adhere to a truth, well, then! I will say that critique is the movement by which the subject gives himself the right to question truth on its effects of power and question power on its discourses of truth. (p32)

This position was articulated by Foucault ‘in dialogue’ (as it were) with Kant’s (1784) essay Was ist Aufklärung? As such, discussion on critique is woven back into the question of Aufklärung or ‘enlightenment’. The central point I want to draw from this discussion is the relationship between critique and ‘the idea we have of our knowledge and its limits’ (Foucault, 1978/1997, p35). For this, Foucault credits Kant. For ‘in his attempt to desubjugate the subject in the context of power and truth, as a prolegomena to the whole present and future Aufklärung, Kant set forth critique’s primordial responsibility, to know knowledge’ (Foucault, 1978/1997, p36). It is within this agenda ‘to know’ management/organisation ‘knowledge’ that I locate critical management/organization studies.

As more Foucault inspired studies are being practiced, attention is being paid to the way in which Foucault is being applied\(^\text{22}\). Generally speaking, these are calls for a clearer and more intellectually honest use of Foucauldian theorising in the domain of organisation analysis. As Carter \textit{et al.} (2002) suggest, (n)ot surprisingly, given that Foucault’s texts have traveled far from their original contexts, there are a number of different readings of Foucault within organisational studies’ (p515-516). Fleming (2002) and Jones (2002), for example, argue for a more careful attendance both to Foucault’s intellectual ‘inheritance’ and the way his ideas have been applied to organisational analysis. In arguing that ‘much organisation theory simply uses Foucault as a convenient resource’ (p575) Knights (2002) proposes to ‘write organisation theory into Foucault’. This would be a project that ‘attempts to follow Foucault’s commitment to taking thought beyond itself or thinking what appears to be unthinkable’ (p576)\(^\text{23}\). To begin to think the ‘un-thinkable’, however, I need to understand how the ‘thinkable’ is constructed. It is here that I must return to the focus of this thesis and to the notion of discourse.

\(^{22}\) See, for example, the special issue of \textit{Organization} (2002) Vol. 9 No. 4.

\(^{23}\) My efforts to produce a careful Foucauldian informed analysis draw from the argument and challenges presented in these papers.
'The main elements of Foucauldian analysis which have been taken up in the study of management’, Morgan (1992) argues:

Concern the idea that the modern world is characterized by emerging discourses of power and knowledge…Knowledge is a way of constructing the world, of differentiating it into various elements and through this process taking control over the elements and disciplining the self and social institutions. (p151)

An important contribution to the critique of the problem of QTAH employee transience, therefore, is an analysis of management/organization ‘discourse’.

1.3.2 Discourse and critical management/organisational analysis

Phillips and Hardy (2002) argue that ‘an important reason for the growing appeal of discourse analysis in organization and management theory derives from the renewed interest in critical management studies’ (p14). As Grant, Keenoy and Oswick (2001) suggest, discourse analysis contributes to the management/organisation studies field through the way it ‘highlights…the ability of discourse to socially construct reality for organizational members’ [and that it] ‘offers an alternative approach and perspective to the analysis of a range of organizational and management issues’ (p10).

While discourse and discourse analysis features prominently within contemporary social science, these words capture a variety of analytical practices. Wetherell, Taylor and Yates (2001a, 2001b) and Phillips and Hardy (2002) for example provide a list of the different approaches available. Margaret Wetherell (2001) suggests that:

These traditions (not quite schools) typically include some epistemological claims, a set of concepts and procedures for substantive work and a clearly marked out theoretical domain. They also typically include a distinctive understanding of ‘discourse’. Discussion is beginning to occur around the boundaries of these different approaches, their merits and de-merits, the points of similarity and difference and the choices at stake, as advocates attempt to build research communities while critics from other perspectives attempt to weaken their claims for intellectual hegemony. (p382)

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24 As Foucault (1997) suggests, ‘Critique only exists in relation to something other than itself: it is an instrument, a means for a future or a truth that it will not know or happen to be, it oversees a domain it would want to police and is unable to regulate. All this means that it is a function which is subordinated in relation to what philosophy, science, politics, ethics, law, literature, [and managerialist accounts of management/organisation] etc, positively constitute’ (p25).

Wetherell (2001) argues that some boundaries between these heterogeneous traditions are clearly defined while others are fuzzy. As a result, Taylor (2001) suggests that ‘discourse analysis is best understood as a field of research rather than a single practice’ (p5). While many organisational discourse writers preface their contribution by acknowledging the growing interest in organisation discourse, they also view the field as heterogeneous, divergent and at times conflicting (Oswick, Keenoy & Grant, 1997; Grant, Keenoy & Oswick, 1998, 2001; Hardy, 2000, 2001)\(^{26}\). Some writers, for example, offer a linguistic orientated analysis of language-in-use (Yeung, 1997; Woodilla, 1998; Marshak, Keenoy, Oswick & Grant, 2000); Putnam & Fairhurst, 2001) while others adopt a more Foucauldian emphasis on social context (see Knights & Morgan 1991b, 1995, for a Foucauldian informed analysis of the managerial discourse of strategy). Other examples of discourse analysis in the organisation literature adopt a more functional approach so that discourse becomes a ‘strategic resource’ (Lease, McConnell & Nord, 1999; Hardy, Palmer & Phillips, 2000). In addition, the border between conceptualizations of language form – such as organisation-orientated ‘stories’ (Gabriel, 1998, 2002; Salzer-Mörling, 1998; Cohen & Mallon, 2001), ‘narratives’ (Dunford & Jones, 2000; O’Connor, 2000; Beech, 2000; Washbourne & Dicke, 2001); ‘metaphors’ (Perren & Atkin, 1997; Cazal & Inns, 1998); and ‘rhetoric’ (Jackson, 2000) - and organisation discourse is not always clear.

Perhaps inevitably, this plurality of organisation discourse analytic approaches has prompted attempts to map the academic terrain. In the management/organization literature Phillips and Ravasi (1998 cited by Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p20) offer a two-dimensional matrix of discourse analysis where the horizontal axis runs from ‘constructivist’ to ‘critical’, the vertical axis runs from ‘context’ to ‘text’. Alvesson and Karreman (2000), on the other hand, construct a similar matrix but place ‘muscular’ (determinism) and ‘transient’ (autonomy) on the horizontal axis and ‘myopic’ (close-range) and ‘grandiose’ (long-range) on the vertical. For Watson (2000) the thought of a search for a definition of organisation discourse – specifically by Grant et al. (1998) – results in ‘pangs of anxiety’:

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\(^{26}\) See the collection of papers in Grant, Keenoy & Oswick, 1998; the special issue of the *Journal of Applied Management Studies* 6(1) 1997; the special issue of *Discourse & Society* 10(1) 1999; the special issue of the *Journal of Applied Behavioural Science* 36(2) 2000; and the issue of *International Studies of Management and Organization* 31(3) 2001, for example.
To write about the search for a definition in this way is to imply that ‘discourse’ is something ‘out there’ with a particular essence that we have to try and capture…It would be much more consistent to treat the notion of discourse, instead, as a piece of language in action… [or, as a permissive concept which is] useful to us in trying to make sense of the world. (p563)

Watson (2000), however, is equally troubled by Grant et al.’s (1998) recourse to the notion of ‘the discursive paradox’ as a way of showing support – simultaneously – for quite different (and contradictory) ontologically and epistemologically embedded approaches to the analysis of discourse. In short, I read Watson’s (2000) comments as a call for intellectual honesty and clarity. In the end, one has to locate oneself in a particular theoretical domain. A productive platform for identifying the appropriate theoretical domain is the ‘value’ or goal of our organizational discourse. As Parker (2000) argues, ‘the haunting dream of Cartesian clarity leads to endless attempts to discover foundations for certainty or describe the reasons why we are left with uncertainty’ (Parker, 2000, p520). Instead, asks Parker (2000), ‘why not stop worrying about the impossibility of facts or the classification of experience and turn instead to questions of value?’ (p520). Hence, ‘the question I want to think is not whether the pen (or organization) is discourse, but what discourses we want to sponsor. What do we (want to) use our pens for?’ (p523).

As the research agenda of this thesis incorporates a ‘critical’ component the methodology I engage with to analyse QTAH discourses of employment and career is influenced by Foucault’s ‘genealogical’ method (see Chapter Two, section 2.2.2). With a research aim of getting ‘to know’ QTAH management and employee ‘knowledge’ about employee transience, my strategy for understanding ‘discourse

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27 Thus, in terms of Wetherell’s (2001) classification, the discourse analysis within this thesis is ‘Foucauldian’. In the language of Phillips and Ravasi’s model, Foucauldian discourse analysis is placed within the ‘critical’ and ‘contextual’ quadrant. While critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a discourse analytic approach that also draws on Foucault to theorise the link between language and the wider social context, Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) make it clear, however, that the ‘epistemological claims’ and ‘theoretical domain’ of CDA locates it firmly within the general discipline of linguistics. The work of Norman Fairclough - (1992) Discourse and Social Change, Polity Press: UK; and (1995) Critical Discourse Analysis, Longman: UK, for example, - is placed at the centre of the CDA ‘school of discourse analysis’ by Blommaert & Bulcaen (2000). While Blommaert & Bulcaen (2000) constitute CDA as a primarily ‘linguistic-based’ approach to discourse analysis, however, Phillips and Hardy (2002) invoke the label – and the work of Fairclough & Wodak, for example, to describe a more general category that includes ‘the Foucauldian tradition’ and Knights and Morgan’s (1991b) study of the discourse of strategy. This ‘plural’ use of the CDA label and the Foucauldian aspects drawn into the ‘linguistic’ space links directly to Hardy’s (2001) suggestion that the field of discourse analysis is ‘divergent, and sometimes conflicting’ (p25).
analysis’ was first to understand the relationship between ‘language’, ‘knowledge’ and ‘discourse’. For that I turned to Foucault’s (1972) *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (see Chapter Three, section3.3). As Hall (1997/2001) succinctly puts it, ‘by ‘discourse’, Foucault meant ‘a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment’’ (Hall, 1992, cited in Hall, 1997/2001, p72). In order to interrogate the notion of ‘transience’, it is important to explore the constitution of non-transience or commitment. To realize this analytical objective, the ‘problem of transience’ is theorised in terms of the relations of power that are invested in the notion of career.

In Wetherell *et al.* (2001b) Jean Carabine (2001) is presented as an exemplar of a genealogical analysis. ‘My project’, states Carabine (2001), ‘has been to argue that ideas about sexuality, particularly heterosexuality, play a significant role in social policy whether as a discipline or as a practice’ (p267). Similarly, this thesis argues that ideas about ‘professionalism’ (see Chapter Six) and ‘hotel career’ (see Chapter Seven) inform the meaning that is invested in employee transience by QTAH managers. Further a ‘genealogical discourse analysis’ allow me to trace the strategic connections between the managerial meaning of the professional hotel career and the strategic interests of capital. Another compelling reason for the productivity of a Foucauldian theorisation of discourse and discourse analysis for this thesis, however, is the relationship that is established between power-knowledge, discourse and subjectivity.

### 1.3.3 Subjectivity and critical management/organisational analysis

In directly challenging the assumption that individuals have a stable and essentialised identity, Foucault theorised the individual as a ‘subject’ and ‘identity’ in terms of a relationship between power and ‘subjectivity’:

> One has to dispense with the constituent subject, to get rid of the subject itself, that’s to say, to arrive at an analysis which can account for the constitution of the subject … and this is what I would call genealogy, that is a form of history which can account for the constitution of knowledges, discourses, domains of objects etc., without having to make reference to a subject which is either transcendental in relation to the field of events or runs in its empty sameness throughout the course of history. (Foucault, 1977/1980b, p117)
Thus, identity is the adoption of – or disciplinary imposition of - a particular subject position that is constituted within a particular (historically situated) discourse. I hasten to add that the individual is not the passive vehicle of this subject position. Rather, individuals ‘participate in the constitution of their own subjectivity as they reflect on, and reproduce the social world’ (Knights, 2002, p424). In this thesis, therefore, the term ‘identity’ is used in the sense of a particular ‘script’ or the adoption of a particular subject position – one of many - the individual engages to talk about and act his or her sense of self. I use the word ‘script’ here as a way of capturing the regulatory nature of the identity talk and action that is produced as an effect of identification with particular discursive subject positions. ‘Subjectivity’, on the other hand, is taken as the analytical ‘space’ attached to the individual subject where these identity scripts are produced. As Knights and McCabe (2000) suggest, ‘subjectivity is the culmination of the effects of various power relations and the reciprocal interpretations, reflexivity, identity and actions of an individual at any given moment’ (p242).

In 1983 Foucault declared that the objective of his work - over the preceding 20 years – has been ‘to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects’ (p208)\(^\text{28}\). His explicit theorisation of the relationship between power, discourse and subjectivity – either in terms of ‘dividing practices’ or ‘subjectivising practices’ - has been adopted by a growing number of critical organisation theorists in their efforts to interrogate the constitution of employee subjectivities (Rose, 1989/1999; Kondo, 1990; Grey, 1994; Townley, 1994; Jacques, 1996; du Gay, 1991, 1996; du Gay and Salaman, 1992; Phillips and Hardy, 1997, 2002; Fournier 1998, 1999; Larner, 1998; D. Jones 1993, 1994, 1998)\(^\text{29}\). As with the use of Foucault in organisational analysis generally, attention is also being paid to how Foucault’s theory of subjectivity has been applied in organisation analysis. While generally supportive of the paper, for example, O’Doherty and Willmott (2001) critique

\(^{28}\) While his first area of study concentrates on the objectivising accounts of subjects produced within the human ‘sciences’, in the second he ‘studie[s] the objectivising of the subject in what [he calls] “dividing practices”’ (Foucault, 1983, p208). His final body of work shifts the emphasis to the ‘subjectivising’ of subjects. More particularly, his interest was in the way human beings turned themselves into sexual subjects (Foucault, 1983).

\(^{29}\) While the span of Foucault’s theorising of the subject is considerable, particular themes have been popular within the critical management/organisation literature. The notion of ‘disciplinary power’ developed within Discipline and Punish, for example, is often used to explain practices of managerial control (see McKinlay & Starkey, 1998, - and reviews by Hatchuel, 1999; Brewis, 2000; and Sewell, 2000 - and Chapter Two section 3.7 for labour process theory contributions).
Sosteric’s (1996) analysis of a nightclub. Briefly, they suggest that there is too much emphasis on the language of discipline and surveillance (producing a ‘banal’ reading of Foucault) as opposed to a more complex reading of the relationship between employee subjectivity and workplace ‘control’. While the notion of ‘disciplinary power’ also features strongly within the analysis and argument of this thesis, in taking due note of O’Doherty and Willmott’s (2001) concerns this thesis attempts to craft a more complex and multi-layered analysis of the social relations of power operating within the production of QTAH employee subjectivities. Like Grey (1994) and Fournier (1999), for example, to effect a merging or blending of the disciplinary technologies of domination and the self this thesis engages with Foucault’s notion of ‘governmentality’. As Foucault (1982/1988) states the ‘contact between the technologies of domination of others and those of the self I call governmentality’ (p19). Hence, the analysis reported in this thesis looks at the nature of the subject positions that are constituted within the QTAH management discourses as well as the processes through which employees are encouraged to adopt these subject positions.

Drawing from Grey (1994) and Fournier (1998, 1999) and their arguments concerning the constitution of ‘career’ and ‘professional’ employee subjectivities within managerial discourses of career and professionalism, this thesis argues that the ‘problem of transience’ is actually a problem of subjectivity. In short, with a heavy use of the external labour market to meet short-term fluctuations in demand, hotel management rely on a small group of independently competent and committed operational (and managerial) employees to maintain a quality service delivery. As the hotel employee-guest interaction takes place in multiple spatial and temporal sites, direct control of hotel labour process is very difficult. Thus, “getting really good long stay people” (Ann-Marie) within the QTAH context is produced through managerial practices of ‘governmentality’ that seek to ‘craft’ professional-hotel-employee subjects who maintain their commitment to the hotel (industry) through their identification with the hotel-career-employee subject position.

As discussed above (section 1.3.2) – with the assistance of Parker (2000) – the motivation for selecting particular theoretical ‘tools’ must surely come from the object or goal of the research practice. In short, ‘what do we (want to) use our pens for?’ (Parker, 2000, p523). In order that this thesis offers a positive contribution to the critical
management literature, the argument that the problem of transience is an issue of the managerial governance of professional and career subjectivities has to be taken further. As Grice (1997) notes of Foucault’s theorization of power:

In taking up Foucault we must recognize, as Fraser does, that Foucault calls too many sorts of things power and simply leaves it at that... Granted, there can be no social practices without power – but it does not follow that all forms of power are normatively equivalent nor that any social practices are as good as any other. (Fraser, 1989 cited on p496)

Taking note of the concerns Carter (1996), Grice (1997) and C. Jones (1998, 2002) articulate concerning the overly technical, de-contextualised Foucauldian analysis of human resource management by Townley (1994), an important step in the development of this thesis is the link made between the government of professional and career subjectivities and the interests of capital. Hence, while the relationship between subjectivity and power is assumed to be always ‘in play’, what is of concern here is the relationship between particular subjectivities being promoted and the strategic interests of capital. The strategic necessity of the ‘professional’ and committed ‘career’ employee subject for the interests of QTAH capital, is an important marker in the explanation of why transience is constituted to be ‘a problem’ for QTAH managers. As such, an important contribution to the theoretical framework in this thesis is labour process theory (LPT).

1.3.4 Subjectivity and labour process theory

Within the contemporary critical organisational field, labour process theory occupies a significant position (Jermier, 1998; O’Doherty & Willmott, 2001):

In common with other ‘radical’ forms of organizational analysis, LPT is premised upon the understanding that ‘many deep-rooted features of organizational life – inequality, conflict, domination and subordination and manipulation – are written out of the script (of functionalism) in favour of behavioural questions associated with efficiency or motivation’ (Thompson and McHugh 1990, p28 cited by Willmott, 1993, p689). 30

As discussed in Chapter Three (section 3.7) many of the theoretical premises of LPT are drawn - via Braverman (1974) – from Karl Marx. Thus, inherent in the use of LPT is sensitivity to the social relations of capital that play out in particular employment

30 In this paper, Willmott is engaging directly with Gibson Burrell and Gareth Morgan’s (1979) grid of analysis. As such I take this (bracketed) reference to ‘functionalism’ is taken to signal the managerially orientated type organisational analysis locatable within Burrell and Morgan’s ‘functional paradigm’.
settings. Over the last 10 years or so, however, the LPT academic field has been divided (at times bitterly). The major line of estrangement concerns the ‘pro-Foucault’ and the ‘anti-Foucault’ LP theoretical merger. David Knights and Hugh Willmott (Knights & Willmott, 1989; Knights, 1990; Willmott, 1993) were early supporters of a Foucauldian informed analysis of labour process. As Chapter Three (section 3.7.2) discusses, this came largely through a quest for a more adequate theorisation of ‘the subject’ of labour process. Thompson (1990), on the other hand, while concerned to theorise the ‘missing subject’ in labour process theory (p114), is one of several who object to the use of a Foucauldian theoretical lens to look for it (Thompson & Ackroyd, 1995; Smith & Thompson, 1999; Thompson & Smith, 2001; also Reed 1998, 2000; Newton 1996, 1998; Porter, 1996; Wray-Bliss, 2002). For Thompson & Smith (2001) LPT has remained a focal point for critical researchers interested in new developments in the workplace. The very capacity to survive by absorbing a variety of influences and interests, however, has led to a loss of clarity and coherence’ (p41). A particular concern raised through these critiques is the issue of ‘resistance’.

1.3.5 Resistance

For Porter (1996) the acceptance of a Foucauldian conception of power leads to ‘praxical paralysis. If power is everywhere and always will be everywhere… then there is little point in striving to improve the world’ (p76). Similarly, for Reed (1998, 2000) the issue is framed in terms of ‘backdoor determinism’ where the denial of ‘any ontological and/or analytical differentiation between creative agency and structural constraint…ends up with an explanatory logic that is unable to distinguish between ‘open doors’ and ‘brick walls’’ (Reed, 1998, p209). While I am inclined to read Porter (1996) and Reed (1998, 2000) as a mis-representation of Foucault’s theorisation of power-resistance and agency, I have more sympathies for the position presented by Thompson and Ackroyd (1995) and Smith and Thompson (1999). In Thompson and Ackroyd (1995) it is implied that the problem is less Foucauldian theorising and more that inadequate attention has been paid to the issue of ‘resistance’. ‘But we are in real danger of returning to the accusation levelled at Braverman – what happened to worker resistance? – at least in the sense that no actual accounts of resistance can normally be found in such studies’ (Smith & Thompson, 1999, p2111). While more attention has
been paid to the theme of ‘resistance’ in recent years – and indeed this criticism is echoed in Fournier and Grey’s (1999) critique of du Gay’s work on the ‘enterprising subject’ – the intensity of Thompson and Smith’s (2001) position does not appear to have waned. Nevertheless, it is within this ‘resistance gap’ that this thesis is located.

While resistance has long been a part of critical organisational analysis - through Marxist, Weberian and Labour Process domains of research, Fleming (2002) writes that: ‘it has been the evocation of Foucauldian motifs that has allowed us to think about resistance in new and broader ways that do not rest solely upon the nomenclature of dialectics, true interests and overt antagonism’ (p194). As discussed in Chapter Three (section 3.5) and in the discussion of the ‘critical attitude’ (section 1.3.1 above), the focus on ‘resistance’ in this thesis is directed to ‘the struggle against being governed ‘like that’. The main ‘like that’ that is the issue is the crafting of hotel-career-employee subjects. Resistance, therefore, is theorised as an ambivalent (or ambivalent’s) identification with the hotel-career-employee subject position. The particular conduct that is the focus of resistance in this thesis is transience – or the propensity to transience – (see Chapters Eight and Nine).

1.3.6 The limits of a Foucauldian theorisation of subjectivity

While those that critique the adoption of Foucauldian theory into labour process analysis offer useful reminders to practice critical analysis of the labour process with care, there is one other issue they raise that needs to be discussed before I move on to resistance and ‘place’. In short, the issue concerns the way in which socially created identity based ‘anxiety’ has been promoted as the implicit motivation behind individual’s adopting particular management sponsored employee subject positions. For example, ‘indeterminacy’ – or a ‘sense of insecurity and vulnerability about self-identity’ (Willmott, 1993, p698-699) – ‘is a condition of self-consciousness that facilitates and prompts reflection upon identity’ (Knights & Willmott, 1985 cited by Willmott, 1993, p699). For Willmott (1993) if labour process analysis is to take ‘the subject’ more seriously then it also needs to take ‘more adequate account of the significance of the indeterminacy and associated insecurity of human existence and the heightening of this experience by the individualizing disciplines of capitalism’ (p699).
An example of this employment orientated ‘indeterminacy’ is the set of discursive practice – such as in a programme of BPR:

Staff and management’s identity is bound up with their work and a threat to jobs is a threat to their identity as well as their material security. Social and economic insecurity pushes individuals back on their own devices to manage some sense of stability for personal identity and material well being, rather than drawing upon the potential power to resist through collective collaboration. (Knights & McCabe, 1998, p793)

Collinson (1992, 1994) invokes the anxiety motive in a similar way. For example, in a critique of Kondo (1990) Collinson (1994) argues that:

What is missing from her analysis is any examination of the anxieties and insecurities that are frequently the medium and outcome of the subjective search to craft one or more selves through interwoven practices of control, resistance, compliance or consent. (p56)

The position of this thesis is that there is only so far Foucault’s theorising of governmentality, power and the subject can go. Like any theoretical framework, it only helps us to explore and explain a finite number of questions and phenomena. What might be considered a downside of this analytical position is that it removes the possibility for ‘tidy analyses’. As Knights (1990) argues:

It is implied, in Foucault’s conception of the individualizing effect of power and its tendency to push individuals back in on themselves, that the resulting self-consciousness is itself constraining in tying us to our own identities. But in relation to why or how this should be so, Foucault remains silent. (p321)

Hence, I do agree with Newton (1998) when he suggests that:

It also remains debatable as to whether the stress upon identity and ‘latent’ desires is consistent with Foucault’s work. Knights and Willmott need to invoke the concept of identity precisely because Foucault did not provide any clear elaboration as to why the subject is so readily constituted in discourse, even in his later work. (p421)

I hasten to add that my sense of discomfort with this recourse to anxiety does not come from an expectation of ‘authenticity’ or ‘correctness’ in the application of Foucauldian theorising. Foucault’s intellectual contribution has been enhanced in many ways by additional theorising. Rather, my discomfort echoes Deborah Jones’ (1998) formulation of the ‘Hollway problem’. In other words, ‘(t)his ‘problem’ can be cast as a question: how far can Foucauldian discourse theory be pushed to re-theorize psychological

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31 In confronting this conceptual ‘boundary’ I made the decision – in this thesis – to confine my analysis within this Foucauldian – LPT terrain. This decision was made with issues of conceptual clarity, analytic focus and word limitations in mind. Hence, I have not ventured into other disciplinary texts that might help me address such issues of motivation – such as Henriques, Hollway, Urwin, Venn and Walkerdine (1984) for example.
processes – ‘what’s in [people’s] heads (Foucault, 1980, p.133)?’” (p253). Thus, my unease is with the way anxiety (and the heightening of this experience of anxiety) is universally assumed upon the psychology of individuals. In short, it suggests a ‘humanistic’ treatment that – ironically – Foucault’s theorisation of the subject was a direct response to\textsuperscript{32}. The effect is often an analytical ‘closure’ that floats away from the specific empirical site... into the ether. In this sense I agree with Thompson and Ackroyd’s (1995) suggestion that ‘the labour process [becomes] just part of the scenery, a backdrop against which a universal struggle takes place, one involving the indeterminacy of identity rather than the indeterminacy of labour that has been central to industrial sociology’ (p627). As a result, this thesis makes no claim to explain why specific employees adopt a self-disciplined and stable core subject position while others resist adopting this self-disciplined stable core QTAH subject position. In other words it explains the problematic and frustrating “transient stuff” (Ann-Marie) in terms of the adoption of particular discursive positions but not why or how specific individuals select one over the other.

1.3.7 Place, subjectivity and resistance

While the hotel managerial discourse of career provides the point of reference for the analysis of resistance in this thesis, the spatial discourses of Queenstown also feature in a significant way. In other words, multiple alternate subject positions are available to QTAH employees as they practice resistance to the hotel-career-employee subject position. The ones that are drawn into this particular analysis of resistance, however, relate to the spatial discourses of Queenstown. In other words, the focus is on the particular subject positions that are constituted within the Queenstown discourse of tourism – specifically the outdoor-adventure and the social-adventure subject positions. In the QTAH context, it is these two ‘alternate’ subject positions that provide significant possibilities of resistance for the ambivalent groups (Johnson,1981) – identification with the hotel-career-employee subject position.

\textsuperscript{32} Here I acknowledge a very helpful ‘corridor conversation’ with Shayne Grice concerning my developing concerns with some of the Foucauldian LPT literature.
As Baum (1996) argues ‘the development of tourism from a minority activity of the élite to a mass participation international industry has, arguably, been one of the most significant social phenomena of the past two hundred years and, in particular, the post-war era’ (p25). Crick (1996) suggests that ‘in studying tourism one can investigate in concrete detail the links between power and knowledge, the generation of images of the Other, the creation of “natives” and “authenticity,” the consumption of images, and so on’ (p35). The tourist-resort place of Queenstown offers an important site where the power, knowledge, tourist images and subjectivity inter-connect.

In spite of (and perhaps because of) the jet, the ‘net, and the fast-food outlet’ argues Gieryn (2000):

Place persists as a constituent element of social life and historical change (Freidland & Boden, 1994). And that significance is measured by an enduring tradition of robust sociological studies of place that remains invisible only because it is rarely framed that way. (p463-464)

While Gieryn (2000) is reviewing the sociological literature on place, a similar argument may be made for the organisational literature33. Work, the employment relationship and the social relations of organisation happen, however, in specific ‘places’. The argument made within this thesis is that the ‘place’ of employment has a significant impact on the social relations of organisation. In this sense, I am assuming that place ‘is not merely a setting or backdrop, but an agentic player in the game – a force with detectable and independent effects on social life (Werlen, 1993 cited by Gieryn, 2000, p466). More specifically, the place of Queenstown, the tourist resort, has an important influence on the nature of employment commitment by a group of tourist accommodation hotel employees.

It is important to define what is meant by ‘place’ and ‘space’ in this thesis. As stated by Gieryn (2000) ‘place’ refers to a ‘unique spot in the universe’ (p464). While place in this thesis may have a physicality (Gieryn, 2000, p465) – such as the geographical formation known as the Queenstown area (see Chapter Four, section 4.2.1 and Appendix A) – the meaning ascribed to that ‘physical area’ may be diverse and contested. In this sense I am adopting Doreen Massey’s (1991, 1995, 1996) formulation

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33 The journal Environment and Planning D: Society and Space is one notable forum where explicit connections between organisational and spatial dimensions are made.
of the meaning of place as the outcome of a political process. In other words, ‘the boundaries which we draw in space, the ‘places’ we define (indeed all spatial definitions)…rather than being based on some eternal principles, are in fact expressions of, and exercises in, social power’ (Massey, 1996, p117). This social power operates through the way that place is ‘interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt, understood, and imagined (Soja, 1996 cited by Gieryn, 2000, p465).

While ‘space’ takes on a more abstract form, it is also subject to diverse, conflicting (Shields, 1991) and political (Massey, 1996) meaning making. Soja suggest Aitchison, MacLeod and Shaw (2000), ‘introduced the concept of spatiality to emphasise the socially produced and interpreted nature of space’ (Soja, 1985 cited on p19). Thus, like Shields (1991) when discussing space (or spatial), this thesis is referring to a ‘limited area: a site, zone, or place characterized by specific social activities with a culturally given identity (name) and image’ (p30). For example, in Chapter Nine (section 9.4) the place of Queenstown is constituted as a set of ‘non-ordinary’ or ‘liminal’ ‘spaces of tourism’.

1.4 The contribution this thesis offers

Given the multiple disciplines this thesis draws upon, the contribution it offers crosses several fields. While addressing the hotel organisation context specifically, this thesis offers a contribution to the theorisation of turnover in multiple employment contexts. In that it theorises transience as a practice of resistance, this thesis also contributes to the growing labour process research on the specific nature of the relations of power-resistance in particular work contexts. It also offers a distinctively ‘geographic’ sensibility to a labour process analysis through the explicit attention it gives to the impact of place on the social relations of organisation. Finally, the relationship between identity, power and organisation is an important site for critical management studies because it is the route through which the politics of capitalist organisation gain access to very personal aspects of an individual’s life. A continuing interrogation of the relationship between organisation, power and identity is thus an important agenda within critical organisation studies.
1.5 A plan of the structure of this document

This thesis argues that an engagement with the outdoor-adventure and social-adventure subject positions is possible because of the purposeful constitution of Queenstown as a place of the ‘extra-ordinary’, or, as a place for tourism. The crossing and re-crossing over the discursive-subject boundaries of the hotel-career-employee and the outdoor-adventure-tourist and/or the social-adventure-tourist create possibilities for resistance to a strong identification with the hotel-career-employee subject position. In other words, without this strong identification with the hotel-career-subject position, otherwise professional QTAH employees will not commit to the QTAH labour process. As a result, the smooth professional delivery of the service product to the hotel guest is rendered vulnerable. This thesis argues that this disruption is the source of Anne-Marie’s ‘frustration’ with transience and it is the reason why QTAH managers constitute transience as a particular problem in the tourist resort of Queenstown. In the chapters that follow, this argument is gradually constructed.

Chapter Two presents an account of the methodology engaged in the collection of empirical material reported in this thesis. After briefly introducing the genealogical discourse analytic approach the method of empirical engagement is described. Finally, I make an effort to locate myself in the research and thesis writing process.

Chapter Three is designed to be a comprehensive account of the Foucauldian theoretical framework that informs the analysis of this thesis. In an effort to keep the substantive chapters as ‘readable’ as possible, the introduction of theory is kept to a minimum in these chapters. Chapter Three, therefore, represents the ‘absent’ details of most of the theorising that informs the ‘analytic’ chapters.

Chapters Four and Five introduce the organisational context of the QTAH employment relationship and Anne-Marie’s statement. In Chapter Four, an account of the tourism context of Queenstown and the daily QTAH operation is provided. A distinctive theme that emerges from the accounts of the QTAH employment context is ‘unpredictability’. At the end of Chapter Four, therefore, the particular causes of ‘unpredictability’ for
hotels is briefly discussed. Having identified the unpredictable context, Chapter Five explores how the unpredictable demand for labour is managed within the QTAH context. Generally speaking, management strategies for labour flexibility are constituted in terms of ‘core’ and ‘peripheral’ labour segments. It is argued that this is not helpful for discussing the QTAH context and instead the notion of ‘external’ (ELM) and ‘internal’ (ILM) labour market strategies is introduced into the discussion. It is within the delicate ELM-ILM balance that the QTAH managerial vulnerability begins. In other words, due to the heavy strategic use of the ELM, QTAH managers are very reliant on their small ILM segment. As such, this small ILM segment needs to be reliable. In short, they need to be both independently competent and committed to the QTAH labour process. These ILM employees thus need to identify strongly with the professional-hotel-employee and the hotel-career-employee subject positions.

Chapter Six focuses attention on the professional-hotel-employee subject position. It argues that “getting really good” (Anne-Marie) people for the QTAH context is effected through disciplinary technologies of domination and the self that persuade employees to adopt the professional-hotel-employee subject position. In order to provide a background to the constitution of the professional-hotel-employee subject position, I first address the way that hotel employment is constructed as increasingly ‘professional’. Tied into this theme is the increasing use of human resource management (HRM) within the discourse of hotel management described by the QTAH managers. Discussion then turns to the constitution and mobilisation of the professional-hotel-employee subject through the employee selection process and the ‘difficult’ guest-hotel employee interaction.

Chapter Seven analyses how commitment and continuity to the hotel labour process is constituted within the hotel-career discourse. In short, the hotel-career-employee subject is constituted in terms of mobility, progression, networking and learning. Ironically, the hotel-career-employee subject is expected to change employment sites frequently. This career movement – termed ‘mobility’ – is differentiated from transience, however, through the continuity of employment in the hotel industry. In this way, hotel employment continuity is tied into the notions of progression, networking and learning.
Chapters Eight and Nine directly discuss the issue of resistance. Chapter Eight returns to the professional-hotel-employee subject position to analyse how the relations of power and resistance interact through the issue of professional time conducted within the QTAH context. The second analytical theme is the way in which meaning ascribed to the temporal demands of hotel work – particularly with respect to the breakfast shift – is influenced by the employee subject’s identification with the hotel-career-employee subject position.

In a similar way, Chapter Nine re-visits the theme of commitment and continuity in relation to the hotel-career-employee subject position. More specifically, it looks at the constitution of the outdoor-adventure-tourist and the social-adventure-tourist subject positions within the tourism place discourse of Queenstown. In other words, Chapter Nine brings the significance of place into the analysis of employee resistance. In particular, discussing the discourses of place that inform the place-identity of Queenstown, ‘tourism’ is theorised as a journey to an extra-ordinary place. The transient-tourist-worker subject position is then introduced in order to think about the ambiguities of the work-leisure boundary in relation to the ambivalent QTAH employees that are at the analytical centre of this thesis. An important premise upon which this analysis rests is that these ambivalent employees engage in both the professional-hotel-employee and the transient-tourist-worker subject positions. With this premise in place, the analytic focus of this chapter is the relationship between the subject positions constituted within the discourses of career and the Queenstown discourses of tourism. In short, Chapter Nine traces the crossing and re-crossing of the hotel-career-employee and the transient outdoor-adventure-tourist worker and/or the transient social-adventure-tourist-worker discursive subject boundaries. The argument is made that these tourism discourse subject positions provide identity possibilities for ambivalent QTAH individuals that results in a resistance to an adoption of the hotel-career-employee subject position. The conduct that results from this discursive subject boundary crossing is transience.

In drawing the multiple strands of the analysis of this thesis together, Chapter Ten re-states the arguments made. As reflective convention dictates, the thesis concludes with an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of this research and opportunities for further research.
Chapter Two
Methodology

2.1 Introduction

While the theoretical framework informing this thesis occupies a prominent position, its main contribution is in relation to the empirical material it presents. As suggested in Chapter One (section 1.3), a growing number of Foucauldian analyses of organisation, labour process, subjectivity and resistance are reported in the critical organisation/management literature. However, no analysis of subjectivity and resistance within the tourism and/or tourist accommodation hotel context has been found. This analysis of transience and resistance, therefore, draws this analytical focus into the interesting and complex QT AH field. Chapter Two describes the methodological approach taken in the research approach to this field. In section 2.2 the genealogical discourse analytic approach is briefly introduced. Section 2.3 discusses the methods through which ‘empirical engagement’ has been practiced. Briefly, having constructed a list of themes and questions designed to prompt my discussion with the QT AH research participants I entered the field through a ‘snowballing’ or ‘networking approach’. The last sub-section within section 2.3 addresses the specific codes engaged to organize the empirical data. Finally in section 2.4, I take time to locate myself in the research process. ‘Reflexivity’ in terms of the research process is an important aspect of qualitative, critical discourse analytical practice. Thus, my influence on the framing, the interviewing and the analysis reported in this thesis is acknowledged.

2.2 Theorising the analytical practice

2.2.1 Discourse analysis

As discussed in Chapter One (section 1.3.2), theorising knowledge production in terms of discursive strategies is now an established – although not widely adopted - methodology within the general domain of critical management studies. The approach to discourse analysis adopted in this thesis is derived from a blend of my readings of Foucault and of those critical management writers who have mobilized Foucauldian
discourse analysis. Expressing difficulty with the claim of inventing a rigorous theoretical model, Foucault described his theorisation of ‘discourse’ as having ‘freed a coherent domain of description, that I have, if not established the model, at least opened up and arranged the possibility of one’ (Foucault, 1972, p114). Later Foucault (1980/1991) writes that:

What I say ought to be taken as ‘propositions’, ‘game openings’ where those who may be interested are invited to join in; they are not meant as dogmatic assertions that have to be taken or left en bloc. My books aren’t treatises in philosophy or studies of history: at most they are philosophical fragments put to work in a historical field of problems. (p74)

In order to produce a coherent argument as to why transience is constituted as a problem by QTAH managers, I theorize the knowledge and practice reported in this thesis in terms of ‘discourse’. My approach throughout is to mobilize some of Foucault’s ‘philosophical fragments’ in order to interrogate the politics of transient subjectivity within the QTAH field. Like many before me, however, I accept the ‘invitation to join in’ even though it is a quite different ‘game’. While Foucault developed his methodologies of discourse analysis while studying history, I use his theorizing to engage in contemporary knowledge and practice. In reading a conversation between Foucault and Gilles Deleuze the meaning I give to this temporal ‘gap’ is in terms of a ‘relay’. As Deleuze suggests:

For us…(t)he relationship between theory and practice are far more partial and fragmentary. On one side, a theory is always local and related to a limited field, and it is applied in another sphere, more or less distant from it. The relationship which holds in the application of a theory is never one of resemblance. Moreover, from the moment a theory moves into its proper domain, it begins to encounter obstacles, walls, and blockages which require its relay by another type of discourse…Practice is a set of relays from one theoretical point to another, and theory is a relay from one practice to another. (Foucault & Deleuze, 1972/1977, p205-206)

Campbell Jones (1998) invokes Edward Said’s (1983) notion of ‘traveling theory’ when analyzing the way in which Foucault’s work has been taken up in the field of organisation studies. This thesis can be similarly positioned as a traveling – or indeed transient – product. The impact of this traveling on my research practice, therefore, is one of analytical agenda. In short, where Foucault’s analytical agenda includes analysis of the production of continuity in historical knowledge, in this thesis my focus is on the constitution of particular employee subjectivities within the contemporary QTAH
discourse of management. Foucault’s theory of discourse is introduced in more detail in Chapter Three (section 3.3).

In their book *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (1983) Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow focus considerable attention on the contextual difficulties of Foucault’s ‘earlier’ formulation of the ‘archaeological’ methodology of discourse analysis. As they suggest ‘even if the rules of discourse do establish a given system of relations this does not preclude questions about the way the discourse and its rules are dependent upon the social and economic practices they unify’ (p66). While Foucault continued to use much of the archaeological methodology, his work after *The Archaeology of Knowledge* developed a much stronger appreciation of ‘power’. As he himself suggests, until 1970, he accepted the traditional repressive judicial conception of power (1977/1980e) and paid inadequate attention to the effects of power on the formation of statements (1977/1980b). While researching the penal system, however, Foucault was convinced that ‘the question of power needed to be formulated not so much in terms of justice as in those of technology, of tactics and strategy’ (1977/1980e, p184). The result was the formulation of a ‘genealogical’ methodology of discourse analysis.

### 2.2.2 Genealogical analysis

A genealogical methodology can be defined as a struggle against the effects of the power of a discourse that is considered scientific regardless of the specific institution that gives form to this discourse - for example, university, psychoanalysis, Marxism (Foucault, 1977/1980a) or management. The effect of co-joining knowledge and power is that the claims of legitimacy and acceptability of this (management) ‘science’ are rendered ‘political’. It is here that the genealogical analysis of discourse connects so productively with the critical agenda of this thesis. Within a genealogical methodology, Foucault gained conceptual access to the problem of power through an examination of ‘the event’ (Foucault, 1978/1997).

‘Eventalization’ is a methodology of analysis that operates through a breach of self-evidence of and a rediscovery of connections with the event (Foucault, 1980/1991, p76).
In this sense, eventalization provides a methodological approach to the critical management studies agenda of de-naturalization (see Chapter One, section 1.3.1). There is, for example, nothing self-evident about an individual engaging in a coherent ‘life-long’ project of employment. Why then is the notion of career (and its implicit assumptions of a coherent, purposeful and committed programme of development) a taken-for-granted formulation of the legitimate employment relationship? Eventalization, therefore, is an active rediscovery of ‘the connections, encounters, supports, blockages, plays of forces, strategies and so on which at a given moment establish what subsequently counts as being self-evident, universal and necessary’ (Foucault, 1980/1991, p76).

An important assumption supporting Foucault’s critical endeavor is that any element of knowledge being discussed is not deemed acceptable due to any originally existing rights or essential qualities (and thus disassociated from power mechanisms). In moving away from assumptions of ‘foundation’ or ‘essence’ within knowledge, singular causes of events are also no longer available (Foucault, 1978/1997). Instead, events are assumed to be the product of a complex play of multiple relationships (Foucault, 1978/1997). Having said this, Foucault (1978/1997) cautions against losing sight of the singular knowledge event that is the consequence of these multiple relationships. The way to do this is to trace the genealogy of the knowledge. That is:

As opposed to a genesis orientated towards the unity of some principal cause burdened with multiple descendants, what is proposed instead is a genealogy, that is, something that attempts to restore the conditions for the appearance of a singularity born out of multiple determining elements of which it is not the product, but rather the effect. (Foucault, 1978/1997, p57)

It is here, for example, that we can theorize the problem of transience for QTAH management as an effect of a number of forces. While this thesis roams over several disciplinary boundaries in order to explain the constitution of employment transience as a problem, the multiplicity of causal forces that could be explored, are not34. There is particular emphasis, however, on the relationship between the problem of transience and the interests of capital. As Foucault suggests ‘the further one breaks down the processes under analysis, the more one is enabled and indeed obliged to construct their external

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34 As Foucault (1980/1991) suggests, the ‘polyhedron’ of intelligibility that informs ‘an event’ ‘the number of whose faces is not given in advance and can never properly be taken as finite. One has to proceed by progressive, necessarily incomplete saturation’ (p77).
relations of intelligibility’ (1980/1991, p77). Thus, the appearance of the disciplinary technologies of domination and self that are exercised through the constitution of the professional and career ‘core’ employee can be theorized as a condition bequeathed - by the forces of capital – to the employment relationship.

2.3 The method of empirical ‘engagement’

Like other research projects engaging with the analysis of discourse, the intention in this research is to offer an analytical rather than a statistical insight into the problem being researched (Knights & McCabe, 1998). In other words, the research emphasis is on how particular social processes play out – and why - rather than a definitive statement about what these social processes look like, their frequency of occurrence in that form and so on. As such, the research involves ‘analytical insights that do not depend upon representative random samples, neutral techniques of data collection, and empirically exhaustive, totalising accounts of the phenomena under investigation. (Knights & McCabe, 1998, p776-777). Rather, the aim is to ‘connect’ with a community of QTAH employees in order to elicit accounts of their QTAH employment experience. In analysing these textual accounts of their work-life experience, arguments as to how and why subjectivities and resistances play out within the QTAH workplace will be constructed.

2.3.1 Preparing my approach to ‘the field’

While a Foucauldian genealogical analysis emphasises the relationship between language and social context, discourse analysis begins with the ‘fact’ of the language (Foucault, 1972). My ‘connection’ with the empirical field, therefore, is premised on the need to elicit textual accounts of organisational practice from the managers (and later employees) working within the QTAHs. The obvious method for collecting these accounts is the research interview. As Alvesson and Deetz (2000) suggest:

Most see the interview as a difficult but highly useful method for getting valuable information and viewpoints from people living in the reality one is interested in. As many researchers define qualitative research as dealing with meaningful phenomena (meanings, not frequencies is sometimes used as a catch), interviews become indispensable. (p194)
Of the different interview modes available, the ‘unstructured’ interview was the most appropriate. Kvale (1996) defines the semi-structured research interview as ‘an interview whose purpose is to obtain descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena’ (p5-6). Fontana and Frey (1994) suggest that ‘unstructured interviewing provides a greater breadth than the other types, given its qualitative nature’ (p365). Due to the explorative nature of the research agenda - going into the field – this breadth was necessary. Kvale (1996) suggests that the semi-structured interview is ‘neither an open conversation nor a highly structured questionnaire’ (p27). For Opie (1999), in reality, semi-structured interviews are ‘loosely structured; typically interviewers have a list of themes they wish to cover, and a list of prompts to keep respondents focused on those themes’ (Tolich and Davidson, 1999 cited on p221). (The themes and questions I used as prompts for the interviews with QTAH managers are listed in Appendix B.)

Due to the inductive nature of the research agenda, interview questions were used as a broad guide and designed to prompt the managers to speak about their work experience in the hotel industry generally as well as their role as a QTAH manager more specifically. To gain a sense of the breadth of their hotel experience (and also as a way of ‘breaking the ice’) I generally started with “what was your first job in a hotel and why?” Having traced their work history up to the present I then asked about their sense of future employment in the hotel sector. In order to get a sense of how the QTAH managers’ dealt with the problems that arose in the hotel (whether they were consciously constrained by state regulation on a day-to-day basis, for example, and what sources they turned to for advice generally) I asked them to describe the ‘most significant staff management issue they had had to deal with recently’. It was the response to this latter question particularly, that led to the revision of the research agenda. Apart from three interviews, all the interviews were taped and transcribed.

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35 My previous experience with research interviews led me to prepare reasonably comprehensive lists of prompts which – depending on the situation – I would need to refer to explicitly or loosely. By ‘the situation’ I refer to the varied nature of research interviews. This variety stretches from interview participants who offer very brief responses to the questions only, to participants whose talk ‘takes off’ in an enthusiastic manner.

36 The first two interviews – with Ann-Marie and Bart – represented my first foray into the field. As such I selected to adopt a minimally intrusive approach that would give me time to sense how the ‘reality’ of interviewing would be received. I took comprehensive notes immediately following these interviews. Apart from one other interview (with Betty that was conducted ‘on the phone’) all other interviews were taped and later transcribed.
2.3.2 Approaching ‘the field’

The strategy I engaged in when approaching ‘the empirical field’ centred on a ‘gentle but persistent’ connection with a social network that would facilitate my access to a group of QTAH managers. Although I was hoping to meet with managers from different areas and levels within the QTAHs, protocol dictated the need to approach the GMs first. As Alvesson and Deetz (2000) report, access to an appropriate management research site is not always easy. In the absence of existing personal contacts I pursued entry into the research field using a network or snowball method. In fact my first step into the network was taken at a Vivaldi’s ‘Four Seasons’ concert in St Paul’s Cathedral, Dunedin, during festival week of 1997. There I met a friend of my brother who was/is involved with the Chamber of Commerce in Queenstown and has been a resident there for some time. From him I gained some names of QTAH general managers (GMs) to contact and permission to use his name as a point of referral (see Appendix C for the associated documentation). While the critical nature of my interest in management was present (as always) in the early negotiations of this research relationship, it was not explicitly spelt out to my points of contact (or subsequently to the research participants). While I was not being intentionally duplicist, I do agree with Alvesson and Deetz’s (2000) observation that ‘from some perspectives critical empirical research may be seen as impossible, if carried out honestly and explicitly’ (p193). In part, therefore, the lack of an explicit acknowledgement was related to a pragmatic caution. Significantly, however, it also came from the exploratory nature of my project. Thus, the preliminary information available to participants was necessarily vague.

On my first trip to Queenstown in March 1997, I met hotel GMs Ann-Marie, Bart and a former Queenstown GM who was now also involved with the Chamber of Commerce. From Ann-Marie and Bart I gained permission to approach their senior managers and from the former GM, additional names of GMs and permission to use his name as a contact point. Hence my next trip to Queenstown included meetings with senior hotel managers from the Earth Hotel and the Moon Hotel as well as GMs Edward, Clark (and the human resources (HR) manager for the Mars Hotel Cathy), Desiree and Frank. A subsequent trip gave me the chance to meet with the senior managers from the Jupiter
Hotel and the Saturn Hotel. By May 1998 I had completed 26 interviews with QTAH managers, including interviews with seven GMs and 19 senior managers (see Appendix D for a list of the management research participants and Appendix E for a profile summary of the seven hotels where these managers were employed).

2.3.3 Revisiting the field

It was stated in Chapter One (section 1.1) that during the course of my early fieldwork I became increasingly interested in the issue of transience and the specificity of the place of Queenstown. In shifting focus to the way in which meaning was given to the Queenstown-specific labour movement, I felt it was necessary to interview a selection of the operational level staff. In particular, I wanted to hear their account of the QTAH employment experience. I was interested in how they constituted their presence in Queenstown and of their experience of the QTAH employment relationship more specifically. In short, I wanted to hear how they accounted for the transient conduct of QTAH employees37.

To gain access to the operational employees I returned to the research networks I had already established and the snowball method as a means of selection. Again I opted for a gentle but persistent approach and played the specifics ‘by ear’. I began with the staff of the Moon Hotel. At the end of my second interview with GM Bart, I asked permission to speak with a number of his hotel staff from across the hotel’s departments. Having consented to my request, he referred me to their human resource (HR) manager Beth to work out the details of who and when. Beth was very helpful - even enthusiastic - and upon asking her for some names of people she thought would be willing to speak with me, she came up with a list of 20. I wrote individual letters to each of them and sent them as a batch to Beth who distributed them and set up an initial interviewing time schedule. Of the 20, I was successful in speaking with 15 Moon Hotel employees. The housekeeping staff proved to be the most reluctant to participate and from four possibilities I spoke with only one room attendant - over the telephone. The

37 See Appendix F for the questions used as prompts for the interviews with the QTAH operational employees.
Interviews were conducted in the breakfast restaurant - usually but not always after the breakfast session was over - and for the most part out of work time for the employee.

The heavy involvement of the HRM was repeated in my connection with staff from the Mars Hotel. Again, after asking permission from the GM I was referred back to the HRM Cathy. Having more confidence with respect to employee access I restricted my request this time to 10 names of people she thought would be happy to speak with me. Again I wrote individually to the staff but this time I dropped the letters off at the reception desk. Like Beth, however, Cathy organized interview times with the nine staff I ultimately spoke with - in the empty Mars Hotel restaurant. (Two from the original list were unavailable due to the fact that they suddenly left the employment of the Mars Hotel.)

With the Earth Hotel and the Jupiter Hotel I was more involved with contacting and arranging times to meet with the individual staff. After agreeing that I might speak with their staff, I asked the GMs of the Earth Hotel and the Jupiter Hotel for names of 10 people from their hotel that I could approach. By now I was more specific with my request - asking for two people from: reception, portering, housekeeping, morning F&B and evening F&B. Again I dropped off individual letters at reception for them. This time, however, I contacted most of them myself to gauge their willingness to meet with me and to arrange a suitable time to meet. As with the other hotels, the actual interviews were conducted on the hotel premises in a reasonably quiet but public space. By the end of September I had completed interviews with 44 ‘operational level’ staff from four Queenstown hotels and decided to stop there. In short, I felt by this time that I had spoken with an adequate sample of QTAH employees.38

Given the ‘mid-field’ shift in my research agenda a point of clarification must be made concerning my use of empirical material. Due to the availability and levels of willingness of QTAH employees to spend time speaking with me, I conducted my interviews during the quieter autumn and spring shoulder season periods of Queenstown’s tourist activity. Due to poor snow and low levels of international demand, 1997 was also a particularly poor business season for the QTAHs. The result

38 See Appendix G for a list of the operational employee participants.
was that the QTAHs were operating with very low numbers of staff. As such, the employees available to speak with me were predominantly long-term hotel workers. As a result, my research group contained few very short-term seasonal workers (or Johnson’s 1981 transients) – such as university students or one-off seasonal workers. While this research profile was unintended it does serve my current research agenda very well. In short, the proportions of ambivalent hotel-career-employee subjects were larger in relation to the clearly non-hotel-career-employee subjects that flood into the QTAH field during the high summer and winter seasons. Despite the ‘post’ or ‘intra-field’ theorising, therefore, there are only three interview scripts (Dana, Didi and students B1 & B2) from 70 that were not helpful for my analysis.

2.3.4 Analyzing the texts

The primary ‘technique’ I engaged when analyzing the empirical material collected in this research process was ‘reading’. As Opie (1999) suggests ‘qualitative analysis demands familiarity with the texts with which one is working’ (p227). The most effective way to gain familiarity with these texts was transcribing and/or frequent re-reading. The reading I am speaking of here is ‘active’ reading. In other words, a genealogical reading that constantly works to ‘identify themes, to look for relationships, to become aware of absences or silences, and to note resistances or the mobilization of alternate discourses’ (Carabine, 2001, p281). As Opie (1999) states ‘the objective of analysis is to move the data on. It is reliant on what researchers ‘see’ as valuable, and it goes beyond reporting on the descriptive or providing content analysis’ (p228). Given that the central focus of the analysis in this thesis is subjectivity Wetherell’s (1999) analysis of the subject positions constituted by a group of young women talking about eating, dieting and body image is helpful. As Wetherall (1999) suggests:

Our interview could be seen as a situation or social practice which required talk about the self. To respond to our questions and to take up our agenda, our interviewees were put in the position of formulating and reformulating descriptions not only of themselves but also of other people: attributing motives, passions, strengths and weaknesses. We wanted to investigate the way different repertoires positioned the girls or created different identity possibilities (p269).

The central subject positions that I read from my empirical material settled around three themes: the professional hotel employee subject, the career hotel subject, and the non-career tourism consuming transient hotel employee subject. Hence, after numerous
iterations, the code-questions that organize the substance of this analysis were finalized to those contained in Figure 2.1. The interview texts were again re-read for those codes and relevant, interesting and productive quotes were gathered under these question themes.
2.4 Locating myself in the research process

Within the domain of qualitative social science (and management/organization studies more particularly) the role of the researcher in the research process is open to increasing levels of scrutiny (Knights, 1992; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Rosaldo, 1994; Deetz, 1996; Taylor, 2001; Wray-Bliss, 2002). As Rosaldo (1994) argues ‘(t)here is no Archimedean point from which to remove oneself from the mutual conditioning of social relations and human knowledge’ (p171). Hence, the argument ‘is that a basic feature of social research is its reflexivity, namely the way that the researcher acts on the world and the world acts on the researcher, in a loop’ (Taylor, 2001, p17).
2.4.1 Reflexivity in the research process

According to Fournier & Grey (2000) the extent of its philosophical and methodological ‘reflexivity’ is one platform that differentiates CMS from other management/organisation literatures. Knights and McCabe (1998), for example, take time to locate their own position - as researchers – in their research process. The position that Knights and McCabe (1998) articulate – in a very clear and concise manner – directly addresses my sense of location within this thesis product:

> Once it is recognized that the social scientist is not a neutral mediator between “truth” and the external world but an active participant in its construction, the preoccupation with representational or statistical generalization disappears... We do not attempt to provide an exhaustive account of organizational “reality,” for in describing any phenomenon we have already begun to construct it if only by virtue of the selection we must make to say anything at all. In presenting a picture of the unfolding events within Probank, we are simply constructing a reality through our own observations/interpretations of change, and our interpretations of those provided to us by key actors within the company (Knights, 1992 & 1996 cited by Knights & McCabe, 1998, p777)

Thus, I bring to the research process – the interviewing and the analysis – my own set of ontological and epistemological inheritances. In the absence of work experience in the hotel hospitality industry, for example, during the interviewing process I was conscious of drawing on my past experience of working as a nurse in large hospitals. At times I raised my own experiences of shift work, early morning shifts after late night partying, and difficult encounters with patients in an explicit attempt to offer connections or empathy with the experiences the research participants were describing. I found this an effective strategy for encouraging the research participants to elaborate more fully with the descriptions of their QTAH life-world (Kvale, 1996). On reflection, I suspect the social ease that my nurse-based declarations engendered in these research interview relationships was also connected to social identity. In other words, for many of the participants it was easier to constitute me as a nurse (a familiar identity position) than as a less familiar university researcher.

Reflexivity also demands that I acknowledge that the analytical truth claims in this thesis are explicitly bracketed. In constructing an organisational reality through my interpretations of the accounts provided by my research participants, I acknowledge that this analysis is ‘partial’ and ‘situated’ and related to my ‘world view and value system’
(Taylor, 2001, p12). As I laboured to declare in Chapter One (section 1.3), however, the theoretical tools used to craft this partial and situated account are ‘locatable’. As such, I will refrain from slipping into a ‘relativism’ induced ‘double crisis of representation and legitimation’ (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p21 cited by Taylor, 2001, p12) that would drain the value out of the analytical insights this thesis presents. Instead, I draw on Haraway’s (1991) notion of ‘situated knowledges’. By situated knowledges, Haraway (1991) argues that ‘the alternative to relativism is partial, locatable, critical knowledges sustaining the possibility of webs of connections called...shared conversations in epistemology’ (p90).

Another reason Knights and McCabe (1998) are to be congratulated is because of their explicit declaration of their political views:

> Our own view is that since social science is largely, though not exclusively, funded by government, its output should, in the long run, be for the benefit of the population at large rather than any particular sectional interest that makes its voice heard...We believe, therefore, that one task of the social scientist is to expose and question assumptions and practices that perhaps those exercising power would prefer to leave taken for granted. (p777)

Similarly, the concern of this thesis is to contribute to an understanding of the different ways that taken-for-granted assumptions and practices that inform ‘the’ employment relationship impact on employees’ (both managerial and non-managerial) sense of their selves. I am frequently troubled by the relationship between identity and the interests of capital in the mainstream management/organisation literature and practice. My political motivation is thus an interrogation of the taken-for-granted discursive practices that operate to benefit the interests of capital but may serve to disadvantage those serving these interests.

### 2.4.2 Research as a mediated process

It was due to the assumption that research (and PhD theses, for example) is produced through mediated processes that Chapter One of this thesis opened with Said’s (1978) notion of acts of delimitation. As Taylor (2001) argues, the researcher first of all
influences the topic or research area being selected. Also important, is the selection of the theoretical framework.\textsuperscript{39}

The research is also mediated through the interaction between myself and the research ‘subjects’. Alvesson and Deetz (2000) suggest that:

The big question is whether accounts in interviews refer to something external to the interview situation and the language use – either what goes on in people’s heads and hearts or a social reality ‘out there’ – or are a reflection of the interview situation as a complex social setting, and all the norms and scripts for expression which guide verbal behaviour in such settings. (p194)

In a thesis that draws heavily on Foucauldian theorising, it becomes difficult to constitute the ‘complex social setting’ of the research interview as other than a ‘confession’:

The confession is a ritual of discourse in which the speaking subject is also the subject of the statement; it is also a ritual that unfolds within a power relationship, for one does not confess without the presence (or virtual presence) of a partner who is not simply the interlocutor but the authority who requires the confession, prescribes and appreciates it, and intervenes in order to judge, punish, forgive, console and reconcile. (Foucault, 1978, p61-62)

In other words, the research interviews I engaged in can be seen as sessions where the speaking subjects were asked to provide an account of their organisational and leisure practices. In so doing, through the interviewee’s reflections upon his/her past employment experience their professional, career and/or transient identities come into being within the interview itself. Alvesson and Deetz (2000) argue that ‘an interviewee can be interpellated (approached in terms of) and respond from a variety of subject positions, meaning that quite diverse accounts may be expected’ (p198). Captured by the tape-recorder and the transcript that follows, however, these ‘fluid’ identity scripts become ‘frozen’ within the analysis. In short, the research ‘confession’ operates to both bring QTAH identity ‘into being’ and then holding that position fixed in time. While this dynamic does not invalidate the truth claims made concerning subjectivity within this analysis, it does speak directly to the temporal bracketing involved.

The argument presented in this thesis is also mediated by my relationship with the analysis. As Denzin and Lincoln (1994) state ‘Qualitative research is endlessly creative

\textsuperscript{39} My selection of an analytical agenda (and theoretical framework) that focuses on self-disciplinary technologies of power and the politics of identity construction often struck me as painfully ironic as I dragged myself out of bed at 5am (while the rest of the world slumbered on) to attend to my PhD.
and interpretive. The researcher does not just leave the field with mountains of empirical materials and then easily write up his or her findings. Qualitative interpretations are constructed’ (p14-15). As such I adopt the first person “I” position in the writing of this thesis to acknowledge my positioning as author in the text and hence the partiality and situatedness (Harraway, 1991) of my argument-writing. As Deborah Jones (1998) argues, ‘(t)his kind of reflexivity does not – as in interpretive epistemologies – make the author’s ‘subjective’ approach a gauge of the ‘truth’’ (p17).

Rather:

The task is to openly declare the ‘presence’ of the author ‘in’ the text – abandoning the pretence of an objective view from nowhere-while at the same time acknowledging that the ‘presence’ of the author in the text, whether a ‘subjective’ or an ‘objective’ presence, is a fiction created in the discursive possibilities of the text itself (p18).

A significant dimension of critical empirical analysis is the positioning of the research material within a critical theoretical argument. As Jermier (1998) writes:

The critical theorist’s agenda...in addition to portraying their informants’ worldview, critical theorists also aim to reveal socio-economic conditions that produce and reinforce asymmetrical structures of control... Thus, the critical theorist’s most controversial task is to go beyond the informants’ reports to articulate the socio-economic context that envelopes their informants’ world without relying exclusively on either pre-existing theory or mere speculation. A hallmark of critical research is the blending of informants’ worlds, impressions, and activities with an analysis of the historical and structural forces that shape the social world under investigation. (p240)

Thus, the analysis of one’s empirical material is ‘both artful and political’ (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p15). While this political component of critical organisation research can render the research relationship ‘uncomfortable’, in this research project the lack of an ongoing relationship with the research subjects has served to reduce the discomfort40. Generally, however, I operate from the position that while the interview text must be ‘true’ to the words spoken by the interview subject, the analysis that proceeds from my reading of the text through a particular theoretical lens must be acknowledged to be a product of my creative practice. This analytic reflexivity:

May help [me] to be less attached to the orders and identities that [I] have produced and, thereby, more willing to acknowledge that [my] ‘analyses are contingent and fallible’ (Newton 1996: 26) and, at best, a mere sounding board for other discursive interpretations and representations. (Knights, 1997, p2)

As a consequence I must accept both the authority and responsibility for the identities and analysis of the politics of subjectivity that are contained within this thesis.

40 The time that has elapsed since completing the fieldwork also helps this.
2.5 Conclusion

This chapter provides an account of how the empirical research of this thesis has been conducted. Briefly, I conducted a genealogically informed discourse analysis. The research subjects engaged with – through a semi-structured forum – were selected through a network of research connections that emerged as the fieldwork proceeded. The texts were analyzed through a re-reading of the transcript text for a number of specific code-questions (contained in fig. 2.1). Reflexivity within a qualitative, critical discourse analytic research process is important. Hence, the final section within this chapter locates myself in the research process. Having acknowledged the important ‘crafting’ that operates within any research process the discussion will now lead on to a general introduction to the Foucauldian theoretical framework that mediates the analysis presented in later chapters.
Chapter Three

A Foucauldian Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

This thesis offers a critical engagement with general manager (GM) Anne-Marie’s statement that “It is an issue, getting really good long-term stay people attracted to the industry. It is the transient stuff that is still frustrating”. As suggested in Chapter One, ‘critical’ in this statement of intent, refers to the interrogation of the relationship between capitalist relations of power and QT AH employee subjectivities. Hence, analysis of the knowledge and the identities constituted within this statement by Ann-Marie will be mediated through a theorisation of the hotel labour process in terms of Foucauldian governmentality. In the first instance, this chapter discusses Foucault’s ‘productive’ theorisation of power before introducing the power effects of ‘discourse’ (2.3) and ‘the subject’ (2.4). Next, in section 2.5 the ‘resistance’ component of Foucault’s formulation of power is introduced. Section 2.6 focuses more specifically on the social relations of ‘capital’ by briefly introducing a Foucauldian theorisation of ‘capital’ before moving on more specifically to ‘labour process theory’ in section 2.7. Finally, continuing on from the Foucauldian informed analysis of the subject within the labour process debate, section 2.8 introduces Foucault’s notion of ‘governmentality’ as a way of bringing the micro-politics of labour process subjectivities in connection with the macro-political strategies of ‘capital’.

3.2 Theorising power

3.2.1 The Shift from ‘sovereign’ to ‘disciplinary’ power

Within Foucault’s theorization of the contemporary relationship between knowledge, power and the subject is the argument that there has been a significant shift in the dominant mechanism of power in Western society. For Foucault, the phenomenon that distinguishes modernity in the West from former classical times is the movement from a sovereign to a disciplinary mechanism of power. It is important to note up front that
Foucault’s argument was not that ‘sovereign power’ was replaced by ‘disciplinary power’ but that ‘disciplinary power’ has become a more dominant mode of power.\footnote{For Foucault (1977/1980a) the right of sovereignty and the mechanism of discipline both define ‘the arena in which power is exercised’ (p106). While the two mechanisms of power may interact - in the sense that a sovereign based legal code may superimpose a system of right upon a disciplinary mechanism and in so doing conceal the techniques of domination that are in operation (Foucault, 1977/1980a) - these two limits are ‘so heterogeneous that they cannot possibly be reduced to each other’ (Foucault, 1977/1980a, p106). In other words, sovereignty and discipline each have their own discourses.}

Very briefly, the relation of power described within the theory of sovereignty is between the sovereign and the subject. Sovereign power, in other words, ‘enables power to be founded in the physical existence of the sovereign (Foucault, 1977/1980a, p104). During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, a new form of power emerged. Foucault has named this new phenomenon ‘disciplinary power’ (1977/1980a). In short, disciplinary power provided for ‘a new ‘economy’ of power, or, procedures which allowed the effects of power to circulate in a manner at once continuous, uninterrupted, adapted and ‘individualized’ throughout the entire social body’ (Foucault, 1977/1980b, p119).

This new mechanism of power was ‘possessed of highly specific procedural techniques, completely novel instruments, quite different apparatuses’ (Foucault, 1977/1980a, p104). It is, for example, a mechanism that draws ‘time’ and ‘labour’ from bodies through the practice of constant ‘surveillance’, rather than wealth and commodities through a system of levies or obligations distributed through time’ (Foucault, 1977/1980a, p104). Rather than a reliance on the physical presence of ‘the sovereign’ (king or manager) a ‘tightly knit grid of material coercions’ operates with a constancy of force (Foucault, 1977/1980a). Foucault argues that this disciplinary mechanism, for example, ‘has been a fundamental instrument in the constitution of industrial capitalism and of the type of society that is its accompaniment’ (Foucault, 1977/1980a, p105). Subsequent writing by Foucault sees a more expansive theorisation of disciplinary power where there is less emphasis on the technologies of domination and more consideration of the different forms of technologies, tactics and strategies at play (Foucault, 1977/1980e). As Foucault (1980/1997) notes:

When I was studying asylums, prisons, and so on, I insisted, I think, too much on the techniques of domination. What we can call discipline is something really important in
these kinds of institutions, but it is only one aspect of the art of governing people in our society. (p182)

3.2.2 Defining Foucault’s ‘analytics of power’

As Jones (1998) suggests, ‘the word ‘power’ is difficult to use’ (p54). Not only is its definition contested (Jones, 1998) the particular theorisation of power engaged with is often left implicit within analyses. For reasons of theoretical clarity an introduction – albeit brief – to Foucault’s particular theorisation of power is important.

To begin with, Foucault offers an ‘analytics of power’. As he writes in *The History of Sexuality* (1978):

> The aim of the inquiries that will follow is to move less toward a “theory” of power than toward an “analytics” of power: that is, toward a definition of the specific domain formed by relations of power, and toward a determination of the instruments that will make possible its analysis. (p82)

An important assumption that underpins this highly contextualised treatment of power is that ‘power’ for Foucault is without ‘essence’ or a particular form. Instead, power is ‘a total structure of actions’ upon the actions of others. Power:

> Incites, it induces, it seduces, it makes easier or more difficult: in the extreme it constrains or forbids absolutely; it is nevertheless always a way of acting upon an acting subject or acting subjects by virtue of their acting or being capable of action. (Foucault, 1983, p220)

In this sense, power is a force that is exercised on the actions of ‘free’ subjects:

> Power is exercised only over free subjects, and only insofar as they are free. By this we mean individual or collective subjects who are faced with a field of possibilities in which several ways of behaving, several reactions and diverse comportments may be realized. (Foucault, 1983, p221)

In using Foucault’s conceptualisation of power, therefore, we are warned against constituting managerial power as a totalising force and employees as slaves or puppets without any capacity of agency\(^{42}\). While this assumption of ‘freedom’ is vital for Foucault’s formulation of ‘resistance’ (see section 3.5 below) it is also central to his conception of power:

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\(^{42}\) This assumption of agency is an aspect of Foucault’s formulation of power that is lost on some (see Porter, 1996 and Reed, 1998, 2000).
In this game freedom may well appear as the condition for the exercise of power (at the same time its precondition, since freedom must exist for power to be exerted, and also its permanent support, since without the possibility of recalcitrance, power would be equivalent to a physical determination). (Foucault, 1983, p221)

Foucault’s point of resistance to conventional conceptions of power is with the equation of power as ‘repression’. Conceiving power simply as repression is, he argues, a juridical treatment that aligns power with prohibition. Although widely used, it offers a ‘wholly negative, narrow, skeletal conception of power’ (Foucault, 1977/1980b, p119) only. Foucault’s alternate conception of power assumes a more ‘positive’ or ‘productive’ approach:

What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn’t only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, and produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression. (Foucault, 1977/1980b, p119)

Thus the meaning of ‘productive’ in this sense is more that it produces effects – objects, subjects and relations – rather than it being intrinsically ‘good’ (Jones, 1998).

Foucault’s analytics of power, therefore, allows for a comprehensive and permissive analysis of power. To begin with ‘power is co-extensive with the social body: there are no spaces of primal liberty between the meshes of its network’ (Foucault, 1977/1980c, p142). In other words there is no ‘outside’ of power (Jones, 1998). In theorising ‘transient subjects’ as resistors of disciplinary power, for example, they are not deemed to be outside of power. Rather, I argue that they are resisting a particular technology of power. Equally, in positioning managers as executioners of this disciplinary power it is not assumed they are outside of this network of disciplinary power (see Grey, 1999; McCabe, 2002, for example). As a result, the highly mobile QT AH career manager subject will be viewed as a carefully regulated subject of the managerialist discourse of career.

Significant for the analysis in this thesis, therefore, a Foucauldian conception of power exposes Anne-Marie’s statement to more complex scrutiny. Instead of Anne-Marie’s frustration with this “transient stuff” being restricted to, for example, an analysis of Queenstown’s labour market profile and the corresponding QT AH management strategies, this analysis can explore the identity politics at play. In other words, Anne-Marie’s statement can be discursively located and the tension that it articulates can be examined in relation to “really good long-term stay” and “transient” subjectivities. With discourse and subjectivity theorised as a result of the productive nature of power,
the relationship between knowledge, identity and power becomes conceptually available for examination\textsuperscript{43}.

3.3 Power, knowledge and discourse

‘By ‘discourse’’, writes Hall (1997/2001) ‘Foucault meant ‘a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment’ (p72). Thus, 

Anne-Marie’s knowledge about employee commitment and transience does not exist independent of the social, institutional, historical context. As a result, this statement from Anne-Marie cannot be treated as an objective, transparent and discrete event. Rather, this statement becomes a ‘surface effect’ (Foucault, 1972) of the discursive rules in operation. Discourse analysis, therefore, begins with ‘the statement’.

3.3.1 The statement of discourse

‘Statements’ within this theory are defined as a series of signs that are brought into being through the act of ‘enunciation’ or ‘stating’. Statement is not a classification given to all possible utterances, however. Those sequences of linguistic elements that are excluded are those that are made (or read) within a pre-determined set of relations\textsuperscript{44}. Having discarded the more rigid language classifications from logic and grammar due to their emphasis on particular forms, Foucault produces a definition of statements that shifts the emphasis from concrete form to the process of their enunciation. The statement is thus formed as it emerges from a particular field of relations. Hence, within a discourse a specific statement is linked to a referential, or a particular domain of existence. Within this referential the laws of possibility of existence for the objects that

\textsuperscript{43} As stated in Chapter One (section 1.3.3) in this thesis the term ‘identity’ is used in the sense of a particular ‘script’ or the adoption of a particular subject position – one of many - the individual engages to talk about and act their sense of self. ‘Subjectivity’, on the other hand, is taken to be the analytical ‘space’ attached to the individual subject where these identity scripts are produced.

\textsuperscript{44} For example, a statement is not a proposition. A statement is also – not necessarily - a sentence. While at times they do overlap, Foucault cites many examples where the focus on ‘a sentence’ would exclude the consideration of a statement, including a classificatory table, an accounts book, and a genealogical tree (Foucault, 1972, p82). Finally, a statement is not a speech act. While discussion ensued between Foucault and Searle over the relationship between ‘the statements’ and ‘speech acts’ (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983) Foucault (1972) argues that there is no clean and tidy mapping of ‘every day’ speech acts onto statements.
are named are described. In addition, particular relations are affirmed or denied (Foucault, 1972):

The referential of the statement forms the place, the condition, the field of emergence, the authority to differentiate between individuals or objects, states of things and relations that are brought into play by the statement itself; it defines the possibilities of appearance and delimitation of that which gives meaning to the sentence, a value as truth to the proposition. (p91)

This enunciative level becomes visible through an analysis of the relations between the statement and ‘the spaces of differentiation’. For example in Chapter Five (section 5.2) statements from the hotel management literature and QT AH managers concerning the flexible hotel organisation establish spaces of differentiation between full-time and part-time employment relationships. The QT AH rosters, for example, can thus be analyzed as a statement of labour market management practice that comes into being through particular spaces of differentiation of labour.

The relationship of ‘the subject’ to the statement also plays out within a domain of existence and within a specific enunciative level. The author of the statement – the person who one day happened to speak it or put it into some concrete form of writing – is not a priori assumed to be the subject that orientates the statement. Rather:

To describe a formulation qua statement does not consist in analysing the relations between the author and what he says (or wanted to say, or said without wanting to); but in determining what position can and must be occupied by an individual if he is to be the subject of it. (Foucault, 1972, p96)

It is this discursive constitution of possible subject positions that is central to the analysis in this thesis. For example, Chapters Six and Seven address the constitution of the professional-hotel-employee and the hotel-career-career-employee subject positions.

The conceptual aggregate of a group of statements – and their enunciative function – is the ‘discursive formation’.

To describe statements, to describe the enunciative function of which they are the bearers, to analyse the conditions in which this function operates, to cover the different domains that this function presupposes and the way in which those domains are articulated, is to undertake to uncover what might be called the discursive formation. (Foucault, 1972, p115-116)

In belonging to the same discursive formation, statements can be identified as belonging to a particular ‘discourse’. This ‘individualization’ of the discursive formation into a
particular discourse is generated by the regularities that create the enunciative function in the first place. The regularity of this set of conditions is what Foucault refers to as the ‘rules of formation’. Importantly, ‘the rules of formation are conditions of existence (but also of coexistence, maintenance, modification, and disappearance) in a given discursive division’ (Foucault, 1972, p38). In this sense it is the rules of formation that dictate both the systems of unification and dispersion within a discourse. Within the discourse of hotel management as articulated by the QTAH managers, for example, a dominant domain of existence that gives meaning to the term ‘professionalism’ is ‘appearance’. Appropriate appearance presupposes attention to hygiene, cleanliness, uniformity and control. Thus the rules of formation distinguish between guest-contact employee subjects and non-guest contact employee subjects through mobilizing ‘appearance’. This can be seen, for example, in the treatment of ‘dreadlocks’ from food & beverage (F&B) manager Ellen:

That’s what I am more concerned about, the care they give their own bodies and the way they hold themselves. Are they a proud person or are they “well I don’t really need to tie my dreads up today because I’ve just come to see about a kitchen job”. [Would you hire someone with dreads?] Probably behind the scenes. The chefs have all sorts of hairstyles. I could see a perfectly good kitchen hand perhaps wearing dreads but I don’t believe our customers would accept it in a food service area.

This statement concerning dreadlocks articulates the rules of formation that set the conditions for the appropriate standards of appearance. It identifies the association between food service, employee bodies that are ‘cared for’ and the appearance expectations of ‘the customer’. As discussed in Chapter Six (section 6.4) maintenance manager Angus provides an interesting account of the way in which rules of formation – such as appearance, for example – are particular to specific discourses. For example, he states that while “you might be the best plumber or sparky on the building site quite happily walking along with a fag in his mouth, alcohol breath”, that is not an appropriate appearance for the hotel maintenance personnel. In short, different discourses operate through different sets of rules of formation. Significantly, also, discursive formations are invested with relations of power.

3.3.2 Power-Knowledge

Foucault (1978/1997) defines the relationship between knowledge and power as the ‘knowledge-power nexus’. Placed together, knowledge-power signals a theoretical
domain that treats knowledge and power as inextricably connected dimensions of the same analytic field:

Nothing can exist as an element of knowledge if, on one hand, it does not conform to a set of rules and constraints characteristic (of a given discourse)... Conversely, nothing can function as a mechanism of power if it is not deployed according to procedures, instruments, means, and objectives which can be validated in more or less coherent systems of knowledge. (Foucault, 1978/1997, p52)

The function of placing ‘knowledge’ and ‘power’ together is to devalue or neutralize ‘the effects of legitimacy and an elucidation of what makes them at some point acceptable and in fact, had them accepted’ (Foucault, 1978/1997, p51). This power-knowledge formulation thus highlights the continual struggle that ‘knowing’ represents. Knowledge is always inside relations of power. This conceptual treatment goes beyond the position that ‘knowledge is power’ – in a possessive sense – to the idea that for something to be constituted as knowledge it is already a product of the relations of power. Hence, the knowledge-power formulation is fundamental to the possibility of a critical analysis. To research the knowledge-power nexus, therefore, is not a process of identifying universal, discrete or independent examples of knowledge or power. Rather, knowledge and power are positioned equally on the same analytical grid.

This knowledge-power formulation has particular consequences for ‘truth-claims’. In short ‘Truth’ becomes ‘truth’, a statement that is produced within discourse rather than some ‘free’ privileged space. As such ‘truth’ ‘induces regular effects of power’ (Foucault, 1977/1980b, p131). In modern Western societies, suggests Foucault, we are:

Subjected to truth in the sense in which it is truth that makes laws, that produces the true discourse, which, at least partially, decides, transmits and itself extends upon the effects of power. In the end, we are judged, condemned, classified, determined in our undertakings, destined to a certain mode of living or dying, as a function of the true discourses which are the bearers of the specific effects of power (Foucault, 1977/1980a, p94).

As Townley (1994) argues ‘truth’ is produced by human resource management expertise that literally judges and classifies individuals through, for example, the employment selection interview. Chapter Six (section 6.4) talks about the way that this power-knowledge plays specifically out in the QTAH context.

In this formulation of power-knowledge, ‘silence’ or an absence of language becomes open to analysis. In other words, silence is positively constituted within discursive
formations as that which is not discussed. Thus silence is not simply ‘repression’, it is a ‘gap’ produced within the talk. Silence, therefore, becomes ‘less the absolute limit of discourse, the other side from which it is separated by a strict boundary, than an element that functions alongside the things said, with them and in relation to them within overall strategies’ (Foucault, 1978, p27). For example, in describing the ‘professional service product’ Frank laughs about his connection between ‘professionalism’ and the guest spending money (see Chapter Six, section 6.5). Frank laughs here because he has said something that is not usually said even though it is a fundamental dynamic that ‘functions’ alongside good food, good service and the constitution of a ‘happy guest’.

As is evident within the example of ‘appearance’ and ‘professional service’, this thesis is concerned to explain more than just statements. While statements concerning appropriate appearance, for example, are written in hotel house rules, these rules of formation also appear in social practice, or, more specifically in ‘discursive practice’.

3.3.3 Discursive Practice

With talk of strategies and tactics the analytic emphasis of Foucault’s genealogical methodology shifts from an emphasis on the statement of discourse to a notion of social practice. Or more precisely, Foucault turned his attention to the relationship between discourse and practice through his notion of discursive practice. This shift from discourse to discursive practice is illustrated in Foucault’s dossier relating to Pierre Rivière (Jones, 1998) and his analysis of the penal system in Discipline and Punish (Foucault, 1978/1991)45. Discursive practices are the ‘places where what is said and what is done, rules imposed and reasons given, the planned and the taken for granted meet and interconnect’ (Foucault, 1978/1991, p75). The focus of analysis, therefore, is the ‘regime of practice’. The argument here is that discursive practices ‘are not just governed by institutions, prescribed by ideologies, guided by pragmatic circumstances – whatever role these elements may actually play – but possess up to a point their own specific regularities, logic, strategy, self-evidence and ‘reason’’ (Foucault, 1978/1991,

45 ‘A young man who murdered his mother, his sister and his brother in 1835’ (Jones, 1998, p48).
p75). It is these ‘regularities, logic, strategy, self-evidence and reason’, which form the ‘regime of practice’. Central to the analysis within this thesis, however, are the regimes of practice that constitute the non-transient (career) and transient QTAH employee. Fundamental to this analytical task is the theorisation of ‘the subject’ as an effect of knowledge-power.

### 3.4 Theorising the Foucauldian subject

As noted in Chapter One (section 1.3.3), the individual at the centre of Foucault’s theorization of the subject has a de-essentialised conceptual identity. Foucault was careful in his selection of the word ‘subject’ for his writing. ‘There are two meanings of the word subject: subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to’ (Foucault, 1983, p212). Hence:

The individual is not to be conceived of as a sort of elementary nucleus, a primitive atom, a multiple and inert material on which power comes to fasten or against which t happens to strike, and in so doing subdues or crushes individuals. In fact, it is already one of the prime effects of power that certain bodies, certain gestures, certain discourses, certain desires, come to be identified and constituted as individuals. The individual, that is, is not the vis-à-vis of power; it is, I believe, one of its prime effects. (Foucault, 1977/1980a, p98)

The conceptual route Foucault adopted to theorize the different modes, through which power was exercised on and through ‘the individual’ was the notion of ‘technology’. In this sense the starting point for the analysis is not the (humanistically centred) individual but the political machinery the individual confronts when constituting their sense of self (or identity). Technologies – or techniques – can be defined as specific practices that give a concrete form (Foucault, 1988) to discursive formations. Hence, in his examination of the different ways that (Western) humans have developed knowledge about themselves, Foucault (1982/1988) argues that:

The main point is not to accept this knowledge at face value but to analyze these so-called sciences as very specific “truth games” related to specific techniques that human beings use to understand themselves. (p18)
In this sense, technology is ‘the articulation of certain techniques and certain kinds of discourse about the subject’ (Foucault, 1980/1997, p178). The value of this theoretical position is that a direct relationship between power, managerial discourse, managerial practice and employee subjectivity can be assumed. Foucault (1982/1988) identified four major types of technologies through which Western individuals are encouraged to understand themselves. Each one ‘implies certain modes of training and modification of individuals, not only in the obvious sense of acquiring certain skills but also in the sense of acquiring certain attitudes’ (p18). This thesis draws on the notions of technologies of power (domination) and the self to analyze QTAH managerial discourse and practice. As Foucault (1982/1988) suggests, the four technologies ‘hardly ever function separately, although each one of them is associated with a certain type of domination’ (p18). While not wanting to promote a dualistic sense of Foucault’s treatment of ‘the subject’, for later clarity I will briefly introduce an account of these two broad disciplinary technologies through which individuals are ‘persuaded’ to adopt particular subject positions that are constituted within discourse.

3.4.1 Disciplinary technologies of domination

In focusing on technologies of domination, Foucault focused on ‘the more practical understanding produced in those institutions like hospitals, asylums, and prisons, where certain subjects became objects of knowledge and at the same time objects of domination’ (Foucault, 1980/1997, p179):

Discipline ‘makes’ individuals; it is the specific technique of a power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise. It is not a triumphant power, which because of its own excess can pride itself on its omnipotence; it is a modest, suspicious power, which functions as a calculated, but permanent economy. (Foucault, 1977, p170)

The body at the centre of Foucault’s disciplinary power grid is a ‘docile’ trainable body (Foucault, 1977). A significant feature of this (new) disciplinary technique of power is

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46 ‘(1) technologies of production, which permit us to produce, transform, or manipulate things; (2) technologies of sign systems, which permit us to use signs, meanings, symbols, or signification: (3) technologies of power, which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivizing of the subject; (4) technologies of the self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality’ (Foucault, 1982/1988, p18).

47 Particularly with the discussion of the merging of these two technologies is later accounts of ‘governmentality, for example.'
that it operates at the level of the individual rather than the ‘mass’ (Foucault, 1977). Foucault argues that it is through a series of ‘simple instruments’ that the ‘disciplined’ individual becomes known and thereby controlled or dominated. These instruments consist of ‘hierarchical observation, normalizing judgment and their combination in a procedure that is specific to it, the examination’ (Foucault, 1977, p170).

Hierarchical observation – or surveillance – effects disciplinary control through the principle of continuous observation. Dale, for example, describes a problematic guest-room attendant interaction that indicates a continuous supervision that moves beyond direct supervision and the specifics of cleaning the room, to the long-range surveillance of the attitude and behaviour of the individual employee towards the hotel guest:

_It was the end of the day – 4:30 – she was tired. We should have been finished but we were late due to illness. She said, “can I do your room” and the guest said “can you come back in half an hour?” She said, “No, we’ll be gone by then because we’ll have finished”. And he said, “Well I was out all day and I’ve just got back” and she said, “that’s not my problem I have to do the whole hotel.” I think it was the way he picked it up but we got a letter from him to the GM. So you have to make sure you get people who don’t [do that]. (Dale)._

While this interaction occurred away from the ‘vision’ of the room attendant’s supervisor it was still ‘observed’ by the guest. As a result of his letter, the hotel’s head office, the general manager and the house-keeping manager also ‘observed’ this incident. The interaction – the reporting of the interaction – illustrates the ‘disciplinary machine’ in practice in the QTAH context. This managerial observation was not just of an action taken by an operational employee, it also involved the attitudes and meaning-making practices of the employee. Although hotels are constituted as difficult workplaces to control because of the temporal and spatial spread of their activities, continuous supervision is effectively and efficiently exercised through networks of relations such as this one. The strength and reliability of this network comes from the ‘integrated’ system of disciplinary power it forms. In short, this is a system of surveillance that brings the actions, attitudes and meanings of all of the individuals within the production unit (including the guest) – operating at all levels of a hierarchy - under potential (but not absolute) scrutiny. ‘Although it is true that its pyramidal organization gives it a ‘head’, it is the apparatus as a whole that produces ‘power’ and distributes individuals in this permanent and continuous field’ (Foucault, 1977, p177).
In terms of the disciplinary technology of surveillance, Foucault argues that ‘we are talking about two things here: the gaze, and interiorisation’ (Foucault, 1977/1980d, p154). As porter Dennis states, “We have got to remember that we are always kind of being watched and if anything’s missed we are in the firing line so to speak”. Evident in Dennis’s account of work as a porter, is an ‘interiorisation’ of the surveillance instrument that is engendered as a result of the continuous nature of the watching. In this sense, the surveillance instrument renders disciplinary power both indiscreet and discreet. It is:

Absolutely indiscreet, since it is everywhere and always alert, since by its very principle it leaves no zone of shade and constantly supervises the very individuals who are entrusted with the task of supervising; and absolutely ‘discreet’, for it functions permanently and largely in silence. (Foucault, 1977, p177)

In being both discreet and indiscreet, the surveillance instrument of disciplinary power operates as a metaphorical ‘Panopticon’, the architectural plan for a prison developed by Jeremy Bentham in 184348. Thus as an effect of the sense of continuous surveillance, Dennis declares a “need to remember”. Importantly, he also extends the need “to remember that they are always being watched” to the occupational group as a whole. In other words it is not just “I” that needs to remember but “we”. Dennis is thus effectively disciplining himself as well as his colleagues to be continuously honest (or at least careful). In this sense, Dennis illustrates the efficiency of disciplinary power (Foucault, 1977) where he receives and he is the bearer, effecting discipline of himself and his peers.

The normalizing judgments central to the mechanism through which individualized bodies are brought into visibility. More specifically, it is through the power of normalization that the individual’s profile is made visible against a standardized point of reference. While the disciplinary system is orientated around punishment, disciplinary punishment is designed to operate as a corrective measure that will reduce the gap between the rule and the ‘measure’. Punishment within the disciplinary system,

48 ‘The Panopticon must not be understood as a dream building: it is the diagram of a mechanism of power reduced to its ideal form; its functioning, abstracted from any obstacle, resistance or friction, must be represented as a pure architectural and optical system: it is in fact a figure of political technology that may and must be detached from any specific use’ (Foucault, 1977, p205). As Sewell & Wilkinson (1992) suggest, the Panopticon came to be a leitmotif of Foucault’s discussion of disciplinary power.
therefore, is only one aspect of the gratification-punishment binary (Foucault, 1977). Normalizing evaluation thus ranks or grades individuals according to a set of established criteria that span the gratification-punishment continua. The criteria of assessment in terms of the adoption of the hotel-career-employee subject position, for example, are the nature of the mobility, learning and network formation (see chapter Seven). Ranking individuals in terms of their career conduct, the disciplinary system ‘marks the gaps, hierarchizes qualities, skills and aptitudes; but it also punishes and rewards’ (Foucault, 1977, p181). It is at this point that Foucault’s ‘positive’ theorisation of power comes alive (so to speak). In other words power is accepted because ‘it doesn’t only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse’ (Foucault, 1977/1980b, p119) and it produces subject positions that individuals are encouraged to adopt – such as hotel-career-employee subject positions. Ellen, for example, came out of a corporate training programme and into an Assistant Manager position. This was essentially a duty manager role with an additional ‘special projects’ component.

\[\text{It is a very good one to come straight out of traineeship because you’re not automatically thrown into an outlet and suddenly you’ve got 60 staff under you. But at the same time you are given an area of responsibility, which you can experiment with...you’re given projects where you can shine so it’s a sort of make or break. Is she really that potential or is she sort of heading this way potential?}\]

In this account of Ellen’s first management position, there is an implicit awareness that her performance is rendered visible through a process of normalizing judgments. It’s a make or break time where her performance is evaluated according to the criteria of management ‘potential’. As such gaps will be identified – is she really management potential or is she just maybe management potential? – and qualities, skills and aptitudes will be ranked. In her account of this process, Ellen also articulates an inherent acceptance of the legitimacy of this process.

In combining the normalizing judgment with the hierarchical observation ‘the examination’ represents a ‘normalizing gaze’ (Foucault, 1977, p184). According to Foucault (1977) ‘that is why, in all the mechanisms of discipline, the examination is

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49 A ‘duty manager’ is a rostered medium-level operational manager position. The different QTAHS handled the staffing of this position in different ways. Some had specific duty managers employed for specific duties. Other QTAHS – particularly in the low occupancy periods – rostered their senior managers onto the different shifts. Usually the front office manager would attend to the morning-daytime duty manager demands, while the afternoon – evening shift would be specifically rostered.
highly ritualized, as seen in the ritual of the selection interview for example, (see Chapter Six, section 6.4).

3.4.2 Disciplinary technologies of the self

When analyzing the experience of sexuality, however, Foucault’s analytic attention shifted to another set of techniques he labeled technologies of the self. These are:

Techniques which permit individuals to perform, by their own means, a certain number of operations on their own bodies, on their own souls, on their own thoughts, on their own conduct, and this in such a way that they transform themselves, modify themselves, and reach a certain state of perfection, of happiness, of purity, of supernatural power, and so on. Let’s call this kind (sic) of techniques a techniques or technology of the self. (Foucault, 1980/1997, p181)

For example, front office/telephonist Briar expresses an aim to be GM one day. Having “sort of looked at where I wanted to go and how I will do it”, she provides an account of a happily self-disciplined hotel employee. This ‘self-discipline’ can be seen in the way she manages the late nights that are part of the Queenstown party scene:

Getting up to go to work is fine, I really enjoy work. [What about if you had been to a party the night before?] Everyone does it though; you’re not the only one. I’ve done it a couple of times but generally don’t do it – because in reception you don’t look flash by the end of the week. Personally I don’t usually go out weeknights if I am working. If I do I’m home and in bed by midnight. (Briar).

As Jones (1998) suggests, the consequences of Foucault’s reformulation of ‘the individual’ are significant. Importantly for this thesis, Foucault’s reformulation enables a de-naturalization of the professional-hotel-employee subject and the hotel-career-employee subject. In other words, the practice and identification of an individual as a professional and career hotel employee becomes open to theorisation as an effect of power. Particularly, for this thesis on employee transience, the hotel-career employee subject position can be explained as an effect that is strategically mobilized in the interests of capital. Dorinne Kondo (1995) articulates this position succinctly:

In this formulation, “the subject” becomes precisely the nodes of intersection of larger social forces and inseparable from them, rather than a bounded entity pristine and separate unto itself; [and] “experience” considered not as unmediated and unviolable, but
as a theoretical abstraction and a discursive production – becomes an instantiation of the workings of larger forces. (p96)

In this statement by Kondo, therefore, there is a clear link between subjectivity and ‘larger’ forces. The ‘larger force’ this thesis attends to is the relations of ‘capitalism’.

Before moving on to the relations of capital, however, the ‘resistance’ side of Foucault’s power ‘coin’ is briefly discussed.

### 3.5 Theorising resistance

Foucault (1977/1980c) states that:

> There are no relations of power without resistances; the latter are all the more real and effective because they are formed right at the point where relations of power are exercised; resistance to power does not have to come from elsewhere to be real, nor is it inexorably frustrated through being the compatriot of power. (p142)

Thus, there is a clear sense of the way in which power and resistance are inextricably linked. Power creates the possibility of resistance just as resistance creates the possibility for the exercise of power.

Fleming (2002) argues that it is important to remember that a Foucauldian approach to resistance ‘does not begin nor end with Foucault’ (p194). Further, to extract Foucault’s theorisation of resistance from its intellectual history carries risks. One risk is to slip into a positivist reading of practices of resistance as decontextualised ‘things in themselves’. In addition, while resistance need not only be constituted as the overthrow of dominant power relations through open, confrontational and collective practice (Fleming, 2002, p204), going too far in the other ‘micro’ direction can lead to the analytic celebration of ‘the most banal of social practices’ (Fleming, 2002, p205). While these difficulties are not the inevitable outcome of examining ‘resistance’ within everyday practices, they stand:

As a cautious reminder about how and why we interpret things as we do. In relating these concerns to critical organization studies we could ask some provocative questions. For example, might not some of the activities we label ‘transgressive’ more plausibly be termed ‘discretion’, ‘autonomy,’ ‘initiative’ or whatever? What exactly makes the tactical social enactments we discover in organizations specifically practices of resistance and what are the criteria we use to judge? (Fleming, 2002, p205)

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50 ‘Transgressive’, in this sense, is used interchangeably with ‘resistance’.
These are certainly pertinent questions to ask within the context of this thesis. The argument it makes – particularly in Chapter Eight and Nine – is that career ambivalence (Johnson, 1981) is an act of resistance. In theorising career ambivalence as resistance I am drawing on a Foucauldian theorisation of power and the subject. If I was drawing on assumptions of an essentialised, autonomous and ‘free’ acting individual career, ambivalence within the statements of particular QTAH employees would be readily explained as ‘discretion’, ‘autonomy,’ or ‘initiative’ (Fleming, 2002). In other words, in the absence of a theoretical relationship between power and subjectivity, transience can be constituted as self-derived and self-directed action that is both de-politicized and psychologised. As such ‘resistance’ would not be a sustainable argument. By engaging in a Foucauldian theorisation of power, knowledge and the subject, however, ambivalence in the adoption of a hotel-career-employee subject position can be constituted as a ‘tactical social enactment’ (Fleming, 2002) that emerges in response to the exercise of disciplinary technologies within the hotel workplace51. Thus ‘discretion’, ‘autonomy,’ and ‘initiative’ now become constituted as the result of complex relationships between discourses, subject positions, power and resistance.

3.5.1 Resistance and subjectivity

For Foucault (1983), the notion of ‘resistance’ offers important analytical access to the relationship between the subject and power. In pursuing this route, Foucault (1983) takes as a starting point a number of ‘oppositions’ – for example ‘of administration over the ways people live’ (p211) – that he then defines as a struggle ‘not exactly for or against the “individual,” but rather they are struggles against the ‘government’ of “individualization”’ (Foucault, 1983, p212). As such, ‘the struggle’ is a practice of resistance to forms or techniques of governmental power:

This form of power applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him. It is a form of power which makes individuals subjects. (Foucault, 1983, p212)

51 For example, see Carl’s proposed transient response to the threat of being rostered onto the breakfast shift again in Chapter Eight (section 8.4).
Fleming’s (2002) account of Foucauldian theorisation of resistance provides a productive point of reference for my analysis of QTAH employee transience\(^{52}\). Of significance here is the connection between ‘resistance’ and the movement across discursive boundaries in the production of ‘new’ and ‘different’ discursive practices of identity and conduct.

A significant influence in Foucault’s intellectual position is Frederick Nietzsche. ‘From Nietzsche onward’, states Fleming (2002) ‘ethics (as in ἔθος, conduct of self…) is established as a domain of paramount importance for resistance’ (p195):

> For Nietzsche, self is intimately linked to ἔθος or what each of us make of those small freedoms of everyday life and limited capacities to invent a gesture that constitutes a style of self and poiēsis (a skilled bringing forth) of conduct. This angle on sociality takes us beyond the levelling banality of ‘everything is political’ and allows us to tease out the different plateaus interconnecting the personal and political in any given form of life. It is undoubtedly this privileging of ethics as a space of agency and self-transmogrification that forms a key antecedent for current Foucauldian conceptions of resistance. (Fleming, 2002, p196)

Employee resistance, therefore, is tied directly to everyday decisions about work-life gestures that constitute the employment conduct of the subject. Hence it is at the level of those gestures and conduct that career discipline and resistance play out in QTAH employee subjectivity.

Another important point of clarification that Fleming (2002) offers is the idea of transgression as the simultaneous crossing and recrossing of a threshold that is made up of both power and dissent:

> So, rather than transgression consisting of the defence of a boundary between a treasured forenamed self and a foreign imposed one (by the company, patriarchy, empire etc.), it is more a traversing of the boundary to create a new and different ethical praxis… The analogy of resistance therefore changes from a military one (defence, guarding, patrolling – the language of a policed fortress) to a nomadic one (traversing, permeating, crossing the uncharted, establishing a new space – the language of flight). (Fleming, 2002, p200)\(^{53}\)

In this language of ‘traversing’ and ‘permeating’ there is a sense of resistance as constant un-programmatic movement. Thus, through continuous but variable interactions this power-resistance ‘tumble-weed’ rolls into ‘new’ and ‘uncharted space’.

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\(^{52}\) As discussed in Chapter One (section 1.2.7) the focus of my analysis of transience as resistance is the professional ‘potential’ career ambivalents (or ‘core’) QTAH employees.

\(^{53}\) Here Fleming (2002) is referring to the concept of ‘lines of flight’ that G. Deleuze and F. Guattari (1987) use as a metaphor for everyday resistance.
As Jermier, Knights and Nord (1994) argue:

It is the formation and reformation of self that is the aspect of subjectivity most important for understanding contemporary strategies of resistance. Self-formation is ordinarily a complex outcome of subjection or subjugation, and resistance to it. Although subjectivities are effects of power, subjectification and self-identities are always in process. Power, then does not directly determine identity but merely provides the conditions of possibility for its self-formation – a process involving perpetual tension between power and resistance or subjectivity and identity. (p8)

For example, in the QTAH context, the after work ‘drink-with-advice’ sessions conducted by Bess can be constituted as providing young QTAH employees with identity scripts that can be drawn into (in varying degrees) their domains of subjectivity.

In assuming that a managerial discourse operates as a dominant force in the constitution of QTAH employee identity and conduct, therefore, resistance can be ‘explained in terms of individual’s capacities (sic) to draw upon alternate discourses that subvert the privileged position of the dominant system of social identities and values’ (Holmer-Nadesan, 1996, p57). With power and resistance being theorised as inextricably connected, specific acts of resistance can be explained in terms of the ‘degree’ in which individuals draw upon alternate discourses and the ‘level’ of subversion that effects. In drawing heavily on a Foucauldian theorisation of subjectivity and resistance, Majia Holmer-Nadesan (1996) constructs a theoretical space that can be used as an analytic guide to this issue of ‘degree’ and ‘levels of subversion’.

3.5.2 Resistance as ‘Dis-identification’

Homer-Nadesan (1996) re-presents a model for organising ‘the degree and form of identification with identities articulated in the dominant discourse’ (p57). Firstly, ‘Identification’ occurs when individuals accept the identities provided in the dominant

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54 My reference to Holmer-Nadesan’s (1996) three-step model is due to its capacity to offer a sensitising analytical model of organisational identity and resistance rather than a fixed programme of analysis. In this sense, it is similar to my use of Johnson’s (1981) model of hotel turnover (see Chapter 1, section 1.2.7). Having said this, however, I do acknowledge the contradictions that such a model presents to the heterogenous, partial and context specific assumptions that underpin a Foucauldian theorisation of the subject. As for Johnson (1981), therefore, my intention is to use this model ‘lightly’.
discourse; that is, they define their relations with others in terms of the dominant discourse’ (Holmer-Nadesan, 1996, p58). For example, in Chapter Six (section 6.5) Belinda’s articulation of the professional handling of the interaction between the hotel employee and the difficult guest presents an example of this ‘identification’.

The second classification within this identification model by Homer-Nadesan (1996) - ‘Counter-identification’ - captures resistance in the form of a rejection of the subject position constituted within the managerial discourse in question. Due to this identification being ‘negative’ – as in “I am not just” – rather than an active identification with an alternate discourse, Holmer-Nadesan (1996) suggests that this implies a ‘form of complicity’ (p58). For example, Annabel’s statement (see Chapter Six, section 6.2) concerning the active promotion of the housekeeping department’s ‘professional’ status illustrates this implicit-rejection. In short, while rejecting the lowly housemaid identity constructed within the hotel organisational discourse, Annabel articulates a strong support for the managerially effective discourse of professionalism.

Holmer-Nadesan’s (1996) third and final identification category - ‘Dis-identification’ – speaks directly to the ‘positive’ identification with a competing subject position being constituted within an alternate discourse:

‘Dis-identification’ occurs as individuals eschew managerial definitions of organization, identity and practice in favour of alternative designations. In the case of dis-identification, the subject positions embedded in alternative discourses determine the individual’s (explicit) interpretations of the organization and her/his relation to it. Consequently, dis-identification does not involve a conscious rejection so much as it entails the replacement of managerial discourse. (Holmer-Nadesan, 1996, p58-59, emphasis my own).

It is this ‘dis-identification’ classification that is the most useful for theorising QTAH employee transience-resistance. Using this explanation of the relationship between managerial discourse, identity and resistance it can be argued that employee transience is an effect of the employee’s adoption of a subject position that is other than the hotel-career-employee subject position. In this way ‘resistance’ is constructed to be more than just a ‘defence’ of a particular identity (derived from the adoption of a particular subject position) and more the creation of new practices of identity (Fleming, 2002).
The emphasis in this quote from Holmer-Nadesan’s (1996), however, signals that the position argued within this ‘dis-identification’ step is over-stated. It is not useful to construct transience/resistance as the ‘replacement’ of a managerial discourse-constituted subject position by another. To do so would construct an account of identity and resistance in far too rigid and simplistic terms. As Holmer-Nadesan (1996) states a little earlier in her paper:

With each articulation (in speech and practice) the subject invokes her/his identity by drawing upon discursive forms but always/already partially. The inability to fully determine the identities of self and practice has the effect of engendering space for contingency and for choice. (p52)

To render the ‘dis-identification’ classification open to this partiality and helpful for this thesis, therefore, I will return to Fleming’s (2002) articulation of resistance as an act of transgression. Thus, ‘dis-identification’ becomes a practice of resistance where individuals – in eschewing managerial definitions of organization, identity and practice - create new and different ‘styles of self’ and ‘conduct’ by crossing and re-crossing different discursive subject ‘boundaries’. By articulating resistance in this way, it becomes possible to talk about QTAH resistance as more than just an outright rejection of sustained employment – such as the short-term employee transience. Instead, the shaded ambivalent areas of employment attachment also become available for analysis.

Given that this thesis offers a critical interrogation of managerial discursive practices and subject constitution, the discourse that is the point of reference for this discussion is the QTAH managerial discourse of career. Resistance in these terms incorporates a sense of ambivalence - towards a committed adoption of the hotel-career-employee subject position. Thus the QTAH employees that interest me most in this thesis are those that draw some elements of the QTAH management discourse into their identity – such as the professional hotel employee subject position, for example – but reject other elements – for example the hotel career subject position. The explanation that is available through this theory is that this ambivalent-resistance is the result of the way in which an alternate subject position (constituted within a discourse of tourism – see Chapter Nine) is drawn into play. The conduct that is the result of this ambivalence is employee transience.
One final point concerning this theorisation of subject resistance is to acknowledge that the adoption-of and resistance-to the subject positions constituted within the QTAH managerial discourse is taking place within the context of disciplinary technologies of domination (section 2.4.1 above) and the self (section 2.4.2 above). As such, the resistance that is being played out through the drawing on ‘alternate’ subject positions is woven in and around the exercise-of and resistance-to various technologies of surveillance, normalising evaluations, counselling and self-discipline. For example, in Chapter Eight resistance and the issue of time discipline (section 8.3) are discussed. For now, the discussion returns to the broader social context of the social relations of capital.

3.6 Theorising capital

In arguing that power relations ‘serve’ economic interests, this is not theorised as ‘a massive and primal condition of domination, a binary structure with ‘dominators’ on one side and ‘dominated’ on the other’ (Foucault, 1977/1980c, p142). Finding the ‘economism’ within the conventional theorisation of capital and power problematic, Foucault suggests a more productive approach would be one that initially acknowledges that ‘the relations of power do indeed remain profoundly enmeshed in and with economic relations and participate with them in a common circuit’ (Foucault, 1977/1980a, p89) but then proceeds on to explore how the interconnections between politics, knowledge and the economy play out in particular (singular) contexts. This re-formulation of the problematic of ‘power’ is based on the assertion that ‘power is neither given, nor exchanged, nor recovered, but rather exercised, and that it only exists in action’ (Foucault, 1977/1980a, p89). In other words, ‘it’s impossible to get the development of productive forces characteristic of capitalism if you don’t at the same time have apparatuses of power’ (Foucault, 1977/1980d, p158):

> It is only if we grasp these techniques of power and demonstrate the economic advantages or political utility that derives from them in a given context for specific reasons, that we can understand how these mechanisms come to be effectively incorporated into the social whole. (Foucault, 1977/1980a, p101)

55 Gibson-Graham (1996), for example, adopts this strategy in their exploration of the relationship between identity and the political economy in *The End of Capitalism (as we knew it).*
Hence, it would be wrong to begin at some central point and then trace the movement of power as it is distributed down into the extremities. Rather, Foucault suggests that one:

Conduct an ascending analysis of power, starting, that is, from its infinitesimal mechanisms, which each have their own history, their own trajectory, their own techniques and tactics, and then see how these mechanisms of power have been – and continue to be – invested, colonised, utilised, involuted, transformed, displaced, extended etc., by ever more general mechanisms and by forms of global domination. (Foucault, 1977/1980a, p99)

In other words, it isn’t that ‘global economic domination’ penetrates to the very ‘capillaries’ of the social body, but that local procedures of power are ‘invested and annexed’ by more general powers. The analytic quest, therefore, is to explore the way in which economic interests ‘are able to engage with these technologies that are at once both relatively autonomous of power and act as its infinitesimal elements’ (Foucault, 1977/1980a, p99). As Deborah Jones (1994) suggests:

While Foucault’s idea of discourse inevitably assumes that discourse is strategic, his concept of the strategic effects of discourse is not a teleological one. It is not the kind of strategy by which an agent controls a cause and effect process, but rather is a strategy which can be read from the effects of the workings of discursive formations in the production of certain types of power relations and certain types of subjects. (p4)

The QTAH discourse of career, for example, can be framed in Foucauldian strategic terms that look for the strategic mobilization of the interests of capital within the particular subject positions it constitutes and the technologies of power that are exercised in its name (see Chapter Seven).

Accordingly, the argument of this thesis is that the promotion of the hotel-career-employee subject position can be explained in terms of the economic advantages it supports for the interest of QTAH capital. Thus, the transience of a potential hotel-career-employee subject is frustrating for QTAH management because it challenges this economic advantage. It is at this point that it is important to discuss labour process theory. As Foucault (1977/1980c) suggests, the relationship between power and production is ‘at once a conditioning and a conditioned role’ (p142). Theorising the QTAH employment relationship in terms of the ‘labour process’ provides conceptual access to how this simultaneous ‘conditioning’ plays out in the QTAH service product delivery. In short, labour process theory offers a critical location from which the managerial informed discourse of career (and professionalism) can be analyzed in terms of the strategic interests of capital. While it is the Foucauldian strand within the
contemporary labour process ‘debate’ that offers the clearest theoretical route for analysis in this thesis, it is useful to begin with a brief introduction to the labour process discourse more generally.

### 3.7 Labour process theory

Contemporary labour process theory revolves around Harry Braverman’s (1974) *Labour and Monopoly Capital (LMC)*. Informing Braverman’s (1974) study of 20th Century production is the critical analysis of capitalist production by Karl Marx. Briefly stated, Braverman’s analysis focused on three themes: managerial control of the labour process in order to realize as much *potential* labour from that purchased; the drive towards more effective strategies of managerial control of the labour process; and the systematic de-skilling of labour through micro subdivision of work as a strategy of control over the labour process (Thompson, 1983). The reason for starting with Braverman is not because of his de-skilling thesis but because of his re-presentation of Marxian labour process into contemporary relations of capital. As Thompson (1983) suggests, Braverman’s use of Marx not only attended to a gap in English-speaking analysis of the labour process, it ‘renewed’ Marx’s analysis by applying it to 20th Century skills, technology and work organization (Thompson, 1983). In a similar vein, Knights and Willmott (1986) suggest that ‘the appearance of Labor and Monopoly Capital revitalized and focused critical interest in management and suggested a fresh and penetrating perspective for its study’ (p3).

#### 3.7.1 The capitalist labour process as a relationship between ‘potential’ and ‘realization’

In drawing on the writings of Karl Marx, Braverman (1974) begins with the assumption that the work of humans is distinctive from other animals because it is conscious, purposive and engages ‘the power of conceptual thought’ (Braverman, 1974, p47).

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56 In saying this I acknowledge that the labour process discourse constitutes the ‘object’ of Marx and his writings in a particular way. Rowlinson and Hassard (2001) for example, discuss the complex and divergent relationship between labour process theory (LPT) and various aspects of Marxist political economy. Thus, the (re)production of Marx in LPT is institutionally and historically located and – like facets of the labour process debate more generally – is open for continual revision.
“Labor power” is the term Marx used for this distinctly ‘human capacity to perform work’ (Braverman, 1974, p51). Under the capitalist relations of production, the labour process takes on a particular form. First of all, in the absence of any ownership of the means of production the (formally free) worker is compelled to enter into the relations of production through the sale of his/her labour power. Secondly, ‘the purpose of the employment of the worker becomes the expansion of a unit of capital belonging to the employer, who is functioning as a capitalist (Braverman, 1974, p52). As such, within the capitalist mode of production the labour process is more than just a technical mode of organizing labour, ‘(i)t has become in addition, a process of accumulation of capital. And, moreover, it is the latter aspect which dominates in the mind and activities of the capitalist, into whose hands the control over the labor process has passed’ (Braverman, 1974, p53).

While necessity may drive the worker to enter into a contract of sale with an interested employer, this transaction is not the simple exchange of a commodity – such as a bag of flour – for an agreed amount of money. What is actually on sale is the potential to labour. In other words, the commodity purchased and bought is ‘the power to labor over an agreed period of time’ (Braverman, 1974, p54). This distinction between labour and labour power is a key component of the labour process discourse. It is the ‘intelligent and purposive character’ of human labour power that is the fundamental core of the hotel guest-employee interaction, for example. Further, it is the successful management of that interaction that is the basis of the hotel owner’s enlargement of capital. The difficulty for the hotel managers – as agents of the owners – however, is the indeterminate nature of the relationship between potential labour power and actualized labour:

The coin of labor has its obverse side: in purchasing labor power that can do much, he [sic] is at the same time purchasing an undefined quality and quantity. What he buys is infinite in potential, but in its realization it is limited by the subjective state of the workers, by their previous history, by the general social conditions of the enterprise, and by the technical setting of their labor. The work actually performed will be affected by these and many other factors, including the organization of the process and the forms of supervision over it, if any. (Braverman, 1974, p57)

This indeterminate relationship between potential and realized labour, therefore, is constituted in terms of the necessity of managerial ‘government’. Hence this inherent indeterminacy is a significant factor in understanding the political motivation behind the
range of managerial strategies for handling the labour process\textsuperscript{57}. Various strategies have been engaged in by management to effect that control. A significant contribution that Braverman (1974) offers is his analysis of the scientific management discourse. Briefly, within the scientific management discourse knowledge operates as a significant strategy of control. In short, the discourse of scientific management establishes a discursive formation that legitimizes the conceptual separation of management and labour. While Taylorism and de-skilling is the primary focus, Braverman (1974) also acknowledges that there are many strategies and that they are constantly being re-worked (1974). This thesis argues that the constitution of and discipline for the hotel-career-employee subject position is strategically useful in engendering habituation of workers to the capitalist labour process.

While Braverman’s (1974) text has been highly influential in critical management academic circles, it has also been widely criticized (see Thompson, 1983; Knights & Willmott, 1990 for a review of this criticism). Generally speaking there are two broad themes in this critique. The first is the argument that Braverman presented an overly simplistic and de-contextualised model of a steady progression towards deskilling and the resulting degradation of work (Thompson, 1983; Littler, 1982; S. Wood, 1982; Wardell, 1999). As de-skilling and Taylorism is not the focus of this thesis, this argument is not pursued here. The second issue concerning Braverman’s emphasis on the objective content of class, however, is more relevant. The critique is that with an absence of recognition of worker’s class-consciousness, inadequate attention is paid to the possibilities for resistance (Burawoy, 1979; Thompson, 1983; Wardell, 1999). It is the absence of a theorisation of ‘the subject’ that is now addressed, in particular, the drawing of the Foucauldian theory of the subject into labour process theory.

3.7.2 Labour process theory and the Foucauldian subject

The theorisation of power and the subject in de-essentialised Foucauldian terms has entered into labour process debates largely through the work of David Knights and Hugh Willmott. Generally speaking, their mobilization of this Foucauldian theoretical

\textsuperscript{57} As Braverman (1974) notes, the dominant strategies have been ‘the enforcement upon the worker of the longest possible working day in the early period of capitalism to the use of the most productive instruments of labor and the greatest intensity of labor’ (p56).
framework comes out of a concern with the inadequate theorisation of the subject within the labour process debate (Knights & Willmott, 1989; Knights, 1990; Knights & Morgan, 1991a, 1991b; Willmott, 1993; O’Doherty & Willmott, 2001; Knights, 2002). From David Knights, for example, the value of adopting a Foucauldian theory of the subject:

While not discounting the system of domination within which the labour process is embedded, the approach allows for an analysis of the everyday, immediate practices of production and control, and how workers and managers become positioned as subjects within them. It thereby escapes the dualism of the creative, autonomous subject who, seized upon by capitalist power, is denied the expressive essence of his or her essential being. It also involves a different understanding of control and resistance and how they are frequently implicated in one another, and not just as a result of colonization in more global systems of power. (Knights, 1987, p27 cited by Sakolosky, 1992, p245)

A Foucauldian theoretical approach has also been adopted by a number of other labour process orientated academics. The technology of domination of the subject through ‘surveillance’, for example, has received particular attention. Particularly, surveillance in terms of human supervision (Sakolosky, 1992), team supervision (Sewell & Wilkinson, 1992; Barker, 1993; Sewell, 1998), individual ‘profiles’ (Sewell & Wilkinson, 1992; Miller & Morgan, 1993) and computer surveillance (Zuboff, 1988 cited by Sakolosky, 1992; Sewell & Wilkinson, 199259). In addition, Sakolosky (1992) theorises ‘participatory management’ schemes such as quality control circles as ‘normalizing’ devices. Resistance also features in some capacity. For example, Ezzamel and Willmott (1998) argue that a significant reason why individual employees are not receptive to a teamwork structure at ‘StitchCo’ is because it puts pressure on their ‘mate’ or ‘family provider’ sense of self-identity. Unsurprisingly, in adopting a Foucauldian ‘cure’ for inadequacies in the theoretical treatment of subjectivity, Knights and Willmott find earlier contributions to the labour process debate problematic. A look at the ‘subjectivity gaps’ produced by two of the more influential contributors - Braverman (1974) and Burawoy (1979) – speaks to the historical and (academic) institutional context of Foucault’s insertion into labour process theory as well as the contribution a Foucauldian theorisation of the subject offers to labour process analysis.

58 Attention that some – O’Doherty & Willmott (2001) and Knights (2002), for example – suggest is ‘overblown’.
59 Sewell & Wilkinson, 1992 prefer the name ‘electronic panopticon’ to Zuboff’s ‘Information Panopticon’ because this electronic surveillance provides the means for the continuing discipline of the ‘autonomous’ work teams that are so much a part of the JIT and TQM strategies of management.
In addition, the analytical connections between identity and the social relations of capital are rendered more explicit.

### 2.7.3 Braverman’s treatment of subjectivity

While Braverman (1974) declares a self-imposed limit to an analysis of the ‘objective’ dimensions of the contemporary capitalist mode of production, his arguments concerning the habituation of workers do specifically acknowledge a ‘subjective’ dimension of the capitalist labour process. As Knights and Willmott (1989) argue, however, ‘Braverman’s analytical strategy simply leaves untheorized, rather than eliminates, reference to subjectivity’ (p544). The particular example from Braverman’s (1974) work focused on here is the issue of the ‘habituation of labour’, or in other words, ongoing employee commitment to the capitalist employment relationship that is known as career in the managerial discourse. For example, according to Braverman (1974) the engendering of a ‘habituation of the worker to the capitalist mode of production’ is not simply or unilaterally determined. Due to the ‘human element’ within the labour process, various forms of resistance emerge. In other words, ‘since the workers are not destroyed as human beings but are simply utilized in inhuman ways, their critical, intelligent, conceptual faculties, no matter how deadened or diminished, always remain in some degree a threat to capital’ (Braverman, 1974, p139). As such, the crafting of successive generations of humanity into a productive and committed labour force for the capitalist mode of production requires wide-ranging, constantly renewing and never-ending strategies:

> The necessity for adjusting the worker to work in its capitalist form, for overcoming natural resistance intensified by swiftly changing technology, antagonistic social relations, and the succession of the generations, does not therefore end with the “scientific organization of labor,” but becomes a permanent feature of capitalist society. (Braverman, 1974, p139-140)

On one level these statements from Braverman address the necessary assumptions of ‘freedom’ and ‘agency’ that accompany the Foucauldian formulation of power

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60 Braverman (1974) was aware that his ‘self-imposed limitation to the objective content of class and the omission of the “subjective” will … hopelessly compromise this study in the eyes of some of those who float in the conventional stream of social science’ (Braverman, 1974, p27). His focus was, however, a purposeful response to the discourses of employee subjectivity of the time.

61 In terms of this thesis, therefore, his discussion of the habituation of labour speaks productively to the issue of employee commitment and transience within the QTAH context.
(Foucault, 1983). The difficulty Knights and Willmott (1989), Knights (1990) and I have with this position, however, is in the way it limits the exercise of power to the ‘external’ or ‘objective domain. In other words, it separates out ‘subjective action as that which is voluntary (or freely chosen)...[from] objective behaviour that is determined or controlled’ (Knights, 1990, p300). Hence, in Braverman’s (1974) analysis, the subjective ‘humanity’ parts of workers – the critical, intelligent, conceptual faculties – no matter how deadened or diminished they are by the objective forces of capital remain separate from these forces. As such they – the subjective human component – staying outside or the relations of power always remain in some degree a threat to capital. In this sense, subjectivity stands outside the reproduction and transformation of the social relations of capital62. In this framing, the transience practiced by QTAH subjects would be constituted as outside of capitalist relations of power. Given the seminal positioning of Braverman’s (1974) Labor and Monopoly Capital by contemporary labour process theory, this implicit formulation of the subject has had considerable influence. Due to the lack of interrogation of Braverman’s (1974) assumptions concerning ‘the subject’ Knights (1990) suggests that:

Labour process theory has been inclined to a view – albeit not always articulated – of subjectivity as representing the productive and autonomous aspects of human existence, which are to be contrasted with the objective structures that constrain them. In pursuit of capitalist surplus, these structures are seen to direct and distort the creative potential of individual subjects and collective agency. (p303)

3.7.4 Burawoy’s treatment of subjectivity

While Michael Burawoy (1979) acknowledges the influence of Braverman’s ‘creative rehabilitation of Marx’s own theory of the labour process’ he locates his own position opposite ‘to many of the dominant themes of Labour and Monopoly Capital’ (Burawoy, 1979 pxiii-xiv). Hence, ‘rather than argue that conflict between management and worker is endemic or “structural,”’ Burawoy states that, ‘ I shall show how both conflict and consent are organized on the shop floor’ (1979 p4). To do this Burawoy (1979) focuses his attention on the manufacture of consent. Consent, he argues, is generated through participation in particular work place ‘games’. The game at Allied Corp was

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62 Knights and Willmott (1989) trace the cause of Braverman’s ‘subjectivity deficiency’ back to the work of Marx. Due to time and agenda constraints this discursive link will not be explored here. See Knights and Willmott (1989), and Knights (1990) for their specific arguments.
‘making out’. Put simply, making out is producing more than the base rate and therefore earning more than the base earnings. This increased output is achieved by taking short cuts, speeding up the machine, and ‘stock-piling’ on easy jobs – creating a ‘kitty’ - then fiddling the time cards. A strict 140% ceiling operated on these increased rates as any more than 140% increase was presumed to result in bonus cuts and rate increases. The culture of the workplace thus became orientated around ‘the game’ and new employees were drawn into the distinctive activities, language and meaning system that is making out (Burawoy, 1979):

Once I knew I had a chance to make out, the rewards of participating in a game in which the outcomes were uncertain absorbed my attention, and I found myself spontaneously cooperating with management in the production of greater surplus value. Moreover, it was only in this way that I could establish relationships with others on the shop floor... Thus, it was in terms of the culture of making out that individuals evaluated one another and themselves. (p64)

The significant point of Burawoy’s discussion is that it is through this game playing that the worker’s consent to the capitalist relations of exploitation is manufactured:

The point is more than the obvious, but important, assertion that one cannot both play the game and at the same time question the rules...Here I am not arguing that playing the game rests on a broad consensus; on the contrary, consent rests upon – is constructed through – playing the game. The game does not reflect an underlying harmony of interests; on the contrary, it is responsible for and generates that harmony. (Burawoy, 1979, p81-82)

As a consequence to this involvement in the game, the relations of production that define the rules of the game are at the same time obscured and implicitly accepted.

For Knights and Willmott (1989), Burawoy’s ethnography of production at the Allied Corporation offers a penetrating illumination ‘of the tensions and contradictions of working on the shop floor and the dialectic of capitalist-labour relations’ (p546). Its limitations concern the ‘failure to theorise, rather than simply use, the concept of social identity when accounting for the reproduction of capitalist social relations’ (Knights & Willmott, 1989, p547). As Willmott (1993) puts it, ‘human agency still remains something of a “black box”’(p697). In short, ‘his analysis of the game of making-out is not so much wrong as incomplete’ (Knights, 1990, p310). There are several dimensions to this lack of analytical completion. The first is inadequate complexity imputed to management subjectivity. While a given class-consciousness is rejected for labour, Burawoy (1979) ‘sees no difficulty in attributing to all management (despite competing
fractions) the shared common ‘interest in securing and obscuring surplus value’” (Burawoy, 1979, p190 cited by Knights, 1990, p310). The second difficulty derives from a premature halt in the theorisation of labour subjectivity. For Knights (1990) this incompletion causes:

A tendency to fall back upon an essentialist theory of human nature. Here he assumes that the absence of conditions through which to express ‘the potentiality in the human species’ [Burawoy, 1979, p190] is experienced as a deprivation for which compensation must be sought by constituting ‘work as a game’ [Burawoy, 1979, p199]. (p311)

My sense of Burawoy’s (1979) analytic ‘incompletion’ is in leaving the theorisation of the manufacture of consent at the level of ‘the group’. In doing so, subjectivity becomes attached – albeit implicitly – to an essentialist assumption of social need found in, for example, the ‘human relations’ discourse. For example, in the following passage Burawoy describes his (and an earlier researcher Donald Roy’s) process of attachment to the game of making out:

As both Roy and I soon came to appreciate, if we were to be anyone in the shop we had better begin making out. Until we did, we would continue, as objects of scorn and derision, to be ostracized. The longer we delayed, the poorer our reputation would be and the more socially unacceptable we would become. Pressure to make out came not only from management (in my own case there was very little of this) but from fellow operators and auxiliary workers… The difference between making out and not making out was thus not measured in the few pennies of bonus we earned but in our prestige, sense of accomplishment, and pride. (Burawoy, 1979, p88-89)

Exploring this passage offers important insight into the contribution that a Foucauldian theory of subjectivity and power can offer labour process analysis. The statement ‘if we were to be anyone in the shop we had better begin making out’ is a good place to start. Analysis at the level of subjectivity would attend to the significance placed on the subject position of the game player. To be anyone in the shop - in other words to be recognised as a subject of the shop discourse – Burawoy must adopt the game player subject position. This anxiety to adopt a meaningful identity in the face of meaninglessness - in Burawoy’s (1979) account - is explained by Knights (1990) in terms of the way in which ‘labour processes fragment, atomise and turn workers into individuals rather than members of a class’ (p311)63. A similar theme is used by Garsten

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63 (a) While I have expressed difficulty with the way Knights & Willmott (1985), Willmott (1992), Knights & McCabe (1998) and Collinson (1992, 1994) invoke ‘anxiety’ as a generalized motivation for the adoption of particular subject positions, the argument does have purchase in this specific textual
and Grey (1997) to explain the use of the organisational ‘how to’ literature. One of the more powerful examples of the distress that surrounds the experience of a ‘meaningless’ subject position and the subsequent power exerted on the adoption of a ‘meaningful’ subject position, however, is found in Dorinne Kondo’s (1990) ethnography of the crafting of a Japanese self:

As a Japanese American, I created a conceptual dilemma for the Japanese I encountered. For them, I was a living oxymoron, someone who was both Japanese and not Japanese…For me, and apparently for the people around me, this was a stressful time, when expectations were flouted, when we had to strain to make sense of one another…In the face of dissonance and distress, I found that the desire for comprehensible order in the form of “fitting in,” even if it meant suppression of and violence against a self I had known in another context, was preferable to meaninglessness. (p11-12)

This same sense of a desire to ‘fit in’ and the (dis)stress of not adopting the appropriate subject position – articulated by Kondo – are evident in Burawoy’s account. Like Kondo, Burawoy’s pre-game identity falls outside the comprehensible order of appropriate subject positions within the shop. As such, to become ‘anybody’ he has to join into that order. In articulating a similar level of distress to Kondo – specifically in the form of being ‘objects of scorn and derision, to be ostracized…[and] socially unacceptable’ – Burawoy also opts to adopt a meaningful subject position. In this sense it is not only the management and fellow operators and auxiliary workers who put pressure on Burawoy to adopt a game subject position, he also does it to himself. As Knights and Willmott (1989) argue, ‘(i)n this way, [Burawoy’s] analysis deflects attention from an examination of mechanisms of ‘the social’ … that are productive of self-discipline’ (p552). The reward for engaging in this self-discipline is ‘prestige, sense of accomplishment, and pride’ (Burawoy, 1979, p89) and also a sense of (shop floor) identity. Re-visiting Burawoy’s (1979) ethnography with a Foucauldian theoretical lens, therefore, provides a much clearer sense of the complex relations of power through which an individual worker is rendered governable within the labour process of an industrial factory. Or, in restating this in Burawoy’s (1979) terms, how the manufacture of consent and ‘harmony’ at work operates at the level of identity politics.

__(b) I hasten to clarify that it is not suggested that in the absence of game playing, Burawoy and Roy have ‘no’ identity and that to ‘be’ anybody they are compelled to join in. Rather, that to be recognized as a subject of the ‘shop discourse’, Burawoy and Roy had to engage with employee subject positions that were possible within this discourse. The primary subject position constituted by the shop discourse was the ‘making out’ employee subject position._
While the specific game being played at the QTAH workplaces of this study is different to Burawoy’s (1979) ‘making-out’, this reflection upon the position of ‘the subject’ within Burawoy’s analysis is helpful for clarifying the central argument within this thesis. In short, the critique of Burawoy’s ‘game’ is in the suggestion that it represents a ‘distraction’ from the relations of exploitation that are inherent in the capitalist labour process. Instead, a more nuanced analysis would examine the way in which the interests of employees and capital are merged within the subject position of the competent game-player. As such, the relations of exploitation are translated into skill and production competency. In the QTAH context, these same relations of exploitation are transformed into ‘self-development’ and ‘commitment’. Thus in reflecting on Burawoy’s (1979) ethnography of social relations and identity on the shop floor, a clearer sense of how Johnson’s (1981) ‘opportunists’ [ambivalents] are persuaded to become hotel-career-employee subjects is gained. In this sense, power can be seen to enter right into ‘the critical, intelligent, conceptual facilities’ of Braverman’s (1974, p139) subjective humanity. Put simply, a Foucauldian informed labour process analysis expands the consideration of managerial strategies of labour process control beyond the structural-agency dualism and into the conceptually heterogeneous and complex region of disciplinary power, identity and subjectivity. Foucault’s analytic of ‘governmentality’ offers a productive conceptual route to bring ‘disciplinary power’, ‘subjectivity’ and ‘labour process’ together into the QTAH employment context.

3.8 Government of the labour process

Within his theorising of ‘government’, Foucault expands the meaning well beyond a simple relation to ‘the State’. Rather, government ‘is a sort of complex composed of men [sic] and things’ (Foucault, 1978/1991, p93). ‘Government’ in a general sense, therefore, is ‘the conduct of conduct’: that is to say, a form of activity aiming to shape,

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64 Again, ‘identity’ is referring here to a notion of a particular ‘script’ or the adoption of a particular subject position – one of many - the individual adopts to talk about and act their sense of self. ‘Subjectivity’, on the other hand, is taken to be the analytical ‘space’ attached to the individual subject, where these identity scripts are generated.

65 Most of Foucault’s work on ‘governmentality’ came out of two series of lectures he gave at the Collège of France, Paris in 1978 and 1979. While at the time these lectures were titled ‘Security, territory and population’ and ‘The birth of biopolitics’ (Gordon, 1991) upon conducting the first lecture Foucault suggested that a more exact title for the research would be ‘a history of governmentality’ (Foucault, 1978/1991, p101).
guide or affect the conduct of some person or persons’ (Gordon, 1991, p2). Thus, central to the notion of governmentality is Foucault’s formulation of power and subjectivity. ‘The exercise of power’, suggests Foucault (1983), ‘consists in guiding the possibility of conduct and putting in order the possible outcome’ (p221). Also at play within ‘governmentality’ is Foucault’s power-knowledge formulation. As Lemke (2001) suggests, ‘(t)he semantic linking of governing (‘gouverner’) and modes of thought (mentalité’) indicates that it is not possible to study the technologies of power without an analysis of the political rationality underpinning them’ (p191). Hence, ‘Foucault used the term ‘rationality of government’ almost interchangeably with ‘art of government’ (Gordon, 1991, p3). Here, ‘a political rationality is not pure, neutral knowledge which simply ‘re-presents’ the governing reality; instead, it itself constitutes the intellectual processing of the reality which political technologies can then tackle (Lemke, 2001, p191).

Following the publication of *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* by Burchell, Gordon and Miller (1991) numerous studies of governmentality have been conducted66. Within the social science literature generally, governmental analysis has been applied to a variety of empirical sites. For example, McDonald (1999) studies the efforts to organize dairy farmers in Mexico, while Kalpagam (2000) uses governmentality to look at the constitution of the economy in colonial India, Engle Merry (2001) argues that interventions in gender violence represent spatial forms of governmentality, and Goldman (2001) examines how the World Bank govern particular geographic spaces according to new discourses of eco-government. In this thesis, it is the employee subject within the tourist accommodation hotel – as a work organisation – that is my focus. Burchell (1991) suggests that ‘the result of assigning the power and responsibility for production to the level of the organisation was a kind of private governmental order, legally sanctioned by the state, for integrating individuals into economic life’ (p141-142). The process of this ‘integration’ has entailed a range of attempts to shape and modulate the relations that individuals have with society’s productive apparatus’ (Miller & Rose, 1990, p19). While no specific reference could be found to the analysis of governmentality in the tourism and hospitality literature, a

66 The *Economy and Society* Journal is a notable publishing site for studies of governmentality.
number of organisational studies have drawn on governmentality to explain the ‘conduct of [employee] conduct’ (Gordon, 1991).

Accounting is one set of organisational practices that has been analyzed in terms of practices of governmentality. Hoskin and Macve (1994), for example, argue that ‘at the simplest level of its inscription, accounting is a technology that writes value, and presents in that writing a space for examination – be it of physical flows, monetary values or human performance, of past events, present states or future possibilities’ (p67). In viewing standard costing as a technology of government, Miller and O’Leary (1994) are able to argue that its introduction into organisational practice made possible a new form of government of the ‘calculable’ individual. While the focus of this thesis is not accounting practices (in the formal institutional sense) these works by Hoskin and Macve (1994) and Miller and O’Leary (1994) address the powerful analytical links that are possible between managerial discourse and the constitution of particular organisational subject positions.

Another study of note is Wendy Larner’s (1998) analysis of the shifting subject positions as a result of the changing governmental practices within New Zealand’s telecommunication industry. In theorising this ‘shift’ in terms of governmentality, Larner’s (1998) paper explores how the ‘public servant’ employee subject is reconstituted through a managerialist discourse into a market or economic entity. In this way ‘the individual and enterprise are integrally linked in the pursuit for international competitiveness’ (Larner, 1998 p278). While this thesis is not tracing a ‘reformulation’ of the QTAH employee subjectivity per se, like Hoskin and Macve (1994) and Miller and O’Leary (1994) above, Larner (1998) provides an instructive analysis of the constitution of ‘individual’ employee subjects in reference to a specific discursive context.

3.8.1 The self-governing employee

A particular aspect of governmentality that is important to the theoretical framework of this thesis is way in which ‘self-governance’ enters into the constitution of the employee. Miller and Rose (1990) locate the integration of psychology and
management developed since the 1920s in the development of this employee self-
governance. In short, a more complex and substantial definition of the worker allowed
for the integration of the worker’s psychological and social ‘life’ into the economics of
production (Miller & Rose, 1990). Hollway (1991) provides a clear example of this
argument when analyzing aspects of the ‘human relations’ strand of managerial
discourse, for example, Chris Argyris’ call for employee ‘growth’:

How do you ensure change without imposing it? You convince the individual who is the
object of the change that they are choosing it. This is what I mean by subjectification.
Argyris calls it growth. Growth involves ‘proving’ to one’s self that it is one’s self who
is responsible for some of the problems that one is facing’ (Argyris, 1962, p156 cited in

According to Hollway (1991) and Miller et al. (1990), therefore, the individual
employee changes his/her personal wishes her/him self to become an ‘ally of economic
efficiency’. In other words, the individual employee is persuaded to adopt a subject
position that is strategically advantageous to the interests of capital. As Rose (1988)
suggests:

The practices of management of individuality … seek actively to produce subjects of a
certain form, to mould, shape, and organize the psyche, to fabricate individuals with
particular desires and aspirations. A knowledge of subjectivity is not always locked into
the mechanisms of power for the purpose of increasing coercion and constraint. (p196)

Joanna Brewis (1996), for example, adopts a Foucauldian governmental reading of
‘Personal Effectiveness (PE) education to argue that PE ‘acts on individuals in such a
way as to constitute them as self-regulating subjects, unquestioningly striving to
become so-called competent managers’ (p65)67. An important assumption operating
within this technology of the self that Brewis (1996) raises is that all individuals are
capable of being competent managers if they develop their PE. It is in this sense that the
governmental dynamic of PE education becomes obvious. While PE is encouraging
self-development it is a carefully scripted development that affects a particular ‘self’. In
other words, it is a programme of self-development that encourages its participants to

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67 (a) ‘Personal effectiveness’ is one component in a ‘competency-based’ management education
programme, taught in a UK Business school. ‘Personal Effectiveness is devoted to the development of
competencies such as assertiveness, communication and presentation skills, creativity, conflict handling,
problem solving, decision making, objective setting, action planning and so on’ (Brewis, 1996, p67).
(b) ‘Competency’ here is defined as ‘an underlying characteristic of a person which results in effective
and/or superior performance in the job’ (Boyatzis, 1982, p21 cited by Brewis, 1996, p66)– whom Brewis
(1996) credits with coining the term ‘competency’.
adopt a particular subject position. With the assumption that these qualities are possible for all, the failure to strive for and/or to adopt this PE competency subject position results in the classification of psychological ill health and abnormality (Brewis, 1996). Due to the productive effects of this disciplinary technology (and the orientation around ‘self’ development) it becomes very difficult for the individuals within this programme to constitute this educational experience as ‘government’. As Brewis (1996) states, ‘Foucault (1986) suggests that these citizens accept government because they experience its effects as a drive within themselves to achieve particular ends, and therefore that they are not aware of being governed’ (p69).

Governmentality, therefore, is a process through which individuals are simultaneously constituted as (governable) subjects and governed to conduct themselves as these subjects. In other words, governmentality:

Opens up for investigation the complexity and diversity of the relations between authorities and subjects, and the ways in which such practices have not suppressed freedom but, on the contrary, sought to ‘make up’ subjects capable of exercising a regulated freedom and caring for themselves as free subjects. (Rose, 1993, p288)

It is for that capacity to trace specific connections between the (so-constituted) self-governing hotel-career-employee subjects, rationalities of QTAH managerial government and the relations of capital that ‘governmentality’ is selected to help frame the analysis of this thesis.\(^{68}\)

3.8.2 Governing through technologies of domination and the self

Governmentality analytically unifies consideration of the technologies of domination and the self (Foucault, 1982/1988, 1980/1997). As Knights (1990), Grey (1994) and O’Doherty et al. (2001) argue, to focus attention on technologies of surveillance and normalizing gaze without considering the way in which employees actively participate in the constitution of their disciplined subjectivities, is to miss the sophistication and nuance that this analytical practice allows. In this sense government of the hotel labour

\(^{68}\) Indeed, Gordon (1991) argues that ‘Foucault was crucially interested in the interconnections between these different forms and meanings of government’ (p3). In his 1979 lecture series on ‘biopolitics’, for example, Foucault drew explicit connections between individual sexual and reproductive conduct, the population of sexual subjects, issues of national policy and power, through the theme of government (Gordon, 1991a).
process is not conceived as ‘a way to force people to do what the governor wants; it is always a versatile equilibrium, with complementarity and conflicts between techniques which impose coercion and processes through which the self is constructed or modified by himself’ (Foucault, 1980/1997, p182). As Knights (1990) suggests:

Once labour participates and positions itself in practices that are a consequence of the exercise of power, that power need no longer be exercised with such vigor, if at all, since labour collaborates in its reproduction. It does so because, as was suggested earlier, this is an effective way through which labour subjects secure a sense of their own importance, competence, independence and sexuality – all identities that are constituted, yet made vulnerable, by the individualizing effects of modern technologies of power (for example, the examination, career-hierarchical observation…). (p320)

Efforts to analyze the ‘complementarity and conflict’ between the technologies of domination and the self – within the workplace context specifically – have been made within the labour process literature. Knights and Morgan (1991a), for example, integrate the technologies of domination and the self through their analysis of the way in which life insurance sales staff are subjected to pressures or controls of production that are ‘built into the very sense of what it is to be a salesman or saleswoman’ (p217). While disciplinary surveillance and normalizing judgments are effected through ‘the regular publication of league tables of team and individual performance and the allocation of national and regional prizes to those who are at the top of them’ (Knights & Morgan, 1991a, p223) this is effective because the ‘right sort of staff’ are consciously selected in the first place (Knights & Morgan, 1991a). This complementary effect is important because - like the hotel service product - the core of the insurance sale is the interaction between the customer and the sales person. While in the hotel context this interaction is difficult to monitor in a direct fashion, for the life insurance interaction, direct supervision is almost impossible. Similar to the hotel context, therefore, the smooth and effective delivery of the life insurance sale is reliant on the sales staff self-disciplining themselves. In the life insurance context, sales targets become inextricably tied into the sale staff’s sense of identity. As a result these employees become highly responsive to the disciplinary technologies of the league tables, for example. While adding complexity to the analysis of the labour process, this study also offers a distinct contribution to this thesis for the way in which it highlights Foucault’s (1977/1980c) argument that there is no ‘outside of power’. Thus, QTÁH managers - in constituting particular employee subject positions such as the unprofessional, uncommitted transient
as frustrating and inappropriate – can also be seen to be reaffirming their own commitment and QTAH employee identity.

Covaleski, Dirsmith, Heian and Samuel (1998) examine the relationship between the managerial ‘technologies’ of ‘management by objectives’ (MBO) and ‘mentoring’. In their discussion, Covaleski et al. (1998) draw out the way in which the technologies of domination – for example MBO – and the technologies of the self – for example mentoring – and practices of resistance intersect and overlap in complex ways. For example, while explicitly engaging in practices of resistance to the pressures of professional autonomy and discretion contained within the MBO disciplinary procedures, the mentoring relationship is a place in which advice concerning the ‘survival’ of these procedures is offered. ‘Thus did mentoring intersect with a region of calculability and thereby convey firm norms and itself serve as a force of normalization’ (Covaleski et al, 1998, p316). While no formal mentoring structures are established in the QTAHs of this study, Covaleski et al.’s (1998) analysis does provide a point of reference for the analysis of Bess’ ‘drinks with advice’ sessions with junior staff (Chapter Six, section 6.5).

Of particular relevance to this thesis, however, are empirical studies of labour process governmentality by Grey (1994) and Fournier (1998, 1999). Briefly, Grey (1994) argues that ‘the discipline operationalisation within the discursive and non-discursive practices of ‘career’ should be treated as an aspect of [the] contemporary project of self-management’ (p479). Fournier (1998) offers a similar disciplinary analysis of ‘career’ subjects with the additional dimension of the ‘spatial ordering’ that the discourse of career effects. Fournier (1999) focuses particularly on the discourse of ‘professionalism’, arguing that the appeal to professionalism acts as a disciplinary mechanism of control through which ‘appropriate’ work identities and conduct are rendered possible. As these papers are explicitly referred to in Chapters Six and Seven the introduction to them here is brief. This reference to Grey (1994) and Fournier (1998, 1999), however brief, completes an introduction to the Foucauldian – LPT theoretical framework that informs the analysis of this thesis.

3.9 Conclusion
This chapter has introduced the theoretical framework through which the analysis in this thesis is constructed. Central to the analysis of the problem of transience is power. Foucault’s theorisation of the productivity of power – as effected through discourse and ‘the subject’ – has been introduced. Inextricably connected to Foucault’s notion of power is resistance. The emphasis in this account of resistance has been the way in which resistance plays out through the (partial and intermittent) adoption of alternate subject positions. In order to contextualize the problem of transience within the social, political and economic context of the QTAH organisation, the relationship between identity and the relations of capital has been theorised. Labour process theory was presented as a productive conceptual space from which to examine this connection. Finally, Foucault’s notion of ‘governmentality has been used as a way to bring together the Foucauldian and LPT theoretical strands so that a coherent and cohesive theoretical platform is created to facilitate a critical analysis of the problem of why QTAH managers constitute employee transience as a problem.
Chapter Four

The Unpredictable Queenstown Tourist Accommodation Hotel Organisational Context

*It is an issue, getting really good long-term stay people attracted to the industry. It is the transient stuff that is still frustrating. (Ann-Marie)*

4.1 Introduction

In response to this statement by Ann-Marie the research question that is at the core of this thesis is *why do Queenstown tourist accommodation hotel managers in Queenstown constitute employee transience as a problem?* A place to begin formulating a response to this question is the QT AH context. In short, this introduction begins by locating the scene of the transient employment ‘event’ that is at the centre of the analysis presented in this thesis. Accordingly, section 4.2 gives an account of the tourism context of Queenstown. Section 4.3 then documents the daily QT AH operation by profiling employee activities within the reception, portering, housekeeping, kitchen and restaurant departments. Implicit in both these sections is a sense of the economic unpredictability that surrounds the QT AH operation. Section 4.4, gives specific attention to the causes of this unpredictability for hotels.

4.2 Tourism in Queenstown

The tourism industry has a growing profile in the New Zealand economy. The New Zealand Tourism Research Council (2002) makes the statement that:

> International tourism is a key generator of wealth for New Zealand with visitors currently spending $5.1 billion per year in New Zealand…As such, tourism plays a vital role as a driver of the New Zealand economy both at the national and regional levels. (p4)

The tourist resort of Queenstown plays a significant role in this national and regional (Otago) economic activity. As Hall and Kearsley (2001) state, however, tourism can be defined in a narrow sense as ‘a sector of national and regional economies, or it can be
defined in terms of an all-inclusive system with very broad boundaries’ (p3). Given the more sociological positioning of the research agenda that informs this thesis, it is appropriate to move on to a more inclusive and generous definition of tourism. While the nature of the tourism ‘experience’ is discussed further in Chapter Nine (section 9.2) a broad definition by John Urry – articulated within his frequently cited *The Tourist Gaze* (1990) – provides a useful entré into the tourist resort of Queenstown:

Tourism is a leisure activity which presupposes its opposite, namely regulated and organized work. It is one manifestation of how work and leisure are organized as separate and regulated spheres of social practice in ‘modern’ societies… This has come to be organized within particular places and to occur for regularised periods of time. (Urry, 1990, p2-3)

Queenstown is one such ‘particular place’ where the social practice of tourism dominates many dimensions of the community.

### 4.2.1 The physical setting of Queenstown tourism

The tourist promotional material declares that ‘Queenstown is today recognised internationally as New Zealand’s premier visitor destination’ (Destination Queenstown - website, 2001). Fundamental to the status of Queenstown as an international tourist destination is the natural landscape. ‘Geographically’, suggests Warne (1999/2000, p37) ‘Queenstown is a beautiful piece of work. Tumbling rivers, picturesque lake, the rocks and the rills – in any season, the place is stunning’. The picturesque lake Warne (1999/2000) is referring to is *Lake Wakatipu*69. On a map (see Appendix A) *Lake Wakatipu* resembles the silhouette of a person sitting on an up-right chair. The urban centre of Queenstown is located on the tip of the knee. Extending up and out from ‘the knee-cap’ is an area of land generally known as the *Wakatipu Basin*. The *Wakatipu Basin* is framed with high rocky peaks including the 1,651m high *Coronet Peak* and the *Remarkables* mountain range70. The basin itself contains approximately 225 sq Kms of rolling foothills and the river terraces of the *Lower Shotover*71. At the ‘head of the (map) person’ is *Glenorchy*, a smaller township that operates as a base for tramping and river activities in the *Greenstone, Caples, Dart and Rees* river valleys. While dispute

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69 *Lake Wakatipu* - at 335 metres deep - is New Zealand’s third largest lake (Destination Queenstown – website, 2001).

70 These mountain peaks are home to the Coronet Ski Field and the Remarkables Ski Field respectively.

71 On which tourist servicing jet-boats and rafts operate.
currently rages over the spread of housing into the natural spaces of the *Wakatipu Basin*, the land that surrounds *Lake Wakatipu* (and *Queenstown*) is predominantly ‘rural’\(^{72}\).

The development of Queenstown’s tourism industry can be traced back to early in 1860 when two European men - Rees and Von Tunzleman – traveled to the Queenstown area in search of pastoral land. Upon returning to Dunedin, William Rees gave an account of this ‘unknown’ land to the editor of *The Otago Witness*\(^{73}\). This account by Rees inspired the editor to write about the tourist potential of the area:

\[\text{(T)he existence of such lakes as are to be found in Otago, will we have no doubt, at some future day, cause this part of New Zealand to be extensively visited for the mere purpose of viewing the grandeur of the same. (Editor, Otago Witness, cited by De La Mare, 1990, p16)}\]

Alan De La Mare (1990) describes this editorial as ‘a prophetic statement [that] has few equals’ (p16).

By the close of 1860 Rees had returned to the *Wakatipu Basin*, this time accompanied by a number of men and 3,000 sheep. The social isolation of the Rees sheep station, however, was broken in 1861 by the discovery of gold in the Queenstown area. In a very short space of time the Rees’ homestead was transformed into a canvas gold mining village. Gradually, however, the temporary shelters were replaced with more permanent structures (Miller, 1949) and a settled community began to form. Miller (1949) describes the early Queenstown community as having a particular sensitivity to the potential of tourism. Despite the distractions of gold mining the community soon began the project of ‘beautifying’ the immediate Queenstown environs. Bendix Hallenstein – an early ‘personality of note’ (Miller, 1949) – for example, mooted the idea of planting trees on the southern peninsula (an area currently known as the Queenstown Gardens) while Francois St. Omer planted many pines along ‘One Mile’ (an area now known as St Omer Park). As a result argues Miller (1949) ‘the Queenstown of to-day is a great deal different from the one the settlers of the sixties knew, for when they arrived in the district the whole landscape was bare of trees - except, of course, for the ubiquitous matagouri’ (Miller, 1949, p109). As these early

\(^{72}\) While Queenstown – the tourist resort – is invariably promoted on the basis of its natural scenery, I have used to word ‘rural’ here to denote the colonial pastoral and (more recent) ‘grape-growing’ mediation of that ‘natural’ state.

\(^{73}\) The regional newspaper of the time.
trees grew, the landscape of Queenstown began to resemble a ‘European alpine village’\textsuperscript{74} [see Appendix H].

\subsection*{4.2.2 The activities of Queenstown tourism}

The development of Queenstown as a tourist resort is linked directly to the European colonization of New Zealand; hence patterns of European tourist development provide an apposite point of reference. Graburn (1989) suggests that while European tourism has long involved a journey of some kind, the nature of this journey has altered over time. In the 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} Centuries, the wealthy European elite were displaced from their former places of recreation by the middle-class hordes – using Thomas Cook’s coupons and traveler’s cheques – touring their way around the ‘standardized hotels and restaurants’ of Europe (Graburn, 1989, p30). As a consequence ‘luxurious rivieras were built along the Mediterranean and Adriatic shores to house the royalty and idle rich’ from Northern and Eastern Europe (Graburn, 1989, p30). Graburn traces the development of modern recreational tourism to these resorts that were, he argues, ‘often thinly disguised excuses for gambling and more lascivious pleasures’. What’s more, he adds that ‘this pleasure seeking trend led to the establishment of Monte Carlo and other casino resorts’ (Graburn, 1989, p30). Following World War 1, these former European wealthy resorts became the pleasure sites of the newly wealthy Americans. It was during this period Graburn argues that ‘ethnic’, ‘nature’ and ‘recreation interests ‘were securely added to the previous cultural, historical, and educational motivations that underlie tourism today’ (Graburn, 1989, p31).

Valene Smith (1989) defines the tourist as ‘a temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change’ (Smith, 1989, p1). Wang (2000) invokes the concept of discourse to differentiate the historical motivations for these temporarily leisured individuals to undertake their travel\textsuperscript{75}. These discursive motivations include education, health, romanticism, rational

\textsuperscript{74} While urban sprawl is dressing the hills with houses rather than pine trees, a form of the ‘European Alpine Village’ image still perpetuates. Indeed, ‘wildeing pines’ represent an ongoing conservation issue for the local Department of Conservation personnel.

\textsuperscript{75} As Hall and Kearsely (2001) note, the New Zealand Tourism Board often uses the terms ‘tourist’ and ‘visitor’ interchangeably. A similar practice will also feature in this thesis. This is primarily because the arguments in this thesis do not centre on the difference between ‘tourists’ and ‘visitors’.
leisure and recreation, exoticism, escape or paradise. Contemporary tourism, suggests Wang (2000) is notable for the plural motivations that inform tourists’ travel. These different motivations of tourism relate to the different tourism contexts in which leisuring individuals practice ‘re-creation’. Or, through a more economic lens, these different recreational contexts form part of the tourism industry profile of a particular region.

Hall and Kearsley (2001) define the tourist industry as ‘that economic sector providing the product that tourists consume, no matter how loosely’ (p7). In actively promoting itself as an international tourist resort for everyone, the Queenstown tourist product bundle is constantly expanding to accommodate all of the tourism motivations described by Wang (2000). As general manager Ann-Marie puts it,

*There are more activities ... there are new things everyday ... garden tours, wine tours, art tours, various ways to get yourself down the river from boogie boards to swimming to jet boating to rafting. You name it, it’s out there.*

Ann-Marie’s statement is interesting for the way it draws out the ‘action’ theme that is so dominant within the promotion of Queenstown tourism. Although a considerable number of Queenstown visitors are in the ‘mature’ age group – for reasons of wealth and leisure time – it is the ‘adventure’ recreational activities that invariably have the higher profile. ‘Recreational tourism’ according to Smith (1989) is often ‘sand, sea, and sex – promoted by beautiful color pictures that make you want to be “there”...And attracts tourists who want to relax or commune with nature’ (p5). In Queenstown tourists do get to commune with nature in a relaxed way while they sit in their tour bus or look out the window of their hotel room or restaurant. Significantly, however, Queenstown tourists can also commune with nature while they are throwing them selves off a bridge (with a bungee cord attached), climbing a mountain, skiing, or mountain-bike riding (see Appendix I). Thus the mountains, rivers, lake and ‘gravity’ of Queenstown provide the necessary setting for the “Queenstown as the adventure capital of the world” promotional claim (see Appendix Ji & Jii).

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76 As Hall and Kearsley (2001) suggest, tourists consume ‘a wide range of goods and services such as accommodation and transportation, which are of direct relevance to tourism as well as those support industries providing for tourism as a minor part of their activity’ (2001, p7).

77 This theme will be revisited and expanded upon in Chapter Nine.
An important component of this action theme within Queenstown recreation began with the development of the skifield on Coronet Peak in 1950. Prior to skiing, ‘a trip to the head of the lake by steamer or a walk to view the sunrise from Bob’s Peak would be considered a highlight of a stay in the town’ (De La Mare, 1990, p19). Indeed, only the hardy or the eccentric were more active (De La Mare, 1990). In addition, until the 1950s, the tourism industry of Queenstown lasted ‘only about six weeks of the year’ (Miller, 1971, p23). The roots of the contemporary international Queenstown tourism profile are generally traced back to post WW2 aviation and the beginning of the ski industry (Clayton, 1974). It was at this point, argues Clayton (1974) that ‘the whole aspect of tourism began to change. With it has changed the character of the town and the lives of its people’ (Clayton, 1974, p15-16).

While skiing provides a winter season for Queenstown (Pearce, 1978 cited by Pearce & Cant, 1981), it also attracts active and (relatively) committed tourism consumers to the winter Queenstown. For example, Assistant GM Bess describes skiing ‘down-time’ activities:

*If it was a lousy time to ski or there were high winds and the mountain was closed, you’d notice people were doing different things...bungee jumping and jet boating... horse riding... In the summer time it’s different because they are here for a much shorter period of time so they have to get as much crammed in as possible. The winter is different, for example I was talking to two guys in the bar and they were here for 12 days. Their entire holiday was spent here and they had done everything including skiing.*

If the snow is right, the ski-tourists tend to linger (and spend). The higher volume summer season, however, presents a quite different client profile. In summer the roads in and out of Queenstown are busy with large tour buses bringing Asian, American, Australian and European tourists to Queenstown for a much shorter and hurried stay. This distinctive summer-winter pattern creates a bi-modal seasonal dynamic within Queenstown’s tourism profile. As such the tourists and the tourist servicing population of Queenstown ebb and flow depending on the time of year (see section 4.4.2) below. Hence, along with the seasons, the global and domestic tourist markets that provide Queenstown with its seasonal visitors also influence Queenstown’s tourism profile78.

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78 As Wahab and Cooper (2001) state ‘tourism is one of the most international industries’ (pxiii). Accordingly, discussion of tourism in relation to ‘globalisation’ is an active theme within the contemporary academic tourism literature (see Wahab & Cooper, 2001; and Knowles, Diamantis & El-Mourhabi, 2001 for example). While issues of ‘globalisation’ are present within the empirical and
4.2.3 Queenstown tourism and the international tourism marketplace

While tourism had long been a feature in the economic activity of Queenstown, for many years the geographic isolation kept it to a minimum. In 1878, a railway link gave a boost to domestic tourism with ‘488 excursionists visit(ing) Queenstown in February and March 1885 (Pearce, 1981, p87). Road and rail enabled ‘local’ (Southland, Otago and Canterbury) visitors to spend their summer holidays in Queenstown. It was the development of package tours and the opening of the Queenstown airport in 1964, however, that lead to the significant increase in tourist traffic (Pearce, 1981). Put another way, we could say that the development of package tours and the airport was the point where Queenstown became inserted into the global tourism marketplace (Massey, 1991). Pearce (1981) notes that whereas in 1965 20% of the 106,000 visitors to Queenstown were international, by 1977 38% of the 180,000 visitors to the region were from overseas79. Over the last 23 years, visitor numbers have continued to grow substantially. Hall and Kearsley (2001) describe a period of rapid growth in the inbound tourism visitor numbers to New Zealand through the 1980s with a slowdown in growth during the 1990s. This slowdown was in part due to the ‘Asian financial crisis’ – hitting the 1998 Asian inbound tour profile significantly80. For the year ended May 2000, visitor arrivals to Queenstown had broken the 1,000,000 threshold. Of those million travelers, 59% were international and on average they stayed for 2.28 nights in Queenstown81.

The QTAH general managers (GMs) I spoke to showed a keen sensitivity to the ebb and flow of different visitor nationalities. For example from Desiree:

*There has been a lot more Asian business, particularly from Korea, Taiwan and Japan has kind of leveled out and that’s down to their economy. The United States has been more difficult and that’s because of competition from other countries. South Africa has been competing against New Zealand quite a lot... Germany has been a bit difficult because of their economy the UK has been coming through in much larger number than we’ve seen in the past.*

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79 New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department figures cited by Pearce, 1981.
80 For example, Hall and Kearsley (2001, p26) document a fall in Korean visitor number to NZ from 1997 (the year of my fieldwork) to 1998 by 86%.
81 Statistics New Zealand cited by the Otago Daily Times (Dunedin) 2nd September 2000.
Smith (1989) argues that three key elements must be present for tourism to exist. These are leisure time, discretionary income and positive local sanctions (Smith, 1989, p1). Smith (1989) traces the rise in tourist activity to lowered hours of work (40 and below), extended vacation periods (two – four weeks), national holidays that are temporally modified to fit into the working week, early retirement, increased longevity and substantial economic wealth of these retired people. Mass tourism, therefore, is a practice of ‘developed’ or ‘modern’ economies. Within the international tourism discourse, however, the modern economies are further classified according to their tourism consumption behaviour.

For the QTAH GMs, the different tourist nationalities are classified according to their tourism ‘maturity’. In other words, the world’s tourist population is classified into two broad groups: the mature tourist markets and the emerging tourist markets. Poon (1993, cited by Hall & Kearsley, 2001) suggests that the ‘mature’ tourist markets are more inclined to engage in ‘new’ tourism practices that provide a ‘much more customized, diverse, active and ‘authentic’ experience (p9). The emerging markets, on the other hand, engage in ‘old tourism’ which is exemplified by the standardized, efficient and routinized inbound tour where the consumers are an ‘inexperienced often cautious, cost-conscious market’ (Hall & Kearsely, 2001, p9).

According to GM Bart, the mature markets are generally said to be more discerning tourism consumers. In other words, they will spend more time (and more money) in one place – such as Queenstown:

Most people – apart from the Asians – most people have at least two nights here... it’s like they get here and flop...they like to relax, sit back and look at the view. Places to eat, places to see, professional. I think it’s the time they reflect.

The mature tourist markets were listed as Australia, America, Europe and Japan. As such, visitors from these countries are more likely to have the slower paced tours and are more likely to travel independently (otherwise known as ‘free independent travelers’ or FITs). Japan was presented as the newly matured tourist market. As such, Japan was frequently invoked to illustrate the shift from immature to mature tourist behaviour. For example from Desiree:

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82 ‘Discretionary income is money not needed for personal essentials such as food, clothing, housing, health-care, transportation, and so forth’ (Smith, 1989, p2).
It took the Japanese probably 10 or 15 years to mature if you like and now they are confident and they travel on their own. You just have to walk down the street in Queenstown and you will see lots of Japanese snowboarders who come here for winter. Mount Cook, I read somewhere, had 40% of their season pass holders were Japanese snowboarders here for the winter, unbelievable. Huge business and that never happened before. Young Japanese didn’t travel alone, they all traveled in groups.

While Poon’s ‘soft tourism’ category applies comfortably to the young Japanese snowboarders, it becomes a little strained with Bart’s description of a ‘slower’ (but still regularized and routinized) mature market inbound tour. What this makes clear, perhaps, is the heavy inbound tour market focus in the majority of the QTAHs of this study. When focusing on the inbound tour market, subtle differences of pace become obvious. In much smaller operations, such as the Saturn Hotel, where the major market is the FIT tourist, the difference between the new and soft tourism product bundle and the old mass inbound tour becomes more obvious. This is particularly so when compared to the more frenetic tourism product consumed by the emerging Korean market, for example.

South Korea now occupies the emerging marketplace position that had recently been vacated by Japan. The emerging market tourism experience can best be described as the ‘zoom tour’.

The Asian tours zoom through at such a speed, zoom in, off to Milford and zoom back! Sometimes they don’t come back, they just stay one night in Queenstown. They arrive at 5pm – exhausted – go out for a Chinese dinner – go to bed, get up, have breakfast, catch the bus at 7:30am, sleep all the way to Milford... They pull the curtains even. It’s not fair but operators create this deal and I don’t know how you break it. (Bart.)

While hoteliers are enthusiastic towards the emerging markets, GM Bart conveyed caution in his dealings with agents operating within this new market. ‘You have to be careful. Korea is a good example. So many cowboys and fly-by-nighters go in there to rake it. Apart from one company every single Korean operator is on cash only here’.

Bart also spoke of the naivety and vulnerability of these emerging tourists to being ‘ripped off’ by their inbound tour operators:

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83 Indeed, Frank described the Saturn Hotel as a hotel for the ‘hotel weary’ and accordingly his description of the Saturn Hotel tourist practices were quite different.
84 Milford Sound is an ‘icon’ of the NZ tourism product. The drive to Milford is promoted as ‘one of the world’s most spectacular drives’ (Kiwi Discovery Bus Trip promotional material on www.kiwidiscovery.co) (see Appendix K). The zoom tourists closing their bus window curtains in order to sleep, therefore presents a notable irony.
I’ll give you an example from here - about a year ago. All the rooms here face the lake. This Korean tour guide picked up all the keys, came back on the bus and said, “I’ve spoken to the management and for an extra $20US I’ll be able to get you a room with a lake view... It’s just raked so much. A lot of these tour guides live in NZ. They just contract out to major companies to take a tour around. And you hear stories of a 10 day trip these guys will make $15,000. They don’t charge the operator they do it for nothing.

The concern Bart expressed for this ‘raking’ was both in terms of ripping the clients off and his (or his hotel’s) reputation. “It comes back to me. They say we paid $108 for this room and it is not worth it, when they actually only paid $100. So its rape and pillage of emerging markets”.

The potentially emerging markets were mainly identified as India and China. For Smith (1989) India ‘ranks as one of the world’s 10 leading industrial nations’ (p3). While in 1989 Smith reported that this translated into a developing domestic tourism industry, in 1997 Bart described India as an important emerging tourist market for Queenstown (for New Zealand). “Tours from India are just starting to come through. There are something like 90 million millionaires in India”, he reported, “a huge discerning market out there”. GM Desiree, on the other hand, spoke of waiting for the Chinese market. “In a few years that emerging market we are seeing with the Koreans will come into its own...and then China will be the market. We are just kind of waiting for the Chinese”.

There is, however, a downside to the increasing number of visitors to Queenstown. In short, the increasing numbers of tourists visiting Queenstown threaten to interfere with the recreational ‘communing with nature’ that is so important to the Queenstown tourist product bundle (Chapter Nine, section 9.4). In the tourism literature this issue is referred to as ‘carrying capacity’ (Hall & Page, 1999). As Hall and Page (1999) state, ‘carrying capacity is one of the most complex and confusing concepts which faces the geographer in seeking to understand recreation sites and their ability to support a certain level of usage’ (p134). Ann-Marie was acutely aware of this complexity in the context of Queenstown tourism. In short, there was a mismatch between the dominant tourist market supplying Queenstown and the nature of the Queenstown tourism product bundle:

Queenstown is a high yield long stay destination. It will never be a Bali. We don’t have the resources. There is only one Shotover Jet. You can only put X amount of people
through that to have a nice experience... If it was filled with thousands of people and you couldn’t get on, it probably doesn’t leave the right perception. So, I think it is important overall, but in the interim right now all business is good business. (Ann-Marie)

While the statement that “right now all business is good business” speaks directly to the lull in visitor numbers that occurred during the 1997 winter season, it also relates to the ongoing vulnerability of the tourism industry, and Queenstown is no exception. As HR manager Duncan reported:

I was talking to someone in Christchurch a couple of weeks ago who is a tour guide for the Japanese and she’s managing to keep up and fill her days so far with pre-bookings. But then all of a sudden oops they have all dropped off because the NZ dollar had [risen] against the yen and it makes it too expensive for them to come over. So she now has no bookings.

It is important to remember that for the tourists, touring New Zealand is a non-essential leisure product that is bought in the face of significant choice. The combination of un-cooperative economics, nature and international events can have a profound impact on this choice. It is in this seasonal, competitive and uncertain tourism context that the QTAHs of this study operate.

4.3 Queenstown’s tourist accommodation hotel operation

Pearce and Cant (1981) state that ‘Queenstown has offered hotel accommodation since its earliest days’ (p7). It wasn’t until the 1970s, however, that the ‘large’ international tourist accommodation hotels of this study began to appear in Queenstown. Pearce and Cant (1981) explain this development as a response to the growing number of international tourists to Queenstown. ‘Upwards of 80% of the guests of the larger hotels are estimated to be from overseas. Many of these are on package tours’ (Pearce & Cant, 1981 p7).

GM Bart describes hotels as “little cities” and highly complex entities:

It opens 365 days a year and it never closes not for one second. That is quite complex. Apart from burning down it never stops. Not many industries are like that. You have so many different personalities in a hotel ...having them running your hotel, its quite complex, not to manipulate them but to have them all working in the same direction at the same time.

While Bart speaks of multiple ‘personalities’, Shamir (1978) describes ‘multiple technology operations’ (p289). Most hotels supply at least three core service products –
rooms, food and drink – that involve different skills and processes. Adding complexity to this multiple-product operation is a strong need for coordination. This is due to ‘the fact that the different services have to be provided to the same clients, sometimes sequentially and sometimes simultaneously’ (Shamir, 1978, p289). The organisational structure that hotels have traditionally used to deal with this complexity is characterised by ‘a high degree of differentiation and division of labour’ (Shamir, 1978, p294). The organisational structures of the QTAHs in this study largely conform to this model (see the organisational chart in Appendix L). In short, the complexity that Bart speaks of in terms of the whole QTAH service operation is handled primarily through two key divisions: the rooms division and the food and beverage (F&B) division. Regardless of the size and star rating of the QTAHs I interacted with, all shared this similar divisional structure.

4.3.1 The rooms division

The rooms division generally includes the departments of: reception, portering and housekeeping.

Reception

The first people you are likely to interact with when you walk into a hotel are the reception staff (Wood, 1992). Like Verginis (1999) Anastasia constitutes reception as the ‘heart of the hotel’:

> Everyone says their department is the most important, I say ours is...It is the first contact with guests. We set the first impression for the whole hotel. If they come up to a grumpy or rude receptionist it doesn’t matter what the hotel room looks like. It lets the other departments down and they have to work extra hard to try and impress that guest. If the receptionist is cheerful, happy and go out of their way to do anything for them... it doesn’t matter if the rooms are old ...the front office tends to be the heart of the hotel.

With reception the central ‘organ’ of the hotel, the receptionist is constructed as the most important link in the guest-hotel relationship. While Verginis (1999) suggests that the sale of rooms generates over 50 per cent of a hotel’s revenue and profit, its high profile contact with hotel guests is also significant. Anat Rafaeli (1993) proposes that the behaviour (and the dress) of customer-contact employees ‘enact an implicit service

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85 Hotels are generally classified according to a star rating system. The GMs and senior managers of this study generally classified their hotels as either three-star or four-star properties. While this ‘star’ language was often invoked when discussing market positioning, questions about what it was based on provoked considerable ambivalence about its credibility.
contract between customers and service organisations’ (p175). This ‘impression management’ is central to the way in which Anastasia constitutes the reception service encounter.

The daily ebb and flow of hotel guests creates a rhythm to the receptionist’s day.

*Basically in the morning all you are dealing with is the accounts side of it – taking money off people, people checking in, people checking out, dealing with invoicing, things like that. At night you are checking people in and giving them information about the hotel and explaining what happens and where to go and stuff. And then prepare for the next day, assigning rooms and printing registration cards (Anna).*

Invariably these routines are punctuated by more variable guest interruptions. These spontaneous exchanges with guests can take time and David tells of the tension between the multiple demands for the reception personnel:

*You know you’d be right on top of things and someone will come up and ask what they can do for the day ... You’ll stand there and talk to people about trips for an hour and then they [may] ... just walk off and not book anything. And that puts you behind.*

Being the first point of call for guests concerning any query they may have about Queenstown, tourism activities and the hotel can place considerable demand on the reception staff.

*You have to know a bit about the area eventually because people ask you really abstract questions about things in town... I still don’t know where the Southern Cross is. You know people ask me that ten times a day. (Delia)*

In addition to guest inquiries, handling guest complaints is also described as a significant part of reception work (Chapter Six, section 6.5).

**Porters**

Working closely with the reception staff are the porters. At times – such as in the Earth Hotel – the porters might answer phones and collect faxes when the reception staff are busy. Generally, however, they have their own varied set of tasks:

*I guess the main responsibility is carrying bags, keeping the foyer clean, emptying the ash trays around the hotel, driving the van and delivering messages around the hotel. On top of that you could do anything, anything that comes up. (Blake)*

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86 The Southern Cross is a significant star constellation in New Zealand’s night sky.
Like most work within QTAHs, portering can have distinctive peaks of activity. One significant peak is the arrival of a tour bus - or tour buses. Damon describes the system of handling the bags:

> Well we get a list before hand, like the tour guides who have their act together will actually number the bags and they will give you a list with...the room number beside the number of the bag. And you just whack the [room number] labels on and pick the ones furtherest away. We do them by floors and [start] with the ones furtherest away.

At times the system can become strained with guests who don’t understand tour bag protocol:

> Just the other day there was all these old ladies – 60-80 year olds and none of them could carry their luggage out [to the corridor outside their room]... If they tell me their bags are in there, I go in but if they don’t tell me and if they are not out I don’t go in. (Charlie)

Like the receptionists, the porters are also a high profile point of contact for guests with time consuming problems or irritating complaints:

> You can have a guest who takes up an hour of your time. It could be anything from he’s locked his bag and he’s lost his keys and he needs to get into it straight away. A guy who is upset. (Alex)

In addition to dealing with guests, porters are one of the few frontline jobs that interact with the other hotel departments.

> You get to go all over the hotel and because of that you get to know all the hotel staff... This is a pretty big hotel and it’s very spread out and many [of the staff] for example the housemaids, aren’t staff that everyone else meets. (Blake)

**Housekeeping**

Rawstron (1999) states ‘the housekeeping department supports the hotel business as a whole… The majority of this work and effort occur out of sight and mind of the customer, and for this reason the housekeeping department is often the unsung hero within the department’ (p114-115). Supporting this observation Lockyer (1998) reports that the cleanliness of the hotel is the most important factor in hotel selection for a sample of potential hotel guests surveyed in New Zealand. The housekeeping department is responsible for cleaning the hotel bedrooms/suites. There are two categories of rooms: the ‘checkout’ (where the guest has vacated the room) and the ‘stayover’ (where the guest is staying another night). Alison describes her room cleaning routine. “I open the windows, strip the bed, go around and dust everything, re-stock
everything. Do the bathroom, make the bed and lux ...your way out”. When asked how long that takes she said it:

Depends how messy they have been. It’s worse in the ski season with all the snow boarders and everything like that coming in. Sometimes its not too bad but with families who have children sometimes it sucks. But usually we take 34 minutes for a checkout and 20 minutes for a stay over...A lot of the time you can do it a lot quicker if they are really tidy. (Alison)

While the tasks of the job are generally the same in each hotel, the level of service for a checkout and a stay-over may vary. As such, the time allocated for each room may vary slightly.

Several of the attendants spoke of the physicality of the job. For this reason housekeeping manager Dale doesn’t “work staff after 3pm. You’re wasting your time, they are so tired.” It is also the reason why - despite there being a number of ‘mature’ women working in QTAH housekeeping departments – Doris had been rejected in other hotels for being ‘too old’. “I had applied for a few other places but sort of being my age they said, “you’re too old, you couldn’t”. Having been employed by Dale, Doris has proved that ‘she can’:

Yeah, we handle it. There are about three of us and we can do more rooms that the young ones you know... They sort of say you know, ‘oh, they will come and help us when they have done their rooms... But that’s a no no now”.

Guest contact is not a central focus of the room attendant’s job. In part, this is encouraged by the activities most Queenstown tourists engage in. “Well most of them aren’t there. With the ski season people are gone and on the tour they leave fairly early and by the time you start at 8am there is just one or two that have a DND (Do not disturb) on the door.” (Doris) Room attendants can have some interaction with guests, however, particularly in the stayover rooms. Given that room attendants are often working alone (sometimes in pairs), often some distance from each (maybe on separate floors) and that they are working in the individual private bedrooms, security can be an important issue. Housekeeping manager Fran is mindful of the safety issues:

They all work in pairs, its policy here. I tell them to keep the door open, so I know where they are... There haven’t been any incidents but you do hear of them and you sometimes get undesirables. They may have the money to stay here but you don’t trust them.

The day I spoke with Betty she had been frightened by a guest:
They had gone to breakfast. The wife came back and I said “all I need to do is vacuum.” I had my back to the door and the husband came in and said, “Haven’t you left yet?” I left and there were raised voices. That frightened me and I went into the next room until they had left. Another guy frightened me when he looked at me.

4.3.2 Food & beverage

The other major division within the QTAH organizational structure is food and beverage (F&B). F&B generally includes the kitchen, restaurants and bar. While room service, conference and banqueting facilities are also part of the F&B QTAH terrain, the focus in this discussion is the activities and staffing of the kitchen, the breakfast and evening restaurants and the bar.

The Kitchen

Typical to the industry, the QTAH kitchen presents as the most formally qualified department in the hotel. For this reason, perhaps, it retains more of the traditional hierarchical levels - in terms of status and division of labour – described by Shamir (1978) (see Appendix L). At the bottom of the ladder is the unskilled kitchen hand position:

*The kitchen hand isn’t the greatest job because you just go until you’ve finished and you’re the last one out of the kitchen. So basically everyone else has gone and then it gets to about 11pm and its been a busy night and you’ve still got all the dishes to do and any other jobs they’ve given me on top of that and I’ve still got to clean down the kitchen.*

(Connor)

Generally speaking (and Connor was an exception to this) “most kitchen hands are just here for a temporary job. Only rarely are they interested in doing an apprenticeship.”

(Andrew).

In the past, most QTAH kitchens would have had a number of apprentices. While there are still some around (the Jupiter Hotel had one, the Mars Hotel had two) the Earth Hotel, for example didn’t have any. “Formerly we would have had apprentices in the kitchen. Now we tend to bring them in at the post qualified level” (Andrew). Connor was a 17-year-old school leaver who was working in Mars Hotel before heading off to Polytechnic to begin his chef training. Having completed his ‘751’ and ‘752’ Connor will “then have to go out and get work experience for about 10-12 months and go back
[to Polytechnic] and do ‘753’ and ‘754’”. At that point Connor will be a qualified ‘commis chef’.

The breakfast chef (or breakfast cook) position is the lowest cooking position in the kitchen. According to Executive Chef Fraser, “the breakfast chef does not have to be skilled as long as they have the basic training”. Executive Chef Dick describes it as a “hard lifestyle because you have to get up so early”. Indeed Connor – who alternated between kitchenhanding and breakfast cook – told me that he gets up at 4:30am and is in bed by 8pm in the evening. Most of the QTAHs have a breakfast buffet service as well as an a là Carte menu.

Once a qualified chef has some experience s/he is classified as a Chef de Partie. The Sous Chef has additional industry experience and acts as assistant to the Executive Chef, or manager of the kitchen. In his description of the division of labour within ‘his’ kitchen, executive Chef Fraser illustrates the hierarchical functional specialisation of the ‘partie system’ that operated within his kitchen. Basically, the Executive Chef and the Sous Chef were responsible for the main hot meals. The Chef de Partie was thus responsible for the cold meals, the vegetables and the desserts. “I will train them on hot but only after the cold section is spot on. But it is still limited because ultimately they are responsible for the cold.” (Fraser)

Restaurant and Bar

While there is usually some form of room service available around the clock, generally in QTAHs there are two peaks in the F&B day. The first is at breakfast time. During the peak inbound tour summer season, breakfasts can be extremely fast and furious affairs. The winter ski season breakfast, on the other hand, is slower paced but lasts longer. F&B manager Boris states that:

*The nature of the business is so erratic in Queenstown. On a busy morning I could have 15 staff here for breakfast, to do 450 a morning...in winter you come down to five or six and the breakfast spans for a lot longer. Even though the breakfast is opened from 6-10am in summer everyone leaves for Milford 7-7:30. Whereas in winter the skiers*

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87 “Buffet is a typical cooked breakfast, like scrambled eggs, bacon, sausages, mushrooms, tomatoes, hash browns etc. There’s also an a là Carte menu which has French toast, pikelets, porridge” (Connor).
88 Wood (1992) writes that ‘the basis of food production in traditional kitchens is the partie system... [that] involves a division of labour along commodity and dish-type lines’ (p69). Accordingly there is a hierarchy of dishes that accords specific status to particular chef occupations (Wood, 1992).
generally go out a lot more and they may take a day off, so the breakfast is more consistent over a longer period of time.

Within the accounts constructed of the breakfast waiting service there is a distinctive air of a factory-like process. For Daisy this presents an inherent difficulty.

This is one thing that worries me here because we get big tour groups and we don’t have time for everyone, we just don’t. The tour groups are paying less money and unfortunately I think they are treated like tour groups. But I mean what can you do, you can’t do any more… So for breakfast waiting as compared to dinner waiting it is rush rush.

The evening a là Carte dining is generally presented as a slower and more skilled waiting experience. As F&B manager Boris describes it:

Dinner has slightly more finesse. You’re not dealing with a bulk tourist situation as in the breakfast buffet… whereas the ratio could be 1:30-40 in the morning; at dinner it’s more 1:10-12. It’s a more laborious service. They need to be able to order off the menu, have wine knowledge. It’s more involved you need more technical skills to work with dinner.

With the a là carte dining service, therefore, there is a mix between customer focus and techniques of the operation. Wood (1992) suggests that ‘the level of service received by customers is thus determined as the outcome of a complex of interactional processes centering on the server’s assessment of the likely temperament and disposition of clients’ (p65).

Due to the temporal spread of F&B operations, staff are rostered on to different shifts. Some staff, for example Daisy, will work on the breakfast shift only. While her alarm goes off at 4:10am, she is at work before 6am and finished again between 11am and 12 midday. “I have the rest of the day free you see and I just love it.” (Daisy) Brian on the other hand, only works evenings. During the day he is either working as a heli-ski guide (in winter) or a rock climbing guide (in summer). Due to the fickleness of his daytime occupations, it works well for him to have the evening F&B job at the Moon Hotel. “The hotel has always been quite convenient, if I work during the day, or if I don’t work during the day… I can work at night” (Brian). For financial reasons Bertrand works both breakfast and dinner shifts:

I work in the mornings from 6-11 or maybe 5:30 – 12, then back at 6 to maybe 10:30 — 11. So it means there is never an eight-hour period there between the two shifts to have a decent sleep.

As it was the low season he felt pressure to take this work “while it’s going”. 
Until about 4pm the restaurant F&B staff run the hotel bars. At this time, a bar-specific F&B attendant is rostered on – particularly in the winter for the ski clientele. Overall, the nature of ‘good bar service’ is similar to good F&B service more generally. From bar attendant Ashley:

*The people skills are probably more important than anything. Training helps of course, that’s the second most important thing. You’ve got to have confidence and the confidence comes through knowledge...you can’t get a long with people unless you are friendly.*

The constant theme within this account of QTAH work is the importance of the hospitality guest-employee interaction. Aside from the kitchen, all QTAH employees have some direct involvement with guests. The rules of the QTAH discourse of hospitality are that you are polite, attentive and friendly towards the guest – regardless of how they might be responding to you. The distinctive tension within any hotel – and the QTAHs are no exception – is the maintenance of a positive guest-employee interaction in the face of considerable variation and unpredictability in demand. In section four the specific nature of this unpredictable demand is discussed.

### 4.4 Variability and unpredictability within the QTAH context

Using the language of 1950s ‘contingency theory’ Shamir (1978) describes the hotel organisation as a mix between the mechanistic and organic. ‘Behind the seemingly ‘mechanistic’ structure’ he argues, ‘there are various accepted practices that are totally ‘organic’ in nature, and are used by the hotel to retain its flexibility and ability to cope with unpredicted pressures’ (p296). Shamir (1978) suggests that these unpredictable pressures come from the variance in guest expectations, flow and participation commitment.

#### 4.4.1 Guest expectations

The major contribution to uncertainty within the hotel operation is the hotel client. In other words, the potential variance in the hotel guest mirrors the potential variation in the service they expect. When comparing hotels to production organisations, therefore, Shamir (1978) states that ‘to a greater extent than inputs to most production
organizations, they present the hotel with many exceptions, and their reactions to the hotel ‘processing’ often is unpredictable’ (p287). An element of standardisation of the guest is produced by the inbound tours but there are still variations to be handled. Front office manager Anastasia, for example, speaks to the servicing of idiosyncratic expectations through the language of customer service:

*The front office is so orientated towards making the guest happy that if guests want to go to the moon [we say] ok, can’t get them there but will find out the closest place we can get them to.*

4.4.2 Guest flow

Hinch, Jackson and Hickey (1998) argue that ‘seasonality is one of the most prominent features of tourism’ (p1). Despite its prominence, however, they report that it is generally viewed as a problem. Shamir (1978) states that:

> People use hotels more during certain periods of the year, certain days of the week and certain hours of the day. Moreover, once in the hotel they exert different pressures on different segments (departments) of the hotel at different times. Some of this variation can be predicted and planned for, but not always. (Shamir, 1978, p287)

Again, while the QTAHs deal significantly with the inbound tour market, variability and uncertainty still exist. A sense of this variability can be gained by profiling the QTAH seasons.

The high international-tour-group season is in summer, or more specifically October to March/April. At this time hotel occupancy is usually in the region of 80-90%. While occupancy is high, visitor turnover is also very high. International summer tours generally spend only one or two nights in Queenstown. As a consequence, there is a very sudden increase in demand for QTAH workers during this period. Generally speaking, the summer labour pool is dominated by young males and females in their late teens/early twenties who gravitate to Queenstown to ‘work’ and ‘party’. While many of these young people are inexperienced, at this point all the hotels need staff and managers say they take what staff they can get. HR manager Duncan reports one housekeeping manager as saying of March (once the University students had left) “*anyone basically (who) has two arms and two legs and can talk and walk we employ them.*”
As the summer inbound tour numbers decrease in April, the available work hours reduce and the summer employees begin to drift away. Queenstown is an expensive place to live. For example, one F&B manager calculated that “to keep staff (we) need to give them at least 25 hours” (Ava). While some QTAH employees, do remain during this period the work hours are usually minimal. Hence it is a time when full-timers take their annual leave and part-timers eat into their savings or lay low until the snow starts to fall^89. Tourists and hotel employees start returning again in late June/early July when the weather cools and (if) snow starts to fall. Sometimes there is no snow, or it comes late (as in the year of my field work). Poor snow means few skiers/snow-boarders wanting accommodation in hotels and as a result little work for the winter seasonal hotel workers. Assistant GM Bess describes the situation in 1997:

People arrive here early. They were racing around town filling out applications left right and centre and this year was no different. But everybody (the hotels) was going 'no'. And a lot of people apparently did leave town because they couldn't afford to be without work any longer. So Mother Nature has a huge effect on a place like Queenstown.

Once the snow arrives, however, the hotels start recruiting again, this time in preparation for the slightly fewer but longer staying ski-tours. As the weather warms and the snows melt the skiers and hotel workers also evaporate. A ‘skeleton’ QTAH staff, for example, is kept on to service the low occupancy spring shoulder season. In addition, a few part-time winter workers will weather through the low hours of August, September, October, holding their ‘place’ in the hotel until the pace quickens again with the return of the summer tours. The QTAH year, therefore, presents an asymmetric bi-modal profile.

Within this regular variation, however, uncertainty is still a regular occurrence. GM Edward, for example, describes a more unpredictable business flow as bookings are both made and cancelled at short notice. “There’s a greater trend of people taking shorter breaks at shorter notice rather than the big traditional three weeks off.” As GM Desiree also suggests, averages hide weekly peaks and troughs. “In the low season we might come into April with a 50% occupancy. But one week we can have 80% occupancy and another week 20%.”

^89 For example from porter Alex: “It’s expensive... especially if you are a seasonal worker and you are waiting for the season to kick in... you have minimal hours – just enough to pay the rent and no more – and you end up living on rice for a month. Not the nicest of feelings...and I speak from bitter experience”.
4.4.3 Guest participation

Another important contribution to the uncertain and competitive nature of the hotel operation is the fact that the guest is a significant part of the hotel service interaction. Unlike a production operation where the customer buys a completed object, the tourism hospitality service product ‘is intangible in nature; hence, customers are unable to assess the outcome prior to their experience’ (Kandampully & Butler, 1998, p1). As such, the hotel guest is assessing the hospitality relationship as they are purchasing and consuming it. In that the exchange is voluntary and protracted (temporally and spatially) the guest can decide to withdraw and take his/her custom elsewhere (Shamir, 1978)\textsuperscript{90}. For example, from receptionist Anna:

> Like for instance a gentleman came about an hour ago and he said, “When will the spa be fixed?” I said, “I’m very sorry the spa won’t be fixed until Tuesday”. He said “I’m not happy with the facilities at all of this hotel and the gym is not big enough...” and he’s checked out, checked out the same day he checked in.

This reliance on (motivated) guests to participate in the hotel’s service delivery, leads Shamir (1978) to suggest that ‘customers enjoy a relatively high status and high measure of control over hotel activities’ (p290). Within the discourse of hotel management, this aspect of customer status and control is constituted as the ‘customer service’ imperative. For example in the restaurant context, F&B attendant Brian phrased it as “kissing arse”. “Yes sir, no sir...If someone has an awkward question [you respond] certainly sir, that’s no problem... You have to be willing to bend over backwards, the guest always comes first” (see Chapter Six, section 6.5).

Another important dynamic within this continuing participation theme is economics. For the QTAHs of this study this involves the ongoing participation by agents of the tour guests, in other words, the In-bound tour operators. For example, 1997 was universally reported to be a ‘flat year’ by the QTAH managers. In the period 1994-1997 there had been a 61% increase in hotel rooms available in the Queenstown area. In conjunction with this increase in supply of beds, demand was significantly low due to a

\textsuperscript{90} In this way the hotel hospitality service product differs from, say, the medical service product where the client may be physically or mentally incapable of withdrawing from the service relationship.
late snowfall. Frank had seen this situation before in Queenstown and constructed it in terms of the cyclical nature of TAH business activity. Eric’s take on this flood of rooms onto the QTAH market was that:

It’s going to become very competitive. When things become competitive you have a choice. You can cut costs, cut rates, increase service, change marketing strategy, there is a whole variable mix that goes into play.

One of Eric’s strategic responses to this competitive room situation was a drop in the Asian (in-bound tour) rate to $59 (as opposed to the usual $100 range). One of Eric’s competitors – GM Bart – expressed considerable annoyance with this reduction of the room rate. “The Venus hotel they have put the Asian rate out at $59 which is absolutely absurd.”

This drop in room rate troubled Bart for two main reasons. Firstly it disturbed the relationship he had established during his eight years of dealing with the inbound tour operators. “A bed’s a bed really at the end of the day. Sure some of them are nicer but it’s really the relationship building that makes the difference.” In articulating his concerns, Bart presents a clear picture of the industry network that constitutes QTAH business and competition. In other words, this is not a competitive dynamic between ‘individual’ hotel consumers shopping around the Queenstown TAH marketplace. Rather, QTAHs are one node of many within the international tour industry network. As such, ‘guest participation’ in ‘the’ hotel can involve a whole network of players.

According to Bart, the inbound tour operators:

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91 A note in passing: In the following year, 1998, the impact of the Asian financial crisis also hit Queenstown, thus reducing guest demand further.
92 A key factor in this event is the pressure for occupancy revenue. Several of the managers spoke of an intensification of profit margins in the contemporary QTAH sector – as compared to past decades. GM Clark, for example, spoke at length of his recent experience in an Australian hotel and the intense profit expectations of the Asian owner. While ‘the owners’ managed four of the QTAHs in this study, this is not always the case in TAHs (Gannon & Johnson, 1997) (see Appendix E). The Moon, Mercury and Venus Hotels are examples where a hotel management company - that operates separately from the hotel owners - manages the hotel. In the past, according to Clark - in hotels being managed by a hotel management company - there would be very little direct contact between the owner and the GM. “At the moment in Australia and New Zealand there are a lot of hotels owned by Taiwanese and Singaporeans [and they] are very aggressive... At the end of the day there is a figure there and they just want that figure ... you are under a lot of pressure [as GM]. You have pressure from the management company [and pressure from the owners]...Certainly now owners are very involved in what’s happening in the day-to-day operation of the hotels because they have outlaid huge amounts of money and they want their return on investment” (Clark). In 1997 Asian interests owned five of the seven hotels in this study – including the Venus Hotel - (see Appendix E). I am not suggesting here that this drive for profit is unique to Asian ownership, or that the other two hotels were operating without a similar pressure. Rather, I have included Clark’s statements here in an effort to convey the level of pressure - on costs and profits - that the QTAH GMs spoke of operating under.
93 Although this can be a feature of the FIT market. Generally speaking the FIT market is much more important for lodges, motels, backpackers and home stay type accommodation.
Don’t want the rates low, they just want it competitive... Competitive is if four hotels are giving rates around the same dollar... all the different agents are all competitive. So when they go to Taiwan and they say this is the cost of the tour, this is the cost of the accommodation in Queenstown, it’s fine. But when Eric for example, goes to another company that these guys compete with and give them a $59 rate, then this guy is going to lose all his business.

In this sense, ‘guest participation’ in QTAH is potentially more brittle. While individual tour guests may be ‘locked into’ a particular hotel experience with their tour ‘product’, an agent can withdraw the whole tour party in one move.

The second reason for Bart’s disquiet over the $59 Asian room rate is the pressures on costs that such a reduction engenders. He refused to reduce his rates to match those of the Venus Hotel:

You have to be realistic... It comes back to yield and profit. What happens is that you have to reduce services, so it’s a spiral down. It down sells the property it down sells the destination. Suddenly I can’t afford to put a porter on during the day because my rates are too low. And then a customer comes they don’t get good service – obviously I’m talking hypothetically – they go away and suddenly Queenstown becomes a destination that is a dumping ground.

This statement of Bart indicates the considerable tension that exists with labour management practices in QTAHs. On the one hand there is the need for adequate numbers of (competent) staff to provide the positive customer service interactions that are so necessary for attracting (and retaining) guests. On the other hand, there is an immense pressure on minimizing labour costs in the face of Queenstown’s variable demand for tourist beds, meals and drinks.

4.5 Conclusion

A genealogical analysis calls for an ‘ascending’ analysis of power. The place to begin a genealogical analysis of the problem of employee transience, therefore, is the specific empirical site of that transience. Hence, Chapter Four provides an account of the general tourism context as well as a more specific description of the tourist accommodation hotel (TAH) operational context. A significant theme that comes through this account of the empirical context is unpredictability. As a consequence, the final section of this chapter looked briefly at the way this unpredictability can be explained. Having identified this unpredictability dynamic within the management of the QTAH operation,
Chapter Five looks specifically at how this dynamic translates into the particular labour management strategies practiced by the QTAH managers.
Chapter Five

Managing for Labour Flexibility in an Unpredictable Organisational Context

It is an issue, getting really good long-term stay people attracted to the industry. It is the transient stuff that is still frustrating. (Ann-Marie)

5.1 Introduction

Given that the QTAH organizational context is constituted to be unpredictable and variable, the question for Chapter Five is how is this unpredictable demand for labour managed? Section 5.2 addresses the practices of labour flexibility that the QTAHs engage in to deal with that uncertainty. While this practice of flexibility management can be constituted in terms of core and peripheral segments, section 5.3 discusses the inadequacies of this framing for the QTAH context. Section 5.4 examines how the notion of the external and internal labour market is more useful for thinking about how the QTAH labour force is discursively differentiated. This discussion of the way the QTAH workforce is classified is necessary in order that the group of employees who are at the centre of Ann-Marie’s concern with transience can be identified.

5.2 Managing for labour ‘flexibility’ in the QTAH context

Labour flexibility has been a significant theme within management/organisation literature over the last 20 years. As Guerrier and Lockwood (1989a) note, economic recessions, new technologies and increasing levels of competition in the 1980s lead companies to look for new ways to ‘respond quickly to changes in customer demand by being able to vary output and service levels and types’ (p406). Wood (1992), however, restates the argument that ‘flexible working practices are not new to the [hotel and catering] industry, the use of part-time casual and part-time workers and multi-skilled staff being a common and arguably defining feature of labour organisation in some sectors, most notably small hotel business’ (p142, citing Lowe, 1988 & Kelliher, 1989 as he does). Guerrier and Lockwood (1989a) define the flexibility options as:
functional, numerical, pay and distancing or contraction-out. It is the first two practices that are relevant for this discussion of flexibility within the QTAH context.

### 5.2.1 Functional flexibility

Functional flexibility is ‘concerned with the versatility of employees and their ability to handle different tasks and move between jobs’ (Guerrier & Lockwood, 1989a, p407). Functional flexibility operates in the QTAH employment context through cross-function work within a particular hotel. As Shamir (1978) suggests, this cross-functional movement of staff is both directed and encouraged by managers. ‘Staff who are attached to one department are sometimes required to give assistance to another department which is short-handed or under pressure’ (p297). This is evident, for example, in the “all hands on deck” approach to a high-pressure time in the *Jupiter Hotel* when even the general manager (GM) made beds. Equally work tasks can be expanded when the need arrives. The constant demand for a porter, for example, is encouraged by the degree of task flexibility associated with their role. Hence, in the low tour season their jobs are extended with general maintenance (*Fredrick*), extra cleaning (*Charlie*) and sundry hotel tasks (*Damon*).

In the housekeeping department, full-time (FT) supervisors are prone to ‘downward’ functional flexibility (Guerrier & Lockwood, 1989a) more than temporal flexibility. In other words, when occupancy and staff levels are low, they have to return to making beds. Assistant GM and rooms division manager *Bess* describes this flexibility practice in quiet times:

*It is at times like that you housekeeping supervisors instead of just checking the rooms, would have to clean them as well...Everybody cringes when it gets round to May and June, “Oh no, we are going to be cleaning the rooms.*

On the other side, when occupancy is high, some of the room attendants are ‘up-skilled’ so that they can perform some of the supervisor’s tasks. From housekeeping manager *Dale*, for example:

*The way we get round not having to have a full-time supervisor as they do in a lot of places...we have ['self-checking room attendants']...with the ability to check their own rooms. If we are really busy...my assistant and I can’t check 247 rooms...so we use these girls as well to maybe go and check another floor for us. They are paid a little bit extra for doing so ... it doesn’t matter if they are checking them or cleaning them.*
At other times, managers encourage flexible staffing levels through ongoing cross-functional arrangements:

Ten waiters also are room attendants. They combine to make a full-time position. [We say] if you want more hours rather than go from here and work at the ['X' Hotel] there is a part-time (Pt) position as breakfast waiter. If they can do the job – if they are suitable for that job – they should be given the first opportunity, before you go outside, or get someone else in. They know the environment and that’s really important". (Bess)

If additional work is not available in the same hotel, workers will seek additional Pt work in other hotels. From the F&B management point-of-view this creates a local skill pool that can be dipped into when the need arises:

Queenstown being the sort of place it is – doesn’t have a qualified pool of staff that I can say I need 10 staff in black and whites ready to go for a dinner, that doesn’t happen. So I may borrow from another hotel. (Boris)

This multiple employer option is also productive for the Pt worker who is struggling to get enough hours to support themselves in Queenstown. From GM Edward, for example, “Sometimes they might work in the evenings in another hotel. Again, it is hard for me to give you figures but I would take a pretty good guess at about 10-15%.”

5.2.2 Numerical flexibility

Numerical flexibility is ‘concerned with the ability to adjust the number of workers or the number of hours worked in response to changes in demand’ (Guerrier & Lockwood, 1989a, p407). Part-time (Pt) employment has been used widely in the hotel industry for some time. Wood (1992) suggests a significant reason is the erratic demand for hospitality services through the day. With Pt employees, therefore, ‘idle time’ is not

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94 The Moon Hotel managers explained the way in which they have managed the limitations of labour regulations. According to the financial controller they negotiated an agreement with the union so that staff working in different functional areas could work without being paid overtime. “They sign a separate employment contract... Like our barman is also a porter and is also a waiter, He is bound by the Collective Employment Contract for his main job... and he has a separate employment contract to say he can work as a porter, and another separate employment contract to say he can work as a waiter. If he didn’t have that, at the end of the day [at the end of a 12 hour span, more particularly] he has to go home.” (Billy)
being paid for\textsuperscript{95}. While this daily fluctuation is certainly a feature of the Pt work within the QTAHs (for example, the F&B shifts described in Chapter Four (section 4.3.2) daily), weekly and monthly fluctuations in QTAH demand are more explicitly provided as a justification for the Pt labour profile (also see Walsh, 1991). For example, after describing the 80-20\% swings in occupancy, GM \textit{Desiree} explained “so that is where it is important that we have the Pt staff to see us through the highs and lows”. Wood (1992) writes that within the hospitality industry, Pt employment is associated with particular low status occupations – such as the F&B attendant, the room attendant, the kitchen hand and the cleaner. Each department in the QTAH organisation, however, generally showed signs of some element of numerical flexibility through Pt employees.

If there is an exception, that may be the reception area. Reception is one of the departments in the TAH where frontline staff and management are likely to be employed on a permanent Ft basis. According to front-office manager \textit{Anastasia} this “\textit{means the level of service can be guaranteed}”. In other words the reception area is a necessary constant in the hotel. Even so, Pt employees may be drawn in during the high season. In the \textit{Earth Hotel}, for example, “\textit{In busier times there is an allowance in the budget for casuals [PT], in winter time there is no allowance for casuals (Anastasia)}. So the five Pt receptionists who worked over summer, for example, had to be relocated somewhere else in the hotel.

Like reception, the porter role has elements of constancy and variation in demand. While there is a small Ft segment there are also part-time porters employed by the hotels. During the summer season, this part-time component is likely to increase – both in terms of hours of work and numbers employed. For example in the \textit{Jupiter Hotel}:

\textit{At the moment [in the low season] I have got one full-time, one part-time, and a couple of school boys who are just mainly doing the baggage handling, a night porter Ft and a guy from housekeeping who is doing two nights a week – the porter’s nights off... In a high season I have got my full timer plus about three part timers, plus the school boys and we always have a night porter and someone doing two nights a week. (Debbie)}

\textsuperscript{95} The additional reasons provided by Wood (1992) such as periods of labour shortage necessitating employment of Pt staff instead of Ft and the operation of the service for certain times of the day are not relevant for the QTAH context.
While housekeeping is usually the largest department in the hotel – according to labour employed – the vast majority of the room attendant positions are Pt. The reason for this is that demand for room attendants is extremely elastic. In high occupancy times – particularly with the fast flowing summer tours – a large number of rooms need to be cleaned and so some Pt staff will be working up to 40 hours per week. Low occupancy, on the other hand, means few rooms to clean and therefore the Pt staff may be working as little as 25 hours a week (Annabel).

Like the room attendants, demand for F&B attendants is also highly elastic. As such, most F&B attendants are employed Pt. This creates a great deal of flexibility in F&B labour costs. For example, from breakfast and evening waiter Bertrand:

*Like the other day, for example, the roster was changed in [the evening restaurant]. I was due to work at 6pm and I have to leave my house at 5:30 in order to get here. At 5:15 I got a message to say that I wasn’t to start until 7 ... i.e. it changed from 6 to 7 on the day. The message had come from above that we had to cut down on our costs.*

Another aspect of flexibility that could be loosely classified as ‘numerical’ is the temporal flexibility obtained through Ft workers being paid on a salary basis. As Guerrier and Lockwood (1989a) put it, hotels ‘rely on the goodwill of their managers and supervisors to ‘trade down’ to operative tasks at peak demand times and to work long hours for little or no additional pay’ (p416). Chefs, for example, are generally paid a salary and generally expect to work variable hours:

*The salary definitely allows flexibility. Most people in the industry know that it is very much customer demand. There is no such thing as a normal five-day week. It’s all part of the life-style and people who become chefs understand that that is the way it is. People who don’t like that don’t last. (Fraser)*

In addition to chefs, each department has a small Ft management/supervisory segment that is temporally flexible due to their salary. For example in F&B supervisor Alan:

*Being a supervisor I am on a monthly salary. So it doesn’t matter how many hours I do. So I work 60 and get paid 40...It happens regularly. Winter has supposedly been quiet but I’ve still been doing some big hours...but when it’s quiet I still have to do 8 hours anyway, unlike the part-timers who can leave if it’s really quiet.*
The employee side to this organisational flexibility, however, is significant employment insecurity. This is particularly so in times of low occupancy. In house-keeping, for example:

*The housekeeper, as far as being fair to everybody concerned, said that X amount of people will have this whole next week off and just sort of rotate it that way. Everybody had to have time off and everybody got to work. (Bess)*

F&B manager *Ellen* described a difficult period during the previous winter where the sudden and extreme drop-off in hours had taken a young employee by surprise:

*She’d moved here to start this career and she was shocked and stunned and “I don’t want to go on the dole. I’ve never been on the dole”...And you take it personally, that’s someone’s livelihood and they are blaming you for ruining it.*

This insecure Pt theme is not unique to hospitality within the seasonal tourist resort of Queenstown. Within the sociology of hotel and hospitality literature it is this profile that encourages writers such as Timmo (1993), Wood (1992) and Gabriel (1988) to conclude that hospitality employment generally is characterized by ‘low wages and poor working conditions, of exploitation and minimal job security, of monotonous yet demanding work, of degrading and low status occupations (Wood, 1992, p1-2). While an important dimension of numerical flexibility within the hotel hospitality literature is gender, time constraints prevent all but a limited reference to gender in this thesis.96

Due to the difficulties sudden loss of work hours generally pose, Wood (1992) underplays the idea that Pt employment can be attractive to both employer and employee. Indeed, it is certainly important to be cautious about claims that all Pt employees work reduced hours because they want to. To avoid discussing the way in which particular labour pools use hotel work, however, would be to miss a significant dynamic operating within the QTAH context. *Desiree*, for example, illustrates an argument put forward by Wood (1992, p28 citing the British Hotel and Catering

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96 While not plentiful, discussion of gender – or more particularly female employment – within the tourism and hospitality literature does exist. For example, Richter (1995) raises some of the gender (and race) issues that impact on the tourism industry; MacVicar, Graham, Ogden and Scott (2000) examine the relationship between flexibility and gender in the Scottish leisure industry; and Maxwell (1997) and Knutson and Schmidgall (1999) examine the ‘glass ceiling’ within the hospitality industry. Some sociological analysis of gender in the hospitality and catering industry is available through the work of Wood (1992) and Bagguley (1991). Wood (1992) offers a comprehensive review of the labour orientated hospitality and catering literature, spending time as he does so on the marginal position that women usually occupy within this industry. Bagguley (1991) on the other hand, focuses particularly on the theorising of gender segregation that operates in the hotel and catering industry. Closer to home, Harbridge and Street (1995) present statistical evidence of the unfavourable impact the Employment Contracts Act 1991 had on women working in the hospitality service occupations.
Economic Development Committee 1967 report) that ‘part-time work in the industry might be viewed as attractive by married women who required jobs that could be fitted around domestic and child-care responsibilities’. From GM Desiree:

*The 25 to 45 – particularly the part-time staff – are more likely to be mothers with children who come and work – particularly in the house as housemaids – because it is easier to get off earlier, because we are very flexible with them... There is not terribly many jobs that you can say...I can’t work for two weeks in May or two weeks in August because of the school holidays.*

Within the QTAH context, however, it is not just the mothers who might seek out this flexibility. Barry, for example, describes the relationship between his Pt F&B work and skiing:

*I had the work in the evening – which suited the skiing... Basically you worked your evening shift, got up the next day and if it was nice you went skiing and if it wasn’t you did whatever.*

On this basis, connections can be made between QTAH skiers and the New York artist-actor restaurant workers in Sharon Zukin’s (1995) work. In short, Zukin (1995) suggests that these artists, actors and musicians ‘put up with’ these low skilled, low paying hospitality jobs in order to survive while their ‘real’ attention is focused elsewhere. The QTAH managers also constitute the transient seasonal Pt QTAH employee as a non-career hotel employee subject. For example, from HRM Esther:

*A lot of them you know that they are here for three months for the ski season or something like that. So you are really just interested in if they can do the job for three months.*

Another notable short-term labour pool is the tertiary student who floods into Queenstown during the summer study break. As Lucas and Ralston (1996) suggest, the employment of students in the summer can be a ‘coincidence of varying interests’ (p21). Boris for example likes to use students. They come for his peak months of November to February and then disappear when it starts to get quiet. GM Desiree, however, is a little more cautious, having been caught when “everything is hunky dory and all of a sudden you lose half of your staff.”

In summary, the discourse of labour flexibility articulated by QTAH managers involves a very clear binary classification system. QTAH employees are either Ft or Pt/ casual. Full-time (Ft) is a guaranteed 40 hours per week. A part-timer (Pt) will be on the regular roster but there is no guarantee of hours. In the high season a Pt employee may regularly
work 38 or 39 hours (or more) but his or her status will remain Pt. In the low season these hours are expected to drop considerably. Casual staff are also employed but on an occasional basis only\(^{97}\). Flexibility, therefore, is primarily practiced through the relationship between the Ft and Pt employee classifications. Due to the variability with Pt employee numbers (and the variation in actual hours that are concealed in the Pt employee numbers) a precise profile of the Ft-Pt ratio is difficult. In general terms, however, while Ft employees may account for 40-50% of low season QTAH staff, in summer this percentage will drop to 25-35%. Accordingly, the Pt employees will account for 50-60% of the QTAH workforce in winter and 65-75% in summer. Somewhere within this Ft/Pt classification system the career and non-career QTAH employee subjects are differentiated.

As stated in Chapter One (section 1.2.7), the group that is the focus of attention in this study is individuals who adopt the professional-hoteland-employee subject position but who remain ambivalent about adopting the hotel-career-employee subject position. The differentiation of QTAH employees into career and non-career is not simply aligned to the Ft and Pt system of classification, however. In an effort to understand the system of differentiation that orders the hotel career and non-career subject positions in the QTAH context, section 5.3 explores the usefulness of the ‘core-periphery’ employee typology.

### 5.3 ‘Core’ and ‘peripheral’ labour in the QTAH context

Conventionally, labour market segmentation is discussed in terms of ‘dual labour market’ theories. Through the assumption that labour markets are segmented in a binary fashion, occupations and labour markets are deemed to occupy either ‘primary’ or ‘secondary’ employment sectors (Wood, 1992)\(^{98}\). While Wood (1992) makes good use of the dual labour market theory for his discussion of gender relations in hotels and

\(^{97}\) Generally casual staff feature in the Conference and Banqueting events when large numbers of F&B attendants are needed for a very short period of time. This meaning of ‘casual’ is supported by industrial advocate William Ross (1995). He defines ‘casual employment’ on a ‘as when required basis’ with no continuity of employment assumed ( p31).

\(^{98}\) Citing Witz and Wilson (1982) Wood describes primary labour markets where ‘wages and skill levels are relatively high; there are opportunities for training and advancement; employment is stable and there are high levels of unionisation’ (1992, p30). Secondary markets, on the other hand, ‘are characterised by low wages, unstable employment, few training and advancement prospects, low skill levels and low levels of unionisation’ (Wood, 1992, p30).
catering, the focus here is on its value for explaining how career and transient employees are constituted in the QTAH organisational discourse. At first sight, this primary-secondary labour market opposition is helpful. There are clearly two groups, the Ft and the Pt employees. The Ft employees do tend to be from the higher skilled occupations – in particular receptionists and chefs – and opportunities for advancement and a ‘career’ are discussed (more will be said on this in Chapter Seven). In addition, Ft employees enjoy significantly greater job security than their Pt colleagues. Equally, the Pt employees tend to be associated with the low skilled and low status occupations of F&B attendants and room attendants. It is at this point, however, that the model begins to strain. To begin with, as both labour markets are present within the hotel unit the industry profile is not relevant. In addition, wages for all but the GM position are notoriously low. GM Bart stated, for example, that a GM would be paid three times the rate of his or her assistant manager (also see Wood, 1992).

A slightly different take on labour market segmentation is the “ideal” model of the fully flexible firm’ (Atkinson, 1985, cited by Guerrier & Lockwood, 1989b) or, the ‘Shamrock’ organisational model (Handy, 1991). Handy (1991) uses the notion of the shamrock ‘symbolically’ ‘to make the point that the organization of today is made up of three very different groups of people, groups with different expectations, managed differently, paid differently, organized differently’ (p72). In this sense he is expanding the dual labour market into a tri labour market. Instead of the primary labour market, Handy (1991) describes the more privileged employees in terms of ‘core workers’, or the ‘professional core’ more precisely. ‘These are people who are essential to the organisation. Between them they own the organisational knowledge, which distinguishes that organisation from its counterparts’ (Handy, 1991, p72). The second leaf is comprised of the ‘contractual fringe’. The third leaf is the ‘flexible labour force’ and as such is comparable to the ‘secondary labour market’. ‘In crude terms’, suggests Handy, ‘these people are the labour market, a market into which employers dip

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99 Wood (1992) describes primary labour market employment as being in large, highly profitable, highly productive, technologically orientated firms that have a stable market base. Secondary labour markets, on the other hand, are employed by small firms with low production operating within an irregular or seasonal market (p30).

100 These are individuals who are ‘self-employed professionals or technicians, many of them past employees of the central organization who ran out of roles in the core or who preferred the freedom of self-employment’ (Handy, 1991, p77). This is particularly relevant for manufacturing organisations and not at all relevant for the QTAHs of this study.
as they like and when they need, for as little money as they have to pay’ (Handy, 1991, p79).101

Again, within the QTAH organisational structure, there clearly is a core of ‘skilled’ workers who can be differentiated from the ‘less-skilled’. With the exception of the kitchen, employment in the hospitality industry is still known in terms of its low entry-level. In short, a person may literally walk off the street and begin working in a hotel. While this issue is discussed further in Chapter Seven (section 7.5) it suggests that one measure of the ‘skill ranking’ of an occupation could be the time it takes for an employee to be competent in the job. According to this ranking system, therefore, the core workers would be identified as chefs and receptionists.

In relation to Handy’s model, however, an important distinction for the QTAH context is the way in which Pt employees also feature in the core. In short, while the higher skilled and more hotel-industry-knowledgeable occupations of manager, receptionist and chef fit comfortably into the hotel’s Ft core, the managers of QTAH also constitute a range of semi-skilled Pt employees as core. Of particular note are the descriptions of room attendants in terms of the core.103 For example from GM Desiree:

> There is going to be a small percentage, especially in the housekeeping department ... they are really the core of our housekeeping department. We would be lost without those women.

As Walsh (1991) notes ‘the employment of part-time, temporary and casual workers, far from being peripheral to productivity, is central to it’ (p113). A cue to the significance these Pt workers play to the core functioning of the hotel lie in their stability of employment. Doris and Doreen, for example, are both mature women who work in the

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101 In the next sentence Handy describes this as a ‘short-sighted’ philosophy, and moves on to constitute these individuals as free choosing, ‘portfolio’ workers and young pocket-money earners. As argued above (in section 5.2.2) while some QTAH employees do prefer the flexible Pt option, this is certainly not the case for all of the ‘third leaf’ occupants of Handy’s model. Naomi Klein (2000), for example, responds to Handy’s re-visioning of ‘employment organisations’ by providing a compelling account of the pervasiveness of this ‘short sighted’ philosophy he describes (on p79).

102 A note in passing, Wood (1992) also refers to ‘core’ and peripheral’ hospitality employees in relation to remuneration practices. In that the core workers are ‘perceived by management as vital to the smooth operation of the enterprise because of some special skill(s), technical knowledge, loyalty and so on’ (Wood, 1992 p37) they are likely to work under a better (but secret) individual contract. Peripheral workers, on the other hand, ‘benefit less from individual contracts’ (Wood, 1992, p37). As the focus of this thesis is not on remuneration practices per se, this core-peripheral will not be pursued.

103 The fact that room attendants are constituted in terms of ‘core’ workers is notable in the face of the low status and marginal position women and cleaning occupations hold in the hospitality literature (see Wood, 1992).
housekeeping department of the *Jupiter Hotel*. Both construct a sense of general enjoyment with their work and – significant to this issue of ‘stability’ – both articulate an anchoring in the Queenstown community through their family. As *Doreen* states, “I’m quite settled here. I will stay here as long as I have got a job and my husband decides not to transfer”. As Walsh (1991) concludes, therefore:

The internal labour market is not structured on a single core-periphery basis determined simply by management strategies… but on the basis of the terms upon which labour is supplied and the conditions that govern its engagement. Moreover, it is a naïve and erroneous simplification of the flexible-firm model that only the ‘core’ workers are indispensable to the company’s operations. (p114)

The complexity of the core-peripheral relationship is further illustrated by housekeeping manager *Annabel*’s account of the difficulty of rostering during the quiet periods:

> It’s a real juggling act to try and keep everyone as happy as you can. If you give too few hours you then lose them. When it comes busy again you have to go through all that training process and all the rest of it.

In other words, a significant dimension of the constitution of ‘core’ QTAH employees is the strategic use of internal and external labour markets by QTAH managers.

### 5.4 Internal and external labour market strategies

Riley (1991, 1993) argues that one of the significant effects of the unpredictable nature of consumer demand for the hotel product is ‘to ensure that it is not in management’s interest to erect a strong internal labour market’ (Riley, 1991, p234). Drawing from the conceptual framework of Doeringer and Piore (1971) the ‘internal labour market’ (ILM) can be loosely defined as employees already employed by the hotel (the individual unit of the chain) while the ‘external labour market’ (ELM) is the pool of potential employees - who are currently ‘outside’ the hotel – but who can be drawn upon when the need arises. Generally speaking the hotel ILM is associated with a skilled or competent internal labour pool who have training and development, promotion, and career opportunities. For example, HR manager *Duncan* describes ‘looking after’ employees whose relationship with another hotel employee ‘falls over’. “There have been occasions where we have transferred and that’s worked out. I mean it is better to transfer especially if they are a good employee.”

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104 See Handy’s (1991) statement concerning the third ‘flexible’ Shamrock Leaf.
The ELM, on the other hand, are employees who are hired with the expectation that they will leave again soon. HR manager Esther states it this way:

*Queenstown does have a high turnover, higher than any other hotels and I guess we accept that. Some of the turnover is positive turnover in the sense that if I hire someone in November, I am quite happy if I think they are going to leave in April because May, June is really quiet. Obviously it’s really good to keep a core staff who will carry on, but a certain amount we are quite happy to come and go, come and go.*

Minimal input from the hotel organisation is made available to those who are expected to stay just a short time. “*You are really just interested in if they can do the job for three months. You won’t be giving them the sale on career opportunities with [X company]*” (Esther). At times this minimal employment relationship is formalized through six-month fixed-term Pt contracts. “*Up until 12 months ago I probably only used one or two seasonal contracts. Because the market is so uncertain at the moment, we are using them a lot more.*” (Esther)

Due to the extremely variable demand for labour in hotels, the emphasis in hotel labour management is on maintaining flexibility. Indeed, ‘productivity in hotels is essentially the management of labour supply’ argues Riley (1991, p238). As such it is in management’s interests to rely significantly on the ELM at the expense of a strongly developed ILM (Riley, 1991, 1993; Boreham, Lafferty, Roan & Whitehouse, 1996). Riley (1991) describes hotels as having ‘multiple ports of entry, no fixed differentials, no promotion criteria and on-the-job training capacity mainly for the unskilled’ (p234, citing Simms, Hales & Riley, 1988). It is this strong use of the ELM and the weak ILM that informs the constitution of the ‘core-periphery’ differentiation of the QTAH employee profile (Guerrier & Lockwood, 1989b; Riley 1991).

As HR manager Esther states while they are happy for a group of employees to come and go “*obviously, it’s really good to keep a core staff who will carry on*”. Thus, an important task of hotel management is the delicate balance between maintaining an adequate core (ILM) – such that adequate service delivery is maintained (Wood, 1992) – while at the same time minimizing excess labour costs through the flexible use of the ELM. A central dynamic within this balance is the issue of skills and training (Riley, 1991, 1993). In short, a consequence of the large proportion of ‘unskilled’ operational
labour that come in through this ELM recruitment is the emphasis on workplace training. The account HR manager Duncan offers is interesting for the way it invokes a philosophical position on the transience-training dynamic within the QTAH context:

In Queenstown here it is going to be transient and I know that all of these people are going to come through my courses and they will probably only be with us three months, six months, maximum a year...but it’s just something that you have to do. You have to continually train the staff so that they can meet your expectations and also develop themselves as well. Hopefully they will see us as a proactive company when it comes to HR and training and think “Oh gosh, this company is proactive and they have got all these fabulous training courses I might just stay with them a bit longer and see what else I can learn because we don’t have to pay for these training courses and we get paid for coming and we get tea, coffee and biscuits and lunch supplied”. You know that can be a real draw card, and the lollies.

What is also interesting about this account is the way that Duncan constitutes this training opportunity (as well as the lunch and lollies) as a process of persuading (Johnson, 1981) these otherwise transient employees to become more skilled and to stay longer with the company. In short, the training sessions provide a forum for the disciplinary persuasion of employees to adopt a hotel-career-employee subject position.

Using the skill classification system from the UK Hotel and Catering Industry Training Board (HCITB), Riley (1991,1993) constructs a hotel skill pyramid that describes 36% of the hotel workforce as skilled (managerial 6%, supervisory 8%, craft 22%) and 64% (operatives) as unskilled. While this discussion is not on the nature of the ‘skills’ per se, reference to this ‘pyramid’ is helpful for gaining a sense of the important relationship that operates between the ILM and the ELM employees. The account from F&B attendant Alice clearly illustrates the tension that can come from the demands being made on this relationship. When asked if there were any difficulties Alice experienced with her job, she responded with the following statement:

Just basically working with staff who have been here for a while and they still don’t know what they are doing. Training. New people come in. The first night they come in and I’m not supposed to train them, I’m just a worker. They don’t get trained really and there are always problems. And the boss says, “come on do this and that”. And they say, “Well how do I do it?” There is not enough training put into the new ones.

As Riley (1991) suggests, this heavy strategic use of the ELM in turn puts pressure on the hotel ILM structure. In short, ‘the internal labour market must have the capacity to

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105 The system of distinguishing between skilled and unskilled work used by the HCITB and Riley (1991,1993) centres on vocational education. In short, ‘formal education roughly defined skill. Unskilled work could be learned solely on the job, skilled could not’ (Riley, 1991, p236).
train unskilled workers’ (Riley, 1991, p237). Without a competent and reliable ILM structure – either experienced (supervisory) staff capable of training or a training programme established by the HRM function – therefore, the QTAH could run into significant service delivery difficulties. It is at this point that the problem of transience for QTAH managers becomes a little clearer.

It is important to pause here for a moment to clarify the language I have been using and continue to use through the remaining chapters of this thesis. Figure 5.1 locates the ambivalent QTAH career employees of this study in relation to the different models of labour differentiation drawn on so far.
Figure 5.1 Locating the ‘ambivalent’ QTAH career employee subjects of this study

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Really good Long-term stay People”</td>
<td>‘Core’</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td>Management (6%)</td>
<td>Hotel-career-employee subject identification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Opportunists</td>
<td>Labour Market</td>
<td>Supervisory (8%)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Craft (22%)</td>
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The Ambivalent QTAH Career Employees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“The Transient stuff”</th>
<th>Opportunists</th>
<th>External</th>
<th>‘Unskilled’</th>
<th>Non-identification with the hotel-career-employee subject position</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Transients’</td>
<td>Labour Market</td>
<td>Operatives (64%)</td>
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As the shaded area in this figure suggests, the group of ambivalent employees who are the focus of this thesis are Johnson’s (1981) opportunists. I suggested in Chapter One (section 1.2.7) that the term ambivalents is a more productive one for the specific research agenda of this thesis. As figure 5.1 also shows, these ‘ambivalent’ employees are located on the border of the ILM-ELM (Riley, 1991), Riley’s (1991, 1993) ‘skills’ (supervisory and craft) and ‘unskilled’ (operatives) pyramid, and the hotel-career-employee and the non-hotel-career-employee subject positions. Using figure 5.1 the labour market context of the QTAH manager’s problem with transience also becomes clear. The core, ILM, skilled managerial hotel-career-employee subjects are assumed to

\(^{106}\) The horizontal ordering of Riley’s (1991, 1993) supervisory and craft segments has been changed to a vertical arrangement to better fit with the ambivalent supervisory employee subjects I came in contact with in the QTAH context. An account of F&B supervisor Carl’s career ambivalence leading into (proposed) transience, for example, is offered in Chapter Eight (section 8.4.2).
be committed to the hotel labour process\textsuperscript{107}. Their small numbers, however, mean that they alone cannot reliably support the service performance of the large waves of transient, ELM, unskilled, non-career-employee subjects who pour into the hotel to cope with seasonal peaks in demand. The group that provides the lynchpin for the hotel to cope with the unpredictability and variability of demand, therefore, is contained within the ambivalent group. In addition, the ambivalent group is where the potential core or management comes from. While these ambivalent employees are here now, they may not be for too much longer. If they leave, they have to be replaced and finding an independently competent replacement is where the problem is, particularly in the small labour market of Queenstown. This is where the QTAH managerial frustration with the problem of transience begins. Thus, the ‘persuasion’ (Johnson, 1981) of these ambivalents to adopt a reliable attachment (or habituation) to the QTAH labour process is a significant managerial issue.

\section{5.5 Conclusion}

The discussion in Chapter Five identifies that the primary strategy for dealing with unpredictable demand for labour is functional and numerical flexibility. Sections 5.3 and 5.4 discuss how the workforce is differentiated into a loose ILM-core and ELM-non-core grouping. This discussion concluded with the location of the ambivalent group of employees – who are at the centre of Ann-Marie’s concern with ‘transience’ – on the ILM-ELM, skill-unskilled border. Before moving on to examine the constitution of commitment in the QTAH discourse of career, Chapter Six looks more closely at the professional-hotel-employee subject that is a necessary prerequisite for the hotel-career-employee subject position.

\textbf{Chapter Six}

\textsuperscript{107} One ‘core’ group that falls outside of figure 5.1 are the ‘core’ housekeeping department employees. While Desiree and Dale constitute these women as ‘core’, due to the absence of the language of ‘career’, the lack of organisational progression that is assumed and their Pt employment status these room attendants fall outside the meaning of ‘core’ given by Johnson (1981). While they may be included in the ‘ambivalent’ career employee group, their membership is somewhat ambiguous.
Constituting and Governing for the Professional-Hotel-Employee Subject

It is an issue, **getting really good** long-term stay people attracted to the industry. It is the transient stuff that is still frustrating. *(Ann-Marie)*

### 6.1 Introduction

The conclusion in Chapter Five argued that the heavy strategic use of the external labour market (ELM) to manage variability in labour demand meant that the QTAHs are very reliant on their small internal labour market (ILM) group of employees. As Figure 5.1 (Chapter Five, section 5.4) depicts, it is in this small ILM group that the “**really good**” *(Anne-Marie)*, core (Johnson, 1981), skilled (Riley, 1991, 1993) hotel-career-employee subjects are located. The problem of transience for the QTAH managers, therefore, concerns the ambivalent hotel-career-employees within this ILM group. In other words, in drawing on Johnson’s (1981) model of hotel employee turnover, I am theorising transience as a problem of the ineffective persuasion of ambivalent employees to adopt a hotel-career-employee subject position. Thus the employee subjects who are at the centre of Anne-Marie’s frustration with “the transient stuff” can be located on the ILM-ELM ‘border’.

An important assumption that underpins the focus on the career ambivalence of these ILM-ELM border employees is that they are deemed to be valuable employees by the QTAH management. In Johnson’s (1981) terms, it is assumed that they have survived the induction period – either in the current hotel or the tourist accommodation hotel industry more generally. In so doing, they have survived the selection process and are thereby constituted as having the right sort of qualities for QTAH service delivery. In addition, by surviving the induction period it is assumed that they show satisfactory levels of independent competency in dealing with the all important guest interaction. In short, the assumption is that the valuable but ambivalent “**really good long-term stay people**” *(Anne-Marie)* show adequate identification with the professional-hotel-employee subject position.
These professional-hotel-employee subjects do not just arrive on the QTAH scene ‘ready-made’. Within the QTAH sector, entry into hotel employment is often at a very low level. While there is a growing level of prior formal training, this is not a universal requirement. In addition, the labour pools which the QTAHs draw on are not densely populated with formally qualified or experienced hospitality workers. Thus, a significant route to “getting the really good people” is through a process of ‘crafting’ professional hotel employee subjects (Kondo, 1990) out of the seasonal flows of QTAH workers. In other words, the “getting” of “really good” professional-hotel-employee subjects within the QTAH context is effected through disciplinary technologies of domination and the self.

‘Professionalism’ is a notable theme that emerged through my interview texts. Not only is hotel employment constituted as newly professional, the characteristics of the competent hotel employee were often constituted in terms of ‘being professional’. Like Valérie Fournier (1999), I was struck by the use of this vocabulary. In short, the conventional image of a professional as an elite, skilled and autonomous worker jarred with the description of hotel work as low waged, insecure and exploitative (Gabriel, 1988; Wood, 1992; Timmo, 1993)\(^\text{108}\). It is here that Fournier’s (1999) analysis of professionalism as a disciplinary mechanism contributes to my argument concerning the governmental persuasion of QTAH employee individuals to adopt a professional-hotel-employee subject position. A professional-hotel-employee subject can be relied upon to conduct the all important guest-employee interaction in a competent and appropriate manner. Due to the temporal and spatial spread of these guest-employee interactions this reliance over distance is important for QTAH management. The disciplinary ‘persuasion’ of QTAH employees to adopt a professional-hotel-employee subject position, therefore, is a highly effective managerial strategy of control over the QTAH labour process. As such, employees who occupy this professional-hotel-employee subject position are valuable to the hotel and their loss due to transience is problematic for the QTAH.

\(^{108}\) As Dent and Whitehead (2002) suggest, ‘while the term ‘professional’ has been subject to significant cultural and social disruption and redefinition, its underpinning association with privilege, specialism, autonomy and trust has not been totally removed’ (p2).
Section 6.2 firstly discusses the way in which hotel employment is being constituted as increasingly ‘professional’. Not only is this label important for justifying a professional hotel employee subject position, it also points to the boundary work involved in differentiating the potential ILM from the ELM. Secondly, section 6.3 briefly discusses the increasing use of human resource management (HRM) within the discourse of hotel management invoked by the QTAH managers. In doing so a conceptual link is created between hotel management practice and the individual hotel employee subject who is at the heart of autonomous professionalism. Sections 6.4 and 6.5 analyse the way in which the professional hotel employee subject position is constituted and promoted within particular accounts of QTAH management practice. Specifically, section 6.4 focuses on the constitution and mobilisation of the professional-hotel-employee subject position through the selection process. Section 6.5 more specifically addresses the merging of technologies of domination and the self within daily managerial interaction. In juxtaposing two different accounts of a ‘difficult’ guest-employee interaction, the advantages of the independently competent professional-hotel-employee subject for management are made obvious.

6.2 Constituting the hotel employment context as ‘professional’

Across the board I think it is probably becoming more professional...People are not using the hotel industry as a means to an end while they are at university or before they get a real job or a decent job or a proper job. So people are seeing it more and more as a career. (Desiree)

An important precursor to the call for the hotel worker to be professional is that hotel work is constituted to be a professional employment domain. Within the statement by general manager (GM) Desiree career represents a significant point of reference for constituting the professional in the QTAH context. Hotel work is becoming more professional because it is no longer seen as (just) a temporary fill-in job for university students but as a serious, long-term career option. In explaining the basis of this growing professionalism within the hotel hospitality industry, Desiree establishes a relationship between professionalism and qualifications. “Another thing that we are seeing happening is that there are more qualified people starting in the industry, in so much as tertiary qualified and not necessarily just in that hotel aspect but through commerce degrees or whatever.” GM Frank is more explicit with his link between
growing professionalism and the impact of various hotel hospitality-training institutions:

The professionalism has come into it with the training procedures that have come into place. Things like “Kiwi Host”, organisations like “The New Zealand Way”, training programmes that we have, as our own individual needs, training schools that are available. There is a superb one that is the [New Plymouth] hotel and catering school for future managers. And they really are right on to it, right up to the times and that is now churning out excellent staff.

What is interesting about these statements of growing professionalism and credentialism is the social boundary that is being constructed.

The dominant domain of existence through which these GMs constitute hotel employment as professional is formal qualifications. This domain of existence is productive for the professionalism ‘truth-claim’ (Foucault, 1977/1980b) for two reasons. The first is the degree of legitimacy bestowed on hotel practice through reference made to formal disciplinary knowledge and credentials. As Fournier (2000) argues, ‘the professional project involves not only an occupational group appropriating a field as its exclusive area of jurisdiction and expertise, but also the making of this field into a legitimate area of knowledge of and intervention on the world’ (p69). Thus formal hotel hospitality qualifications are gained from (generally) legitimated courses of study through which the student gains a degree of competence with the prescribed body of knowledge\(^\text{109}\). It is this body of knowledge that constitutes the discipline of hotel hospitality.

Secondly, while hospitality disciplinary knowledge serves to constitute the reality it represents it can also be mobilised in the constitution of social division. Fournier (2000) argues that professions ‘are constituted and maintained through processes of isolation and boundary construction’ (p73) and she mobilises this argument to explore the boundaries between professional groups and, professionals, clients, lay persons and the market. ‘An emphasis on the labour of division’ argues Fournier (2000), ‘turns our attention to the work which goes into creating and maintaining boundaries around the professions, into making transient distinctions, categories and structures look stable [and] certain’ (p73). Thus, it is through this reference to formal qualifications that the

\(^{109}\) Bess spoke of the confusion that a proliferation of hospitality training institutions and courses created for the practising hotel managers.
QTAH workforce can be easily differentiated into "really good long-term stay people" or "the transient stuff". As mentioned in section 6.1, employment within the hospitality industry is not always constituted in positive terms. To sustain a claim that employment in the hospitality industry can be thought of as a professional career, therefore, a boundary needs to be constructed. In other words, criteria for differentiating between the ‘experience’ of work as low skilled, uncertain, monotonous and as high skilled, secure and interesting is necessary.\footnote{See also Figure 5.1 (Chapter Five, section 5.4) and the (slightly modified version of) Riley’s (1991, 1993) hotel skill pyramid.} Formal training and qualifications provide such a criteria through which to assess and classify individual hotel employees. Those with qualifications can be legitimately constituted as ‘professional’ with a long-term commitment to the hotel industry and those without may (justifiably) have a different sort of experience of hotel hospitality employment. According to Desiree:

*I think those people [with formal training and qualifications] will be chosen above the ones that don’t have them... They will just do it [be promoted] a lot more quickly. They will be recognised a lot more quickly and a lot more easily I think, rather than being “Johnny-on-the-spot”. And I am sure that those people will still be around but it is certainly going to be a lot more difficult for them.*

F&B attendant Charlene – a woman in her late 30s with 15 or so years of hotel experience - supports this statement concerning the relationship between formal qualifications and promotion:

*The most threatening thing now is the fact that (and don’t take this wrong, it’s not negative) but the fact that somebody like myself who’s got not so much in black and white on the qualifications side, but I’ve had heaps of experience. And nowadays that’s not enough. It’s the qualifications that people are looking for and when you get 20 year olds straight out of Polytech and that sort of thing that have all the qualifications – not so much hands on experience but qualifications. That’s starting to become a real trend.*

In the complexity and flow of QTAH labour activity, therefore, qualifications are mobilised as a stable base from which social order can be constituted. The qualified are constituted as being more promotable through the rational and ‘easier’ procedure of (competency) recognition rather than just being “at the right place at the right time”. While the conventional hotel mobility pattern - that Desiree actually experienced (see Chapter Seven, section 7.5) – is still deemed possible, it is constructed as a disadvantaged route. Thus professionalism, promotion and career are constituted in terms of qualified individuals. It is notable that this constitution of TAH industry employees as increasingly qualified and therefore professional actively ‘disappears’ the
ILM-ELM practices that operate within the industry. In other words, the tensions and contradictions that are created between the spectre of a professionalised workforce and the heavy strategic use of temporary employment contracts to manage the seasonal variability in labour demand (see Chapter Five) is not engaged with here.

In addition to the call for a more professional status to employment within the hotel hospitality sector, the status of hotel hospitality training and employment is also being enhanced through activities within the marketplace. GM Clark, for example, extends the field of reference for improvement in the employment status of the New Zealand hospitality industry and education to the national economic profile of the tourism industry:

_Australia and New Zealand tourism is now the number one earner and it is in the top three growth industries as far as a career goes...When I started at the (X Hotel) as a trainee manager all my friends said, “what are you going and working in hotels for? What a terrible job”. And now you see these kids paying thousands and thousands of dollars to get a hotel education. From an HR point of view when you do your counselling its IT [information technology], telecommunications and hospitality are the three buzz industries that everyone wants to do._

In this statement, Clark illustrates a different sort of relationship between ‘the logic of the market’ and ‘professionalism’. Fournier (1999) opens her paper on professionalism as a disciplinary mechanism with the observation that ‘professionalism is creeping up in unexpected domains’ (p280). While this disciplinary aspect of professionalism will be explored in a moment (see section 6.4), Clark’s statement speaks to some of the ways the professional domains are expanding. He suggests that the (tourism) market is creating a space for hotel employment to become a more desirable, higher status and qualified occupation, so much so that “_kids are paying thousands and thousands of dollars to get a hotel education_”. In other words within the ‘new’ professionalism of hotel hospitality, the logic of the market is being mobilised as a source of legitimacy rather than the usual contaminant professionals have to distance themselves from (Fournier, 2000). This association has clear consequences for the constitution of the professional service product. For, in justifying a professional profile within the domain of ‘the market’, economics and the subject position of the hotel ‘sovereign consumer’ (du Gay & Salaman, 1992; Fournier, 2000) – otherwise known as ‘the guest’ – is foregrounded. This can be seen, for example, in the way in which the demands of the
business and hotel guest become represented (and constituted) within the discourse of professional hotel management.

Before I go on to trace the involvement of ‘the guest’ in the professional management of hotels, however, I want to disturb the cohesion of this professionalisation argument. The reason for this is to acknowledge that the mobilisation of discourse is not a uniform or tidy exercise. Speaking subjects are positioned and position themselves within different discourses. While the GMs articulate a growing sense of professional identity, others working within the QTAH field are not so emphatic. This uncertainty is associated, for example, with the constitution of professionalism in relation to the construct ‘status’. Front office manager Anastasia, for example, invokes the professional label with matter-of-fact ease in her statement that the front office “has to be seen as very professional, everyone has to be wearing a [receptionist’s] uniform if they are behind the desk”. Thus, the construction of the professional front office matches easily with the constitution of the professional receptionist subject position. Housekeeping manager Annabel, however, reacts to the professional-hotel-employee subject position in more uncertain terms - for her own identity and that of her housekeeping subordinates. This reaction has historical and social precedents. In short, the job of cleaning up after the (tourist) public - as opposed to dealing with them on the reception desk - is not usually looked upon favorably. When explaining her work, room attendant Doris, for example, reports a general “eeuw yuck, you go and clean other people’s toilets... how can you do that?” response. For housekeeping manager Annabel the low status of hotel housekeeping – that this reaction represents – was something to contest:

Very definitely housekeeping is down the bottom as far as everyone else is concerned. That’s one of the things I’ve been fighting since I got here. You pull up the morale of the department to think you are not just a chambermaid. You are one of the most important components of the hotel. If you weren’t here, there wouldn’t be any clean rooms [and] those people out the front wouldn’t have any rooms to sell. Ignore things when people look down their noses at you.

This active re-visioning of work within the housekeeping department by Annabel is important. In this statement Annabel is altering the conventional status boundary between the front-of-house reception and the back-of-house housekeeping. For example, without any clean rooms “those people out the front [i.e. the receptionists] wouldn’t have any rooms to sell”. In addition she re-constitutes the subject position of
the operational staff within the housekeeping department. In this revised position the “looking down their noses at you” is no longer appropriate and should be ignored. In other words, this social slight should not be an influence on their identity formation. In reconstituting housekeeping work as high status within the hotel, Annabel is also practicing a legitimation of her own identity as a professional housekeeping manager:

In New Zealand housekeepers have not pushed themselves forward enough. It’s beginning to happen now. I’m here, I’m a professional and I want to be treated as such. If that doesn’t happen from the top on my level, then it doesn’t pull that down through. If the GM thinks that it’s just housekeeping – which does happen – it doesn’t give the housekeepers very much confidence in themselves.

Thus, having revised the status of housekeeping within her discourse of hotel organisation, resistance to the identification of housekeeping – and the housekeeping manager position specifically – can be constructed by ex-British Annabel in terms of a historical lack of professional identity of housekeepers in New Zealand specifically.

For Ava (a New Zealand national) uncertainty with the professionalism label comes from a similar constitution of New Zealand hotel hospitality employment status in colonial terms:

Here in NZ and Australia we don’t see waiting as professional. It’s just a job to get money to go traveling or to University...When I first started waitressing I would always be asked, “what am I studying” or “couldn’t you get any other jobs?”... In the States and Europe it is a career.

Thus for Ava, Australia and New Zealand are still catching up to the Northern Hemisphere hotel service model where a career as a waitress is a legitimate career option. While interesting this ‘colonial’ strand will not be pursued further here. It is interesting, however, to briefly comment on the connection between Ava’s statement and that of Andrew – an ex-British hospitality employee and the current and past manager of Ava:

In England hospitality is a career. It is still developing in New Zealand. This is due to the history and the length of time that England has had an [hospitality] industry. It is a new industry in New Zealand.(Andrew)

Due to a lack of confirmatory empirical evidence the argument that this connection illustrates the way in which particular discursive positions are taken up by subordinates
(or peers) must be made tentatively\textsuperscript{111}. I would suggest, however, that the connections are notable.

The main point to make here is that truth-claims of hotel employment being increasingly populated by employees occupying professional career subject positions are open to contestation. It is within that space of contestation, however, that the relations of power are visible. As Fournier (2000) argues the ‘boundary work’ involved in the making of professions – the constitution of the field of expertise and the labour of division – are both transient and fragile processes. ‘Both processes suggest that the construction of boundaries (boundary work) and their malleable rather than fixed nature are crucial to the making, and understanding, of the professions’ (p76-77). Translating Fournier’s (2000) argument into the QTAH context, I argue that the boundary work involved in the distinction between the professional and unprofessional hotel employee is informed by labour process politics. In short, while this labour differentiation is important for conceptual coherence, it also maps levels of labour power reliability (see Chapter Five, section 5.4). Thus, an understanding of the way in which the boundary between the professional and the non-professional QTAH employee is mobilized to identify a reliable and independently competent workforce – in the context of high external labour market use – contributes to an explanation for which hotel-employee subject is at the centre of QTAH management’s problem with transience.

The argument I make in this chapter is that, like the adoption of the hotel-career-employee subject position, the adoption (or persuasion in Johnson’s 1981 terms) of a professional-hotel-employee subject position is encouraged through disciplinary technologies of domination and the self. Central to this process of management governmentality is the individual employee. Human resource management (HRM) is a particular managerial mode of disciplinary practice through which the individual conduct and identity practices of hotel employees are rendered visible (Townley, 1994). It is to the increasing prominence of HRM in the discourse of QTAH management that the discussion now turns.

\textsuperscript{111} The connections were made obvious by my reading of the transcripts rather than at the time of interviewing when further exploration would have been possible.
6.3 Constituting hotel management as ‘professional’

While hotel employees are constituted as being in a period of change by the QTAH GMs, hotel management is also being re-framed (Gilbert & Guerrier, 1997). The past was constituted in terms of formality and anonymity. GM Ann-Marie, for example, describes being trained under German or European managers who manage and train vis-à-vis the ‘school of hard knocks’. Now, suggests Ann-Marie, you have to be able to manage your staff, be aware of costs and wage control and you have to ‘know your staff’. For GM Clark, hotel managerial practices of the past are constituted in terms of a similar invisibility of employees – or more particularly of himself as an employee. “Coming up through the ranks, from duty manager level and up – especially in the five-star chains – you wouldn’t even be acknowledged as a staff member. You just felt like you were a number or a nothing” (Clark). These statements connect with Hoque’s (2000) account of the conventional hotel industry’s management style as being ‘dominated by practices aimed at enhancement of managerial prerogative and cost reduction, and a predominance of authoritarian management styles’ (p49).

More recent accounts, argues Hoque (2000), are more positive. While Nickson and Wood (2000) contest his research findings, Hoque maintains that there is an increasing practice of HRM within the British hotel industry ‘at least where larger hotels are concerned’ (2000, p147). In terms of the QTAH context more specifically, six of the seven hotels had a dedicated human resource (HR) manager for their hotel (the assistant GM performed the HRM practices in the seventh – the smallest hotel). More notable, perhaps, when I first met Duncan he had just arrived in Queenstown to occupy the newly created area HRM position. The reason Duncan gave for the Hotel Chain’s creation of this HR position was “probably to become more proactive in human resources I would say”. A number of the QTAH managers spoke of a greater appreciation of HRM in the general management of the hotel. For example, “15 years ago you wouldn’t have HR in most hotels, the dept head would look after staffing issues… the focus has really rolled ahead over the last few years” states GM Eric. The reason he provides for this growing emphasis on HR is the customer. “I think the consumer has gotten a hell of a lot smarter. They demand a consistent level of service. I think that’s had a large impact, of responding to what the customer wants.” A similar
trend is noticeable in the more recent hotel hospitality management literature where HRM issues are receiving a higher profile.\footnote{A notable illustration of this discursive interplay is the set of textbooks that appeared in the 1990s that bear a close resemblance to any standard human resource / general management text (see Woods & King, 1996; Carmouche & Kelly, 1995; Wood, 1994; and Riley, 1991/1996).} Focusing on the transplantation of HRM into the hotel hospitality context, for example, Worsford (1999) states the ‘reasonable expectation’ that the adoption of HRM practices - loosely defined as ‘concern for employee well being’ (p345) – will result in greater employee commitment. Haynes and Fryer (2000) support Worsford’s expectation and suggest that after one year of adoption, ‘appropriate synergistic HRM policies and practices provided measurable support for a [quality-focused] strategy in the ‘Fivestar’ hotel in Auckland’ (p246). In a much more confident fashion, Enz and Siguaw (2000) describe a list of HR best practice that includes: leader development, training and knowledge building, employee empowerment, employee recognition and cost management. They then examine the use of these practices in a number of ‘champion’ hotel hospitality organisations in the United States. Thus, within the literature and \textit{GM Eric’s} statement above, the link is made between HRM, the service employee subject and the hotel consumer. The impact of this HRM development is a more active or conscious management of the individual hotel employee subject. Following Townley (1994) the thread I want to follow at this point is the greater visibility and the ordering of employee individuals through disciplinary technologies of surveillance and normative evaluation, particularly through the process of employee selection.

\section*{6.4 Selecting for the professional-hotel-employee subject}

Given the seasonal fluctuation of demand for labour in the QTAHS (see Chapter Four, section 4.4) certain times of the year could involve steady recruitment work for the QTAH HR managers. For example, from \textit{Esther} (HR manager for the \textit{Venus Hotel} and previously also the \textit{Mercury Hotel}):\footnote{In \textit{Queenstown in the crucial times – it could be in October – you are normally taking as many good people as you can find. So it’s not “right I’ll interview this 10 and only select one” which is how I operated in manufacturing [a previous job]. Here if they are all great I’ll take all of them. Particularly when I was recruiting for both hotels some days you could be doing 10-15 interviews, so you did get it down to a fast patter. I guess a lot of them if you think they are career focused you spend a bit more time. But a lot of them you know that they are here for three months for the ski season or something like that. So}

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you are really just interested in if they can do the job for three months. You won’t be giving them the sale on career opportunities within [the X chain].

Significantly, Esther constitutes the ‘seasonal’ selection interview as a common port of entry for both career and non-career hotel subjects. While there are other more direct means through which the career core employee is recruited (see Chapter Seven, section 7.4) it is this common point of collection that renders the professional-hotel-employee subject position a useful basis on which to differentiate between individual applicants. The professional-hotel-employee subject is more desirable because s/he provides a more reliable independently competent labour power (as discussed in section 6.5 below). The problem for QTAH managers, however, is that the Queenstown hotel labour pool is limited. F&B manager Ava, for example, describes Queenstown as a place where “it is difficult to get staff”. Or more particularly, “you don’t really have career people in Queenstown, so you have to take what you can get” (Ava)113. “What you can get”, therefore, is an assortment of useful and potentially long-term hotel employee subjects, useful but short-term (and hence unreliable and uncommitted) hotel employee subjects, and those that are not appropriate subjects for tourist accommodation hotel employment at all. Thus, the selection interview is the time when an initial ordering of this collection of undifferentiated labour is done. In other words, selection time is the point at which the standardized scrutiny of the individual and his or her potential to be “really good” professional-hotel-employee subject begins. Within the ritualized process of selection – the application form, the selection interview and the curriculum vitae are where individuals are first brought under the normalizing gaze of the HR manager (Townley, 1994). It is at this point, therefore, that the QTAH managers first generate truth-claims about the objectified individual employee subject.

HR manager for the Earth Hotel and the Jupiter Hotel, Duncan provides guidelines for the department managers when selecting their potential employees:

I’m trying to set the ideal scene and give them some good guide lines on what to do and this is what I said “it’s your call, these are the guidelines I have set per company policy but we do understand that when it comes to that time... that if somebody has two arms and two legs that you have to employ them if you are that desperate. But always try to make sure, it doesn’t matter if they haven’t got the skills because skills somebody can teach, always go for somebody if you have to make a decision providing they are going to seem like they have got a bit of a sense of humor, they have got the right attitude, and

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113 The particular consequences of the Queenstown location for ‘the problem of transience’ will be specifically addressed in Chapter Nine.
they are reasonably well presented and you think they might be moldable or trainable go for it”.

Within this advice from Duncan the profile of the individualized (potential) employee is brought into visibility against a standardized set of criteria. Even when the situation is ‘desperate’, potential recruits are not to be constituted in terms of an undifferentiated or anonymous individual that has “two arms and two legs”. Rather, they are to be rated according to their performance on skill, humor, attitude, appearance and moldability or trainability. The latter two categories, in particular, relate to employee sensitivity to managerial disciplinary technologies of domination and the self.

In what is effectively a pre-employment ‘corrective’ measure in her pep talk to the potential hotel applicants, HR manager Esther also emphasizes the importance of the right personality, attitude and appearance:

Personality and attitude are the key things. My spiel I always give to the polytech students or school kids is that we believe that we train people to carry plates or be a porter but if they haven’t got the right personality or attitude or grooming, you are wasting your time with them. I think it is the attitude most of all.

How do you pick up their attitude, I asked? “In the interview...in the way they come across, the way they answer the question. Personality certainly will come across...and the grooming and reference checks as well” (Esther). HR manager Beth also constituted the selection interview as a space where the full person can be examined and evaluated, even in a very short time. Beth helped out in the recruitment for a new hotel opening in another region of New Zealand. The ‘mass recruitment’ exercise she described sounded more like drafting sheep for the freezing works rather than the careful selection process usually described in HRM texts. The intensity of the context, however, does provide a powerful - albeit somewhat heightened - example of the discursive practice of examination for the ‘right potential employee material’ and the role that appearance plays in that examination:

And I stood there – the old saying that somebody sums you up in four seconds is so true because I did – I saw about 1000 people. They were queuing up and filling in their application forms and I had a quick look at the application form and literally looked them up and down and decided whether they went in through that door to see the head of department or whether “thank you” I’ll take their CV and application form.(Beth)

I asked Beth “what do you cue on when you are making the decision?” She replied:
It is very much a gut feeling. How someone has presented themselves, their appearance. Some people came in with a shirt and tie but the shirt wasn’t ironed. So that put me off. But if someone came in a t-shirt but everything was ironed and their hair was done and they were clean [that was ok]. Some things like the way they spoke, the way they introduced themselves to me ... it might sound a bit snobby but that is the standard we have to start with.

Within Beth’s account of assessing the appearance of the appropriate hotel recruit the dimension of ‘class’ is clearly being mobilised. While there is not the time to bring class identity into this thesis, I do want to acknowledge the importance of this dimension\textsuperscript{114}. Sharon Zukin (1995), for example, locates cultural capital as the link between the artist-waiters and the constitution of New York restaurants as significant cultural sites. With their training in the arts, artist-waiters:

Project an air of knowing or personable authority. They speak proper English, know how to talk to middle-class customers without being either servile or surly, and generally look good...The way they talk and dress shapes a large part of the restaurant’s ambiance. Waiters not only provide a backdrop for business meetings, they also contribute to the production, circulation, and consumption of symbols. (Zukin, 1995, p154-155)

In a similar way, Beth’s selection process speaks directly to the contribution QTAH employees make to the QTAH’s ambience.

Maintenance manager Angus also illustrated the constitution of the professional hotel appearance from another angle. Coming from engineering positions in other industries Angus could speak to the particular additions required of the hotel professional:

The standard of dress is higher, personal hygiene is higher, manner is higher, you have to be smiling all the time plus you also have to do the job efficiently. You might be the best plumber or sparky on the building site quite happily walking along with a fag in his mouth, alcohol breath, but in a similar situation like this you can’t. You might think damn good knowledge but personal skills are lacking so can’t employ him.

In this sense, Angus is articulating the way in which the competent subject position is constituted in different ways within different industrial discourses. Compared with the hotel maintenance position, competence on the building site focuses on task performance. For the hotel maintenance position, the notion of competence includes appearance and also social interaction. It is with this complex issue of ‘social

\textsuperscript{114} Indeed, an analysis of the way in which class is mobilised within the QTAH employment context represents a thesis in itself. A productive analysis could, for example, proceed along the lines of an analysis of the social process through which class is mobilised within this discursive practice of selection, such as the approach taken by J.K. Gibson-Graham (1992, 1996). Such an analysis might include, for example, the way in which cultural capital is mobilised in the constitution of the professional hotel employee subject position and the development of professional employee subjects.
competence’ that the importance of the ‘right’ attitude and personality arises. In short, it is this aspect of ‘social work’ where the need for an independently competent hotel employee is highlighted. Thus, in her selection criteria F&B manager Ava includes:

*Some experience, if no experience then some sort of training, but so saying that anyone who is willing to learn, a good attitude. [In other words] the first impression, the way they dress, what they’ve got to say, where they want to go, where they are up to now, where they will be in five years time. [I’m] looking for some goals.*

Within this selection criteria described by Ava there are the objective qualities of appearance and social impression. In addition, there are also the prerequisite qualities for a self-disciplining or self-managing hotel employee subject. Ava is looking for an individual who is “willing to learn”, has “a good attitude”, a sense of direction and “some goals”. The importance of these latter qualities speaks directly to the ‘governable’ professional-hotel-employee subject. In other words, an employee subject who not only responds favorably to the technologies of domination but also to the technologies of the self (Foucault, 1982/1988).

### 6.5 Professional QTAH conduct and the guest –employee interaction

While employees may rate well during the interview assessment, sometimes their performance ‘on-the-job’ is disappointing. From F&B manager Ellen, for example:

*One young bloke I’m thinking of at the moment is in the breakfast restaurant and he’s 19. So of course he interviewed very well, looked keen and I thought, “how could we go wrong? He really wants to do well, wants to come into the hotel and show us what he’s got.” He’d been a lifty so I thought “well he’s got that customer interaction.” But he hasn’t, for some reason he’s not grasping – or we’re not showing him well enough — what the hotel’s expectations are of him. He hasn’t quite grasped customer focus and customer satisfaction as well as everybody else has so we’ve had a few problems.*

When I asked Ellen what sort of things he was not doing, she elaborated further on the relationship between the employee and the guest that is constructed within the notion of ‘customer focus’:

*I would like him to be thinking - when a customer walks in the door for the customer. I would like him to be thinking for them, thinking ahead, thinking what does that person require once I’ve served them...Using initiative.*

As Ellen’s statements illustrate, the hospitality service product involves a very particular social interaction between the hotel guest and the hotel employee. Getting this
interaction right is very important, as it is the crux of the hotel’s commercial transaction. As such, the guest-employee interaction can be described as the defining core of the hotel labour process. Due to the temporal and spatial spread of these guest-employee interactions, however, surveillance let alone direct managerial control of this transaction is difficult. Adding to this difficulty of direct control, flexible practices of employment – such as seasonal temporary and part-time employees – create a tidal movement of new, often inexperienced and untrained employees into the hotel, such as the young breakfast waiter described by Ellen above. In addressing the contemporary shift to the discursive practices of flexible work Fournier (1999) identifies the emergence of a ‘discretionary gap’ within organisations. Given the nature of the hotel hospitality service product and work practices this notion of the discretionary gap is clearly applicable in the QTAH context. Fournier (1999) suggests that different strategies of managerial control are necessary to manage this ‘discretionary gap’. One such strategy is the appeal to ‘professionalism’.

GM Frank articulates his sense of professionalism when waiting at a hotel restaurant table:

> It’s a sophisticated but ... a very charming way of having that inter-relationship with people. Also being professional enough to know when that is not called for and therefore being able to stand back...The trick is when the waiter can recognize when he can’t and that is the difference between a professional and somebody who is not, somebody who can see where they fit into the whole thing. At the same time highly efficient, effective service that is producing super food to people in a lovely environment so that they have a thoroughly enjoyable evening ...[pause] and spend lots of money [he laughs].

Professionalism for Frank and Ellen, therefore, is centred around the behaviour of the hotel employee. “Thinking ahead for the customer” and “seeing where they fit in” are sophisticated and delicate social interactions that cannot be managed according to the programmatic direction of say a McDonald’s dining experience (see Ritzer, 2000). Thus hotel management needs to be able to rely on a professional waiter to conduct herself/himself and this important social-commercial interaction in an appropriate way. Connected to this reliability is the issue of control.

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115 In short, Fournier (1999) notes that with the move towards more flexible strategies of capitalist accumulation (here Fournier, 1999 cites David Harvey 1989), there has been a move towards more flexible working practices. With more flexible working practices there develops a discretionary gap.
Control of the complex hotel guest-employee interaction relies on more than the
disciplinary based technologies of domination obvious in the selection process above. When
analyzing career as a mode through which the labour process is controlled, Grey (1994) argues that ‘the professionalized labour process could not be effectively created simply through the deployment of disciplinary power, without the harnessing of the self-discipline of career in ways which contribute to the success of the firm’ (p495). It is this mix or contact between technologies of domination of others and technologies of the self that Foucault (1988) refers to as ‘governmentality’. Fournier (1999) engages with this governmentality-based formulation of power-knowledge-subjectivity to explain how:

The appeal to professionalism serves to ‘responsibleize’ autonomy by delineating the ‘competence’ of the ‘professional employee’, by instilling ‘professional like’ norms and work ethics which govern not simply productive behaviour but more fundamentally employees’ subjectivities. (p287)

As housekeeping manager Dale concluded at the end of her account of a problematic guest-employee interaction (see Chapter Three, section 3.4.1) ‘you have to make sure you get people who don’t [do that]’. By combining a ‘trainable’ and moldable (Duncan) employee with an appeal to a professional-hotel-employee subject position, the guest-employee interaction that falls within the discretionary gap can be controlled at a distance (Fournier, 1999).

Like Fournier (1999), I am anxious not to present a ‘radical break thesis’ through the presentation of a new strategy of control. A shift of emphasis is evident, however, in the accounts provided by the QTAH managers. A combination of the increasing tourist activity (Chapter Four, section 4.2.3) and a growing pressure on the service performance from guests (Eric in section 6.3 above) has rendered the service interaction open to increasing scrutiny. Equally, an increase in adopting HRM within the hotel management discursive practices has resulted in a more conscious identification and assessment of individual employee performance. As Ann-Marie states, hotel managers now have to “know their employees”. Hence it is argued that while that discretionary gap has long been there, it is currently being scrutinized and managed a great deal more consciously. It is to the construction of appropriate guest-employee conduct within the QTAH professional identity that this discussion now turns.
The constitution of professional hotel guest-employee conduct can be seen in the handling of guest complaints. Ross (1996) states that ‘dealing with a guest complaint can be one of the major tests of a positive service quality orientation among hospitality industry staff’ (p39). Before I continue with this Foucauldian based analysis of the relationship between subjectivity and the guest-employee encounter, however, I will briefly discuss the concept of ‘emotional labour’. Hochschild’s (1983) work on emotional labour has been used by a number of organisational researchers in their examination of the service employee-customer interaction. Taylor (1998) for example, examines the management of emotional labour in the new service sector workplaces while Korczynski (2003) studies collective forums for coping with emotional labour in service work. Within Hochschild’s (1983) theorisation of the emotional labour performed within the service encounter, she draws on the concepts of surface and deep acting.

In surface acting, the expression on my face or the posture of my body feels “put on.” It is not “part of me.” In deep acting, my conscious mental work...keeps the feeling that I conjure up from being part of “myself.” Thus is either method, an actor may separate what it takes to act from the idea of a central self. (Hochschild, 1983, p36)

While emotional labour does render visible the emotions and psychological consequences for employees of service work, I find it problematic. As Taylor (1998) identifies:

How does one know if another is engaging in emotional labour? Often, the whole point of emotional labour is to conceal inner feeling. There is certainly no obvious reason why interviewees are like to reveal such concealment to researchers when, as some authors argue, they may have difficulty in revealing some emotion work even to themselves. (p86)

Implicit within Taylor’s (1998) statement is the sense of a ‘true self’ lurking in the shadows created by the surface and deep acting self. Due to this theoretical discomfort between Foucault’s (1971/1980a) assumption of a de-centred self and Hochschild’s (1983) invocation of a centred – albeit changeable – self, I shall not draw on the concept of emotional labour in this thesis.

_Bess_ is the rooms division orientated assistant GM of Q2. Having spent approximately 15 years working in the hotel industry – nine of those in Queenstown - _Bess_ presents as an experienced hotel guest and hotel employee manager:
In any hotel operation a guest, if they have a gripe of any description, they will hit the front desk before they’ll go anywhere else. To be a good front desk person you need to be very tolerant, keep smiling and just listen...all it takes is a lot of listening and then try to fix it. Sometimes there is nothing you can do. Then you shout some drinks, a complimentary breakfast, a fruit bowl etc. i.e. recognize their gripe in some way.

Thus ‘listening’ for Bess is part of being a good front-office person, of being competent with the guest-employee interaction in the context of a guest complaint. When asked about the reason for her success in the industry Bess invokes her practice of ‘listening’.

Listening to people – guests and staff alike. Staff have just as many problems and hassles work wise or personal. You end up doing the “mother-thing” or “counseling-thing”, very much a combination of both. It’s an awareness thing. You have to be aware of what everybody is up to. You don’t have to know the ins and outs of it all but you have to listen to them. You try to point them in the right direction to fix whatever’s wrong or you react to it and fix it. If there are guests there you have to react there and then.

While the simple instruments of workplace disciplinary technologies are usually associated with more formal and tangible forms, such as the performance appraisal (Townley, 1994) this account by Bess provides an illustration of the managerial disciplinary practice of surveillance, normative evaluation and corrective training within the practice of her daily interactions with hotel employees. The need for constant surveillance is constituted by Bess as ‘awareness’. For example “you need to be aware of what everybody is up to”. Further, this awareness is linked directly to an implicitly normative evaluation that identifies “whatever is wrong” and then to a form of corrective training that “points them in the right direction”. A willingness to be pointed in the “right direction” again speaks to the trainability/ moldability quality that is part of the selection criteria. Through ‘learning’ the right way, this practiced is internalized. In her movement between being aware of what is going on, pointing the employees in the right direction and doing the “mother-thing” and “counseling-thing”, however, Bess also illustrates the way in which technologies of power or domination merge with technologies of the self (Foucault, 1988). In other words, the disciplinary technologies of surveillance and normalizing evaluations are intertwined with practices that encourage the adoption of particular forms of self-management or self-discipline.

Bess elaborates further on this counseling practice and illustrates the way in which the exercise of the technologies of self vary according to the specific context they are practiced:
It’s not so long ago I got referred to as ‘the Mum’ and I suppose if you have been here for a long time and you have got a good relationship with all different groups throughout the hotel, intentionally or not you are automatically put in that position...Yes I will drink with some of the staff after work and I will socialize with them out of work, you try not to too often but it does happen... People start talking to you about the place or their lives and you might give them a piece of sound advice and then you’re the first person they come to from here on in.

Within this account of her hotel employee ‘mothering’, the relations of gender and hospitality industry practices combine to create the ‘drink-after-work’ forum where Bess encourages and assists her hotel employees to adopt particular subject positions\textsuperscript{116}. Austrin (1994) speaks of a similar deployment of ‘drinks-after-work’ as a site of ‘therapy’ that is included in the new HRM sponsored talk within the finance industry. Also in Covaleski et al. (1998) after work drinks are tied into the accounting mentoring relationship.

Belinda is one of Bess’s subordinates. Like the connections made in section 6.2, I am not claiming a rigorous empirical link between Bess’s ‘drink-with-advice’ session and Belinda’s account of the reception subject position. What I am seeking to illustrate, however, is the way in which independently competent QTAH employees – such as Belinda for example – articulate an adoption of the professional-hotel-employee subject position. Belinda is a 23-year-old who has been working on Q2’s reception desk for two years, more recently in the position of supervisor. After completing a nine-month tourism course at the polytechnic, she worked in several Queenstown hotels house-maiding, waitressing and doing some reception work. After a year overseas (also working in hotels) Belinda returned to Queenstown and eventually took a receptionist position at Q2. Within Belinda’s constitution of a good receptionist, being a good listener is also important:

\textit{Someone who is prepared to listen, show consideration to the guest. If you let them know you can appreciate their problem... that does take a lot off it. Instead of “well it’s not my fault” to saying “I appreciate how that is upsetting for you,” keeping your cool. If you get stressed out [you should] not let it show to them because you do work them up more. I think it does take a type of person, not everyone can do it...you have to be pretty friendly, bubbly.}

In this account of the receptionist’s interaction with the guest, therefore, there is a sense of the internalization of the objective behaviour necessary for appropriate conduct

\textsuperscript{116} After work socialising was constituted as a powerful social convention within the hospitality industry by many of the research participants.
towards the guest. This is illustrated by the constitution of the guest-receptionist interaction in terms of listening and showing appreciation as well as the need to orientate the interaction around the needs of the guest. Thus, instead of constructing the issue in terms of a defense of her performance, Belinda disciplines herself to foreground the feelings of the guest. Urry (1991) addresses this routine-emergency dynamic within guest expectations. ‘There is a chronic tension between service receivers who regard all sorts of events as an emergency (such as the late plane, the overcooked steak, etc), and service producers who have to learn to deal with such incidents as perfectly routine’ (Mars & Nicod, 1984 cited by Urry, 1991, p53). In that Belinda knows to present a ‘non-stressed’ appearance to the guest, she has learnt to manage the more fractious guest-employee interaction in a calm routine manner\(^{117}\). Compared with Ellen’s reluctant breakfast waiter (above) for example, Belinda has ‘grasped what the hotel’s expectations are’ and she does ‘think for the customer’. Unlike Ellen, therefore, Belinda’s manager does not have to engage in ongoing surveillance, normative evaluation and corrective training in the form of “ a lot of discussions and counseling sessions... pointing out to him very obviously where we believe he’s not performing” (Ellen).

An active disciplinary based managerial input into Belinda’s performance is no longer necessary because of her adoption of the professional-hotel-employee receptionist subject position. By constituting reception work as something that not every one can do she is positioning herself within this particular subject position. In other words, Belinda thus constitutes her own identity in terms of being the right type of person and as “pretty friendly and bubbly”. This identification or adoption of the professional-hotel-employee subject position has significant consequences for the issue of labour process control. One important consequence is the meaning that is constructed about particular work or organisational features. A particular one for Belinda is the ‘negative’ guest:

Some days it’s like water off a ducks back, you just wait, fine... But then you have other days when things will really get to you. It’s a matter of biting your lip because the customer, they don’t care if you have been having a bad day, they don’t want to

\(^{117}\) While arguing that this non-stressed appearance can be explained through the Foucauldian theory of subjectivity discipline, I do want to acknowledge that I am putting other equally interesting explanations aside. Prominent in this (necessary) practice of displacement is the ‘impression management’ that Belinda is describing. Of particular interest here could be an analysis of the power-resistance dynamic within the ‘hidden transcripts’ (Scott, 1990) that the front line QTAH employees practice as they negotiate the power relations within the hotel employee and guest interaction.
know...But that is just another challenge of the job just dealing with it. I had one guy who had me in tears (but that was after he'd left) Just everything that went wrong he directed at me, the muck up in the bookings etc, even though it was another conference organizer. But he was here for about an hour and just screamed at me. And when I did organize the rooms, he just turned around and went off at me again...You have people like that and it just makes you stronger the next time.

This account Belinda provides of her interaction with this particular guest sounds to me like she is being treated as a ‘human-dart-board’. Yet, she constitutes this exchange in terms of “another challenge of the job” and an experience that will “make her stronger next time”. Later, in response to the question of what she had learnt from this position, Belinda added to this sense of self-development with the statement that “I'm 23 now, but I found I’ve matured and I can handle situations a lot better.”

From a managerial perspective Belinda represents all that is good about a professional-hotel-employee subject. In adopting a professional hotel employee subject position she not only disciplines her own conduct within the guest-employee interaction, she constructs a positive meaning to otherwise negative job factors. Hence her translation of a very unpleasant guest interaction into a challenge through which she will mature and become ‘stronger’ is similar in many ways to Grey’s (1994) account of trainee accountants’ translation of techniques of disciplinary power exercised by management into benevolent aids to career development. In other words, unpleasant guest interactions are just part of the job; they are something that the professional-hotel-employee learns to manage as part of their maturity and development. In this developmental translation of a negative job feature, Belinda’s statements also speak directly to the relationship between professionalism and control in ‘Teamco’ made by Fournier (1999):

Professionalism is articulated in terms that align professional conduct and competence with self and personal development... Here we are reminded that professionalism is a disciplinary logic relying on technologies of the self. Thus professional conduct is not ‘imposed’ on employees by Teamco but is ‘offered’ as a way for individuals to develop and better themselves. The articulation of professionalism through competencies serves to translate organisational control and authority into individual self-development. (p290)

A statement by porter Albert talks directly to this self-development framing articulated by Fournier (1999), as it plays out in the QTAH portering experience:

The nature of portering is you can make your jobs into something else. You can come into work and say “I’m a porter, I carry bags, take bags to rooms and drive people to town in the van. And if people want things I run around and get it for them”. If you have that
attitude and think that’s all I do then that’s fine. But if you want to further yourself and develop the guest service side of things you say that “I’m going to make sure that when the guest comes to me they are going to get answers, when they are leaving they are going to be really happy with it which makes our hotel look better”. Then you’ve now changed your job into customer relations as well as carrying bags which makes all the difference.

Thus, not only is the job reframed from a menial bags carrying to ‘customer relations’, the employee develops and the hotel looks good. It is in this successful adoption of the professional-hotel-employee subject position that the relationship between the interests of capital and identity become obvious.

When managerial control translates into self-development and growth it becomes very difficult to interrogate (Hollway, 1991). To gain a sense of how effective a form of control professional based technologies of the self represent, Anastasia provides an illustration of the managerial input that is necessary when the self-disciplinary professional-hotel-employee subject position is not competently adopted. The employee in question is a 29-year-old duty manager who has worked in the Earth Hotel for a year. As such, in terms of age, position and tenure this employee is – like Belinda - easily placed within the valuable internal labour market QTAH employee category. Unlike Belinda, however, Anastasia’s account of this duty manager’s problem-guest and employee interaction is not professional or reliable.

Anastasia – also a 23-year-old - completed a tertiary training programme before working as a receptionist for three years. Three months ago Anastasia was promoted to the front office manager position in the Earth Hotel. When asked about the most significant human resource issue she had to deal with recently, Anastasia described her difficulties with a problematic duty manager:

She is also very authoritative in the sense that when she is talking to someone – she is quite a tall big girl – she’ll talk down to you and she’ll talk down to guests...An example is that we had a very very drunk guest and rule number one is that you don’t argue with a drunk guest and you certainly don’t talk down to them. And she did and it made the drunk guest [more aggravated] and it got into quite a violent situation where he was threatening to punch her out. But she was not moving back she just like “rrrr” and getting those defenses up which you just can’t do. You just have to talk to them and be so quiet. So she was then sat down and [I said] “ok you do have such an authoritative voice anyway, when you are dealing with a drunk client or guest you just have to consciously think and remember that you must talk lower than them and don’t be so authoritative so you sound like you are talking down to them and being condescending”. She is very good because she does take everything on board... She has been here over a year and I think maybe
she’s never been reprimanded before and has just been left and gone on...which is bad because she never learns...Whether or not she will actually change or not I don’t know.

The nature of the problem Anastasia constructs of this duty manager is one of incompetence through inappropriate conduct. In short, the duty manager’s guest-employee interaction management is unreliable. In not disciplining her own conduct – particularly lowering her voice and general mien in order to soothe and placate the drunk guest – this problematic duty manager shows an inadequate adoption of the professional-hotel-employee subject position. Belinda’s account of the interaction with her difficult guest shows a conscious (albeit challenging) orientation towards the feelings of the guest. Anastasia’s account of the duty manager’s response, however, suggests an orientation around the duty manager’s position “she just like rrrr and getting those defenses up”. While Belinda managed the interaction so that the guest was placated and calmed, Anastasia’s duty manager ignited the exchange into threatened violence. The consequence of this failure to follow the discursive code of hotel reception professionalism was an inappropriately managed guest-employee interaction, disruption to the smooth delivery of the hotel service product and the necessity for disciplinary involvement by the manager. Like Grey’s (1994) trainee accountants, on the other hand, Belinda is ‘already equipped with a form of self-discipline which predisposes [her] to that discipline and, on many occasions, obviates the need for it at all’ (p487). Thus Anastasia’s account of this duty manager’s performance serves to highlight the powerful yet unobtrusive labour process control that is the result of the successful self-government of the professional-hotel-employee subject position.

6.6 Conclusion

Chapter Six has focused attention on the way in which professionalism is mobilised in QTAH organisational discourse. Sections 6.2 and 6.3 addresses the way in which hotel employment and hotel HRM practices are being constituted as increasingly professional. A sense of the characteristics of the professional-hotel-employee subject was drawn from managerial accounts of the criteria used by managers to select appropriate individuals. Finally, section 6.5 analysed the constitution of professional hotel employee-guest conduct through juxtaposing two different accounts of a ‘difficult’ guest-employee interaction. In this final section, the advantages of the self-controlling
professional hotel employee subject for the interests of hotel capital are rendered obvious. This juxtaposition between Belinda and Anastasia’s duty manager is insightful for comparing the reliability and managerial effectiveness created by employees adopting the professional-hotel-employee subject position. It also indicates, however, the incomplete nature of this control strategy. As argued in Chapters Eight and Nine, resistance is possible and constantly at play. The focus for Chapter Seven, however, is the constitution and governance of the QTAH career subject position.
Chapter Seven

Constituting and Governing for the Hotel-Career-Employee Subject

*It is an issue, getting really good long-term stay people attracted to the industry. It is the transient stuff that is still frustrating. (Ann-Marie)*

7.1 Introduction

While this thesis is primarily concerned with the constitution of employee transience, a significant point of reference for transience is the constitution of non-transience. If transience is constituted as problematic behaviour, how is long-term commitment constituted within the QTAH management discourse? Further, if I want to theorize employee conduct of transience as subjectivities of resistance, I first need to establish how the subjectivities of ‘commitment’ are constituted. The central aim of Chapter Seven, therefore, is to analyze non-transience through an examination of the constitution and government of the QTAH hotel-career-employee subject position. Like my analysis of the professional-hotel-employee subject position in Chapter Six, the premise that orientates this analysis of QTAH employee non-transience is that the “getting” of “really good long-term stay people attracted to the industry” is effected through managerial disciplinary technologies of domination and the self. By way of a background to the notion of ‘career’, section 7.2 briefly discusses the way in which career is constituted within the hotel literature. Section 7.3 addresses the theme of ‘mobility’ in the hotel career discourse. Section 7.4 relates this mobility imperative to ‘networking’ while section 7.5 does the same with ‘learning’.

For a sense of this commitment, the discussion in Chapter Seven draws primarily from the texts provided by the 26 senior QTAH managers interviewed. This is based on the assumption that in identifying themselves as hotel-career-employee subjects, the QTAH managers draw on the discourse of hotel career to constitute non-transience for the QTAH context. As GM Edward stated, “There’s always a risk that they might go to another hotel but most of the people who are involved in hospitality in the senior level...
stick with hospitality” (see also Guerrier, 1987). Interspersed throughout this chapter – particularly at the beginning of each section – there are segments of text drawn from the detailed account of Billy’s hotel career history. Billy was the financial controller of the Moon Hotel at the time of the research interview but he expressed definite aspirations to become a GM. He constitutes his journey to his current position in terms of incessant mobility, industry networks, constant learning and a significant commitment to the industry – at times in the face of substantial irritation. His account, therefore, provides an apposite platform from which to consider the nature of the committed QTAH career subject position that is constituted within the QTAH discourse of career.

7.2 Constituting the hotel career within the literature

I fell into a lot of jobs, a real roller coaster history. (Billy)

Riley and Ladkin (1994) state that ‘a career is, at its simplest, a series of jobs arranged in a sequence over time’ (p225). Statements concerning career have been made in many different discursive contexts, however. As Evetts (1992) suggests at the beginning of her review of the sociological treatment of career, ‘the concept of career has had a long and chequered history’ (p1). Arthur, Hall and Lawrence (1989) compile a list of the disciplines exploring ‘career’ that include: psychology, sociology, anthropology, economics, political science, history and geography. To this list, Arthur & Rousseau (1996) add management and organization studies. From within the tourism and hospitality academic discipline, Riley and Ladkin (1994) suggest that individual career sequences – like Billy’s – ‘contain mobility, direction, pace, goals, incentives, barriers, motives, successes and failures, human capital accumulation and many other attributes’ (p225). In this, ‘careers’ are also connected to industrial and organizational practices. As McKindlay (2002) writes a career ‘was the permanent nexus between the individual and the organization, and its disciplinary effect hinged upon the individual’s knowing

\[118\] Clark and Cathy both spoke of leaving the hotel industry for a brief time. Clark “went stock-broking for a few years, big money and didn’t enjoy it at all. There were lots of big egos”. Cathy “got a job in financial services, lasted a month, I hated it”.
acceptance that they had embarked upon a lifelong moral project, always subject to validation by the organization’ (p597)\textsuperscript{119}.

In the hotel literature, Ladkin and Riley (1996) constitute career development in terms of the ‘parameters of opportunity’. In other words, ‘career opportunities are not infinite, they are prescribed by the size and structure of the industry or profession which the individual is qualified for’ (p444). The particular ‘parameters of opportunity’ available within the hotel industry suggest to Ladkin and Riley (1996) that a ‘bureaucratic’ model of career is not appropriate for understanding the hotel career. Rather, they suggest that ‘it is possible to envisage a form of career that is more dependent upon individual initiatives, and which is less secure and involves occupational, organizational and geographic mobility’ (Ladkin & Riley, 1996, p443). Ladkin and Juwaheer (2000) develop this theme more confidently, arguing that ‘given the high degree of mobility in hotel managers’ careers, this occupation provides an excellent opportunity to test the notion of the self-directed career’ (p119). As with hotel managers in Britain (Ladkin & Riley, 1996) Ladkin and Juwaheer (2000) find ‘evidence of self-directed career moves, a strong use of the external labour market and high international mobility’ (p124) in the career paths of hotel managers in Mauritius. Extending her research to Australian hotel managers, Ladkin (2002) also finds ‘no evidence of a bureaucratic type of career, but instead a real proactive feel to the way that the subjects in the study plan and execute their careers’ (p387). While not explicitly using the language of ‘The Boundary-less Career’ (BLC) this recent research by Adele Ladkin and her colleagues exhibits a set of discursive practices with very clear links to those used by Michael B. Arthur and his (BLC) colleagues. Indeed Ladkin (2002) cites Arthur (1992) when stating ‘(g)iven that careers are increasingly moving away from traditional types of bureaucratic traditional structures to careers that involve self-directed development, there is a need to re-examine popular perceptions of career paths to embrace these changes’ (p379)\textsuperscript{120}.

\textsuperscript{119} Of careers in the Scottish banking sector at the turn of the 19\textsuperscript{th} and early 20\textsuperscript{th} Century.

\textsuperscript{120} Given the degree of ‘match’ between the BLC and the hotel career (as it has been constituted in the literature for some time) the lack of an explicit connection by both parties is remarkable. Perhaps the explanation is to be found in the academic institutional insularity of the hotel industry that Guerrier (1987) and Wood (1992) both speak of. This insularity is generated largely through a separate educational system that promotes the idea that hotels are ‘to be regarded as unique and ‘special’, requiring specialist skills and training, a special attitude of mind and body, specialist professional associations and, above all, special academic understanding’ (Wood, 1992, p1).
An analysis of the discourse of career, however, steers clear from discussion of the ‘true representation’ of the hotel career construct within the hotel management literature and the QTAH managers’ accounts. Instead, the focus here is on the discursive rules that determine how career is represented in the set of statements contained within the QTAH texts and the hotel management literature and how these discursive rules constitute the hotel-career-employee subject. In addition, my interest is in the relationship the hotel discourse of career establishes between non-transience and the interests of capital. For this reason, Grey (1994) and Fournier (1998) provide a productive platform from which to analyze the disciplinary technologies of domination and the self that are involved in the QTAH managerial governance of the employee-employee subject.

In drawing explicitly on the Foucauldian concepts of panoptic techniques and governmentality, Grey (1994) constructs career as ‘an organizing or regulative principle…Specifically, what is at issue is how career, as part of the project of the self, can constitute labour process discipline and surveillance in certain, and supposedly benevolent, ways’ (p481). The keystone of Grey’s (1994) treatment of career is the ‘project of self management’. Within this ‘project’ framing, the various dimensions of an individual’s life are unified. Thus ‘home and work, leisure, dreams and daydreams…past, present and future’ (p481) become available and incorporated into the project. In a society where organized work has a high profile, the project of career offers ‘one of the most obvious sites for realizing the project of the self” (p482). This treatment of career provided by Grey (1994) thus directly addresses the research agenda of this thesis. Where commitment and continuity — or non-transience — is constituted as a career project of the self, ‘leisure’ and ‘dreams’ become drawn into this project. In short, non-work activities become constituted as supplements or support for a career. Chapters Eight and Nine argue, however, that transience can be theorized as resistance to the adoption of the hotel-career-employee subject position. In Grey’s (1994) terms, this practice of transience – resistance can be traced to the way in which non-work life activities – such as leisure (and dreams of skiing, snow-boarding and travel maybe) disturb the focus and integrity of the career project of the self.

Fournier (1998) also uses a Foucauldian theoretical framework to explore ‘the disciplinary effects of career in terms of the constitution of subjectivity, and spatial
ordering’ (p55). In constituting the career-employee subject position, Fournier (1998) suggests that the discourse of career ‘also performs some social ordering by mapping subjects onto a hierarchized space where entrepreneurs occupy a central position and the militant ‘others’ are pushed to the margins’ (p55). Like Grey (1994), therefore, Fournier (1998) emphasizes the ‘organizing or regulative principle’ (Grey, 1994, p481) of career. While the employee ordering that is performed within the QTAH discourse of career also carries spatial dimensions, the focus in this chapter is on how it constitutes career and non-career employee subjects. The criteria of differentiation I am particularly interested in is ‘mobility’. In other words, while examining how the hotel-career-employee subject position is constituted within the QTAH discourse of career and how employees are governed (or ‘persuaded – Johnson, 1981) to adopt this career-employee-subject position. In addition, I analyze the relationship between non-transience and mobility within the QTAH discourse of career. Briefly, I argue that non-transient mobility is discursively sustained through the practice of continuity and commitment to the hotel industry labour process. In the spirit of clarity, the following discussion is divided into the themes of mobility, networking and learning. As the discussion proceeds, however, the degree of overlap and inter-relationship between these themes becomes readily apparent.

7.3 The mobility imperative in the hotel-career-employee subject position

[I] did night auditor for about eight months...I started with the payroll then got accounts receivable, accounts payable... and then I was promoted to front office manager...packed my bags and flew to Australia...So I did that for about six months. Had a bit of a personality clash with the controller...so I went up to Sydney...I was there for four years... Had a job for a couple of months at ‘X’ hotel as duty manager and then the controller’s job came up here [in Queenstown] and I got it. (Billy)

121 In terms of occupational status (and terms and conditions) between housekeeping and reception, for example.
If anything, *Billy’s* account of his hotel hospitality career is organized around an assumption of the normality of mobility. Riley (1993) suggests that:

> Very roughly, the dynamic characteristics of [tourism] labour markets are conspicuously high levels of inter-firm mobility, equally conspicuous mobility in and out of the labour market itself, perhaps less visible, but more significant, occupational mobility and a high level of upward mobility. (p48)

From their study of a Hawaiian hotel resort, Adler and Adler (1999a) argue that ‘resort professionals got on the transient treadmill when they entered their careers and did not get off until they retired’ (p38). As ‘George’ – from their study – reported, ‘The hotel business doesn’t offer big salaries. What they have to offer is the carrot of advancement. That means moving. You’ll give up everything for the next promotion’ (1999b, p389).

In the QTAH context, GM *Ann-Marie* asked her managers for a commitment of at least two years. Similarly, for GM *Desiree*, a long length of employment in the hotel was two, three, or four years.

### 7.3.1 Mobility and progression

In her 1987 paper, Guerrier takes pains to situate career in a neutral space, in terms of ‘progression’:

> Although the word ‘career’ as commonly used, is associated with the idea of an upwards progression from lower to higher status jobs and thought to apply only to managerial and professional work, it is not intended to carry these connotations in this paper. (p122)

Hence Guerrier (1987) adopts a ‘morally neutral’ definition of career that considers both progression and lack of progression as a legitimate career dynamic. This sense of neutrality is also evident in GM *Edward’s* statement:

> Are we saying that people who move on to more senior positions and is that a definition of career? – I would say so. Effectively working successfully in a supervisory role in a restaurant is effectively a career. And if you’re saying they don’t want to go higher I would still say they’re a career person – that’s their chosen career, they’re happy with it, do it well. I think its great, its fantastic. If we can get some people like that, that’s great. It’s all about having a mix though and other people like that in those roles would say, “no, look I really want to take the restaurant managers job next”.

In his account of the hotel-career-employee subject position, *Edward* clearly sets the parameters at supervisor-level and beyond. Thus, while ongoing progression is not a necessary requirement, location within the skilled (Riley, 1991, 1993) internal labour market (ILM) (Riley, 1991) segment is.
The constitution of career within the hotel literature and the QTAH discourse, however, clearly involves progression. Again, from GM Edward talking about his own career:

*I suppose I’ve applied myself and I commit myself to what I’m doing. I concentrate on what I’m doing and set myself goals throughout my career and make sure I achieve them. Eventually you make some progress.*

As with the BLC discourse, this actively precludes the stasis model of career. In this way some of the long-term QTAH employees – such as those in the housekeeping department – provide an important core base (Desiree) (see Chapter Five, section 5.3) but they are not constituted as career hotel employees. Bess, for example, suggests that while many of her ‘mature’ housekeeping staff have been here a number of years their motivation is to pay off the mortgage rather than develop a career. While housekeeping manager Dale constitutes hotel room attending as a forum for ‘re-entry’ into the workforce after a period of full-time childcare, or an important social site, the language of career is clearly absent in her talk about these ‘ladies’:

*One lady was out of the workforce for 15 years while her children were growing up. She has just joined us, so it’s a stepping-stone for her to start back into the workforce. Another one who has been out for six years with her children who will take anything. One of our ladies has been here for four years – the longest one other than myself. She just started off because she wanted to buy a dining room table four years ago. She doesn’t have to work, her husband is a big business man in Queenstown but she enjoys the company of the staff.*

Rather, as for BLC actors, successful career hotel employees are those who have adapted cumulatively by being mobile within their occupation, by consciously seeking out new experiences and skills, by adding qualifications as their careers progressed, cultivating occupational networks, and by being willing to accept managerial responsibilities. Typically, these successful vocationalists have moved between employers, acquiring fresh expertise in new areas (Arthur, Inkson & Pringle, 1999, p106).

Tied inexplicably to the issue of progression and career in the hotel context, is the dynamic of mobility. In GM Eric’s terms, if you don’t keep moving, you stop developing:

*If you do the same thing forever, you get complacent and hotels aren’t the places to be complacent. It doesn’t matter what is happening you’ve got to change. You’ve got to*
adapt. You’ve got to come up with new things and once you have used your bag of tricks, you can quite easily lose your edge.

*Eric* constitutes hotels as dynamic places that are constantly changing. Senior managers and general managers (GMs) have to keep moving, therefore, in order to maintain their competence. Adler and Adler (1999b) describe the philosophy behind this frequent movement in terms of ‘develop[ing] individuals professionally by moving them around, at the same time re-infusing new ideas and fresh blood into each position’ (p387).

While progression needs movement, significantly (particularly for this thesis) it is a mobility that is premised on ‘continuity’. Thus, in recruiting new employees HR manager *Duncan* evaluates the prospective employee’s employment history and potential to develop through their curriculum vitae (CV):

> I look for gaps in employment to see whether they’ve had three months off or six months off and you know their dates don’t match up. So I look for gaps. I look at places they have worked. I look at the education they may have had (although that is not a big issue for me) mainly tertiary education, what they have done after they have left school. Are they continuing to study? Are they continuing to better themselves?

In this sense, the CV – and also the selection interview – represents a disciplinary technology of domination where individuals are examined and rated on the ‘continuity dimension’. While mobility *per se* is acceptable – even necessary – the pattern of movement should be continuous. Further, the emphasis on ‘keeping moving’ as a measure of competency and progression means that there are frequent opportunities for the individual’s career project progression to be assessed. Miller and Morgan (1993) also analyse the academic CV as an autobiographical practice that is linked into wider ‘systems of institutional surveillance’ (p134). Miller and Morgan (1993) connect both the CV and the appraisal interview to technologies of the self. While usually the focus of a CV is the representation of an employment history, the self-revelatory practices may also involve other dimensions of an individual’s life. Thus, as Grey (1994) argues, career ascribes unity to the self-discipline of work and non-work practices. For example, housekeeping manager *Dale* states:

> You can tell a lot by a person’s CV. If they have got community spirit...Sporting people are usually pretty good because they make a commitment to something. If you are prepared to make a commitment to a sport you are usually ready to make a commitment to your job.
Thus, the CV – and the managerial scrutiny of the CV – can be theorised as a technology of disciplinary power through which the hotel employee is persuaded to adopt a career subject position. To not do so – in other words to conduct their employment life (captured in a CV) with employment breaks and diversions – would jeopardise the individual’s employment potential. As suggested by Duncan and Dale, the criteria through which ‘employability potential’ is examined establishes a relationship between mobility, continuity and commitment.122

While ‘career’ is not constituted to be significant within the low status, low skilled operative level within the hotel, it is also disconnected from the lofty towers of ‘head-office’. In short, the occupational or vocational orientation within the hotel management context has particular consequences for how high up the ‘organisational ladder’ a GM will rise. In 1987, Yvonne Guerrier published from a descriptive study of hotel managers’ careers in Britain because ‘so little had been written about hotel managers’ careers’ (p123). While the specifics of her findings are incorporated into the discussion below, she concludes that ‘perhaps the careers of hotel managers are best understood by taking an occupational perspective rather than an organizational perspective’ (p128). The reason for this suggestion is tied into the relationship between ‘the hotel unit’ and ‘head office’. A conventional account of career progression might trace a line through the levels of the organizational hierarchy up to the high echelons of the corporate head office. In hotels there is a clear boundary between the hotel operation and head office. While head office posts were few and far between, Guerrier (1987) describes the managers of her study as not necessarily perceiving it to be ‘a particularly interesting or desirable job’ (p127). This lack of attraction is explained in terms of the hotel manager being identified as a ‘superior craft specialist’ as opposed to the generalist ‘organization man’ (Guerrier 1987) that is needed in head office. A sense of this craft specialty is conveyed by Bart when he describes the complexity of the hotel GM position:

*It’s a job that you can’t just go and do...it really is a highly professional position...It’s one of the longest apprenticeships out, longer than being a Dr or lawyer...[Bringing in a generic manager] can’t happen, I can’t see it. It would happen in the financial role but it can’t happen in the operational role. It’s hard to put in words the complexity of it.*

122 In Chapters Eight and Nine – where employment transience is explicitly discussed in relation to resistance, more is said on this issue of continuity and commitment.
In addition, few – if any – managers had sufficient money to buy into their own hotel (as Eric articulated in this study). The result was a career that was orientated around an occupational culture as opposed to an organization structure. Guerrier (1987) suggests that this occupational perspective explains why hotel managers were reluctant to consider head office in terms of progression. In short, ‘moving to such a post means moving out of the occupation that these managers have committed their adult lives to, since head office people are not seen as ‘hotel people’ in the sense that unit managers are’ (Guerrier, 1987, p129).

While GM Edward, for example, constructs an account of career conduct that includes clear focus, goal setting and achievement, assistant GM Bess articulates a distinct ambivalence with this more earnest subject position, particularly with respect to young hotel career actors:

One thing I’ve noticed is that because of pressures that are put on kids at school – and I feel so sorry for them – about having to make their mind up at 15 about what they are going to do for the rest of their lives...And I don’t believe they are actually given the chance to grow up properly. I’ve seen some people come through the industry who have got everything, they have the right attitudes to slip into this industry but they have such high demands on themselves...[For example, one who currently works in reception] came from one of the Hospitality Colleges in Australia and he is good ...has worked with us for two years but having been honest about it has said I’ll do this job for two years and then I will transfer to one of our other hotels and do a different job, something else. He is on his way to being a GM and that’s how he sees it in two or three year blocks... He is one of the ones you want to say, “just chill out, your life’s not going to be over by the time you’re 22 for God’s sake”.

This ‘countering’ statement to Edward, presents a re-highlighting of the assumptions of complexity, partiality and resistance that are associated with the mobilization of discourse. Bess and Edward – as QTAH managers – are both positioned as subjects within the hotel career discourse as well as charged with promoting the discourse. Thus as Foucault (1977) argues ‘discipline ‘makes’ individuals; it is the specific technique of a power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise’ (p170). Equally possible, however, is resistance to that disciplinary power – both in
terms of the adoption of the subject position and the promotion of the discourse. While Bess articulates a sense of ambivalence with the earnest adoption of a career subject position by her (youthful) subordinates, she also provides an account of ambivalence with her own career progression. “I’m currently deciding whether to go through to the GM level. I’m not sure I want to deal with the politics that GMs have to deal with.” In addition, to take up a GM position would involve moving – probably to Sydney (Australia) and she is not happy with the prospect of leaving Queenstown and returning to Sydney.

7.3.2 The nature of the mobility

As Riley (1993) suggests, there are multiple forms of mobility in the hotel industry. Drawing on the notion of ‘boundaries’, Guerrier (1987) suggests that it is ‘possible to define career paths within a given organization by analyzing the boundaries which exist within it, the permeability of those boundaries and the attributes which an individual needs in order to cross any of the boundaries’ (p122). The boundaries Guerrier (1987) identifies are those of rank, function, organisation and geographical location.

**Rank**

In the lower levels, promotion is used as an alternative to pay increases in a retention strategy (Riley, 1991). As discussed in Chapter Five (section 5.4) QTAHs are reliant on a small internal labour market (ILM) to support the heavy use of the external labour market (ELM) to meet variable demands. In addition, entry into a hotel career can be at the ‘walk-in-off-the-street’ unskilled level. Progress or rank mobility, therefore, is directly connected to the persuasion of an appropriately professional hotel-employee-subject to adopt a hotel-career-employee subject position. The question becomes: at what point do low-level hotel operatives enter themselves into the career project? In terms of rank mobility Barnett and Miner (1992) prompt thought on an interesting aspect of the relationship between the potential career-core and the marginal or transient employees. Briefly, Barnett and Miner (1992) argue that ‘the hiring of non-promotable workers can create a ‘hidden escalator’ favoring core workers’ (p262). While their research focused on temporary clerical workers, the argument has some value for understanding low-level promotion in QTAHs. In short, the hiring of clearly short-term seasonal employees in QTAHs can create a greater sense of differentiation between the
employment commitment and professionalism of the seasonal and the ambivalent (but professional) QTAH-career-employee subject. For example, when students are hired over the peak summer months, the similarly low-level operators - who have been working for a longer period of time and who will not disappear when the academic year begins - can by comparison appear more knowledgeable, reliable and committed. Thus, by dint of their comparison with the employment behaviour of these more clearly marginal workers and the flexibility that those marginal workers represent, the ambivalent hotel employee can be constituted as (and encouraged to constitute themselves as) a hotel-career-employee subject.

Once into the management levels, Guerrier (1987) describes the pattern of hotel career progression in terms of a ‘‘naval’ pattern with fairly frequent movements to larger and more prestigious ‘ships’’ (p126). The usual path is for a hotel manager to move up into progressively larger and more prestigious hotels. While Beth captures this movement, she positions Queenstown – with its more modestly sized hotels – as a corporate stepping stone for young ambitious managers on the rise:

There is quite a bit of movement corporate wise. I guess Queenstown isn’t seen as having the best hotels (i.e. 4-500 room places). On an ambitious standard at 275 rooms we are the largest and that is not a big hotel. So if you want to move up the corporate ladder I guess you go for the bigger higher profile hotels. So Queenstown has the opportunities for the younger managers to come here.

Having progressed up the senior management ranks in a larger prestigious hotel, the first GM position is usually at a much smaller and less prestigious hotel. Billy, for example, was “aiming to go down the road as a GM manager and you start off small again”.

**Function**

Given the functional specialization that operates within a hotel (see Chapter Four section 4.3) a full appreciation of how the hotel operates is deemed to come from experience working in those functional areas. As such, it is necessary that potential hotel managers – particularly GMs – have adequate experience across the different functions. From HR manager Esther, “Yes, I definitely think to come in young and to work in the various roles and to get exposure to as many things as possible”. Also for Clark:
Certainly in our company if someone has reached senior F&B level, their next position would be in rooms. They would be thrown straight into it. With full cross training with the hope they are totally rounded before they get to GM.

In the clear acknowledgement that her lack of functional breadth is a barrier to her career, F&B middle manager Barbara offers support for the dominance of this position:

No, I’m not really interested in the room side of it and you have to be to go any further. I’m not really hellishly ambitious. I like where I am at the moment because I have a huge variety in my work and to be F&B manager would be great. Plus I don’t like work to swallow me up. I like to have my own life outside of work which I’ve always managed to do and if you go any higher up that becomes more difficult.

Thus, somewhat like Bess, Barbara locates herself ambivalently within the discourse of hotel career. While the F&B position would be good, anything ‘higher’ that demands Rooms Division experience and time constraints for your life outside work is not attractive. In this sense, Barbara exhibits resistance to engaging with a career project of the self where all facets of her life are drawn into – or suppressed because of – the service of her career.

Organisation

Mobility across specific hotel units can be within the same hotel organisation or between different organisations. On one level, like the functional mobility, inter-hotel mobility is an issue of exposure to the wide and varied market contexts that hotels operate within. Studies of British hotel managers by Guerrier (1987) and Ladkin and Riley (1995, 1996) show a pattern of frequent moves from hotel to hotel, often within the same company. From a total of 1709 job moves (generated by the 284 British hotel managers of their study), Ladkin and Riley (1995, 1996) report that 63.3% were within the same company while in Mauritius only 44.4% moved within the same company (Ladkin & Juwaheer, 2000). Australia’s profile came in somewhere in the middle with 54.7% moving within the company (Ladkin, 2002). These results must be put into the hotel industry context where large multinational corporations operate. Thus a move within the same company could involve a different hotel, a different hospitality market, a different city and/or a different country. Although Ladkin and Juwaheer (2000) provide no explanation for the Mauritian profile, the nature of the Mauritian hotel industry may have had something to do with the larger move between companies as there was also a greater emphasis on international mobility in their Mauritian sample than Ladkin and Riley (1996) find in the UK.
An important dimension of the intra-organisation mobility, however, is the contribution to ambivalent retention that it encourages. As HR manager Duncan states, “We’ve got a good employee let’s look after them, let’s develop their career. It keeps them in the company, better the devil you know than one you don’t know”. F&B manager Andrew describes the considerable advantages for recruiting from within the chain:

It is good to have someone from the chain. [There are] cost savings in terms of induction to the chain and policies etc. [It is] the same environment so it’s easier to settle down and establish themselves so it is an advantage in that respect. If you get the skill level it’s great – perfect. It also gives a degree of progression and gives our staff opportunities as well. They can see this happening with other employees.

Thus chain-wide mobility is facilitated by the hotel but only for likely career (or potential core) candidates. From HRM Esther for example, “I guess once you start getting into career paths. So if you have a waiter who is looking for a career, yes, you would put him on it [the chain wide positions and staff available list]. But not if he is just a transient position”. To be assisted with job opportunities, therefore, necessitates the successful and obvious adoption of the hotel-career-employee subject position. Thus, the discipline-reward of continuous and committed conduct is access to the chain-wide recruitment list. From the employee side, promotion to another hotel unit makes the movement up to another position much easier. From housekeeping manager Annabel, for example:

It’s easier to be promoted into a different hotel...because if you come up through the ranks people look at you and say she was X and now she is pretending she is Y, that is their perception of you. I would have difficulty keeping out of housekeeping and not take over the same role. That’s why it is easier to move away.

If the right sort of promotion opportunities are not available from one company, however, or other problems emerge (such as a changed management team, for example – see section 7.4 below) then the next step is to move to another hotel company or chain. While most of the QTAH managers I spoke to expressed a significant degree of company loyalty, Billy, however, presents a more pragmatic take. “It all depends on what [the company] say. They may say no you’re not cut out for it. In that case I might stay in finance ... or I move to another group.”

Geographic location
Like the functional mobility and the inter-hotel mobility, the need to relocate geographically is presented as a normal route to exposing yourself to different markets and national contexts. As Gliatis and Guerrier (1994) suggest, ‘International career moves also provide opportunities for advancement which would be limited if a manager restricted him or herself to one country, especially if the company has relatively few units in that [country]’ (p323). This international mobility is graphically illustrated by GM Eric (in section 7.5) below. Ellen’s account is also notable for the way in which she constitutes this movement offshore in terms of necessary self-development:

My next move I would like to go to Australia...I need to go. I’ve now lived in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and now Queenstown, which is your four main tourist centers in NZ and I need to see the extra level of service. So I need to be pushed that extra bit and see what else I can do.

7.3.3 The prompt for mobility

The specific prompt for movement sometimes comes from the individual manager and sometimes from the head office of the company. From a total of 1709 job moves (generated by the 284 British hotel managers of their study), Ladkin and Riley (1995, 1996) report that 61.7% were self-initiated and 38.3% were company initiated. This result troubled Ladkin and Riley (1996) who expected that a 63.3% rate of intra-company moves (see section 7.2.2 above) would relate to a greater level of company influence. After finding inconclusive evidence that this result was a function of time, they were left with this ‘contradiction’ intact. In this Ladkin and Riley (1996) are in fact ‘contradicting’ their opening argument. That the majority of these hotel managers - when filling in their postal survey of their career – constituted their career moves largely as a result of their own initiation, links directly to Ladkin and Riley’s assumption that the hotel industry ‘invites individuals to build their own career paths on the self-directed model’ (p443). This conceptual contradiction, therefore, may be explained in terms of the lingering conceptual residue of the bureaucratic discourse of career. Subsequent research by Ladkin (Ladkin & Juwaheer, 2000; Ladkin, 2002) produces a similar, albeit slightly lower, emphasis on the self-initiated career move. In the Mauritian study 53.5% managers initiated their job moves (Ladkin & Juwaheer, 2000) while 59.8% of Australian hotel managers initiated theirs (Ladkin, 2002). While a move from a hotel may be ‘self-initiated’ it has to be for the right reason. GM Clark provides an account of
a ‘counseling session’ for two of his executives. In encouraging them to look beyond a short-term increase in wages to more long-term career considerations, Clark can be seen to speak directly to the disciplinary crafting of career projects of the self, suggested by Grey (1994):

Three of my execs who were looking at leaving have stayed... They were looking very short term, $10-20,000. Ok, that helps on a mortgage but lets look five years into your career and what can these other chains do for you? Do you want to stay in New Zealand? ...Where are they going? What their partners were doing? Where do they want to be going? They hadn’t really thought about it themselves they were just looking at short-term dollars. And they’re in a career so they have to consider their future. (Clark)

Clark also provides an interesting link between the hotel’s minimal ILM management strategy and the mobility-for-progression prompt within a hotel career:

My own philosophy is that staff are the most important thing in a hotel...[For example, in his recent hotel] every line staff member was being tracked to move up through. I had a policy of promoting within the hotel. We had a company policy of advertising all our positions within the company before they went into the paper.

Thus Clark constitutes a definite career development strand to the hotel’s management practice. A short time later, however, he presents the very flexible and low cost labour context in which this career development programme operates:

I had no housekeeping supervisors, I had no housekeeper, I just had housemaids... In the F&B I had a restaurant supervisor - am and pm- no restaurant manager, I had no banqueting manager at all. So, from top down I had myself, I had three duty managers who were the key and what I did was multi-skill the duty managers. (Clark)

The tension arises, therefore, between maintaining and supporting progression within the hotel organisation and the practice of managing variable demand through a minimal ILM structure123. In short, while the idea of in-company progression was supported, there were extremely limited positions available to progress to and through. For both the hotel career discourse and the BLC discourse the solution to this tension is mobility (Riley, 1991, 1993).

For GM Eric, mobility is important both for the individual and the hotel:

Everybody has a strength and a weakness. It makes sense to follow with someone who has a different strength and different weaknesses. GMs in hotels tend to be a lot of people

123 Although the Mars Hotel had recently (before Clark arrived) scaled down their full-time staff by 30%, it has to be acknowledged that none of the QTAHs of this study had a senior management team that was as lean as that described by Clark.
who like to move, get bored easily, need new challenges. Now if you don’t want to do it you don’t have to all the time. But you probably wouldn’t be in the same hotel for three-four-five years max..

Thus the personnel specialists studied by Gliatis and Guerrier (2000) construct international career moves in terms of meeting employee expectations and retaining these employees within the company.

While individual initiated moves are entirely consistent with the self-directed model of careers referred to by Ladkin (Ladkin & Riley, 1996; Ladkin & Juwaheer, 2000; Ladkin, 2002) the organisation initiated moves are not. This career participation by head office is certainly explicable in terms of the standard ILM management practice. It also conforms to the care of core workers prescribed by Handy (1991) and Robinson and Miner (1996). Sometimes, however, the offers for movement to another property come less as a chance for promotion and more as a request from head office to fill a staffing gap somewhere else. Assistant GM Debbie was particularly aware of this sort of consequence when in the past she had accepted a position in another city for three or four weeks and then got “stuck there” for five months. The following statement by Billy, however, also suggests that while these company initiated moves may be related to the pragmatics of company staffing, they are also tied into the disciplinary dynamic within the hotel industry’s constitution of career mobility:

I’ve had a couple of job offers I’ve had to turn down for various reasons. So I’m a bit on the anti as far as Head Office is concerned. You are expected to move as far as Head Office is concerned. If you turn down once, ok, if you turn down twice hmmm. (Billy)

In doing so, this organizationally sponsored (indeed ordered) movement presents a significant contradiction to the constitution of the hotel career as an individually initiated (project of the self). It is at this disciplinary-mobility juncture, therefore, that the relationship between the project of career and the interests of capital become visible. While the QTAH career or non-transience is constituted in terms of significant movement, it is a different sort of movement to transience. The difference is that the movement associated with hotel-career-employee subject mobility is linked to both continuity and commitment. Continuity is constituted and governed through temporal linearity and progression. Thus commitment is constituted as attachment (or habituation) to the hotel industry labour process. It is at this point, therefore, that the strategic alignment of the interests of capital (Foucault, 1977/1980a) with the
constitution of the hotel-career-employee subject in terms of continuity and commitment can be seen.

### 7.4 The network imperative in the hospitality career

*And then my controller got transferred to Australia and he said, “Look if a chance comes up do you want to follow me over?” I said, “well yeah”. So he went as an assistant controller to a larger property and then [said to me] there is a job out here as front office manager at the ‘X’ in Canberra, a very prestigious five-star beautiful hotel. I said “Yeah, ok”.* (Billy)

As *Billy’s* account suggests, career mobility within the hotel industry is often constituted in terms of networks or contacts. In this, the hotel career discourse – like the BLC discourse – constitutes the TAH industry as a network of nodes. In other words, the hotel firm is ‘reduced’ to a set of nodes that form part of a wider industry (Candace Jones, 1996) or regional (Saxenian, 1996) network. In that a networked organisation becomes known primarily in terms of its relations with other nodes, the meaning of career within this discursive domain also centers on inter-nodal or network connections.

In her 1996 essay, Annalee Saxenian emphasizes the ‘social embeddness’ of open labour markets. She argues that career mobility in Silicon Valley depends centrally on participation in local social networks. These ‘dense social and professional networks’ of Silicon Valley function as conduits of technical and market information and also ‘highly efficient job-search networks, contributing to the unusually high rates of interfirm mobility in the region’ (Saxenian, 1996, p27). With a similar reference to the notion of embedded social activity, Ingram and Roberts (2000) go so far as to argue that hotel yields improve dramatically when the ‘competing managers are embedded in a cohesive network of friendships’ (p387). While William Hewlett advises newcomers to Silicon Valley to change their jobs frequently, it is the industry network that is to manage this mobility. These networks ‘not only transcend company and industry lines, but also blur the boundaries between the economy and local social life’ (Saxenian, 1996, p24). For
example, as one engineer reported ‘In this business there’s really a network. You don’t hire people out of the blue. In general, it’s people you know, or you know someone who knows them’ (Saxenian, 1996, p27). Billy’s statements concerning the TAH industry network reflect this same sentiment:

> It’s an incestuous life-style. You are always meeting people who you worked with maybe 10 years ago...[This is important for future jobs]...And you are always mindful that I know GMs, Financial Controllers, others in Australia and New Zealand that ... if anything happens I can give them a call and find out what’s happening.

HR manager Duncan, for example, speaks of the practice of actively encouraging staff over from a previous hotel:

> You go in as manager or supervisor or whatever and you soon find that within a matter of time most of your department has changed. And then you have the opportunity to bring in some staff...’hoi, there’s a vacancy, coming down?...[I’ll] give you a pay rise, I know how much you are getting paid’. And it works all the time and you usually get at least a few that follow you...It’s like a big family network really and you know that you can trust those people or hopefully you can trust them, you know their past performance.

This networking-mobility imperative represents an additional dimension to the disciplinary technologies of domination that are practiced within the hotel employment context. This time, however, those practicing the examination are ‘peers’. “You know you can trust those people, or hopefully you can trust them, you know their past performance,” states Duncan. Thus, like inclusion onto the hotel-chain recruitment list, future job opportunities – in an inherently insecure and volatile employment setting – are available if you exhibit the right sort of employee conduct. F&B manager Ava, for example, was offered a job by Andrew – the GM in her previous hotel. “The Assistant GM in the Earth Hotel came over here and said to me “look I’ve got a supervisor’s position going in the restaurant, so come to Queenstown” (Ava). Anastasia was also offered a job by her past (and present) GM – Ann-Marie. “Out of the blue I got a phone call for this job. Ann-Marie said it was a little premature but she felt I could do it, I want you and I think you could do it” (Anastasia). In a similar way, assistant GM / front office manager Felicity had come to Queenstown from London because of a phone-call from a friend. A friend had had the position before her and was finding it difficult to find a hotel manager to replace her. “She heard I was interested in traveling and rang to ask if I fancied coming over here and working. It just happened I was not initially
planning to do it” (Felicity). Hence these personal networks have a significant part to play in the mobility of a hotel hospitality career.

What emerges, however, is an almost domino model of inter-hotel recruitment and mobility. While individual senior managers may move hotels, hotel-chains and/or countries, they may also entice a cadre of other managers or senior operational staff with them that in turn displaces those already in office. These displaced managers then re-locate producing a similar pattern of movement in another context. The changing of the GM or senior hotel management guard, therefore, is evocative of the relationships of patronage and fealty documented in *Moral Mazes* by Robert Jackall (1988). ‘Alliances are ties of quasiprimal loyalty shaped especially by common work, by common experiences with the same problems, the same friends, or the same enemies, and by favors traded over time’ (p38). Thus GM Clark constitutes his relationship with a former GM he had worked with – in a hotel in a different chain – very specifically in ongoing network terms. “I have basically had lunch with him when I have been in the same city as him over the last 15 years. And now he has just been appointed as GM [to a hotel that] we have just taken over” (Clark). Ava suggested that the significant changeability in the upper management could get “quite frustrating at times”. With each new GM, for example, she is left wondering what new changes they will make. F&B manager Ellen provides a similar account of the institutional domino mobility:

> There’s certainly a settling period for I would think the first three-four months when a GM changes because every leader has a different style and that leader has to come in and they need time to build relationships with their three-four closest managers. And once they’ve done that and the team gels then they’re fine. But I believe [for] every GM... there’s going to be someone in that close working relationship that’s not quite happy with some style or some part of their style.

This clash of ‘style’ or ‘personality’ invariably results in movement.

As a consequence of the ‘mobility imperative’ operating within the BLC discursive rules, statements concerning restructuring and job losses become articulated in terms of opportunities for inter-firm mobility:

> The elimination of intrafirm career paths may not imply an absence of job opportunities for affected workers. Instead, career paths may involve sequences of job opportunities that go beyond the boundaries of single employment settings. Such career paths are defined here as boundaryless careers. (DeFillipi & Arthur, 1996, p116)
This ‘job-loss-as-an-opportunity’ framing is echoed in the talk by GM Clark. Clark shows a strong emphasis on the theme of ‘networking’ generally.\(^{124}\) “I’ve always seen the importance of networking, doing business, establishing relationships, getting out, getting respect in the community”. What Clark’s account adds, however, is the political necessity to accept the domino recruitment practice and the shifting managerial dynasties that result. In other words, if you want to maintain a career within this network industry, you have to not only accept or live with the insecurity and changeability that this system produces; you also have to actively create your own network-patronage connections:

It is a very incestuous industry...I mean, something I learnt a long time ago. Often you go through retrenchments – I’ve been retrenched three times in my career – not through performance just through maybe a clash in personality or different things [for example] the case of a new GM coming in scenario. No matter which chain you work for, if you go through a retrenchment, you’ve just got to get on with it. You can’t be bitter because you never know when you are going to run into these people. (Clark)

As such, Clark makes a continued effort to keep in touch with GMs he has worked with or networked with in the past. As he puts it, “You just never know what will happen in the future”. There are two points that this statement from Clark raises. The first involves the way in which an individual employee copes with the sudden loss of their job. In this sense, job loss is mobilized as a criterion of disciplinary assessment of the career potential of a particular employee. “No matter which chain you work for, if you go through a retrenchment, you’ve just got to get on with it,” says Clark. If you don’t and exhibit “bitter” behaviour, it is likely that when you run into these people again – when you need a job – they won’t employ you. Thus, like Grey’s (1994) accountant graduates, the sudden loss of a job – “not through performance just through maybe a clash in personality or...the case of a new GM coming in” – is not constituted in negative or resentful terms. Rather, it is pragmatically accepted and then those who are responsible for this current job loss are reconstituted as potentially benevolent patrons who must be diplomatically courted. An additional and related issue is the way in which the hotel discourse of career constitutes the meaning of sudden job loss. Within the discourse of the BLC, job loss is constituted as an opportunity (DeFillipi & Arthur, 1996). Job loss is given a similar meaning in the QTAH discourse of career. Thus

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\(^{124}\) This emerged in his interview but also in his approach to participating in the research. He was unique – in all my 50 or so participants – in that after my initial letter he phoned me before the designated time that I was going to phone him.
employment security is constituted in terms of a competent engagement in the TAH network rather than a particular employment relationship.

7.5 The learning imperative in the hotel-career-employee subject position

So I started with the payroll then got accounts receivable, accounts payable, and each time just learning – which is how it all goes – and then I was promoted to front office manager... And then the controller’s job came up here and I got it for the simple reason...the GM... he said I had beaten qualified accountants... [because] I was street wise. And it’s very important. (Billy)

As suggested above (in section 7.3) the hotel career is constituted in terms of a progressive mobility. Importantly, this progression can start at a very low point. From the HR manager Duncan:

[Entry] is very easy generally because it is not one that you would say requires a great deal of skill. And it’s a lot of stuff that you can pick up as you go. Obviously if you want to work in a high class establishment then you do require a bit more skill... but you know anybody can walk in a be shown how to make a bed with hospital corners... or use a vacuum cleaner?

Riley (1991, 1993) argues that ‘the label of unskilled is deceptive. By and large, hotel work is not single-task monotony. It is a bundle of low-level tasks requiring a degree of self-organization’ (Riley, 1991, p237). While this ‘bundle’ and ‘self-organisation’ aspect clearly distinguishes low-level hotel operative work from deskillled factory work, these operative positions are generally constituted as non or low skilled (as Duncan shows). As a consequence, a potential GM may begin his or her hotel career by literally walking off the street and into a first job making beds or serving tables. This is possible according to Riley (1991) because of the weak ILM. In other words ‘the lack of promotion criteria means that existing employees have a better than ordinary chance of being promoted’ (p243). As housekeeping manager Dale recounts:

I’ve seen a few of the girls start in housekeeping -or as a waitress when I was in the restaurant- and they’ve moved on to be quite high up in the hotel industry. And it’s quite nice to see them going places. And I think I’ve made a wee bit of a contribution to that person and where they have got to.

GMs Ann-Marie and Desiree, for example, both began their hotel careers as casual operator level employees.
This dynamic has two important consequences in terms of the hotel-career-employee subject. The first consequence is that all peripheral unskilled operator employees are potentially core material. As such, their training, development and treatment can have an important impact on the maintenance of the hotel’s ILM segment (see Chapter Five, section 5.4). Indeed, the importance of this positive management of peripheral staff is the basis of Mars, Bryant and Mitchell’s (1979) often-cited prescription for increasing staff retention in hotels.

The second consequence is on the status this dynamic brings to bear on the formal vocational training route into a career in hospitality. In short, these high levels of upward mobility produce the possibility of a direct access career that competes with the formal tertiary vocational education products (Riley, 1993). This dynamic provides a contradiction and context for Desiree’s and Charlene’s constitution of the hotel industry as being increasingly professional, through the increasing numbers of formally qualified employees (see Chapter Six, section 6.2). Nebel, Braunlich and Zhang (1994), for example, find that the majority of non-American F&B managers but only one third of the American F&B managers they studied had college training in the hospitality field. Their explanation suggests that the more management-driven hospitality education programme in America ‘did not play the same pivotal role in the career success of American F&B directors that [the more operations orientated] European hospitality education plays for European F&B directors’ (Nebel, et al.1994, p8). Ladkin (2002) describes similar career advancement for those Australian managers who had non-vocational as well as vocational levels of education. Ladkin also tied this result to vocational education, suggesting it reflects the ‘relative youth’ of the vocational hospitality education system of Australia. For GM Eric it is the attainability of entry into a hotel career that makes it attractive. “It was something you didn’t need to have a law degree to do or go to school for eight years to get into it. It was a career that was very attainable.” While learning is still fundamental to career progression, therefore, it does not (necessarily) start with a compulsory formal pre-entry qualification. Having said that, like the studies conducted by Guerrier (1987) most of the QTAH managers – including Eric – had obtained some form of formal vocational training prior to or at the point of entry into the hotel industry.
Ladkin (2002) points out, however, that the direct and the vocational training career routes ‘are not clear opposites, as vocationally educated managers have to gain work experience also’ (p383). The QTAH managers made this position very clear. For example, from Bess:

_There is this attitude with some of the Polytech students, that if they do this course then that means they are going to be in a supervisory position straight away. It’s ”not in my lifetime because I don’t know what you are like”. And especially when you put people in supervisory positions they have to deal with the personal dramas of staff members, the financial drama and when you are only 19 you can’t cope._

So while it might be in the financial interests of the hotel that more employees do attend some formal vocational training prior to their employment, the QTAH managers still expect these vocational graduates to complete their period of ‘apprenticeship’ on the floor. This expectation is formalized in the TAH corporate training programme. Ellen, for example, is a product of the corporate training program described by HR manager Esther:

_I think we took about 12 into the company last year. I think most of them have hospitality diplomas...or just do a degree. They do all the positions and then eight months on they get into the supervisory positions. They come out of their 18 months into a middle management role – fast track through. They are a bit of a dog’s body at times. But for most of them it gives them an understanding because that is hotels a bit. We’re never going to be an organisation with bulk staff running around unless they are needed. Because we are always watching the bottom-line and things like that, so if people can do all things, it helps._

Thus, the cross-functional mobility and learning is constituted in terms of career development but also attached to the downward functional flexibility (see Chapter Five, section 5.2.1) that forms a vital part of the day-to-day management of labour costs.

In addition, on-the-job experience remains an important component of the learning needed for a career in hotels. As Anastasia states, “In five years time I want to be a Rooms Division Manager. I want to stop and learn this job and then move on to something different”. Boreham et al. (1996) find in their study of accommodation hospitality (and retail) service workplaces in Australia, that the most frequent form of training provided was the informal on-the-job training. Chef Q2-11 provides an account of how this on-the-job training operates within the kitchen - most formally qualified department within the hotel:

_I’ve learnt a hell of a lot in cooking because the sous chef we have is so good. He has worked in five-star hotels all around the world and he has brought all that knowledge_
Nebel et al. (1994) argue that ‘on-the-job experience is indispensable for success in hotel food and beverage management’ (p7). In terms of progression mobility, this learning operates through a management apprenticeship principle where employees gain experience across the different functions within the hotel (Guerrier, 1987). ‘The assumption is that managers should know what is going on in all departments of the hotel’ (Lockwood & Guerrier, 1989, p13). Not all functions are considered to be equally important, however. According to their research, Ladkin and Riley (1996) and Ladkin (2000) find the F&B function to be a frequent (and therefore important) step on a hotel career path. In terms of room’s division functional experience, the more common route is through the front office rather than housekeeping.

Gaining experience across the different types of hotels (and their markets) within the company is also important (Guerrier, 1987; Reily, 1991, 1993). GM Eric provides a vivid description of the learning involved when moving from different hotels in different markets and cultural contexts:

For example in an airport hotel you have transient people, one night stays. You never know the customer you are dealing with, late flights etc, so you have one set of things you are dealing with. Then I went to [a Pacific Island nation]... You have to learn the X culture and the customs of the local people and the way things work. And that's quite a challenge to learn all that and not make some major bloody cock-ups. Like when the president dies and you've got to attend the funeral, there can be a lot of things you have to do and can't do and if you do the wrong thing you can bring a lot of shame on to you and your company...[Eric then went to another Pacific Island Nation where] a different set of things happened. We were changing it over so trying to implement a culture into a place that didn't have one. You're dealing with all sorts of wild and woolly things.¹²⁶

In Queenstown, Eric was then presented with a quite different market to operate within. The short stay tour group market presents:

A different, completely different type of customer to deal with and that was probably the most difficult thing to get my head around. The cycles of when the customers come, the ski season, how that works and the different way Queenstown feels from summer to winter. Just look at the people walking down the street, they are so different.

¹²⁶ For example, Eric describes the procedure for when a hotel employee dies. “We had a kitchen staff member die and there the custom is that because he worked for us we had to pay for the coffin that he was buried in. That was fine I agreed to that but then I found out that I had to personally deliver it to the morgue with his family sitting there watching. And the staff came with me and the next thing I know there were 50 staff waiting all around me while I’m leading the procession with an empty coffin delivered to the widow, its like oh Christ!” (Eric).
As discussed above (in section 7.3.1) the stress placed on this inter-hotel learning provides a clear justification for the taken-for-granted nature of mobility within the hotel career. As Eric’s account shows, this inter-hotel movement and learning extends beyond national boundaries.

These statements thus speak to the strong connection being made between mobility and learning. This connection is formalized into a ‘skill model’ of the hotel industry constructed by Riley (1991, 1993):

The suggestion here is that the industry is structured in a hierarchy of consumer standards, which represent a hierarchy of skills. Riley (1980) argues that the hierarchical structure of skills works with two other factors to create a skills accumulation system. The other factors are first, the existence of an absolute limit to which each unit can [t]each (sic) – once its standards have been mastered there is nothing more; and second, the assumption of a weak internal labour market. The result of this constellation of structural factors is to impel those workers with a desire to accumulate skills to use mobility to do it. (Riley, 1991, p237)

The hierarchy of consumer standards Riley speaks of here refers to the star rating (see Chapter Three, section 2, footnote 1) and graded prestige (see section 7.3.2) of different hotel units. In terms of the career discourse, therefore, learning, mobility and progression are constituted (predominantly) in relation to each other. It is this inter-hotel or industry-wide mobility for learning that connects the hotel career discourse so clearly to the BLC discourse.

Within the BLC discourse, knowledge is the medium of connection within the industry network. A consequence is that meaning available to the notion of career is also tied into knowledge. As the practice of knowledge generation is learning, learning becomes included in the bundle of attributes that is the BLC. Like the BLC subject position, the hotel career project of the self also involves a restless search for new knowledge and new skills as a way to be constantly developing and growing. F&B supervisor Brittany illustrates the learning conduct that results from the adoption of this career project of the self:

_The always need something to keep me going, something new. I’m doing Polytech as well at night. I’m doing NZIM (NZ Institute of Management) and I just need something to keep my brain going._

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Unusually - and it was clearly defined as unusual – the senior management team in Q2 had a much longer tenure profile than the other hotels\footnote{Bart had been GM for seven years, Bess had worked in the Moon Hotel for nine years, Boris for eight years and Billy for five years.}. As Billy states, “There is a stable management team here. I’ve been in hotels in Australia and here where the management team changes every week”. Guerrier (1987) finds a similar profile in the older hotels in Britain that she describes as ‘the problem of the ‘plateaued’ manager who preferred to stay put’ (p127). This pejorative discursive stance on the lack of mobility expressed by Guerrier (1987) translates into a sense of defensiveness by the senior managers of the Moon Hotel. In defending their legitimacy despite their lack of mobility, they articulate a very clear emphasis on the learning and change that they had experienced despite their lack of movement. For example, from GM Bart “I can’t think of a day in eight years when I haven’t loved coming to work. I travel a lot. I’m hardly stale. We are still innovative”. From Assistant GM Bess “My career has not stayed stagnant. Bart is a good GM to work for and the property has changed. We have added 93 rooms and are currently working on the front entrance. It makes life very interesting, it is never dull”. Having said that, Bart supports an emphasis on mobility for a hotel hospitality career. “I think it is important to experience different operations, yes.”

7.6 Conclusion

Within the hotel discourse of career non-transience is constituted in terms of significant employee movement. This career-type employee movement, however, is differentiated from transience through its association with both continuity and commitment or habituation (Braverman, 1974) to the TAH industry labour process. Continuity and commitment, in this sense, take the form of a mobility that is informed by progression, networking and learning. Typical to the TAH industry, the QTAH labour process is fundamentally based on the guest-employee service interaction. Also typical to the industry profile, the QTAHs manage the need for flexible labour by maintaining a
minimal ILM and dipping into the ELM for short-term seasonal peaks of demand. As Riley (1991) argues, however, this ILM/ELM ratio places considerable demand on the (small) ILM to train and support these ELM waves of employees. It is this dynamic that renders QTAH managers very reliant on their senior operational/supervisory ILM employees. In short, the smooth and reliable delivery of the quality QTAH guest-service product is reliant on an adequate number of committed professional-hotel-employee subjects. It is, therefore, in the interests of QTAH management – and hence the interests of QTAH capital – to have these vital employees stay continually committed to the TAH industry. The managerial disciplinary technology of government that is engaged to produce this continual commitment is the ‘career project of the self’ (Grey, 1994). Thus, there is a strategic alignment of the interests of capital with the discursive constitution of the hotel-career-employee subject position. As with any discursive subject position, however, adoption of the professional-hotel-employee and the hotel-career-employee subject positions can be resisted. It is to this important dynamic within the Foucauldian theorization of power and subjectivity that the discussion in Chapter Eight turns to.

Chapter Eight

Resistance and ‘Professional’ Time Conduct

*It is an issue, getting really good long-term stay people attracted to the industry. It is the transient stuff that is still frustrating.* (Ann-Marie)

8.1 Introduction

Throughout the discussion thus far – particularly in Chapters Six and Seven – the dynamic of ‘resistance’ has purposely been kept to one side. This strategy – designed to aid clarity of the discussion – does misrepresent the position of resistance in the Foucauldian theorisation of power, knowledge and subjectivity. As discussed in Chapter
Three (section 3.5), Foucault states that ‘there are no relations of power without resistances’ and that practices of resistance ‘are formed right at the point where relations of power are exercised’ (1980d, p142). The analytic agenda of this chapter, therefore, is to return to the professional-hotel-employee subject position (discussed in Chapters Six) in order to disturb the arguments made concerning the exercise of managerial practices of governmentality. In short, the aim of this chapter on resistance is to trace how QT AH employees eschew the adoption of the professional-hotel-employee subject position by crossing and re-crossing managerial and alternate discursive boundaries. In so doing, a strong commitment to the adoption of employee subject positions constituted within the managerial discourse of professionalism is compromised. This chapter argues that practices of resistance to the professional-hotel-employee subject position thus create difficulties for the smooth and reliable delivery of the QT AH service product. In addition, the adoption of the professional-hotel-employee subject position is constituted as a pre or co-requisite for the adoption of a hotel-career-employee subject position.

A vital assumption within Foucault’s theory of power and resistance is that power is a force that is exercised on the actions of ‘free’ subjects (Foucault, 1983). In other words, the QT AH employee subjects of this study are assumed to be free to make certain decisions about their employment practices. While it is also assumed that these decisions are constrained by a multiplicity of power relations, the QT AH employees – managers and operational staff – are assumed to have the possibility of ‘agency’128. It is within this analytical space of freedom that both power and resistance is possible. This assumption of freedom, however, does not lead to an abstract notion of power or resistance. Rather, power and resistance have ‘specific conditions of existence at particular sites: Power relations involve agents that are constituted in a specific form in particular locations’ (Knights & Vurdubakis, 1994, p184). The specific site of organisational practice that is the particular location of the analysis in this chapter is ‘time’. Discussion of time conduct featured prominently within the accounts that QT AH employees (both managerial and operational) provides of their QT AH employment experience. In this QT AH context, time – specifically getting to work on time (or at all) offers an analytical connection between the intimate and mundane every-day activities

of life and the very particular organizational demands of capital. Section 8.2 briefly revisits the Foucauldian theorisation of resistance and subjectivity. The discussion in section 8.3 looks to the way in which power and resistance interact through the issue of professional time conduct within the QTAH employment context. The analysis of section 8.4 discusses how the meaning of professional time conduct is affected by the levels of employee subject identification with the hotel-career-employee subject position.

8.2 Theorising the relationship between ‘resistance’ and ‘subjectivity’

Although resistance has long featured in the analytical agenda of critical organisational analysis – for example through reference to Marxian, Weberian and labour process discourses – ‘it has been the evocation of Foucauldian motifs that has allowed us to think about resistance in new and broader ways that do not rest solely upon the nomenclature of dialectics, true interests and overt antagonism’ (Fleming, 2002, p194). According to Foucault, power is exercised through various forms and at various levels, including the micro-level. Hence resistance to that exercise of power also takes place in various forms and at various analytical levels. As Sakolosky (1992) states ‘(r)esistance to domination need not be predicated on a revolutionary outcome’ (p249).

With the introduction of a Foucauldian theory of the subject into the labour process debate in particular, it became possible to theorize labour process resistance in terms of subjectivity (see Knights & Morgan, 1991a; Sakolosky, 1992; Collinson, 1992; the edited collection by Jermier, Knights & Nord, 1994; Sewell, 1998; Knights & McCabe, 1998, 1999). As Jermier et al. (1994) state:

In the absence of totalizing, collective consciousness (e.g., class, ethnicity, religion, gender), it is the formation and reformation of self that is the aspect of subjectivity most important for understanding contemporary strategies of resistance. Self-formation is ordinarily a complex outcome of subjection or subjugation, and resistance to it. Although subjectivities are effects of power, subjectification and self-identities are always in process. Power, then, does not directly determine identity but merely provides the conditions of possibility for its self-formation – a process involving perpetual tension between power and resistance or subjectivity and identity. (p8)
It is to the different possibilities of self-formation of a QTAH employee identity and the particular tensions between managerial exercise of power and the employee exercise of resistance that this (and Chapter Eight) attends to in particular\textsuperscript{129}.

A problem with the appropriation of the Foucauldian theory of power and subjectivity into the critical organisation discourse, however, has been the tendency to present the forces of subjugation as a totalising power (Knights & Vurdubakis, 1994). In other words, particular discursive subject positions are presented as the only identity option for all individuals. As Sewell (1998) states, ‘(t)his limited reading of Foucault can be seen in the way in which many people have sought to extend his analysis to contemporary organizational theory simply by treating people as nodes caught in an inescapable web of surveillance’ (Sewell, 1998, p405). In reviewing Paul du Gay’s work on the discourse of ‘enterprise’ (1991, 1992, 1996,), for example, Fournier and Grey (1999) argue that ‘(i)n much of his writing du Gay does indeed fail to account, or even allow, for resistance or alternatives to enterprise; he tends to stress the totalising effects of the enterprise discourse on subjectivity and practice’ (p117). In focusing directly on the statement about employee transience and in theorising this transience as resistance, the analytical starting point in this thesis is resistance to the managerial discourses of professionalism and career. An additional problem with the analysis of resistance and subjectivity is the constitution of resistance as ‘defence’. As Fleming (2002) argues, ‘(t)ransgressive resistance at the level of subjectivity is not a form of identity ‘protection’ or ‘defence’, as it is so often referred to in critical organization studies’ (Fleming, 2002, p200). My interest in the QTAH context, however, is how particular QTAH employees craft new and different ‘styles of self’ that produce a resistance or ‘dis-identification’ with the hotel career subject position. In so doing, these individual employees engage in transient employment conduct.

While Knights and Morgan (1991a) analyse the way in which the life insurance sales staff of Hamlet are produced as self-disciplining subjects, they are anxious not to suggest that these relations of power produce ‘totalising effects’. Resistance is possible and exercised and like the QTAH context, resistance commonly comes in the form of turnover. In short, ‘there is considerable resistance to the discourses and practices that

\textsuperscript{129} Again, I am still making the assumption that the managers exercising the power are implicated in the discursive identity formation that they are engaging with their employees.
constitute individuals as subjects preoccupied with success or financial calculation and discipline.’ (Knights & Morgan, 1991a, p234). As Knights and Morgan (1991a) argue however, this practice of resistance operates on similarly individualistic lines to the disciplinary practices. Hence, whether resisting or responding to the disciplinary technologies of domination and/or the self, the implicit assumption is that if there are problems – it is a problem for particular individuals and hence an individual solution – resignation – is practiced. In this sense – as for the hotel context – the individual who is resistant or ambivalent towards the adoption of the sale subject position can be ‘psychologised’ (Watson, 1995) as the problem rather than the institutional practice itself. Thus, “the transient stuff is frustrating” states Ann-Marie rather than the lack of institutional support for being a “really good long term” person. Like Knights and Morgan (1991a) I am theorising transience as a conduct of resistance to the managerial governance of identity. Unlike Knights and Morgan (1991a) however, in this chapter I want to explore some of the alternate – partial – practices of resistance that QTAH employees engage in before they leave. In other words, at this point in the discussion I am looking to revisit the managerial discourse of professionalism. The specific purpose here is to see how the exercise of disciplinary power - to encourage QTAH employees to adopt the employee subject positions constituted within those discourses - are partially disturbed or challenged. The site of analytical focus for this chapter is ‘time conduct’.

8.3 Professional time conduct and resistance

*Queenstown is a young town. It’s known as a party town. It attracts a lot of younger people. Everyone wants to come down here and have a good time...and they do...otherwise they leave. (Alan)*

GM Bart states, “the only time a hotel closes is if it is burnt down”. This 24-hour, seven-day week service ‘production’ necessitates a continual demand for labour. As discussed in Chapter Four (section 4.4) however, this demand for labour is not constant. Each department has particular patterns of demand. While the reception desk requires a constant presence, the department with the longest temporal spread and most significant fluctuation of demand is the food and beverage (F&B) department. A particular point of tension for managers and operational employees is the early morning breakfast shift.
Boris, for example, constitutes ‘time’ – or more specifically the ability to ‘get up in the morning’ - as an important criteria of normative evaluation for a breakfast waiter. In other words, a good breakfast waiter is “someone who is able to regularly get up on time, no joke...getting up in the morning is such a small thing but it is so important. If you have two or three staff that don’t turn up on time, you are in the shit” (Boris). It is this managerial state of being put “in the shit” by time lax employees that renders the issue of time – specifically getting to work on time – so important to the QT AH managers. Like the breakfast restaurant service, the housekeeping department is also very concerned about staff turning up for work in the morning. While the spread of hours for cleaning rooms is not as broad as F&B, there is considerable time pressure for the vacated rooms to be quickly cleaned and prepared for the incoming guests. For this to happen as smoothly as possible, housekeeping staff have to turn up to work in a prompt and reliable fashion. Inadequate staffing levels due to late or non-shows impact directly on the production of the employee-guest interaction that is at the heart of the hotel labour process. A significant feature of the tourist accommodation hotel (TAH) labour process, therefore, is temporal complexity. Hassard (1991, 1996) argues that temporal complexity is managed through the development of implicit regulatory norms.

Eventually [however] implicit regulatory norms become translated into explicit rules, regulations and standard operating procedures, with these formalized sets of expectations being associated with specific ‘positions’ or ‘roles’ in the organizational network. (Hassard, 1996, p593)

Operational employees entering into the QT AH organisations confront particular hospitality orientated temporal structures. In other words, the employee will be expected to work at times that suit guest hospitality service demands – such as 5:30am or 12 midnight, for example – rather than the individual employee. In this sense, the professional-hotel-employee subject must accommodate an objective, rational and external sense of organisational time (Hassard, 1991). Thus ‘joining a modern work organization represents the final stage in our conditioning to “organized” time consciousness’ (Hassard, 1991, p110). Through a Foucauldian informed framework, this temporal conditioning is approached as time discipline. In short, time discipline is a site where the relations of power being exercised on and through the gestures and conduct of QT AH employees have a significant profile.
I suggested in Chapter Six (section 6.5) that Fournier’s (1999) argument concerning the appeal to professionalism as a strategy for managing the organisational ‘discretionary gap’ is productive for this QTAH context. In mobilising professionalism as a disciplinary technology, the focus becomes the competence of the professional employee. As Fournier (1999) notes ‘the turn to competencies marks a shift in the ways employees are evaluated; they relate not only to skills and task related behaviours but also to values, attitudes and motives’ (p288). In other words, management becomes an issue of the government of the self and the conduct that ensues from this ‘self’. Resistance in this context can be defined in terms of ‘not being governed quite so much’ (Foucault, 1978/1997, p29). Inserting the issue of time into this theoretical frame, temporal conduct becomes an issue of governmentality. Thus, breaches of temporal regulation – or unprofessional temporal conduct – can be theorised as actions of resistance. Within the QTAH discourse of management, unprofessional time keeping was often articulated through the domain of ‘age’.

8.3.1 Resistance, youth and un-professional time conduct

Analysis of QTAH employee’s (managers and operational staff) constitution of time incompetence as youthful ignorance is interesting for the way it draws out the ongoing relationship between power and resistance, particularly as it plays out through subjectivity:

You do get some that think yep they can do the breakfast shift and then you tell them that they have got to be there at 6 o’clock in the morning, which means they have got to get up at 5.00am or 5.15am have a quick shower and get to work and then they think after three mornings that they can’t do this anymore and go. Or the other end of the spectrum is they are there till 12.00pm and they’ve got some drunk people and they are still serving them at 1.00am in the morning, especially if they are doing bar, you know and... they are yawning their heads off and they think oh I can’t cope with these late nights. (Duncan)

As is evident within this statement by HR manager Duncan, the constitution of the professional QTAH F&B subject, for example, involves an ability to cope with early mornings and/or late nights. The rostering of particular individuals onto the early or late shifts, therefore, represents an early – and taken-for-granted – exercise of managerial power.

While the more obvious form of resistance comes in the form of a quick exit, this is not the only response available. Others will stay formally committed to the employment
relationship but practice intermittent commitment/resistance to the government of their temporal conduct. Again from HR manager Duncan:

Well just generally speaking quite often the types of [disciplinary] issues we get are people being late for work constantly and doing no-shows, they just won’t turn up… the early mornings, the late nights, sometimes the back to backs. In the back to backs you are working a dinner shift and then you’re coming in for breakfast as well, which tends to happen a bit in hospitality... We don’t class [lateness] as a serious misconduct but it can be very annoying you know.

Repeated lateness or ‘no-show’, however, is constituted as a serious employment conduct issue. A common explanation of the practice of unprofessional time conduct was the state of youthfulness. As such, this youthful ignorance was ‘treated’ by time management counseling. For example, from HR manager Duncan:

You just coach them along, they know that they have done wrong and you just make it quite clear that these actions are not acceptable and they have to pull their socks up because otherwise it will just keep happening and it will only happen for a certain amount of time and there won’t be a job for them... You can help them you know. “Have you got an alarm clock? Remind yourself to set it. Put a note on it, put a note on the fridge to go to the clock, put a note on the kettle. What’s the last thing you do before you go to bed?” “Go to the loo.” “Well stick a note on the toilet seat reminding yourself to set your alarm”... Some of them just have no idea... “Well how do you get up?” “Oh mum always woke me up.” “So how do you wake up now?” “Oh just when I wake up.” But it’s like “if you have to wake up at 6 o’clock how do you wake up?” “Oh I just hope.” “Well hope’s not working is it? So how do we fix this?” “Oh I don’t know.” “Well why don’t you get an alarm clock?”

This gentle education in the art of mature and independent temporal self-governance, however, becomes an exercise of managerial disciplinary power when read through a Foucauldian discourse of power and subjectivity. In short, the failure to show up at work – at the correct time – and the absence of an alarm clock can be theorized as a lack of full identification or adoption of a professional-hotel-subject position. The ‘counseling’ by Duncan thus operates as a technology of the self where young QTAH employees are being instructed or encouraged to adopt a professional-hotel-employee subject position. The ‘state of youthfulness’ here provides an explanation for the sense of ambivalence shown with the professional identity. In other words, the discourse of ‘youth’ provides alternate subject positions, most notably a ‘social’ identity.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ And with that ‘social’ identity comes high levels of alcohol consumption, late nights and a disregard of formal organisational time regulation.
As argued in Chapter Three (section 3.5.1), however, practices of resistance are productively theorized as the creation of particular identity positions and conduct that involve a crossing and re-crossing of different discursive subject boundaries (Fleming, 2002). A statement by Charise – a room attendant in her early 20s – illustrates this crossing and re-crossing. When asked if there was ‘anything she would like to change about her job’, Charise responded that she felt there should be “a bit more discipline amongst us”. She then proceeded to tell me that she had “rung up and said I can’t make it when I’ve actually been at home” in the past. It was “part of growing up”, she explained, “but I’ve never had any written warnings”. Later, when responding to my question concerning ‘what makes a good manager’ Charise returned to the issue of no-shows. “[X] is modern because she understands that we like going out for a drink. We can’t work every weekend so she expects us sometimes to ring and she doesn’t take it out on us. She’d say she was really disappointed etc. and that’s it.” These rather contradictory statements by Charise are interesting for the way they illustrate the partial acceptance and resistance of the professional-hotel-employee subject position.

In addition, these statements by Charise also show how the countering of power and resistance is in constant play by both management and operational employees. As Knights and Vurdubakis (1994) note, resistance ‘plays the role of continuously provoking extensions, revisions and refinements of those same practices which it confronts’ (p180). In addition, it shows how the particular responses may vary depending on the manager and employee in question. While Charise’s manager exercises disciplinary power through responses such as saying she was really disappointed and leaving it at that, another housekeeping manager Annabel’s account of ‘no-shows’ exhibits a mix of techniques of managerial power:

_Last year we had major problems with people not turning up. They would get the reprimands and have reports written about them. You have to tell them ‘yes we are annoyed but if you’ve slept in all you have to do is to phone us and say sorry I was out last night, I’ve slept in I’ll be in. The other thing is if you don’t phone up or call us we actually worry about you’. The other supervisors are all older ladies who have families, and while yes if at 8am you have 12 lists down (12 staff) only nine turn up you’ve got three lists that need to be covered, you are hopping mad. Yes we may shout at you probably, but just get your butts in._

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131 Sewell (1998) describes these multiple forms of managerial discipline as the ‘disciplinary chimera’. ‘I use as my emblem the chimera, a mythical beast of classical literature having the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and the tail of a serpent. While I deploy the term in its contemporary English usage, as an unexpected hybrid, it is also intended as a corrective to the rhetoric of normative management discourse by conveying that emerging forms of workplace control may well be, either intentionally or unintentionally, monstrous creations’ (p414).
While Annabel’s approach blends a discourse of gender into the managerial discourse – similar to the hotel ‘mother’ identity Bess describes (see Chapter Six, section 6.5) – like Duncan she responds to errant time keeping (or practices of resistance) with formal and informal managerial counselling (or technologies of self)\textsuperscript{132}.

While managerial employees construct unprofessional time conduct as a problem of the young, the older operational hotel employee can also do the same. Daisy, one of the very few ‘mature’ breakfast waiters begins her day at 4:10am. The early starts are a problem to the young, she suggests, because they are ‘anti-social’\textsuperscript{133}:

> Well the alarm goes off at 4:10am ... it is very anti-social that’s why the youngsters have a lot of trouble. A girl today was 10 minutes late and that throws us right out because it really has got to be on time. It’s just so unfair because everyone else is put under pressure.

Due to the difficulties created by unreliability and poor time keeping from her ‘youthful’ colleagues, Daisy is careful to avoid vulnerable duties. “If I know [of] some function on at night I ask for the next morning off or I ask if I can come in at 8 o’clock not 5:30 am. In staying well clear of an essentialised explanation of chronological based maturity, however, I will argue that this statement reflects her identification (Holmer-Nadesan, 1996) with a professional subject position and the consequential professional temporal conduct that ensues\textsuperscript{134}. For example, due to a comment by a previous breakfast restaurant manager, Daisy ensures that she always arrives at work a little early:

> I was running up the stairs and it was the fourth beep on the national programme at 6 o’clock and he said, “You’re late”. And I said,” no, look the pips are still going I’m not late it’s not 6 o’clock yet”. And he said, “you’re late. Do you know how much I stress out before you come?” And I said, “no”. And he said, “well believe me girl I do before my first staff member comes”. And so from then I have always been here early...and in one of my appraisals the supervisor said “you know it is really appreciated that you come a little early [Daisy] I wish everybody else did” but they don’t...It’s just a different attitude...I’m prepared to put extra into it whereas to them their nightlife is more enjoyable so they put extra into that.

\textsuperscript{132} This pastoral care aspect was prominent in Annabel’s account of her managerial responsibilities. The most significant staffing issue she had dealt with in the last month, for example, had been an unwanted pregnancy. “You have to deal with a lot of personal issues, it can be a big part of the job. You can end up being a marriage guidance counselor, a debt counselor. With the majority of the younger staff a lot of them come to Queenstown and they have no guidance, no older person to guide them” (Annabel).

\textsuperscript{133} ‘Mature’ in this respect, refers specifically to biological age. Daisy’s age would be mid-late 40s as opposed to the early 20s age of most of her breakfast restaurant colleagues.

\textsuperscript{134} In so doing I am assuming that it is less chronological age than the propensity to identify/adopt a professional hotel subject position that will determine the temporal conduct of the employee. (As stated in Chapter One (section 1.3.6) this thesis does not explore this issue of ‘propensity’ to adopt.)
Time is thus constituted as a criterion of examination and normative evaluation through technologies of surveillance. As Grey (1994) argues:

Whilst the expectations and sanctions of managers certainly operate to inculcate self-disciplined modes of subjectivity amongst trainees, the trainees are already equipped with a form of self-discipline, which pre-disposes them to that discipline and, on many occasions, obviates the need for it at all. (p487)

Similarly, Daisy’s statement shows that an adoption of the professional subject position renders her highly responsive to the exercise of disciplinary power. Indeed, in self-disciplining her temporal conduct, she no longer requires managerial discipline.

While Daisy shows a strong identification with the professional hotel subject position, she articulates no aspiration to return to a supervisory position she had in a previous position. Rather than worrying about the ‘files’ and ‘productivity figures’, she prefers to “just walk in the door and do your job and walk out the door” (Daisy). Attachment to the hotel-career-employee subject position, however, also presents as a significant explanation for more mature professional time conduct. For F&B manager Ava:

The younger ones are not here to stay, they are not sure if this is what they want to do. The older ones have decided that this is what they want to do and have come back into it. The older ones tend to be those on the career track...They have got their head on straight. Generally, they won’t be the ones who will come in late because they were out boozing the night before.

Ava, therefore, links maturity to career focus and an associated professional self-governance with respect to time. In this way maturity is open to being invested in capitalist relations of power. In short, like the professional employee, a mature employee is a good employee. While continuing on with the time conduct theme, section 7.4 examines the impact identification with the hotel-career-employee subject position has on the meaning given to the temporal demands of the F&B department – particularly for the early morning breakfast shift.

### 8.4 Resistance, the meaning of time conduct and the hotel-career-employee subject position

To become an experienced or long-term F&B hotel employee the un-social temporal demands of hotel employment have to be constituted as possible to bear. From HR manager Duncan, for example:

*I will admit I’m not really a morning person and I have done my fair share of breakfast shifts getting up at 5.00am and it is really ugly, but you know it is not going to last forever so you grin and bear it and I have had my fair share of staying you know till 1.00am and 2.00am in the morning and no that doesn’t particularly take my fancy either – but you do it.*

Acceptance is more likely with the adoption of a hotel-career-employee subject position. Hence HR manager Duncan states “you know it is not going to last forever so you grin and bear it”. The argument I am making here is that the meaning given to particular to organisational experiences and the consequential actions that are taken – for example, transience or commitment – is related to the particular discursive subject positions (and the degree to which) individuals identify with. Like Fournier (1998) it is interesting to contrast the way in which different QTAH employees – in particular Alan and Carl who position themselves differently in terms of the discourse of career – constitute the temporal demands of the F&B supervisory role.\(^{136}\)

### 8.4.1 Alan

Alan is a young man in his early 20s. Having completed a hospitality course at a New Zealand Polytechnic, Alan has been working in the F&B department in the Earth Hotel for approximately two years. Several months prior to our discussion, he had been promoted to an F&B supervisory position. Like many of the operational staff I spoke with, Alan has a dislike of the early morning shift:

*Early on I did earlies – a lot of breakfasts and I requested to go on lates because I had done my time. I never liked getting up in the morning. I didn’t like getting up for school. I am an evening person...I do work some earlies...[As a supervisor you have to] sort of keep up with what is happening in the morning. I don’t mind.*

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\(^{136}\) Fournier (1998) compares the responses of two groups of graduate employees in Teamco to the themes of: individual and structural constraints, job ‘enrichment’, and review and ‘development’ techniques. While ‘agency and self-initiative were central to the ways Marketing, R&D and Finance graduates talked about their careers… CIS [computing and information services] graduates on the other hand disclaimed any ownership or control over their careers’ (p67). Secondly, rather than provide an account of job enrichment as a challenge and an opportunity to advance – as the Marketing, R&D and finance graduates did – the CIS graduates ‘talked about exploitation and work intensification’ (p68). Finally, Marketing, R&D and finance graduates gave meaning to review and development techniques in terms of aids to career development as opposed to the CIS graduates who saw them ‘at best as ‘a waste of time’ (p68).
While he doesn’t particularly like it, therefore, *Alan* constitutes the morning shifts he still does as a necessary component of the supervisory position. As such, mornings are something he doesn’t mind having to do. As testament to this constitution of the breakfast shift as unpleasant but part of the job, he describes a ‘good breakfast waiter’ as someone who can “get up in the morning and be chirpy”. ‘Are you conscious of putting on a smiley mask’, I ask? “Yeah, you’ve always got to be happy, always got to smile. Even if you have a hangover, you have to be happy, always nice and pleasant to the guest” (Alan). Thus, like *Belinda* (see Chapter Six, section 6.5) despite a dislike of the morning shift, *Alan* self-disciplines himself for a professional conduct of the guest interaction.

While *Alan* expresses ambivalence towards the idea of becoming a hotel GM, he articulates a very clear interest in continuing with the F&B aspect of the hospitality industry:

> I wouldn’t mind owning my own restaurant. I want to get into that… I am planning on travelling next year and I will work in hotels. I am interested to see how they operate. It will be completely different from how they do it here, what is going on. [I want] to take a look at the big picture not just New Zealand, different to what happens here in New Zealand. So when I come back I have more knowledge, more experience which is quite important to me.

While not strictly TAH career, *Alan* still expresses a strong attachment to a hospitality career subject position. In this sense, *Alan*’s statements illustrate the themes discussed in Chapter Six – progression (to ownership of his own restaurant) mobility and learning\(^{137}\).

### 8.4.2 Carl

*Carl* is a young man in his mid-20s who also completed a programme of tertiary hospitality study as well as having experience of hotel employment in Australia\(^{138}\). Also like *Alan*, *Carl* has recently been employed as F&B supervisor. In short, like *Alan*, *Carl* presents a similarly professional and potentially “good long-term stay” (Ann-Marie)

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\(^{137}\) A number of F&B staff did speak of aspirations to own their own restaurant. Again time constraints restrict my exploration of this particular ‘entrepreneurial’ theme. In another forum it would be interesting to explore the contradictions this ‘entrepreneurial’ manifestation presents to the positioning of ‘entrepreneurialism’ - within the hotel career discourse - as a strategy of self-disciplining commitment to the hotel industry.

\(^{138}\) *Carl* actually completed two diplomas in hospitality within an Australian tertiary institution.
hotel employee. While *Alan* came to Queenstown in order to gain hotel experience, however, *Carl* came four months ago (from Australia) specifically to snowboard. Having worked with *GM Clark* previously, *Carl* sent his CV over to the *Mars Hotel* and when he arrived found he was assigned to the F&B supervisor position. Unlike *Alan*, however, *Carl* is not enjoying his time at the *Mars Hotel* and is seriously considering leaving. The primary reason for his unhappiness is the breakfast shift:

> All the time I’ve never enjoyed doing breakfast because there’s just so much in the nightlife, night-time sort of style of life. The majority of the jobs when I first started hospitality I would start at 6pm until 1-2 in the morning. And I am just so accustomed to that lifestyle now. In the morning all I do is come into work most of the time it’s just sitting drinking coffee trying to wake up. (Carl)

It is in this statement by *Carl* that his partial ‘dis-identification’ with the discourse of hotel career becomes apparent. The problem is not working in hotels *per se* as *Carl* does not construct the evening F&B shift as a problem. The problem is specifically the early morning breakfast shift. It is at this point that the issue of career and resistance or ambivalence to the hotel-career-employee subject position becomes apparent in *Carl’s* statements. Put simply, *Carl* relates his breakfast shifts (and early starting evening shifts) to his supervisory position:

> This is the first supervising job I’ve had before and just the hours because just having come here for the snow and then having to start at 2:00pm it cuts half way through the day. But I mean doing nights is all right but [not] doing breakfast. So like you start at 5:30 in the morning and you don’t get out until 2:00pm and so your day is destroyed if you want to go up the mountain. So there are definitely a lot of bad things about the place.

Again, this statement of temporal discomfort by *Carl* is interesting, this time for the way that it illustrates complexity and flow between different discursive-subject boundaries. In other words, he constitutes his employment identity through a process of crossing and re-crossing of professional-hotel-employee, the hotel-career-employee and the snowboarding discursive-subject boundaries.

> It will help me out eventually, I suppose I am getting experience as a supervisor at the moment but that’s just not what I was looking for coming over here. Like over here it’s just a party and fun sort of holiday and it hasn’t been as it turned out.

Thus, snowboarding and holidaying in Queenstown provide distinctive alternate discursive subject positions from the hotel-career-employee subject position. It is in this discursive subject boundary movement where the temporal demands of the F&B supervisory position become obviously problematic.
Compared with Alan, Carl states a much more ambivalent position with regard to career. “I don’t want to make it a career in life...I just want something relaxing. There is pressure coming down on you from above which exists in hotels and that’s just what shits me sometimes...I’m not making a career out of this place, I’m not trying to.”

Consistent with Carl’s reluctance to adopt a career subject position, he speaks quite differently about his proposed period of travel:

“I’ve got a Canadian work permit but I have to be there by April next year, so I’ll be there doing the working holiday programme thing. Whistler is probably where I’ll go. Although I’ve heard that it’s just full of Australians and New Zealanders working there so I thought I’d go somewhere else instead where I can meet a few more locals instead of just people I’m spending lots of time with at the moment. (Carl)

Thus, while Alan constructed his proposed travel in terms of learning and further hospitality work experience, Carl is more concerned about the quality of his social experience. In this way, Carl articulates a similar motivation to travel as the seekers discussed by Adler and Adler (1999a, 1999b) in Chapter One (section 1.2.4).

More specifically for this thesis, however, Carl’s statements can be read as resistance to the adoption of a hotel (or hospitality even) career subject position. In other words, despite formal tertiary training in hotel hospitality, work experience in hotels and being appointed as an F&B supervisor, Carl is entirely ambivalent in his identification with the committed hotel industry subject position:

“It’s still on the cards that I’ll be here till February, I’ll just have to see how things are going. I don’t want to go into that [breakfast restaurant] place and do breakfasts again but it’s unfortunately going to happen in about two weeks I think. So it might be the last straw.

As a result of his hotel career-identity ambivalence, Carl constitutes the early morning breakfast shift in clearly negative and un-bearable terms. So much so that it “might be the last straw”. The gesture or style of conduct that threatens to result from his dis-identification with the hotel-career-subject position (and his crossing back and forward across snowboarding and travelling discursive subject boundaries) is transience. For this reason, Carl represents the employee who is causing Ann-Marie (and the other QTAH managers) frustration. In short, despite the necessary qualifications to be a “good long-term stay” hotel person and the promotion to a junior management position, Carl presents an unreliable commitment to the industry.
8.5 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to revisit the QTAH discursive subject positions of a professional-hotel-employee subject and to analyse how the disciplinary technologies that seek to encourage individuals to adopt these subject positions are resisted. The particular site of resistance chosen was time conduct. What became increasingly obvious through this analysis, however, is the impact of the place of Queenstown. In other words, the alternate discursive subject positions that become drawn into the subjectivity resistance dynamic relate to the discourses of Queenstown – Queenstown as a place for the young, as a place for snowboarding, and as a party town. To continue a coherent analysis of subjectivity, resistance and the conduct of QTAH employee transience, therefore, a consideration of the discourses of Queenstown that provide these alternate subject positions is necessary. Hence, Chapter Nine looks at how the discursive subject positions that are constituted within the tourism discourses of place identity of Queenstown provide possible practices of resistance to the hotel-career-employee subject position.
Chapter Nine

Subjectivity, Resistance and the Queenstown Tourism Discourses of Place

*It is an issue, getting really good long-term stay people attracted to the industry. It is the transient stuff that is still frustrating.* (Ann-Marie)

*Queenstown is one of the more challenging places I have ever worked in, in terms of turnover. The primary reason for being here is generally not work but social, skiing, hiking etc., certainly not hospitality.* (Andrew)

9.1 Introduction

Chapter Eight introduced Carl as a suitably qualified potential “good long-term stay” QTAH employee. As discussed, however, Carl constitutes the temporal demands of his F&B supervisory position as onerous, particularly the breakfast shift. As a result, Carl is threatening to become one of the ‘frustrating transients’ of Ann-Marie’s statement (above). In Chapter Seven, the explanation I provided for Carl’s possible transience was his resistance to an identification (Holmer-Nadesan, 1996) with – or adoption of – a hotel-career-employee subject position. In other words, I suggested that Carl presents an employment identity that crosses and re-crosses (Fleming, 2002) the discursive-subject boundaries of hotel employee, snowboarder, tourist, and traveler. At the centre of an explanation for Carl’s possible ‘frustrating’ transience, therefore, are the discursive-subject positions that are available to QTAH employees through the Queenstown discourses of place. In short, it is these alternate tourism-orientated subject positions that are available to QTAH employees that make resistance to the hotel-career-employee subject position (and the conduct of transience) so possible. Thus, F&B manager Andrew constitutes Queenstown as one of the more challenging places for turnover he has worked because of the social life, the skiing and the outdoor activities.

I suggested in Chapter Three (section 3.5.1) and Chapter Eight (section 8.2) that this explanation for the conduct of transience is available when resistance is theorized as the adoption of alternate discursive subject positions that give rise to the possibility for an
individual’s identity to be constituted in a *different* form. While these alternate subject positions are also assumed to be produced through relations of power, they do offer possibilities of resistance to the discourse of management. As Brewis (1996) states:

Foucault does note that this resistance is over-determined by its social context – that when an individual resists one form of government, they do so only because they have aligned themselves with another which they feel is a better representation of the truth. (p81)

Austrin (1994) speaks directly to this subjective formulation of power-resistance in his analysis of human resource management (HRM) and union representation in the New Zealand finance industry. While the performance appraisal is a ‘major component of the form of disciplinary power that [HRM] deploys’ (p207), this ‘conscious play of discourses of the self’ creates a ‘new space for resistance’ (p208). To illustrate this point, Austrin (1994) analyses the way in which a women’s seminar run by the finance union provided a forum where the ‘active construction of new positions and new discourses, about their selves, which constituted a collective appraisal of both themselves and the institutions which employed them’ (p211) was possible. The focus of the analysis of resistance in this chapter is also the relationship between resistance and subjectivity. In particular, it examines the active constitution of Queenstown as a place of tourism and how that place identity provides a forum for QTAH employees to actively construct hotel-career-employee resistant employee positions and discourses about their selves.139 The possibilities of conduct that come out of these career resistant employee positions include skiing, climbing, traveling and transience.

In order to explore the discourses of place that inform the meaning of Queenstown, additional material is drawn from local newspapers, Queenstown tourism promotional material and the New Zealand Tourism Board140. Before introducing particular QTAH

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139 As suggested in Chapter Three (section 3.5.2) resistance in this thesis (for this QTAH context) is theorised as a partial dis-identification with the managerial discursive subject position and the crossing and re-crossing of alternate discursive subject boundaries. Thus, to be consistent with this theoretical position, analysis of resistance should attempt to capture the complex and multidimensional subject boundaries that are drawn into an individual’s practice of resistance. Like the multiplicity of causal factors drawn into a genealogical analysis (see Chapter Two, section 2.2.2), however, I would argue that in terms of an analysis of subject boundaries ‘one [also] has to proceed by progressive, necessarily incomplete saturation’ (Foucault, 1980/1991, p77). In seeking to explain QTAH core transience, the (necessarily incomplete) analysis produced in this thesis concentrates on a small number of alternate discursive subject positions that are constituted as possibilities within the discourses of place identity of Queenstown.

140 In order to gain a sense of the discourses of place identity of Queenstown, during the year 1999 I collected supplementary material from *The Otago Daily Times* (the regional Otago newspaper), *The*
individuals and their specific mobilization of the Queenstown place-informed discursive subject positions, section 9.2 firstly theorizes tourism as a journey to an ‘extra-ordinary’ place. The notion of the transient tourist-worker is then introduced in section 9.3 as a productive way to think about the ambiguities of the work-leisure boundary for Ann-Marie’s ‘frustrating transient QTAH employees. Section 9.4 examines the concept of ‘social spatialisation’ to theorize the relationship between employee conduct and the place-identities of Queenstown. Section 9.5 discusses the ‘pure and natural’ place-identity of Queenstown as a forerunner to discussion in 9.6 concerning Queenstown as a place of ‘outdoor-adventure’. The constitution of the career-resistant transient outdoor-adventure tourist worker subject is discussed in section 9.7 and the relationship between the adventure place-identity and subjectivity analyzed in the accounts of Ben, Brian and Barry. Finally, section 9.8 looks at the transient social-adventure tourist worker subject, particularly in the accounts provided by Ashley and Amanda.

9.2 Theorising the practice of tourism

Tourism, Meethan (1996) suggests, ‘is a simple label for a complex phenomena, encompassing different activities in different forms’ (p179). Conventionally, ‘tourism’ is constituted as some sort of movement from the place of the ‘everyday’ or ‘ordinary’ (with its associated responsibilities, obligations and pressures to conform) to a place of the ‘extra-ordinary’ or ‘otherness’ (MacCannell, 2001; Urry, 1990, 1991; Crick, 1996; Smith, 1989; Graburn, 1989; Meethan, 1996). Implicit within this constitution of tourism as movement between ordinary and extra-ordinary places, is a notion of ‘centers’ and ‘peripheries’. ‘Provided we bear in mind that neither centers nor peripheries are immutably fixed in a geographical or historical sense, it seems clear that tourism is one of the engines which manufacture and structure relationships between centers and peripheries’ (Selwyn, 1996, p9). While Selwyn (1996) goes on to discuss this notion of centers and peripheries in terms of political economy, I suggest that it is equally productive for thinking about the constitution of tourism, the tourist and tourism place-identity.

Mountain Scene (a Queenstown publication that is free to the public) as well as other Queenstown tourism promotional material – including the New Zealand Tourism Board and Destination Queenstown internet sites.
Graburn (1989), for example, draws on ‘religious’ language to frame the temporary spatial movement of tourism:

Vacations involving travel, i.e., tourism, since all “proper” vacations involve travel, are the modern equivalent for secular societies to the annual and lifelong sequences of festivals for more traditional God-fearing societies. Fundamental is the contrast between the ordinary/compulsory work state spent “at home” and the nonordinary/voluntary “away from home” sacred state. (Graburn, 1989, p25)

Graburn (1989) presents a diagram where the flow of time through life is a series of profane (work) episodes punctuated by the sacred (tourism). ‘The profane period ... is the everyday life of the “That’s life!” descriptive of the ordinary and inevitable. The period of marginality ... is another life’ (Graburn, 1989, p26). For Cohen (1979/1996) the elision of religious pilgrimage and modern tourism is misplaced because they are ‘predicated on different social conceptions of space ... hence they involve movement in opposite directions: in pilgrimage from the periphery towards the cultural centre, in modern tourism, away from the cultural centre into the periphery’ (p93-94). The advertisement for New Zealand tourism (contained in Appendix M) illustrates this movement from the (congested) centre to the (un-congested) periphery theme very well. The scene is a very busy and congested Oxford street in London. The text constitutes Oxford Street and London as ‘the centre’ — “London, most people would agree, is where it’s at”. New Zealand is thus the opposite of this busy and congested centre; it is on the margins where nature, peace and escape are possible:

You know there has to be another side of life. And the place to find it is on the other side of the planet, in New Zealand ... packed pavements will seem even more that 12,000 miles away as you unwind on the deserted beaches of the stunning Kapiti Coast.

Like Graburn’s (1989) flow diagram, life returns to the profane but the claim is that the tourists will be changed – implicitly for the good. “Of course, Oxford Street will still be the same when you return from your holiday. But you won’t.” Rather you will be ‘re-created’ and rejuvenated. As Meethan (1996) argues:

The tourist experience is thus marked as distinct in both spatio-temporal terms and also in the kinds of behaviour both expected and indulged in. Time is not spent in productive activity but in the conspicuous consumption of leisure. (p179)

Urry (1991) notes that there has been increasing interest in the theme of consumption within the tourism literature over the last decade. As Wang (2000) suggests, there is a
difference between the consumption of tourism and the everyday consumption material goods. In short, ‘the former is characterized by a cultural orientation towards the consumption of experiences as a meaningful activity, together with the associated images and feelings attached to such consumption’ (p193)\(^141\). This consumption of experience extends to the consumption of time itself ‘namely the consumption of ‘a good time’ (Wang, 2000, p194). For Urry, the principal mode of this consumption of experience is ‘the gaze’ (1990, 1991, 1995). Cloke and Perkins (1998) offer a challenge to the dominance of the gaze metaphor. The empirical context they construct their argument through is the adventure tourism product on offer in Queenstown\(^142\). In other words, the nature of the extra-ordinary being consumed by a significant group of Queenstown tourists is activity – for example, skiing, climbing and socializing.

In theorising the tourism or holiday journey in terms of escape from or resistance to everyday life and everyday identities, Stanley Cohen and Laurie Taylor (1992) implicitly establish a relationship between the spatial centers and margins of tourism and a notion of central and marginal identities:

We look elsewhere to cope with routine, boredom, lack of individuality, frustration. We want a genuine escape, a flight to an area in which we can temporarily absent ourselves from paramount reality, find ourselves out of play, and assemble our identity in peace or with new and more powerful symbolic resources. (p112)

The holiday, like hobbies, games, gambling, sex, drugs and therapy, argue Cohen and Taylor (1992) is an institutionalized and signposted space of escape. The holiday, in particular:

Is a setting in which constraints can be relaxed if not rejected, identities slip if not disappear, a place where lives are rejuvenated if not changed. The holiday is the archetypal free area, the institutionalized setting for temporary excursions away from the domain of paramount reality. (p131)

Goss (1993) documents the relationship between the construction of place-identity and this holiday freedom for the self. Briefly, Goss (1993) argues that the place-identity of Hawaii constitutes it as a place where the holiday experience ‘involves communion with primal nature, communication with the Other [the ‘native’ Hawaiian], and liberation of the repressed Self’ (p681). Cohen and Taylor’s (1992) argument is useful for this

\(^{141}\) As with the seekers in Adler and Adler’s (1999a, 1999b) analysis – see Chapter One section 1.2.

\(^{142}\) I am not arguing here for a redundancy of the gaze (see Cloke & Perkins, 1998) but rather that a distinctive aspect of the social spatialisation practices that invest the place of Queenstown with meaning is activity – either practiced or vicarious.
chapter for the way they foreground the relationship between identity and the project of holiday (tourist) ‘escape’. They provide an account of identity that assumes an everyday ‘fixed’ identity that can be put to one side while on holiday. In the identity space that the holiday provides, a ‘new’ self can be created. Hence ‘the ‘adventurer’ often consciously sheds layers of his old self – posing in the anonymous free area of the holiday as someone else’ (Cohen & Taylor, 1992, p136).

This new identity, however, rarely survives the transition back into the everyday world. ‘Holidays are just – literally and metaphorically – excursions from the domain of paramount reality. The changes they lead to hardly imply the creation of alternate realities’ (Cohen & Taylor, 1992, p136). Hence, Cohen and Taylor (1992) describe these escape routes as excursions to the ‘edges of alternate reality’ (p114) only. Once leaving the marginal or peripheral place of tourism and returning to the centre, the central identity is also re-instituted. This expansion of the centre-periphery spatial metaphor into the sphere of identity offers an interesting perspective to the theorisation of transience in terms of subjectivity and resistance. In other words, in terms of a Foucauldian theorization of subjectivity and resistance the places of holiday – the tourist resort of Queenstown in particular – provide spaces for the construction of ‘touristic’ identities. Constituted as spaces of escape from the ordinary, from the mundane, tourist resorts are spaces where individuals can construct new discourses of non-ordinary identity for them selves. In this context, career is aligned to the ordinary. Thus, even though individuals may be engaged in work (an activity of the mundane) – it is work in a spatial and metaphorical context of escape/sacred (Graburn, 1989).

An extension of this argument comes in the constitution of the place of tourism as ‘liminal’ (see Shields, 1991; Zukin, 1992; Lett, 1983 cited by Crick, 1996; Wang, 2000; Ryan & Hall, 2001; Selänniemi, 2001). The liminal in this sense is related to the idea of ‘the carnival’ as a space of the ‘completely different, non official…extra political aspect of the world, of man, and of human relations’ (Bakhtin, 1984 cited by Shields, 1991). As Crick (1996) suggests, ‘the tourist’s world is constructed of many inversions – from work to play, normal morality to promiscuity, conspicuous spending rather than saving, freedom rather than structure, and indulgence rather than responsibility’ (p37). Wang (2000) constitutes this binary opposition in the notion of ‘modernity’, the ordinary as
‘Logos-Modernity’ and the non-ordinary as ‘Eros-Modernity’. While logo-modernity is dominated by reason and rationality, eros-modernity is ‘the carnivalesque, play, romantic, or Dyonisus features of modernity’ (Wang, 2000, p31). The activities of entertainment, play, leisure, and tourism are constituted as the spaces where individuals engage with eros-modernity (Wang, 2000). On one level, therefore, the practice of tourism can be constituted as legitimated and formalized practices of resistance to the everyday or the mundane. In this sense, the discourse of tourism actively appropriates discourses of social resistance. The constitution of tourism as liminal practices in liminal spaces is an example of this. A consequence of this active positioning of the practice of tourism in relation to the mundane, is that it offers possibilities for the adoption of (ordinary) employment resistant subject positions. A particular tourism subject position that interests me in this thesis, is the ‘transient-tourist-worker’.

9.3 The constitution of the transient tourist-worker subject within the discourse of tourism

The most widely accepted technical definition of ‘the tourist’ states that international tourists are:

Temporary visitors staying at least twenty-four hours in the country visited and the purpose of whose journey can be classified under one of the following headings: (a) leisure (recreation, holiday, health, study, religion and sport); (b) business (family mission, meeting). (International Union of Official Travel Organisations, 1963, cited by Cohen, 1984/1996, p52)

Cohen (1984/1996) argues that this definition ‘is unsatisfactory for most sociological work because it is too broad and theoretically barren’ (p52). As Crick (1996) points out:

The hippy, the FIT (Free Independent Traveler), and the working-class family on a cheap package tour for the annual fortnightly holiday, for example, exhibit a vast range of motivations – fun, relaxation, adventure, learning, escape, etc; and each kind of traveler generates a different set of socio-economic consequences. (p20)

The broadening of the tourism products consumed has encouraged the opening up of the definition of tourist. The more typical modes of tourism consumption have changed
‘from mass consumption to more individual patterns, with greater differentiation and volatility of consumer preferences and a heightened need for producers to be consumer-driven and to segment markets more systematically’ (Urry, 1990, p52). As Wang (2000) points out, however, the ‘old’ mass tourism mode has not disappeared, rather ‘the tourist market seems to have become fragmented’ (p92). The particular tourist fragment that is the focus of this Chapter (and thesis generally) is the transient-tourist-worker subject.

In Western sense-making practices, ‘leisure time’ is a concept that is generally held as the binary opposition of ‘work-time’. In examining the ways in which the boundary between work and leisure time has changed in the contemporary industrial society, Deem (1985) argues that ‘it is important for sociological analysis to treat work/leisure boundaries flexibly, since whilst these are relatively compartmentalized for some, for others they overlap or are indistinguishable’ (p190). While Deem’s (1985) analysis addresses the way in which unemployment and gender relations render the work/leisure boundary ambiguous, the QTAH employees of this chapter also disturb the coherence of this boundary.

In 1973 Erik Cohen published a paper called “Nomads of Affluence” which has served as a foundation tourism publication for discussion of the more individualistic orientated ‘drifter’ tourism143. In describing ‘drifting’ as an increasingly heterogeneous (class and gender) contemporary Western practice, Cohen’s (1973) analysis regards cultural forces as a foremost explanatory dynamic. Of particular relevance to this thesis on practices of resistance, is Cohen’s (1973) connection between ‘drifting’ and ‘counter-culture’:

Though modern drifting has started as a desire among individualistic youths “to see the world as it really is,” in recent years it became more and more closely associated with the

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143 Cohen (1973) identified the four antecedents to the drifter as being (i) the itinerant marginal economic groups – the hobo, tramp and tinker, for example (ii) the well educated and wealthy ‘touring’ Victorian youth (iii) the pre World War 1 youth movements – such as the German “Wandervogel”, for example, and (iv) working tourism. Within this fourth group, Cohen (1973) describes the short ‘working-summer-holiday’ mode and the research by R.H. Pape (1964) on “‘touristry’ … a form of journeying that depends upon occupation, but only in a secondary sense, in that it finances the more primary goal, travel itself” (Cohen, 1973, p91). While these modes of movement are presented as antecedents to ‘drifting’, Cohen (1973) also takes pains to identify the differences. Drifters are constituted to be usually from middle class homes (as opposed to the economically marginal groups), they often have no particular purpose in mind (as opposed to the more focused discovery and exploration of the Victorian gentleman), they are at pains to distance themselves from their ‘homeland’ (as opposed to the patriotic element within the youth movements) and finally their working practices are ‘more incidental’ than the case of working holidays and touristry behaviour.
“counter-culture.” The loosening of ties and obligations, the abandonment of accepted standards and conventional ways of life, the voluntary abnegation of the comforts of modern technological society and the search for sensual and emotional experiences are some of the distinguishing characteristics of the counter-culture in its various forms, which motivate the young to escape from their homeland, and to travel and live among different and more “primitive” surroundings. (p93)

While the ‘escape from the homeland’ and ‘live among primitive surroundings’ are not relevant to the sophisticated urban setting of Queenstown-the-tourist-resort, the notion of this drifting being associated with the counter-culture is relevant. This relevance becomes clear with the theorization of transience as a practice of resistance to the adoption of a hotel-career-employee subject position. In this sense career becomes part of the set of cultural practices of the centre – for example ‘ties, obligations, accepted standards and conventional ways of life’ – that the ‘drifter (or transient) - tourist represents a counter to.

Given that Cohen’s (1973) drifters have a very loose and short-term association with paid employment, specific connections between the tourists of Cohen’s (1973) research and the QTAH employees of this study are tenuous. A closer link is found in Judith Adler’s (1985) interesting thesis concerning the use of ‘the tramp’ metaphor as a contemporary tourist ‘trope’144. Briefly, Adler (1985) argues that rather than tracing contemporary youth traveling tourism to a ‘democratization’ of the aristocratic tours of the past, its source is the institutionalized travel-for-work patterns by working class youth of the Victorian era. As this ‘workingman’s Grand Tour … declined as a labor institution, it was romanticized and adopted by middle class youth for exclusively tourist purposes’ (Adler, 1985, p335). Thus Adler (1985) argues that ‘tramping functions more purely as tourism than as labor migration or occupational preparation’ for contemporary youths (p352). While both Cohen (1973) and Adler (1985) contribute to my theorisation of the tensions, contradictions and ambiguities that are associated with contemporary employment practices for the group of QTAH employees of this chapter, both maintain a clear opposition between work and leisure-tourism. In this sense, it is the ambiguity and tension between work and leisure-travel in the earlier period of tramping that offers more resonance with the career ambivalent QTAH

144 In terms of the contemporary New Zealand context, the word ‘tramping’ is strongly associated with walking – with a heavy pack (of self-sustaining goods) on your back - through bush and mountain tracks… for (p)leasure.
tourist-workers of this study. Bianchi (2000) makes similar connections with his group of northern European tourist-workers:

There is some evidence to suggest that northern European tourist-workers move through the resort enclaves of the south in search of enhanced life experiences, pleasure and hedonism, prolonged through temporary periods of work which may at times extend into permanent settlement. In this respect it has also been argued that migrant tourist-workers can also be seen as contemporary tramps in so far as they move from place to place in search of work, whilst simultaneously seeking adventure and fulfilling experiences. (p131)

A significant theme within this chapter is the complexity and ambiguity that exists between work and leisure within the QTAH employment context. As Raoul Bianchi (2000) states, ‘recent ethnographic research into transient communities… suggests that the boundaries between tourism and labour migration are not impermeable. Moreover, it is clear that they do not necessarily always represent mutually distinctive spheres of experience’ (p112). The seekers of Adler and Adler’s (1999a, 1999b) work (Chapter One, sections 1.2.4 – 1.2.6 ) is a clear illustration of this research theme. Uriely and Reichel (2000) are also interested in the various ways in which work is integrated into the meaning of the tourism experience and the relationships to hosts that emerge from this. Their quantitative analysis concluded that for the ‘kibbutzim’ and ‘moshavim’ sites specifically, ‘the link between location choice and instrumental motivations reveals that the arrival of working tourists in the kibbutzim is less likely to be motivated by economic benefit and budget considerations than the arrival of working tourists in the moshavim or the city of Tel Aviv’ (Uriely & Reichel, 2000, p267). In a subsequent paper, Uriely (2001) goes on to propose a typology of travelers who combine work and tourism-orientated pursuits. Of the four categories Uriely (2001) proposes – traveling professional workers, migrant tourism workers, non-institutionalized working tourists and working-holiday tourists – it is the ‘migrant tourism worker’ group who offers the clearest link to the QTAH employees of this chapter:

The ‘migrant tourism workers’ constitute a unique form of work-orientated migration that consists of strong touristic elements. It seems, however, that the component of tourist-

\[145\] For example, ‘That tramping was regarded by some as an opportunity for pleasure travel might be gleaned from the frequently reiterated union concern over abuses of the system… A member of the Moulder’s union observed in 1862: “when they have been two or three times round, [they] become quite altered characters, acquire disorderly habits, and when they obtain employment, it generally takes some time before they can settle” (Leeson, 1979 cited by Adler, 1985, p342).
related pursuits is more dominant in this category than in the above-mentioned category of ‘traveling professional workers’. (Uriely, 2001, p3)\[^{146}\]

Uriely (2001) draws the term ‘migrant tourist-workers’ from work by Bianchi and Clarke (1998). In Bianchi (2000), the discussion focuses particularly on the migrant tourist-worker and the contextualization of the migrant tourist-worker phenomenon in the distinctive relations of work that have emerged in contemporary late capitalist or post-industrial Western economies\[^{147}\]. For example, Bianchi (2000) argues that:

Migrant tourist-workers can also be seen as a form of resistance to the intensification of the commodification of time in post-industrial capitalism, in which not only our working lives but also our leisure has become increasingly dictated by the market. (p127)

Thus, for these particular workers, ‘travel and work constitute integral components of a transient lifestyle in which the boundaries between work and leisure are often dissolved or are at least ambiguous’ (Bianchi, 2000, p122). The transient career ambivalent QTAH employees that are the focus of this analysis can thus be ‘mapped’ onto Bianchi’s (2000) ‘migrant-tourist-worker’ category. For purposes of conceptual consistency, however, ‘migrant’ is replaced with ‘transient’ to form the transient-tourist worker subject position label. In using this transient term I am drawing on the QTAH employee subject discussed so far. In other words, my use of the transient-tourist-worker subject label describes a discursive identity practice that incorporates the professional-hotel-employee subject position but an ambivalent – or resistant – identification with the hotel-career-employee subject position. In short, the transient-tourist-workers I refer to in this chapter are the QTAH ambivalents (Chapter One, section 1.2.7) who have been referred to up to this point.

It is at this point, therefore, that the tensions that pervade the tourism industry become obvious. Further, the career ambivalent QTAH employees of this study are locatable in the thick of these tensions. The key point is that contemporary tourism is not outside the very ordinary relations of capital. Thus, while tourism is constituted as being practices

\[^{146}\] Members of the ‘traveling professional workers’ category ‘are usually career orientated, highly skilled and well rewarded in economic and prestige-related terms’ (Uriely, 2001, p3). For this reason, they resemble the highly mobile hotel career group identified in Chapter Six.

\[^{147}\] Thus Bianchi (2000) makes reference, for example, to the work of Zygmunt Bauman. Bauman – particularly his discussion of ‘tourists and vagabonds’ [for example in *Postmodernity and its Discontents*] – hovers on the conceptual margins of this thesis. While I want to acknowledge the contribution his discussion would make to the theorisation of the ambivalent employment conduct articulated by the group of ‘career-resistant tourism workers of this chapter (and the thesis generally) to include a competent introduction to his work would draw the discussion away from the specific focus I am working to maintain. As such, his work in relation to these transient workers is addressed in another forum.
of resistance to the mundane, this theme of resistance is mobilized for (very mundane) economic motives. Within the discourse of tourism, the capitalist accumulation practices are silenced – or actively subdued. In its place, language such as ‘carrying capacity’ (Hall & Page, 1999) (Chapter Four, section 4.2.3) or ‘sustainable’ tourism development is used. The hotels of this study also operate within the everyday Western capitalist economy. As such, the managers work to minimize labour costs (see Chapter Five) and to realize as much labour power – from their purchased potential – as possible (see Chapter Three, section 3.7.1). To this end, an adequate supply of suitably professional and career orientated employees are necessary. The difficulty for the QTAH operation, however, lies in the location of this mundane capital accumulating operation in a place that is actively constituted as a place of tourism. In other words, Queenstown is a place that is purposefully constituted as a place of the ‘non-ordinary’.

In one of the very few examples within the tourism literature where a Foucauldian theoretical framework is specifically mobilized, Cheong and Miller (2000) reposition the tourist from the ‘mainstream view [that] takes the tourist to be a rational, independent, and powerful actor who initiates the touristic trip and accordingly is responsible for its consequences on locals and the environment’ (p379). Instead, placing the tourist within a tripartite system – including tourists, locals and several categories of ‘brokers’ – Cheong and Miller (2000) equate the tourist to Foucault’s madman, sick person, and criminal. While acknowledging that ‘Foucauldian power works in many directions and there certainly are cases in which locals and even brokers are told what to do by tourists’, Cheong and Miller (2000) concentrate on the tourists as a product of power relations ‘because this power is so often underestimated’ (p379). Thus tourism brokers – for example hotel/restaurant employees – ‘compel the tourist to function in a certain way…they intervene and constrain tourism activities generally for the sake of profit and public service’ (Cheong & Miller, 2000, p381). While not included in their discussion, discourses of place also operate to compel tourists to function in a particular way. In other words, the discursive production of place-identity can also be theorized as a process through which disciplinary power is exercised over the tourist. The analysis in this chapter looks specifically at the way the Queenstown tourism discourses of place operate to ‘distract’ QTAH transient-tourist-worker employees from a long-term
commitment to a hotel career. Thus, it is to the discursive production of place meaning that the discussion now turns.

9.4 Queenstown’s tourism discourses of place

A significant premise of this chapter is that the specific spatial context of employment – that it is Queenstown tourist accommodation hotel (TAH) – is important. The reason it is important for the issue of transience, for example, is because Queenstown is constituted to be a place of the non-ordinary through the discourse of tourism. Thus, it becomes possible for QTAH employees to construct non-ordinary (non-career) discursive identities. To introduce this argument concerning the important of place in the social relations of organisation, however, necessitates a brief detour into the discipline of geography. As Aitchison et al. (2000) suggest, ‘in recent years geography has come to be seen as both a fractured and contested discipline’ (p2)\textsuperscript{148}. Thus a more specific label for the trajectory this chapter represents to conventional organisational analysis is the cultural geography of tourism where ‘issues of leisure space, place and landscape’ (Aitchison et al., 2000, p3) are discussed.

‘It can be argued that contemporary society has witnessed a process of touristification, a socio-economic and sociocultural process by which society and its environment have been turned into spectacles, attractions, playgrounds, and consumption sites’ (Wang, 2000). In observing the impact contemporary global tourism has had on local destinations, MacCannell (2001) argues that ‘each destination desperately attempts to mark and market itself as having distinction, an identity’ (p384). To become a distinctive place that one relates the experience of tourism to (and the non-ordinary with), places have to have their identities ‘created’ (Meethan, 1996)\textsuperscript{149}. Aitchison et al. (2000) argue that ‘the construction and subsequent consumption of tourist places is essentially a socio-cultural process’ (citing S. Williams (1998) as they do on p1). There is a growing body of research that looks specifically at the social construction of

\textsuperscript{148} See Chapter Two of Aitchison et al. (2000) for a review of the different discourses of landscape ‘from accounts that stressed the physical, material and absolute nature of space to more recent analyses that emphasise the socio-cultural, symbolic and relative nature of space’ (p8).

\textsuperscript{149} As MacCannell (2001) argues ‘what occurs is not local specificity, but countless variations on the theme of genetic locality, a kind of stressful existence that might be called “trying to be distinctive for tourists”’ (MacCannell, 2001, p384).
tourism place mythology (Urry, 1990; Meethan, 1996; Fees, 1996; Fountain, 1998; and Wang, 2000). A particular site where the relationship between economic relations and social spatialisation practices connect is the promotional material that depicts particular images for places of tourism (see Goss, 1993; Cohen, 1995; Beirne, 1999; Pritchard & Morgan, 2000; Gallarza, Saura & Garcia, 2001; Ateljevic & Doorne, 2002). Urry (1995) and Shields (1991) are two writers who ‘have stressed the importance of spatiality in constructing leisure patterns and relations’ (Aitchison et al. 2000, p27). Hence it is to Shields’ (1991) notion of ‘social spatialisation’ that I turn to theorize the construction of the tourism place-identity of Queenstown. Shields (1991) uses the term:

*Social spatialisation* to designate the ongoing social construction of the spatial at the level of the social imaginary (collective mythologies, presuppositions) as well as interventions in the landscape (for example, the built environment). This term allows us to name an object of study, which encompasses both the cultural logic of the spatial and its expression and elaboration in language and more concrete actions, constructions and institutional arrangements. (p31)

While the social spatialisation practices of Queenstown constitute Queenstown as a distinctive place, they also constitute it as a ‘certain kind of place’ (Shields, 1991, p118). Shields argues that these:

Spatial suppositions … ground a cultural edifice of perceptions and prejudices, images of places and regions, and ...establish performative codes which relate practices and modes of social interaction to appropriate settings. (p46)

In other words, the discursive practices that operate to identify Queenstown to be a certain kind of place, in turn define particular activities to be appropriate (or not) for Queenstown. In addition, for Queenstown to be a certain kind of place where certain kinds of activities take place, particular subjectivities also become appropriate (or not). The concept of social spatialisation, therefore, can be mobilized to articulate an explicit relationship between place-identity and subjectivity. In analyzing a selection of the tourism promotional material of Hawaii, Goss (1993), for example, argues that:

Destination marketing works by (re)presenting socially desirable consumer life-styles with icons of a particular place, and suggesting, through various rhetorical devices, a substantive connection between them, drawing upon and reproducing socializing and

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150 See Urry (1990) and Wang (2000) for example, for more specific discussion concerning the consumption of tourism images in advertising and promotional material.

151 Due to Urry’s (1995) emphasis on *time* and space I opted for Shield’s more place-meaning centred notion of social spatialisation to guide my discussion of the tourist place and spaces of Queenstown.
spatializing discourse. Destination marketing is, therefore, simultaneously implicated in the construction of place imagery and the constitution of subjects who experience that image in specific ways. (p663)

The promotional and journalistic material about Queenstown contained in Appendix I, Ji, Ji, M and N all articulate a relationship between the extra-ordinary or liminal adventure place of Queenstown and the outdoor-adventurous and/or social-adventurous tourist subjects who visit or inhabit this place. As suggested in section 9.2, by liminal I am drawing on Bakhtin’s treatment of the term (via Shields, 1991) that speaks of ‘the carnivalesque’ and the completely different or non-official social space.

Tied up in this liminal place-identity of Queenstown, is a perception of risk. As Ateljevic and Doorne (2002) argue ‘New Zealand has been reimagined as an invigorated, energizing destination, which offers liminality through adrenalin rushes’ (p661). An example from a promotional article on Queenstown in the Ansett Inflight magazine illustrates this sense of energized and active place meaning:

Geographically, Queenstown is a beautiful piece of work. Tumbling rivers, picturesque lake, the rocks and the rills – in any season the place is stunning. But what packs the flights and tour buses these days is adventure. If you’re looking for action, thrills, and that feeling you get when you know you’re moving at speeds which would make Enzo Ferrari go, “Whoa!” you’re looking for Queenstown. And the options are nothing if not comprehensive. (Warne, 1999/2000)

One of the activity options available to sustain the liminal adventure place-identity of Queenstown is the ‘bungy jump’. The bungy jump speaks explicitly to an

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152 I do acknowledge here the inherent tensions that surround the industrial production of a tourism activity product that must – in some way – authenticate the ‘liminal’ demands of tourism imagery. As Cline and Perkins (1998) and Bernt. Moore, Simmons & Hart (1996) identify, while the appearance of risk is important, the actuality of the risk is carefully managed through various industry regulations. Ironically, it is because of the reliability of the technology and the industry infrastructure that tourists can – and do - indulge in ‘risk activities’ safely. As Wilson aptly suggests, ‘(a)s our technical mastery over nature has progressed, the idea of nature as freedom has flourished – an idea that would be meaningless in a time or culture other than this one’ (Wilson, 1992, p32). Thus, the right sort of risk for adventure tourism involves a sense of adventure, thrill, freedom but just for a short time (for example, for the ride or for the holiday).

153 According to the AJ Hackett web site, the bungy jump ‘started with the people of Vanuatu in the Pacific who have been throwing themselves from huge towers for centuries with nothing more than a few vines tied to their feet. This ancient ritual inspired the Oxford University Dangerous Sports Club to try a few experimental jumps back in the 70’s. AJ Hackett saw a video and his imagination took over, teaming up with a fellow speed skier Henry Van Asch they developed bungy into the modern ritual it is today. After some extensive testing on latex rubber cords a series of extreme jumps were made, first in Tignes, France from a ski area gondola 91 metres above the snow. In June 1987 AJ jumped from the Eiffel Tower and into international spotlight – the bungy legend was born. [www.ajhackett.com/history]. The bungy operation on the Kawerau Bridge [just outside of the Queenstown urban centre] 43 metres above the Kawerau River, was the world’s first commercial operation, opening in November 1988 [www.ajhackett.com/kawerau].
'adventurous encounter with nature’. Since its commercial beginning in 1988 the bungy has become iconic within the place-identity of Queenstown. ‘Queenstown is the undisputed king of bounce. If you say “Jump!” the only thing Queenstown wants to know is, how high?’ (Warne, 1999/2000) Through the experience of the bungy jump the active body is drawn more explicitly into the tourism product of Queenstown, but importantly this isn’t an ordinary sort of physical activity. Distinguishing the bungy from ‘the usual’ is the context (this is not a utilitarian gym) and the physiology (this is ‘adrenaline’ as opposed to ‘sweat’ from sustained effort). The bungy jump is a ‘thrill’ (Berno, Moore, Simmons & Hart, 1996), a leap into mid-air that challenges gravity, overcomes gravity, controls gravity. In this sense a bungy jump is truly a journey into an extra-ordinary place, or, an adventure into the liminal zone.

‘The bungy’ is a very productive adventure icon in the place-identity of Queenstown. Not only is it constructed as a universal adventure product; participation can involve doing it or watching it. In that sense it speaks directly to the gaze metaphor of tourism (Urry, 1990). Cheong and Miller (2000) argue that Urry’s (1990) analysis of the gaze focuses on ‘what the tourist views and interprets rather than on the techniques and strategies that agents use to instruct tourists to see’ (p382). Invoking a Foucauldian theorisation of power, they are more interested in the way in which the tourist’s viewing behaviour is produced. In other words, they argue that ‘while tourists do acquire a gaze, agent-target power relations guarantee that it is the “tourist gazes” of agents that manufactures the sociological gaze of tourists that Urry describes’ (p383). In terms of the construction of the place-identity of Queenstown, therefore, the bungy operation can be theorized as a site where the local tourism agents educate, instruct, persuade, proffer advice, interpret, and coerce (Cheong & Miller, 2000) the tourist on the meaning of the place of Queenstown. The Kawerau Bridge, for example, is often crowded with people and not all are preparing themselves for a jump. As Berno et al. (1996) report, ‘(d)espite this reputation for being an adventure tourism Mecca, a recent survey found that only 9 percent of visitors to Queenstown undertook jet boating, 8 percent bungy jumping and 3 percent rafting’ (citing the Queenstown Promotion Board, 1993, p21). The human

154 (a) By ‘iconic’ I mean a significant symbolic image (Daniels & Cosgrove, 1988) representing the extra-ordinary-adventure place-identity of Queenstown. (b) A bungy jumper in flight also appears on the cover of the Tourism New Zealand 100% Pure Vision Strategy Document – indicating inclusion in a national place-identity of adventure, further supporting the arguments made by Cloke and Perkins (1998).
drama being performed on the bungy platform, however, is absorbing. The fear, the coping with fear, the held breath – for participants and observers – and the sense of relief when the ‘rubber band’ holds. Having watched somebody bungy jump, I would argue that there is a real sense of being involved in something significant, something ‘spectacular’. In other words the vicarious also involves an adrenaline rush. Maybe not as significant as actually jumping but still a physiological thrill (Berno et al. 1996).

Its success as a tourist ‘educational’ product about the place of Queenstown is, therefore, easy to understand. Visually it has a high profile, it is accessible to many, it has a never-ending source of ‘actors’ – who will pay money to do it – its fast, dramatic and absorbing\(^{155}\). In other words it has all the ingredients for a commercially viable spectacle. As Cloke and Perkins (1998) suggest, the important point is ‘not necessarily to provide an experience of the authenticity of place or people, but rather to provide an experience which will authenticate the images and representations of anticipatory place promotion’ (p189). The representation that is being authenticated by the bungy jump is place-identity of Queenstown as a place on ‘the edge’, an out-of-the-ordinary liminal place.

This representation of Queenstown as a non-ordinary sort of place is present in the account Bertrand provides of his impression of Queenstown. Bertrand (mid-late 20s) came to Queenstown because of the skiing but his experience of the place of Queenstown is not matching up with his imagination of it:

*I came [from the UK] in January and I knew I’d be needing work thought I’d fancy working in a ski resort ... because I am a skier. Although I haven’t actually been skiing since I’ve been here because the reality in Queenstown is slightly different. The situation of the mountains compared to the resort and that you are half an hour or so from the mountain and I don’t have a car and its $20 or so in the bus. You can’t just pop up in the afternoon, its not so easy.*

While the skiing aspect of Queenstown doesn’t tally with his European experience, importantly the social dimension of Queenstown is also not what he was expecting. In short, it doesn’t feel ‘real’ enough:

\(^{155}\) Globally, it features in many of the New Zealand Tourism Board promotional materials and the Queenstown materials specifically. On the more local level, tourists travelling the main route into Queenstown by road pass directly by the bungy operation and can witness a jumper from their car/bus seat.
I find it a little bit one dimensional, it’s not really a true community. There aren’t old people around. It’s great in certain respects but I think I would rather be living in a real place to experience NZ anyway because this could be almost anywhere....In terms of experiencing NZ I would rather live in a smaller place with old wooden houses, the true kind of Kiwi experience. (Bertrand)

As Liechty (1996) argues there is a great deal of place imagery construction work undertaken by the tourist. If this ‘prefiguring labour’ is not performed - as with Liechty’s two American visitors to Kathmandu – confronting particular tourism places can be a shock. For Bertrand the problem was more that this ‘pre-figuring labour’ constructed an image that wasn’t sustained by his experience of the place of Queenstown. In search of an authentic or ordinary New Zealand community, he was confronted by the ‘other-than ordinary’ tourism place-ness of Queenstown. It is to the particular discourses of place that constitute Queenstown as an extra-ordinary natural, outdoor-adventure and social-adventure place that this discussion now turns.

9.5 Queenstown as a ‘pure’ and ‘natural’ place

As argued above, tourism itself is an activity that operates outside of the ordinary, everyday urban, industrial Western space. Thus for tourism to be an appropriate activity for a particular place, that place must in turn have a compatible place-identity. More specifically, a place-identity that invokes a sense of non-ordinary and otherness, of being on the edge of that which tourism is constructed to be a break from. The importance of the ‘natural’ of Queenstown is that it operates as a signifier of this ‘otherness’.

The conceptual separation of nature from culture is disputed by contemporary academic writers (see Wilson, 1992; Fukui & Ellen, 1996; Urry, 1990, 1995; Macnaghten & Urry, 1998). In this sense the meaning of nature – of the natural – is as fluid and changing as the culture that invests landscapes with meaning. As Ellen (1996) argues, while there is a propensity to essentialize the phenomena that is nature, constructions of the true or

\[156\] 'Unlike many tourists for whom even before arrival Nepal is pre-packaged in layers of imagination,’ writes Liechty (1996), Al and Gus had little or no imaginary armour and saw nothing more than what is at least part of the reality of Kathmandu: squalor, poverty, mud, chaos, and pollution’ (p110).
pure nature are both temporally and spatially specific. A distinction between nature and culture, however, is necessary if the natural is to be constructed as a place of the non-cultural (other), as a place of tourism. As the advertisement in Appendix M suggests, New Zealand is constituted as this ‘other’ natural place in relation to the industrial urban places of the centre (see section 9.2 above). Ateljevic and Doorne (2002) describe these sort of contemporary New Zealand tourism-marketing campaigns as speaking directly to the environmental concerns of the targeted market:

A value system that assigns virtue to rural and natural land as opposed to negative associations of urban settings has prevailed cross culturally in all campaigns. Research into motivations revealed a generalized fear of environmental destruction in the context of increasing urbanization, anxieties which are subsequently exploited to enhance the clean green appeal of the country. (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2002, p660)

Within New Zealand’s tourism place-identity the natural spaces of Queenstown enjoy a high profile (Cloke & Perkins, 1998). As Bell (1996) argues, ‘(a) powerful concept of New Zealand is based on nature: clean, green and beautiful’ (p28) and there are plenty of photogenic sites of nature in the Queenstown area. Analyzing the rise of adventure tourism in New Zealand – and in the Queenstown area more particularly – Cloke and Perkins (1998) ‘suggest that there are strong interconnections between the place-identities being established for key tourist places in the country and the place-identities being promoted for New Zealand itself’ (p190). While they draw on material from “The New Zealand Way” - a universal branding personality for the marketing of New Zealand goods - to argue their point, the more recent “100% Pure Vision” tourism promotion is equally cogent. Within this ‘first truly global campaign’ which is said to ‘present a strong, simple statement that embodies New Zealand’s characteristics – as a people, as a country and as an experience’ (Tourism New Zealand, 2000), the landscapes of the Queenstown area are significantly placed (see Appendix N). Shields (1991) argues that the ‘naturalness or purity’ of nature is a product of the ‘social imaginary’. As with the place of Niagara, therefore, these 100% Pure New Zealand pictures constitute Queenstown as a ‘Shrine of Nature’ (Shields, 1991, p146). In constituting New Zealand as a place of 100% pure nature it also reinvests the landscapes of Queenstown with these same meanings (Cloke & Perkins, 1998). Thus, within these

157 This temporal and spatial specificity can be seen in the debates concerning particular tourist driven ‘developments’ in the Queenstown area over the last 10 years – for example urban spread in the Wakatipu Basin and the building of a gondola through the Greenstone Valley.
pictures, New Zealand – and Queenstown in particular – are represented as sublime spaces (Bell, 1996) where pure nature resides. ‘If this isn’t heaven it’s a lot closer to it than where you are right now’ states one picture, while in the other you are described as catching your breathe ‘in air so clear and sharp, you get a high that is 100% pure New Zealand’ (www.purenz.com). Both these texts, therefore, actively constitute these natural spaces of Queenstown as other-than or outside the normal ‘earthly’ and ‘smoggy’ places of the tourist’s mundane urban and industrial world. It is in this sense that these ‘pure and natural’ images work to constitute Queenstown as a natural out-of-the-industrial-ordinary space.

9.6 Queenstown as the extra-ordinary place of outdoor adventure activity

Wilson (1992) suggests that the allure of nature – for the more industrialized and technologized societies – is that ‘nature is the one place we can both indulge our dreams of mastery over the earth and seek some kind of contact with the origins of life’ (p25). While this mastery over the earth can take the form of ‘civilized cultivation’ it also takes the form of outdoor adventure activity in the Queenstown context. Not just any activity, of course, but an activity that is appropriate for the extra-ordinary tourism imperative. Queenstown is frequently constructed as ‘the adventure capital’ of the world (Berno et al. 1996). The Ansett NZ In Flight Magazine article is a case in point (see Appendix Ji & Jii). An important site of tourism activity that sustains the extra-ordinary and liminal place identity of Queenstown is the mountain. Like the beach, the mountains weren’t ‘always a pleasure zone but had to be constructed as such, within the system of the social spatialisation’ (Sheilds, 1991, p89). ‘Tourism’, suggests Wilson (1992) ‘involves a massive conceptual reorganization of the landscape. Lands once productive in a traditional industrial or agricultural sense were re-classified as recreational zones’ (p 43). Lands also deemed unproductive – or as barriers to productivity – are subject to re-organisation by adventure tourism.

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158 I refer here to the argument that Fairburn (1989) makes concerning the dominant settler myth of New Zealand as a land of Arcadian plenty that plays out in the contemporary pastoral and wine-growing landscapes of the Wakatipu Basin.

159 See also Urry (1995, 1997) for the re-constitution of place meaning.
The 1861 announcement by Gabriel Read that he had found gold in Otago began the first wave of the region’s gold rush. By 1862-63 prospectors were moving up and exploring central Otago and before long the rush had reached the Arrow River\(^{160}\). An account of the journey from Dunstan to the Arrow provides some insight into the way in which meaning was made of the mountains and slopes of the Queenstown landscape within the gold mining discourse of the 1890s:

We crossed some frightful mountains on the road from Dunstan [present day Clyde] to this place...we made Fox’s [present day Arrowtown] in three and a quarter days. Fifty miles by road we came, sometimes having to hold on to tufts of grass and rocks, to prevent ourselves from going too fast to the bottom of hillsides and gullies, and then having to do the same to get to the top of another height...It is said that Victoria only wants fencing in...This island wants hammering out flat. (Olssen & Fields, 1976, p20)

With the development of mountain climbing and particularly skiing, the discourses of leisure and tourism reconstituted the ‘frightful mountains’ as sites of adventure and pleasure. Thus instead of wanting them to be ‘hammered flat’ the mountains are celebrated as outdoor recreation resources...(Wilson, 1992, p26). As climbing and skiing porter Blake states:

> Definitely. There are a lot of climbers here. There are a lot of guides here, especially for climbing, kayaking and skiing. You get a lot of people here who are into that sort of stuff because of the people here. Like you’ve got a lot of heli-skiing so you get a lot of people who are heli-ski guiding. So it’s definitely a strong association in Queenstown.

### 9.7 Constituting the transient outdoor-adventure tourist worker subject\(^{161}\)

“Queenstown: Mecca of Indulgence and adrenaline” writes Kennedy Warne, the reporter who:

Likes Queenstown. I like its energy and I like its attitude. I like it because the people who hold it all together are forced to walk a razor-sharp line between success and failure, and they do it with style. Like the T-shirts for sale in Shotover street say, “If you’re not living on the edge, you’re taking up too much room.” (Warne, 1999/2000, p37 emphasis added).

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\(^{160}\) The Arrow River also runs through the Wakatipu Basin, giving life to Arrowtown a satellite township of Queenstown.

\(^{161}\) As I state in section 9.3, the transient (outdoor-adventure) tourist worker subject I refer to here I assume has identified with the professional-hotel-employee subject position but practices an ambivalent or resistant identification with the hotel-career-employee subject position.
This is a high-risk place, it suggests, and the ‘bungy-bridge’ is both literal and metaphorical. In so doing it illustrates the way in which the ‘cultural logic’ that informs the adventure place-identity of Queenstown also constitutes adventurous subject positions. While the people Kennedy Warne is referring to include those setting up new adventure tourism businesses another group of ‘locals’ also aid in the confirmation of the outdoor-adventurer subject position. While the commercial tourist operation has to provide a ‘sure thing’, independent or non-commercial ‘extreme sport’ athletes who do experience the risk in a very real sense are pushing the ‘limits’. These individuals also play an important part in the Queenstown adventure identity. To be identified as a ‘Queenstowner’ is – as Warne (1999/2000) identified – to be a citizen that lives ‘on the edge’. Extreme Risk (1999) is a documentary about some of these ‘adventure identities’ of Queenstown. For example, Chuck Berry base-jumps for pleasure and is a skydiving cameraman, a stunt man who will ‘do anything crazy’. Chuck Berry is a member of a group of (predominantly male) Queenstowners who live a high profile life in terms of ‘pushing themselves to the limit’. The rhetoric that surrounds these men emphasizes the challenging of nature’s wilderness and places them in Queenstown because of the adventure playground available to them. In other words, these men are carving out a space of counter-culture, a space of true risk as opposed to the simulated or contrived risk of sanitized tourism operations, a place of ‘real’ liminality that emerges and re-emerges in the moments before they are appropriated by aggressive consumerism (Miyoshi, 1998). Hence, these identities are also an important part of the construction of Queenstown as a liminal place where adventure is not only possible, it is desirable. Significantly for this thesis, these identities also

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162 In reference to the image in Appendix Ji.
163 Such as Skippers Grand Canyon, the joint venture set up between Ngai Tahu and Pipeline Bungy in 1999. The then chairman of Ngai Tahu praised the director of Pipeline Bungy, Jerry Hohneck. “Jerry has taken the first risk. His risk was to follow his dreams and now we have invested in him and his business, for the overall benefit of this region” (ODT: 11.5.1999).
164 Base-jumping involves launching yourself off a cliff (or high promontory) while holding on to a parachute. After free falling for a time you eventually parachute to the ground (as long as you haven’t smashed into pieces by bits of cliff or trees as you zoom past).
165 (a) Cloke and Perkins (1998) report that ‘men are more likely to take part’ in outdoor recreation, although ‘women’s participation is rising’ (p197) for example Femke Kaag in Extreme Risk (above).
(b) Part of the 100% Pure Campaign is the “thrill zone” which carries the sub-title of “Push Yourself to the Limit” [www.purenz.com].
166 That counters the ‘centred’ liminality of the Queenstown tourism product such as the bungy, for example.
167 This argument must be qualified, however, by the business side of this adventure profile. These men make their living from adventure. The outdoors – the liminal - is their workplace as well as their space of leisure.
contribute to establishing Queenstown as a forum where QTAH employees can constitute their own tourist-worker identity in terms of out-door adventure. As a consequence, identity practices of resistance to the hotel-career-employee subject position are possible. “Work is Temporary, Skiing is Forever” said the T-shirt I stood behind while queuing for a cup of coffee in a Queenstown café during the early spring of 1997. This t-shirt represents a ‘bumper sticker’ for this career resistant outdoor-adventure subject position. Ben, Brian and Barry articulate a constitution of QTAH employee self-identity that crosses and re-crosses between hotel-career-employee and the transient outdoor-adventure tourist-worker subject positions.

9.7.1 Ben

Ben is a New Zealander in his late twenties who is originally from a farm in the centre of the North Island. In the winter of 1997 Ben was working in the bar of the Moon Hotel. He had already missed my first attempt to meet with him as he had been up on the mountain skiing and had forgotten all about our meeting. It was skiing that had originally brought him down to Queenstown some seven years ago:

_Came back from overseas...and thought what am I doing home. My father basically said, “Well why don’t you go to Queenstown”. So I came down here seven years ago for skiing and work and to have a look around because I’d never been down here before and this was the booming little town._

Ben enjoys living in Queenstown for the lifestyle. A lifestyle that is defined very much in terms of the outdoors and continuous adventure and excitement:

_It’s good, it’s good, the lifestyle. If you’re into mountain biking and skiing and all that sort of thing it’s great...I ski most days. I don’t really know how to do much else to be honest...I have thought about doing other things and I’ve had lots of opportunities with my parents to do other things...but I just became bored...Not just skiing, I just like doing things._

Unlike Carl (see Chapter Eight, section 8.4.2) Ben’s work arrangement is ideal for his enjoyment of the extra-ordinary of Queenstown. The sole bar attendant for the only bar in the Moon Hotel, Ben starts his working day around 4pm – after a day skiing. This is his second winter season working the bar of the Moon Hotel. In reflecting upon his
previous experience as chef in a local restaurant, *Ben* clearly articulates the tensions or difficulties of living the liminal Queenstown experience.

*Another reason I got out of there was that it was killing me basically. We were open so late it just wasn’t good for you. I’d get home at 5am, and get up at 8 to go skiing, ski all day, try to get an hour’s sleep in the afternoon before I went to work...and then you used to party hard as well and it just wasn’t good for you.*

Somewhat paradoxically, despite this ‘killing’ regime *Ben* talks of starting his own restaurant – in Queenstown – one-day:

*Myself and a mate were planning a restaurant of our own and we would have done it but I own a house here – halves with another guy and it was all signed up to sell and it fell through so we didn’t have the money...I still have plans to do it here and I’m sure I will.*

In terms of an attachment to the liminal place identity of Queenstown, this paradox does not present as a contradiction. In many ways it represents a more comprehensive attachment to the multiple sense of the liminal that is present within Queenstown’s social spatialisation practices of place. Queenstown is a place on the edge: in terms of skiing, in terms of party-life and in terms of business ventures (Warne, 1999/2000). It is also an appropriate place for the temporally extra-ordinary ‘space’ of employment:

*Not at the moment anyway I could not work during the day. I’ve never worked days...apart from here and there casually and working up the mountain. I’ve just being doing it for so long I can’t conceive of getting up at 7am and going to work...But I won’t do it forever. I’ll probably do it for a few more seasons.*

More obvious in these comments from *Ben* than *Carl* is a sense that this orientation towards the winter season may last only for a few more seasons. Given his strong claims about a restaurant, however, this does not necessarily mean abandonment of Queenstown and the outdoor and/or social adventure tourist-worker subject position of Queenstown’s discourses of place.

While *Ben*’s attachment to the place of Queenstown is more comprehensive than *Carl* he is still planning to leave. Unlike *Carl*, however, his transient outdoor-adventure tourist-worker conduct actively draws him back to Queenstown:

*I’ve done one winter back overseas and this winter – in eight weeks – I’m going back to Colorado for the winter. But then I’ll be back here for the winter. I’ve done some summers here but this summer I am going back to Colorado for the winter. To Aspen...to teach snowboarding and to work in a bar. (Ben)*
In other words, the significant connection that Ben makes to Queenstown works to draw him away from Queenstown but also by its nature it works to bring him back:

I've got plans to go over there (Aspen) - I have work jacked up and once the winter's over there in June I'll fly back here and I'll start back here - if nothing else develops. Who knows what's going to happen.

This passage is a clear illustration of the way in which transience can be explained as a consequence of the meanings that are ascribed to places and the relationship between subject positions that are adopted. Like Carl above, Ben primarily constructs Queenstown as a place of winter snow skiing. When this place identity is no longer appropriate (when the snow melts) his connections to Queenstown weaken or are put to one side until it is appropriate again. In the interim, his connection with Aspen, Colorado gains a greater intensity. In other words, Ben’s account of transience connects Queenstown to a global network of sites. An interesting thing about Ben’s particular sort of transience is in the loop it draws. Through this loop the winter resorts of Queenstown/Aspen and the employment arrangements with the F&B manager and the GM of the Moon Hotel/the Aspen Bar are central components in the orderly but idiosyncratic organization of Ben’s hospitality work. In this way, the mix and the levels of identification with subject positions and discourses of self that he engages with, produces resistance to a strong identification with the hotel-career-employee subject position. While Ben is practicing continuity and commitment, it is not centred on the QTAH labour process. Rather, it is primarily centred on outdoor adventure. Thus, Ben does not exhibit a career orientation to his project of the self. Despite his experience and valuable professional-hotel-employee conduct, therefore, Ben does not present as a reliable member of the Moon Hotel’s ILM. His transient conduct is thus a cause for Ann-Marie’s frustration.

9.7.2 Brian

Brian’s account is interesting for the way in which different sorts of subject positions within his identity ‘compositions’ have quite different consequences for career resistance. Brian is a male in his mid-late 30s. He grew up in Wellington but moved to Ruapehu as a school leaver. Having worked at the hotel at Ruapehu (because it was a source of employment), he later traveled overseas including spending three winters at
the ski resort of St Anton in Austria. Coming back to New Zealand, with his wife, “Queenstown was the obvious place to live and work” because of the ski industry. Being “fortunate” in gaining work for a helicopter skiing company in 1989, Brian has “been here ever since”. Now with a house, a mortgage and two children, he “quite happily calls this place home”.

Like Carl and Ben, Brian is part of a community that structures their life around the outdoor-adventure activities of skiing and climbing:

_I’m in quite a unique situation because of what I do and the lifestyle that I lead… I’m not the only one. I have a lot of climbing friends who are in the same situation as me. They love their climbing and skiing, they are here for the outdoor life and it’s just whatever work they pick up in town to support their habit or addiction._

The particular meaning that Brian gives to Queenstown, however, is significantly different in that these leisure activities are not only experienced as recreation. Like the QTAH operation, Brian’s ski and climbing activities – in being mediated through the tourism marketplace – are drawn into the very ordinary sphere of economic survival. Brian works as a heli-ski guide during the winter-ski months and as a mountain guide and rock-climbing instructor in the summer. While they are his main employment interest both of these jobs are very fickle sources of income. “I might not know what I am going to be doing until I get a phone call to say we need you to guide – sort of thing”. As such his evening waiter work at Q2 has always been “quite convenient if I work during the day or if I don’t work during the day… But ultimately if guiding was to give me a decent enough income then certainly I would stop” (Brian). In order to earn a ‘decent income’ with heli-skiing and climbing Brian is slowly building up his level of certification. While not fully certified with climbing, he does operate as a ‘lead guide’ with the heli-skiing operation. Within his description of the responsibility that this position carries is an account of the more sober and mundane under-side of the Queenstown outdoor-adventure product:

_With heli-skiing it can be that you are dealing with a lot of people. And as such there I carry a reasonable amount of responsibility when guiding… I’m in charge… we might have say 100 people out that day and we will break off into several groups. One helicopter with 30 people here, one helicopter with 30 peoples there. So I will be lead guide for that operation there (i.e.: 30 people or so). That wee cell, I’m in charge of_

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<sup>168</sup> In this sense, Brian invokes a sense of a ‘leisure community’ who as a consequence may share a similar occupational community. In this sense, these transient outdoor-adventure tourist workers parallel and invert Graeme Salaman’s (1974) notion of an ‘occupational community’.
everything. If something goes wrong, if the shit hits the fan, it is my neck on the block. Things never do but you have to be prepared for each scenario...You’ve got to be two steps ahead all the time – the weather changes, the snow changes, where are you going to have lunch. (Brian)

Unlike Carl and Ben, not all of Brian’s experience of the snow is an experience of the liminal or freedom from the bounds of the ordinary. At times Brian crosses the border between the consumption of the outdoor-adventure tourism product and explicit involvement in the production of that tourism product. Rather than ‘release’ or a ‘fun holiday’, for Brian, the Queenstown snow comes to represent – at least in part - responsibility and reliability. As such, Brian illustrates the way in which ‘moments’ of identity are the result of constant movement across different discursive-subject boundaries. The particular discursive-subject profile affects Brian’s immediate experience of Queenstown as well as his longer-term employment orientation. This is not something to do for a while, while he is young and on holiday. Instead, this is a long-term (or long as physically possible) commitment. ‘Do you have an ambition to own your own guiding business’, I ask?

Not necessarily. Maybe be my own private guide or contract out ... which is basically what I do now. If I am certified I can command more money and I can get work in other countries. Ultimately I would love to heli-ski in Canada, to do a few seasons back to back. But ultimately that depends on family life...the crowd I work with...(are) breaking into or running guiding Himalayan trips too, so there is scope for me to work on trips like that too...If anything the guiding will take off more. (Brian)

Thus, while the employment conduct of Brian does exhibit continuity, commitment, learning, networking and progression, it is to the outdoor-adventure rather than the TAH labour process that his commitment is directed:

Hotels are constantly turning over staff, especially in a town like this because people are here for whatever reason. They might stay here for six months they might stay here for a couple of years but a lot of people move on. So when [X] moved on they had another restaurant manager. She was only here for six months. They were trying to find somebody so I held the ship together for the whole of the summer and then somebody in the hotel was moved into the position. So when that happened, that’s when I went from being a waiter to being a supervisory role...When the position was available, I thought hard about maybe I should do it and say, “fine I’ll take on the job”. But I couldn’t commit myself to 40 hours a week. To come on at 2pm to do the paper work etc because guiding is really my career if you like so I tend to stick with that. (Brian)

As a result, in terms of QTAH labour management, Brian represents another frustrating lack of commitment to the hotel-career-employee subject position.
9.7.3 Barry

Barry’s account is interesting because of the shift he has made from a liminal lifestyle of Queenstown to a more sober and conventional orientation towards a career and the community of the everyday. Barry grew up in Auckland and spent the first five or six years of his working life in the automotive industry there. Deciding he would like to travel overseas and go skiing, he thought that he would “need some hospitality experience of some description because it’s the major make-up of most ski resorts”. As such he “got a job as a waiter in a little restaurant” for a few months and then feeling adequately prepared started off on his traveling adventure. His first step brought him down to Methven.

I took a considerable sum of money with me with the intention of getting a job and keeping it and using it to travel overseas. But basically I got to Methven, met a great bunch of people and basically blew it and had a great time...I had a terrific five months there. (Barry)

Having no money left to travel overseas, Barry drifted down to Queenstown in part following some of his Methven friends and in part to earn some money and to do some more skiing during the next season. “I knew Queenstown and knew what I was coming to. I had been here on holiday and knew I could establish myself here and pick up skiing next winter.” Which is in essence what he ended up doing.

While initially working in a local café he also picked up casual F&B work in Q2. When he started to gain sufficient hours at the Moon Hotel, he dropped the café work. By his first winter in Queenstown he was well established – as with Carl, Ben and Brian – to support a Queenstown outdoor-adventure orientated tourist-worker lifestyle:

I had work in the evening restaurant, which suited the skiing. And I could pick and choose – through the close relationship I had with the functions manager – what work I wanted... Basically you worked your evening shift, got up the next day and if it was nice you went skiing and if it wasn’t you did whatever. And if you needed the money and there was a function next week – because obviously the roster is out in advance – and it was a brilliant day and you had to work well bummer. (Barry)

Barry was happy in that he could arrange his work-life to suit his leisure interests. “I could live my lifestyle, I could arrange work around what I wanted to do, which coming from Auckland, and everything was quite the opposite.” In this sense he constitutes

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169 Small township supporting the Mt Hut ski-field, in Canterbury, South Island, New Zealand.
Auckland as the centre or the ordinary from which his Queenstown life is an escape. After a year long traveling break – in Australia with his girlfriend – where he picked up “bits and pieces” of hotel work he returned again to Queenstown. His decision to return to Queenstown was because he “didn’t want to go back to Auckland” and also because of the skiing and his friends.

Slipping back into his former F&B work and skiing lifestyle for about six months, Barry then moved into the night audit position:

> I can’t remember my motivation for wanting to do night audit. I remember getting a bit tired of doing what I was. And looking at 25 and thinking I can’t carry on doing what I was doing – the work…it was just a different job at the time. Not much sense of direction – unfortunately.

While Barry recalls that this shift to night audit was made without any clear sense of direction at the time, he now constitutes this move in terms of a distinctive transition in his life orientation. Unlike the evening F&B work, the night audit position was not compatible with the rhythms of daytime skiing:

> It hindered skiing. You need sleep and doing eight hours of work throughout the night is completely different from doing eight hours during the day. Your body doesn’t just simply revert, its quite different…its like a lot of things you work something out of your system. Four or five years ago if I was sitting here with you today and there was snow on those mountains I’d want to be there. Now I still enjoy skiing and I go there when I can but I don’t feel compelled to do it. I don’t have the need. I have enough on my plate. (Barry)

Barry now describes a much clearer and more certain focus on the sober task of building a career. This re-orientation can be theorized in terms of a shifting degree of identification with the particular discursive-subject position of skiing and career. From a position of stronger identification with a career discursive-subject position, he constitutes his previous ski-party orientated life as time wasted:

> I took on night audit and enjoyed the clerical work…(I did that) for the last 18 months or more. I finished in February when I took on accounts payable and that’s got me back on track to the start of a career – which is probably six years too late…[Is your job now more important now than previously, I asked?] Definitely my career is now more important. That is probably highlighted by the fact that reality surrounding the cost of living, retirement etc…People my age, and I know I didn’t and my peers have no appreciation for what was going to happen in 20 years…we didn’t care and we weren’t that well educated. (Barry)

In Barry’s more recent experience of Queenstown there is a significant weakening of his connection to the adventure-tourism subject position. On the other hand, there is a
stronger identification with a career subject position that orientates his focus to career, financial security and the future. As a result, Barry’s connection to the place discourses of Queenstown is significantly altered. While he describes the lifestyle of Queenstown as positive, it is a lifestyle that fits into a 9-5 job as opposed to a lifestyle that dominated his life:

Even now I do a 9-5 job, come Saturday I’m only half an hour away to some of the best fishing and skiing...I live in a safe environment, we don’t have to lock up our houses religiously, there is no threat there...A close-knit community...And simple things like the car I drive is a beat up old Honda. If I was in Auckland I couldn’t possibly drive a car like that...It’s not a reliability thing it’s an image. In Auckland if you do want to fit in you are looked at as a loser. Whereas I can fit in with my car in Queenstown. (Barry)

Queenstown is now a place that is comfortable to live in – possibly to ski and fish in when there is time – but otherwise a place in which to work and build the foundations of a career. Interestingly, it is still very likely that Barry will leave Queenstown and leave the Moon Hotel in the reasonably near future. The reasons, however, are very different to those of Carl and Ben. ‘Where will you be in 5 years time’, I ask?

I’ll be running an accounts department...as a financial controller of another company...I’d rather it wasn’t (a hotel)...I don’t think it would or could be (in Queenstown). There are a lot of other industries in Queenstown but they are all one of each. No I really enjoy the lifestyle...but reality tells me I’ll have to go back to a city somewhere. I did have a bit of an anti-Auckland thing, full of wankers sort of thing. But at the end of the day you have to go where the work is. (Barry)

The more adventure-tourism orientated young men in the accounts above will leave Queenstown to go in search of comparable adventure experience. Barry was once a member of that adventure-tourism community and engaged in a similar sort of transience. Now, however, his sense of reality constructs Queenstown as a place where appropriate future work cannot be found. In this sense, Barry actively supports the argument that Queenstown is an extra-ordinary or marginal sort of place. Whereas once it was an appropriate place for him to engage in a transient outdoor-adventure tourist-worker lifestyle, now that his focus is more centered, the marginal place of Queenstown is no longer the right place to be.
9.8 Constituting the transient social-adventure tourist worker subject\textsuperscript{170}

Most of the young people here are just out to have a good time.. in the mountains and in the bar...the two go hand in hand. (Bertrand)

A significant component of the ski or climbing experience is the physicality of being in the mountains. Skiing is more than just adrenaline, it is also sustained physical exertion that incorporates sweat, endurance and fatigue. Importantly, it also includes the danger of being in the mountains - the cold, the wet, and the unknown dangers of rock cliffs. This danger or risk element is important for the social dimension of the place-identity of Queenstown because it sets up an association between a sense of vulnerability in the face of nature and the social release that is ‘permitted’ because of that. As Shields (1991) argues:

The lewdness and vulgarity of carnival were directly related to the low degree of control that people have over natural forces and their own emotions…. We can imagine how populations that could be plunged into crisis by seasonal droughts … and other calamities of nature, might take an exaggerated pleasure in their mass leisure forms. (Rojek, 1985, p27 cited by Shields, 1991, p90)

Thus the ‘carnival’ is also appropriate or legitimate for the Queenstown social scene because it is a place of ‘adventure-in-nature’.

This social carnival theme is also supported by the way in which the ‘wildness’ associated with life on the goldfields is carried into the contemporary social spatialisation practices that inform the place-identity of Queenstown\textsuperscript{171}. As historian A.M.Miller noted in 1971:

Many holidaymakers have made it clear that they are concerned with enjoying the evidence of the last century as well with modern comforts, so there is an effort not only to preserve, but also to use what old historic evidence remains and to absorb it into the structure of the present-day gold rush which is descending on the Wakatipu area. (p24)

\textsuperscript{170} Again, the transient (social-adventure) tourist worker subject I refer to here I assume has identified with the professional-hotel-employee subject position but practices an ambivalent or resistant identification with the hotel-career-employee subject position.

\textsuperscript{171} For example, The Mountain Scene (the Queenstown ‘free’ publication) published a series of four articles entitled “Goldfield Tales” depicting the ‘wild’ goings on in the mining settlements. In one piece the story of the Irishman (also recounted by Olssen & Field, 1976) was told. This is the version from Olssen and Field, 1976. ’ Miller recounts the story of a giant Irishman who was arrested and chained while drunk. ‘When he recovered he was attacked by a violent thirst, and seeing that he could not release himself from the log he hoisted it on his shoulder and walked with it to the nearest pub where police later found him drinking heartily with the log still athwart his shoulder’ (Olssen & Field, 1976, p23).
Massey (1995) argues that ‘(t)he identity of places is very much bound up with the histories which are told of them, how those histories are told, and which history turns out to be dominant’ (Massey, 1995, p186). Olssen and Field (1976) constitute a history of the Wakatipu gold mining village as:

Wild and riotous. At night even the townships of Arrow and The Camp (Queenstown) were ‘made hideous by screaming and fighting’ (Miller, cited p20). . . . The miners were young men, usually single and in their prime. They worked hard and played hard, although only a few made fortunes even by their own modest standards. But they enjoyed the life, the sense of adventure, the freedom from ‘Old World’ conventions, distinctions, and constraints. (p10)

Thus reference to the gold mining era brings the romance of adventure, of breaking away from the usual, the constraining conventional into the contemporary discourses of the place of Queenstown. While the misery and discomfort of the actual gold mining has been left out, the excitement away from a humdrum job is retained in the links being made between the gold and the pub. According to Shields (1991) the:

Carnival is the occasion for the enactment of alternative, utopian social arrangements. It was for this reason that Victorian essayists so hotly condemned working-class behavior on the beach where lewd ‘fun’ became a threat to not only the social order of classes, but also the discipline, which was taken to be synonymous with ‘civilization’. (p91)

As was discussed in Chapter Eight (section 8.3) the partying represented by the carnivalesque aspect of Queenstown’s social spatialisation provides a direct challenge to the managerial government of time within the QTAH employment context. Thus, like Brighton, Queenstown has become ‘a fully-fledged social centre, a site of repose, retreat from everyday life and leisure’ (Shields, 1991, p82). The impact this extra-ordinary social-adventure place-identity of Queenstown has on the career conduct of some QTAH employees can be seen through the employment accounts of Ashley and Amanda, for example.

9.8.1 Ashley

Ashley’s account is interesting because despite the potential for a positive identification with the hotel-career-subject position, the identification of Queenstown as a place of

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172 Sustaining the carnival-gold-mining village place-identity in Queenstown, however, does not go un-contested by the ‘civilising’ ‘centre’. For example during 1999, there was considerable debate over the appropriate licensing hours for Queenstown.
meaningful employment is not strong enough to sustain the end of the winter-ski season. In many ways Ashley presents a similar profile to Carl. A young man in his early twenties, Ashley grew up in Auckland. Having gained a diploma in Hotel Management from AIT, Ashley has also had some experience traveling overseas (to Japan) and in working in accommodation hotels. Again drawn to Queenstown explicitly for the snow -“first and foremost skiing” - Ashley also articulates an attraction to Queenstown as a liminal place. “Been planning to do it (come here) for years. Lots of my friends have been down here – people I know...Change of scene. I sort of considered it part of my travel”. With a bar job that starts at 4-5pm, and a strong sense of involvement in a community of fellow seasonal workers, however, the account he constructs of his winter Queenstown ‘holiday’ is devoid of the tensions evident in Carl’s story (see Chapter Eight, section 8.4.2). For Ashley Queenstown is:

Really laid back, relaxed lifestyle. Everyone’s friendly. It’s a small community (especially) coming from Auckland. Even though there are a lot of people coming and going and there are tourists around town it still has a sort of small town feeling. You go out at night and you see a lot of people around town that you see all the time...Plus there are a lot of people from Auckland here I know already...A lot of people come down to Queenstown for the winter, especially around my age.

In the sense that Ashley is on a working holiday, the place identities through which he connects himself to Queenstown come from his skiing and the social life he enjoys with his fellow working-holiday associates. At the end of the season the snow melts, skiing is no longer possible and a significant portion of his social community also melt away. With the more intense connections to the networks of transient tourist-workers fading, Ashley’s propensity to stay put is challenged. The remaining links – particularly those of employment in the Earth Hotel – thus deserve some attention. For Ashley, the hospitality industry:

Is a very social industry. It’s quite an enjoyable industry to be in most of the time – if you enjoy being around people. Work is social very social, it has to be. And the hours suit me. I enjoy working nights. It gives me the days off to do things I want to – to go snowboarding, golf...and at night I just enjoy working nights. Career opportunities are massive. [Would you like to be GM one day, I ask?] I suppose that would probably be my ultimate goal but at the moment I’m not entirely sure if I want to stay in hotels. The hospitality industry is so broad. While I’m working in hotels that would be my goal, to work at that level.
This account of the hospitality industry is interesting for the ambivalence it articulates. While enjoying his work in hospitality and aware of the “massive” career opportunities, Ashley’s current enjoyment is defined more in terms of the lifestyle it enables. The days off to do the things he wants, and the sociality of the evening work. Given this profile, he slips between career and tourist-worker discursive subject positions. While Carl conveyed a firm preference for restaurant as opposed to accommodation hotel hospitality, Ashley expressed significant interest in a hotel corporate traineeship. “Yeah, I wouldn’t mind doing one of those actually…I actually applied for one at the (X) Hotel but I left because if I got it, it wasn’t going to be until next year. I might try and pick one up in the UK.” In this account, therefore, the interplay between spatial and temporal dimensions is prominent. Despite the potential development of a career in hospitality, and therefore a connection to Queenstown as a place for career hospitality, the time and place is not right.

9.8.2 Amanda

Amanda is a 24 year old who did a university degree in business and tourism at an Australian University. After working for 18 months in a local hotel she moved to a job in reception on the island tourist resort of Herron Island. By the end of her nine months on Herron Island Amanda was supervising and doing a lot of the training of new staff. From there she went on to a brief stint on a cruise ship, some restaurant waitressing and motel reception work. Five months ago Amanda was employed as a night audit/receptionist. With her tertiary education and hospitality experience, Amanda presents as a solid potential “really good long-term stay [person] attracted to the industry” (Ann-Marie). To date, Amanda’s performance in her job confirms this potential:

I’ve just had a three month evaluation which everyone does. Basically I’ve got really good results from it…They evaluate you on management skills which is like organisation, communication skills and people skills like guest interaction. She gave me excellent in that so I was really pleased.

The problem is that Amanda is entirely ambivalent in her identification with a hotel-career-employee subject position. I ask, “Are you are career hotel person do you think?” She responds:
I don’t know. I made that decision a few years ago. I’m not really a career person. I’d rather live basically, which means doing all this traveling...I’ve got friends I went to university with who are restaurant managers, front office managers, supervisors or whatever...They are still living there...I just thought, no, I don’t want to be staying in the same spot I really want to see the world... Anastasia is twenty-four – my age – and honestly I wouldn’t want her position. It’s a lot of responsibility...I just wouldn’t want to be married to my job sort of thing. (Amanda)

Amanda thus actively constitutes her hotel employee subject position in relation to her travels. She doesn’t want to be ‘married’ to her job nor does she want to stay in the same “spot”. What is interesting here is the way in which the different discourses – and discursive subject positions – constitute a particular employment relationship in different ways. In exhibiting a strong identification with the hotel-career-employee subject position, Anastasia constitutes her current position as a stepping stone for progression and movement. “I want to stop and learn this job and then move on to something different...If you get yourself known then moving around is quite easy.” Amanda, on the other hand – from an ambivalent career and positive identification with a transient-tourist-worker subject position – constitutes Anastasia’s employment relationship in terms of constraint and ‘non-living’. Having said this, Amanda maintains an interest in learning and developing her professional hotel competencies. Thus, she expresses disappointment about missing out on further promotion and training opportunities because of her travel-transience plans:

Basically I found out because they know I am leaving ...I’m not going to be promoted. But I was told basically that if I was staying I would be trained and be a full-time duty manager. It is disappointing for me but I can understand it. (Amanda)

In juxtaposing these two statements by Amanda, her crossing and re-crossing of hotel career and traveling discursive-subject boundaries (Fleming, 2002) are clearly seen.

Amanda thus personifies the ambivalent and ‘frustrating transient’ employee profile that Ann-Marie speaks of. While her education, experience and competency is just what they need to offer a professional and reliable TAH service product, Amanda has come to Queenstown because of her strong identification with the traveling social-adventure discursive-subject position. In short, what attracted Amanda to Queenstown was her friend’s description of Queenstown as a ‘party town’.

I used to work on Herron Island in Queensland and one of my friends I worked with – she was actually here last season – she said come to Queenstown you’ll have lots of fun, it’s a big party town sort of thing.
She also came to try skiing. “I like to try new things and I’ve never skied before...I’ve never been to the snow before and I thought it was a good opportunity to have a go.” Amanda thus constitutes her employment in the Earth Hotel as part of her working-working sojourn:

Originally I was intending to have left by now and I was going to go to Canada and be there by September – which is when they do the hiring like in Whistler\textsuperscript{173}. But it has all changed and I’ve decided to stay here for the summer...Mostly [because] I haven’t got enough money to enter Canada.

The reason why Amanda hasn’t got the money to continue with her travel plans is partly because Queenstown is an expensive place and partly because “it’s such a social scene”. In this statement by Amanda, therefore, is a sense of the pleasure orientated ‘consumption rituals’ within tourism / holiday practices that break through the attempts to save for the next trip. In other words, this statement provides insight into the way in which the ordinary and the non-ordinary merge and strain in the ‘life’ conduct of the transient social-adventure tourist-worker conduct. In terms of employment conduct, Queenstown provides a forum where QTAH employees are able to adopt (or sustain) transient social-adventure tourist-worker subject positions. It is this identification with tourist subject positions – that are available in the place of Queenstown – that effect a resistance to the individual identifying strongly with a hotel-career-employee subject position. As Amanda illustrates, this career-traveling identity dynamic is not an all-or-nothing formulation, nor is a tourism discourse of place engaged with as an identity defense mechanism. Rather, the relationship between these two discursive-subject positions (two of many possibilities) is constantly in flow.

9.9 Conclusion

The construction of Queenstown as ‘the natural scenic paradise’, the ‘adventure capital of the world’ and the ‘party-town’ are inextricably linked into Queenstown as the ‘international tourist resort’. All these place-identities are informed by and invoke a sense of Queenstown as an extra-ordinary or liminal place. Like the seaside resort of Brighton, therefore, Queenstown – the mountain resort – has come to be associated with activities that are outside the norms of the everyday. In this sense Queenstown was –

\textsuperscript{173} Whistler is a popular ski resort in British Columbia – Canada.
and continues to be – ‘territorialized as a site fit for leisure’ (Shields, 1991, p75), for adventure and escape and in so doing has become a place on the margins. An important dimension of the construction of tourist place identities, however, is the inherent tension within the imagery. While actively promoting a marginal place-identity, contemporary tourist resorts operate squarely in the centre of the Western capitalist economy. As capital accumulating employers, QTAHs are located within this economic centre. As Meethan (1996) argues ‘although tourist places are those given over to leisure, removed from the world of work for visitors, they are also the places of work, the locus of productive activity for its inhabitants’ (p195). This extra-ordinary or liminal tourism place-identity creates particular tensions for the QTAH managers – as agents for the QTAH owners. A significant tension in the QTAH context is the issue of valuable professional employees engaging in transient conduct. In Chapter Nine, this employee transience is explained in terms of employee identification with the transient outdoor/social adventure-tourist-worker subject position. This subject position is constituted within the discourse of tourism that informs the place identity of Queenstown. Thus, for QTAH employees specifically, this transient outdoor/social adventure-tourist-worker subject position offers an alternative identity script to the hotel-career-employee subject position encouraged by the QTAH managers. As a result, the career ambivalents of this study represent the irony of tourism. While Queenstown is necessarily constituted as a place of the extra-ordinary for tourism industry economic gain, it in turn creates difficulties for the smooth operation of the QTAHs in their quest to accumulate capital. It is this tension that informs Ann-Marie’s constitution of employee transience as a problem.
Chapter Ten

Conclusions

It is an issue, getting really good long-term stay people attracted to the industry. It is the transient stuff that is still frustrating. (Ann-Marie)

10.1 Introduction

The research question that directed this thesis is why do tourist accommodation hotel managers in Queenstown – like Ann-Marie, for example – constitute employee transience as a problem? While the structure of this thesis was designed to logically build the argument, the concluding statements in Chapter Ten approach the research question in a two-step fashion. The first step in this response is to clarify who these transient employee subjects are. Hence section 10.2 briefly identifies the valuable professional-hotel-employee subject who exhibits ambivalence towards the career-hotel-employee subject position. Next, section 10.3 addresses the specific issue of why transient conduct practiced by these particular QTAH employee subjects is so frustrating to the QTAH managers. An explanation for this ‘why question’ is sought in the context of the QTAH operation. Briefly, three significant contextual dynamics that impact on the QTAH employment relationship will be discussed. The first is the institutional conventions of internal labour market (ILM) and external labour market (ELM) management within the hotel industry. The second is the tourism discourse of the place of Queenstown and the subject positions that this spatial discourse provides for the career ambivalent QTAH employees. The third context is the system of capitalist economy that the Queenstown tourism industry and the QTAHs operate within. Finally, section 10.4 addresses the limitations of this study and some possible directions for further research.

10.2 Who are the frustrating transient employees?
The frustrating transient employees are ‘valuable’ QTAH employees who have shown sufficient identification with the professional-hotel-employee subject position but not the hotel-career-employee subject position. Thus, it is their absence of a “long-term stay” attraction to the tourist accommodation hotel (TAH) industry that is the problem.

Johnson’s (1981) typology of hotel workers offered a useful heuristic device for locating the frustrating QTAH employee transients. Briefly, Johnson (1981) divides the hotel workforce into three segments: the ‘hard-core’ stable, long-term employees; the ‘transient’ workers who stay just a short time and frequently change jobs; and finally the ‘opportunists’ who have ‘survived an induction period but have not yet joined the hard core’ (p97). In terms of the QTAH workforce, the stable, long-term employees are the senior managers. As general manager (GM) Edward stated, “There is always a risk that they might go to another hotel but most of the people who are involved in hospitality in the senior level stick with hospitality.” Johnson’s (1981) transient group, were readily matched to the very short-stay seasonal workers who flood into Queenstown during the peak summer and winter seasons. From human resource (HR) manager Esther, for example, “You are really just interested in if they can do the job for three months. You won’t be giving them the sale on career opportunities with the [X company].”

The group that was the analytical focus of this thesis were Johnson’s (1981) opportunists. As Johnson (1981) argues, these employees are the key to understanding the hotel labour turnover process. Johnson (1981) describes these employees as occupying an ambivalent position where they are subjected to conflicting forces. On the one hand, they are being encouraged to stay by the hard-core staff, on the other they are being encouraged to leave by the transient staff. According to Johnson (1981) the key to reducing the turnover of this group of workers, is to persuade them to become hard-core employees. Given the particular concerns and Foucauldian theoretical framing of this thesis, I found the label ambivalents more useful than Johnson’s (1981) opportunists. In addition, I theorised Johnson’s (1981) persuasion of these ambivalent employees as the encouragement of these employees to adopt employee subject positions that are constituted within the discourses of management. In particular, my analysis looked to the managerial exercise of technologies of disciplinary power that persuaded these
ambivalent employees to adopt both a professional-hotel-employee and a hotel-career-employee subject position.

In that these ambivalent QTAH employees have survived an induction period and can be (conceptually) differentiated from the very short-term employee group, I assumed that the ambivalent employees were deemed to be valuable employees to the QTAH – and/or other TAH industry - managers. In other words, in surviving the managerial scrutiny of their ‘self’ during the selection process these employees are constituted as having the right sort of qualities for QTAH service delivery. In addition, by surviving the induction period and the associated managerial scrutiny of their conduct, I assumed that they show satisfactory levels of independent competency in dealing with the all important guest interaction. In short, I assumed that the ambivalent QTAH employee shows an adequate identification with – or adoption of – the professional-hotel-employee subject position.

The key point of identification for the frustrating transient QTAH employee, therefore, is their ambivalent identification with the hotel-career-employee subject position. One of the ironies of this problem of hotel employee transience is that hotel employee non-transience also includes a great deal of ‘movement’. Within the hotel managerial discourse of career, a successful hotel career incorporates a significant level of ‘mobility’. As GM Eric stated

\[
\text{If you do the same thing forever you get complacent and hotels aren't the places to be complacent. It doesn't matter what is happening you've got to change. You've got to adapt. You've got to come up with new things and once you have used your bag of tricks, you can easily loose your edge.}
\]

Thus, ambitious hotel employees must keep moving in order to maintain their competence and their edge. The important point of difference between transience and mobility, however, is that career mobility is constituted in terms of continuity and commitment to the TAH industry labour process. Hence, the movement that is involved with mobility incorporates progression, industry networking and industry learning. The transient QTAH employees who frustrate GM Ann-Marie, therefore, are the professional-hotel employee subjects that show inadequate levels of continuity and commitment to the TAH industry labour process.
10.3 Why is transience constituted to be a problem?

Having identified whom these frustratingly transient QTAH employees are, the question then became why is their lack of continuity and commitment to the TAH industry labour process such a problem for the QTAH managers? An explanation for this question was sought in three significant contextual dynamics that impact on the QTAH employment relationship.

The first is the ILM / ELM ratio within the strategic labour management conventions of the TAH industry. Like most TAH hotels, the QTAHs operate in a variable and unpredictable business context. Typical to the TAH industry, the QTAHs manage the need for flexible labour by maintaining a minimal ILM and dipping into the ELM to meet short-term seasonal peaks of demand. As Riley (1991) argues, however, this ILM / ELM ratio practice places considerable pressure on the small numbers of ILM employees. The ambivalent employees of this study were located in and on the margins of this small ILM (see Chapter Five, Figure 5.1). A significant consequence of this small-ILM/ large-ELM profile is that QTAH managers are very reliant on these experienced operational and supervisory ILM employees. In short, the smooth and reliable delivery of the quality QTAH guest-service product – particularly during peak seasonal periods when there are large numbers of ELM employees in the hotel – is centred on an adequate number of committed professional-hotel-employee subjects. It is, therefore, in the interests of QTAH management to have these vital employees stay continuously committed to the TAH industry. The managerial disciplinary technology of government that is engaged to produce this continual commitment is the ‘career project of the self’ (Grey, 1994).

The second important dynamic at play within the QTAH context is the tourism discourse of place that informs the place-identity of Queenstown. The analytical link I made between QTAH employee transience and the tourism place-identity of Queenstown was through the notion of resistance. Briefly, by engaging with a Foucauldian informed notion of resistance, resistance becomes the (partial or full) adoption of alternate discursive subject positions. These alternate subject positions – that are constituted within alternate discourses – give rise to the possibility that an individual’s identity can be constituted in a different form. In that Queenstown is
actively constructed as a place of tourism, particular tourist subject positions that are
constituted within this discourse provide a forum for ambivalent QTAH employees to
resist identification with the hotel-career-employee subject position. Particular to the
Queenstown discourse of tourism, the outdoor-adventure and/or the social-adventure
tourist-worker subject positions provide the ambivalent QTAH employees with alternate
identity scripts. The conduct that is associated with these tourist employee subject
positions includes skiing, climbing, travelling and transience. For this reason food and
beverage (F&B) manager Andrew described Queenstown as:

One of the more challenging places I have ever worked in, in terms of turnover. The
primary reason for being here is generally not work but social, skiing, hiking etc.
certainly not hospitality.

The third significant influence on why transience is constituted as a problem by QTAH
managers relates to the capitalist economic system that the Queenstown tourism
industry and the QTAHs operate within. The constitution of Queenstown as a place of
tourism has significant consequences for the place-identities of Queenstown. In other
words, Queenstown as ‘the pure and natural place’, the ‘adventure capital of the world’
and the ‘party town’ are inextricably linked into Queenstown the ‘international tourist
resort’. Necessary to the discourse of tourism, these place-identities all construct
Queenstown as a place of the extra-ordinary or, a liminal place. This active constitution
as a place of the margins, however, places tourism – and Queenstown specifically – in
the centre of Western capitalist economy. This extra-ordinary or liminal tourism place-
identity, therefore, creates particular tensions for the QTAH managers and the interests
of tourism capital more generally. One of the sites where this tension is felt is employee
transience. In short, while Queenstown is necessarily constituted as a place of the extra-
ordinary for the tourism industry’s economic gain, it in turn creates difficulties for the
smooth operation of the QTAH’s in their quest to accumulate capital.

In summary, while the accumulation imperative within the Western capitalist economic
system is translated into a hotel labour management practice that aims for maximum
flexibility and minimum cost, a reliable hotel service product must be maintained. For
this to be assured, a sufficient number of competent employees must be able to be relied
upon. Transience within this valuable employee group thus represents a problem for
management and the interests of capital. This straightforward formulation, however,
becomes considerably more complex in a tourism context such as Queenstown. The active constitution of Queenstown as a place outside the everyday that is necessary for the legitimacy (and economic activity) of any tourist resort creates tensions for tourism profit-generating operations. In short, the tourism discourses of place provide possibilities for resistance to managerially supported employee subject positions. In the QTAH context, this practice of resistance takes the form of employee transience.

The original contribution this thesis makes to the management/organisation discipline, therefore, is in the particular analytical approach it has adopted to examine the problem of transience. An examination of the way in which the relationship between identity, resistance, place and capital play out through hotel employee transience has not been addressed previously in the literature. In drawing attention to these dynamics, this thesis offers a productive critical platform for understanding the tensions, contradictions and ambiguities that operate within the management of the QTAH labour market.

### 10.4 Limitations and further directions for study

Like any research, the contribution this thesis makes has to be qualified by its limitations. Within this thesis, the most significant limitations to be addressed come out of my methodological and analytical decisions.

The arguments presented in this thesis began to emerge while I was in the field – ostensibly on another research mission – and were refined and finalised some time after I had left the field. In this sense, I have violated the more usual linear model of formal research process. This post hoc approach can create some tensions in terms of justification for the inclusion of particular research subjects and the material gathered. Having acknowledged this tension, however, this did not prove to be a major difficulty in this project. As discussed in Chapter Two (section 2.3.3) the (pragmatic) low season timing of my interviewing worked well and provided useful empirical material for the research agenda I eventually decided on. Further, the multidisciplinary contribution this thesis offers can in fact be credited to this explorative and ‘permissive’ approach to the research process.
The multiple hotel site approach I took provides for a general account of the relationship between subjectivity, resistance and place in the Queenstown tourist accommodation hotel context. A limitation of this approach, however, is the lack of specificity about the social relationships between management and operational employees within particular sites. As noted in Chapter Six (sections 6.2 and 6.5) the way in which particular discursive positions are taken-up (and resisted) by subordinates and peers is an interesting and important dynamic within the arguments I make. The direction that further study could take in this area, therefore, would be to focus empirical attention on one tourist accommodation hotel. In doing this, the specifics of how the social relationships between employees and their managers, colleagues and leisure peers mediate the adoption of particular employee subject positions could be addressed.

Another important qualification I must make in terms of the contribution this thesis offers concerns my practice of a Foucauldian informed analysis. While Foucault’s theorisation of power, discourse, subjectivity and resistance opens up the possibility of attending to complexity, nuance and fluidity in social relations, it is very difficult to put these dynamics into analytical practice. To say ‘something’ – to construct a defendable PhD argument – tends immediately to programmatize that which should be kept ‘fluid’. This tension is exacerbated when conducting a discourse analysis of research interview material. Where a discourse analysis of written and published texts can attend to movements and shifts within the discursive practice (as Foucault does with the topics of madness, sickness, punishment and sexuality), analysis of one-off interview texts tends to capture and close down movement. Once the (one) representation of ‘the phenomena’ is spoken, the words are captured - taped and typed - onto the page. In a similar way, the multidimensionality of the relationship between the words used, the meanings invoked and the practices that result tend to be rendered one-dimensional. Thus, the way I promote the notion of managerial and tourism discourse and the particular subject positions that are constituted within these discourses tend to suggest an overly fixed and concrete profile. These discourses and positions, however, are in a process of constant resistance and change. While a sense of the movement within the hotel discourse of professionalism is suggested in Chapter Six (sections 6.2 and 6.3) my efforts to construct a clear and comprehendible argument may have resulted in an overly ‘tidy’ and discrete ‘truth claim’. A possibility for future study, therefore, would attend more
specifically to the way the representation of the hotel career employee subject and the transient Queenstown tourist accommodation hotel subject shifts and changes\textsuperscript{174}.

In adopting a Foucauldian theoretical framework, therefore, I accept that there are always other readings and arguments available. Further, I acknowledge that my arguments are mediated through my own particular location within a specific institutional, social and historical context. In saying this, however, I don’t wish to demote the contribution this thesis offers. In this thesis attention has been focused on the explanation for why transience (or turnover) is constituted as a problem by a group of managers operating within the QT AH context. Future research, however, could interrogate other HRM issues – in other organisational contexts – using this analytical approach.

Western practices of organisation take place in the capitalist economic system. It is important for management/organisation researchers to continue to examine the particular forms of social relations that result from the strategic alignment of the interests of capital with HRM practices, in specific organisational contexts. The politics of employee identity and resistance – accessed through a Foucauldian theorisation of the subject – offers a very productive route for this research task. In addition, an explicit treatment of the relationship between place-identity, employee identity and labour market conduct would contribute to a more complex and rich understanding of contemporary management/organisation practices. This analytical approach, therefore, offers particular assistance with the important task of monitoring the impact of management/organisation practices on the contemporary employee subject.

\textsuperscript{174} Jacques (1996), Larner (1998) and D. Jones (1998), for example, provide clear examples of how this movement can be specifically attended to.
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Appendices

Appendix A: Locating New Zealand and Queenstown

Appendix B: Question schedule for the interviews with the managers

1. **Facts of the Hotel:**
   - Room #
   - Departments / Functions
   - Occupancy swings (hi, lo, etc)
   - Clientele
   - Ownership status

2. **Facts of the Staff:**
   - #s of staff in each
   - demographics
   - Staff # (pt, ft, casual)

3. **Manager’s industry experience**
   - How long in this hotel?
   - What drew you here?
   - What do you like about working here?
   - How long do you imagine you will stay here?
   - What was the first hotel you worked in?
   - Occupation?
   - Why did you choose to work there?
   - And since?
   - Previous work experience to hotels?
   - Formal (institutional) training?
   - Have you always wanted a career in the hotel industry?
   - What significant factor keeps you in the industry?
   - Why do you think you have done so well?
   - What makes a good staff manager?

4. **Human resource management issues – generally**
   - Turnover: (#s, usual #s, why they leave?)
   - Recruitment: (who selects, what do you look for most when recruiting? generally/specifically)
- Employment Contracts: (nature, process, substance, who and why made the decisions?)
- Training/education: (in-house, induction, job specific)
- Performance assessment: (formal, wages, promotion)
- Describe for me a good [operational staff for your department]
  - What? How? etc
  - How many of your current staff reach this standard?
  - Who are they?

- Career: What % of your staff are in for a career in hospitality?
- Occupational flexibility: (encouraged?)

5. **Significant staffing issues**
- What are the most significant staffing issues you have to deal with on a regular basis?
  - How did you deal with them?
  - What were the options available?
  - How did you decide what to do?
  - Who was involved?
  - Did you discuss this with anyone outside the hotel, other hotels, and other industries?
- What would be the most difficult staff management issue you have had to deal with in your current position?
Appendix C: Documentation given to the research subjects

(Information sheet for research participants)

Staff Management in the 1990s: A Sociological Analysis
PhD Thesis Project

Bronwyn Boon
Department of Management and the Department of Sociology
University of Canterbury

In the first half of the 1990s a number of new laws were introduced to re-regulate New Zealand employment relationships. The Employment Contracts Act (ECA) 1991, the Industry Training Act (ITA) 1992 and the Human Rights Act (HRA) 1993 for example, provide a new environment for staff management practices. This study explores the impact of these acts on staff management practices in the hotel industry.

The hotel industry is an important and interesting area to research. Not only is it currently enjoying a high profile in the NZ economy, projections suggest it will be an even more important source of future income and employment. Staff management within this successful and dynamic industry play a prominent role in the provision of the tourism ‘product’. Little is known, however, of the particular day-to-day concerns of the managers responsible for the recruitment, training, and reward of the many employees who deliver this demanding and multifaceted service. Still less is known about the degree to which their staff management practices have changed due to the ECA, the ITA and the HRA. The purpose of this research project is to document the experiences of managers working in this business environment.

These issues will be researched through interviews held with managers responsible for staff management in a number of hotels within the South Island. The interviews will include discussion of a profile of the hotel in question and a profile of the staff managers’ experience in the hotel industry. Your involvement in this project will include your participation in one or more short interviews, conducted at times that will be suitable to you. An additional interview may be necessary in order to spend more time discussing a particular staff management concern raised in a previous interview. You will have the right to withdraw from this project at any time. If you withdraw, notes relating to interviews already completed will be returned to you and this material will not be published in any form.
With your permission the interviews will be taped. These tapes will be stored in a secure place and access to them will be restricted to the researcher and my academic supervisors. Notes taken from the interview tapes will be treated in the same manner. Material acquired during this research will be included in a doctoral thesis that is being jointly supervised in the departments of Management and Sociology at the University of Canterbury. This material may also be included in other academic publications. The use of pseudonyms for people and hotels will be used in field notes, the final thesis and subsequent published papers from the study. All those participating in the research will receive a summary of the research findings. Articles based on the thesis will be prepared for publication in various journals including hotel and hospitality and management publications.
(Consent form for research participants)

Staff Management in the 1990s: A Sociological Analysis
PhD Thesis Project

Department of Management and the Department of Sociology
University of Canterbury

Consent Form

I have read and understood the description of the Staff Management in the 1990s: A Sociological Analysis study. On this basis I agree to participate in the study. I consent to publication of the results of the study with the understanding that a pseudonym will replace my name and the name of the hotel I work. I understand that should my anonymity be impossible to protect, written permission to use my name and statements will be gained before their inclusion in a published document. I understand also that I may withdraw my consent at any time, including withdrawal of any information I have provided.
Dear [** ]

I am currently involved in a research project on staff management in Queenstown hotels and when discussing my project with [***] your name arose as someone who I should contact.

If it is possible I would very much like to talk to you about your staff management experience in the hotel industry. Specifically, I would appreciate a brief meeting with you to discuss in person the following points:

- the number of staff in the [**] Hotel;
- your past industry experience;
- the most significant staff management issues you have had to deal with over the last week/month/year.

I have enclosed an information sheet setting out the key concerns of my project. I will phone on [date] and hope to be able to set a time to meet with you. I look forward to talking to you.

Yours sincerely

Bronwyn Boon
Dear [**]

Thank you very much for the time and interest you gave to our meeting on Wednesday. Your experience and insights provide a valuable beginning for my research into hotel staff management issues and practices.

Thank you also for your cooperation with my request to invite your managers to participate in this project. Your support is appreciated.

All the best for your developments at the [***] (and in personal comment where possible).

Yours sincerely

Bronwyn Boon
### Appendix D: Summary of the management participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Earth Hotel</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ann-Marie</td>
<td>General manager (GM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>Assistant GM/Food &amp; Beverage manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annabel</td>
<td>House Keeping manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ava</td>
<td>Food &amp; Beverage manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anastasia</td>
<td>Front Office manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angus</td>
<td>Maintenance manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Moon Hotel</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bart</td>
<td>General manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bess</td>
<td>Assistant GM/Rooms Division manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boris</td>
<td>Food &amp; Beverage manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Billy</td>
<td>Financial Controller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beth</td>
<td>Human Resource manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Mercury Hotel</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward</td>
<td>General Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Venus Hotel</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Eric</em></td>
<td>General Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Esther</em></td>
<td>Human Resource manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ellen</em></td>
<td>Food &amp; Beverage manager</td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>The Mars Hotel</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Clark</em></td>
<td>General manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Cathy</em></td>
<td>Human Resource manager</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>The Jupiter Hotel</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Desiree</em></td>
<td>General manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Debbie</em></td>
<td>Assistant GM/Portering manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dale</em></td>
<td>Housekeeping manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dick</em></td>
<td>Executive Chef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Duncan</em></td>
<td>Human Resource manager</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>The Saturn Hotel</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Frank</em></td>
<td>General manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Felicity</em></td>
<td>Assistant GM/Front Office manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fran</em></td>
<td>Housekeeping manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fraser</em></td>
<td>Executive Chef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Fredrick</em></td>
<td>Portering manager</td>
</tr>
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</table>
## Appendix E: Hotel profiles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hotel Name</th>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>No. Rooms</th>
<th>Dinning &amp; Bar Facilities</th>
<th>Conference Facilities</th>
<th>Ownership / Management</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q1</td>
<td>Luxury Hotel</td>
<td>Queenstown</td>
<td>220 rooms (incl. 21 suites)</td>
<td>1 restaurant &amp; bar</td>
<td>For up to 600 people</td>
<td>Owner – Asian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q2</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td>Queenstown</td>
<td>257 rooms</td>
<td>2 restaurants 1 bar</td>
<td>For up to 420 people</td>
<td>Owner – Asian Contract – Australasian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td>Queenstown</td>
<td>204 rooms, (incl. 1 suite)</td>
<td>1 restaurant &amp; bar</td>
<td>No Conference Facilities</td>
<td>Owner – Asian Contract – Australasian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q5</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td>Queenstown</td>
<td>139 rooms (incl. 1 suite)</td>
<td>2 restaurants 1 bar</td>
<td>For up to 120 people</td>
<td>Owner – Asian Contract – Australasian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q6</td>
<td>Deluxe Hotel</td>
<td>Queenstown</td>
<td>148 rooms</td>
<td>2 restaurants 1 bar</td>
<td>For up to 150 people</td>
<td>European Owned and Managed</td>
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<tr>
<td>Q7</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td>Queenstown</td>
<td>241 rooms</td>
<td>1 restaurant &amp; bar</td>
<td>For up to 160 people</td>
<td>Owner – Asian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q8</td>
<td>Resort</td>
<td>Queenstown</td>
<td>35 Apartments</td>
<td>1 restaurant &amp; Bar</td>
<td>For up to 80 people</td>
<td>Owner /Management-Independent NZ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix F: Operational employee interview question-prompts

- What brought you to Queenstown?
- How long have you been in Queenstown?
- What is Queenstown like to live in (positives & negatives features)?
- What job/s do you perform in the hotel/s?
- How long have you been working in this hotel?
- What attracted you to this hotel in particular?
- How did you find out about this job?
- How long do you anticipate being here at this hotel?
- What are the positive and negative features of your current position in this hotel?
- Is there anything concerning your position in this hotel that you would like to see changed?
- What have you learnt in this position?
- What attracted you to the hotel industry generally when looking for work?
- What is the hotel industry like to work in?
- Have you worked in any other hotel in Queenstown or elsewhere?
- What makes a good [whatever they do]?
- What makes a good staff manager?
## Appendix G: Summary of the operational level participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Earth Hotel</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>The Mars Hotel</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna</td>
<td>Receptionist</td>
<td>Carl</td>
<td>F &amp; B Supervisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amanda</td>
<td>Receptionist</td>
<td>Clare</td>
<td>Financial Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alice</td>
<td>F &amp; B Attendant</td>
<td>Cherry</td>
<td>Room Attendant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthony</td>
<td>F &amp; B Attendant</td>
<td>Colin</td>
<td>Receptionist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alan</td>
<td>F &amp; B Supervisor</td>
<td>Charlie</td>
<td>Porter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashley</td>
<td>Bar Attendant</td>
<td>Charlene</td>
<td>Bar Attendant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam</td>
<td>Porter</td>
<td>Connor</td>
<td>Kitchen/ Chef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alex</td>
<td>Porter</td>
<td>Colleen</td>
<td>F &amp; B Attendant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alison</td>
<td>Room Attendant</td>
<td>Charise</td>
<td>Room Attendant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert</td>
<td>Porter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Moon Hotel</td>
<td>The Jupiter Hotel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>---------------</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Barry</strong></td>
<td><strong>Damon</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial Services</td>
<td>Porter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Belinda</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dennis</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receptionist</td>
<td>Porter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Betty</strong></td>
<td><strong>David</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Room Attendant</td>
<td>Receptionist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B1</strong></td>
<td><strong>Delia</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polytechnic Student</td>
<td>Receptionist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>B2</strong></td>
<td><strong>Daisy</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Polytechnic Student</td>
<td>F &amp; B Attendant</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Briar</strong></td>
<td><strong>Diana</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receptionist/Telephonist</td>
<td>F &amp; B Attendant</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bob</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dana</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chef</td>
<td>F &amp; B Attendant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Blake</strong></td>
<td><strong>Didi</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porter</td>
<td>F &amp; B Attendant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Brian</strong></td>
<td><strong>Doris</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>F &amp; B Attendant</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Ben</strong></td>
<td><strong>Doreen</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>F &amp; B Attendant</td>
<td>Room Attendant</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bill</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>F &amp; B Attendant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bertrand</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F &amp; B Attendant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bernard</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F &amp; B Attendant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Brittany</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F &amp; B Supervisor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Barbara</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F &amp; B Manager</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix H: The ‘original’ and the ‘alpine’ Queenstown landscape

The ‘Original’ Queenstown Landscape

From: Miller (1949) p47

The contemporary ‘Alpine’ Queenstown landscape

Queenstown promotional website image, Destination Queenstown

www.queenstown-nz.co.nz  May, 1999
Appendix I: The tourist resort of Queenstown

Images of Queenstown tourism from the Destination Queenstown Web Page [July, 2002]: [www.queenstown-nz.co.nz/photo.asp] [unless otherwise stated]

Summer: Queenstown
  Paraponting
  Wining & Dining

Autumn: Lake Wakatipu
  The bungy jump [from www.ajhackett.com July 2002]

Winter: Queenstown
  Skiing
  Mountain Climbing
  [from www.mountainguiding.co.nz July 2002]

Spring: Mountains & Lake
  Mountain Biking
  Jet Boat Rides
  [from www.kjet.co.nz July 2002]
Appendix Ji: Queenstown and active tourism

“The Adventure Capital   Queenstown: Mecca of indulgence and adrenalin”
Appendix Jii: Queenstown as a tourist resort for everyone

“Higher, Faster or Slower” – Queenstown has it all”.

Destination Queenstown advertisement in the same *Southern Skies*, Ansett NZ’s Complimentary Inflight Magazine (Dec 1999/Jan 2000).
Appendix K: A bus ride to Milford Sound

[Image of a bus and a boat at Milford Sound]

Milford Sound [from the www.kiwidiscovery.com web site]

THE DRIVE

A spectacular journey via Lake Wakatipu with The Remarkables creating an incredible backdrop to some of New Zealand's most memorable scenery. Travelling through the farmlands of northern Southland onto Te Anau nestled on the shores of New Zealand's second largest lake it's time to break the journey with a short stop. After departing Te Anau, the gates of Fiordland National Park indicate the start of the amazing Milford Road. Towering peaks, tranquil lakes, crystal clear rivers and dense rainforest make this one of the world's most spectacular drives.

Promotional statement from the www.kiwidiscovery.com web site

[Images of the (somewhat wintry) bus trip to Milford [From www.kiwidiscovery.com - July, 2002]]
Appendix L: The organisation of functions within the Queenstown tourist accommodation hotels of this study

General Manager (GM)

Rooms Division
- Front Office Manager
  - Porters
  - Receptionists

Food & Beverage (F&B) Division
- Kitchen Exec Chef
  - Sous Chef
  - Chef de Partie
  - Commis Chef
  - Apprentice Chef

- Breakfast Restaurant Manager
  - Supervisor
  - Breakfast F&B

- Evening Restaurant & Bar
  - Supervisor
  - Evening F&B Attendants

Housekeeping Department Manager
- Supervisors
- Room Attendants
Appendix M: Getting away from the ‘everyday’

Appendix N: Queenstown as 100% pure New Zealand

Source: www.purenz.com