

UNIVERSITY of SOUTHAMPTON

**TOURISM MANAGEMENT AND
OCCUPATIONAL
CRYSTALLISATION :
A STUDY IN LOCAL
AUTHORITIES**

Submitted by

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ABSTRACT

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In recent years there has been a major growth in tourism occupations, and the development of specialist courses and organisations promoting tourism as a distinctive occupational field with its own particular qualifications, labour markets and career patterns. The research reported in this thesis is designed to examine the extent to which a distinctive occupation of tourism management may be emerging, using the concept of occupational crystallisation.

The study focuses primarily upon the function of tourism management within local authorities, which are argued to constitute a particularly appropriate site in which to study the processes of occupational crystallisation in tourism management. The role of three key groups in the process of occupational crystallisation is considered - occupational promoters (such as educational institutions and occupational associations), employers and employees. The study of occupational promoters is carried out through an examination of documentary evidence, supplemented with interviews with representatives of occupational associations in the field of tourism management. The study of employers and employees is carried out through a series of semi-structured interviews with tourism management employees and heads of function in nine English local authorities, supplemented with the analysis of data on recruitment and selection criteria derived from job advertisements for employment in local authority tourism work.

The research indicates that there is some evidence to suggest that a process of occupational crystallisation may be taking place within the area of tourism management, but that such crystallisation is at present only partial and that its precise nature remains unclear. Both facilitating and inhibiting factors appear to be at work, and further research is suggested which may help to clarify the precise nature of the labour markets, career structures and occupational identities which may be in the process of emerging in this area.

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INTRODUCTION

The study of occupations has a long and well-established pedigree within the field of the sociology of work and organisations (for example Hughes 1959 and Pavalko 1971). Occupations are central to individuals as 'a major determinant of their life chances' (Brown 1982:119; cf. also Hughes 1959:443) and to the structuring of organisations. Occupations may continually emerge, develop and decline through a series of processes and activities involving various groups of what may be described as 'occupational actors' - employers, employees, occupational associations, and so on. As we approach the end of the century it is commonly argued that we are going through a process of rapid change, of which changes in the structure of occupations are one important feature (Handy 1989; Kanter 1989:17-31). In particular, it has been argued that it is the tertiary sector, or service industries, that now hold 'the key to occupational transition' (Payne 1987:65).

The present thesis is concerned to examine the way in which distinctive occupational groups may emerge, a process described here as one of 'occupational crystallisation'. The opening chapter of the thesis is concerned to define what is meant by this concept, and to relate it to some of the key contributions to the existing literature on occupations, careers and labour markets. It is argued that the process of crystallisation is one to which at least three key groups may contribute. The first of these, who are described as 'occupational promoters', are those who seek to delineate the existence of a distinctive occupation and to establish the body of knowledge or skills on which this occupation is held to rest. The second group, employers, are seen as playing a critical role in the creation of what may be called an 'occupational jurisdiction', that is a linkage between the possession of

particular body (or 'portfolio') of skills, knowledge or experience and the occupancy of particular positions within the organisational division of labour. The final group to be considered are those who may make up an 'occupational constituency' - a group possessing these portfolios and oriented to the pursuit of careers in a particular occupational field. It is also suggested in Chapter 1 that 'accretion' and 'melding' are the processes through which the occupational jurisdiction and constituency are created.

The study of possible processes of occupational crystallisation is carried out in a particular area, that of tourism management. As noted above, Payne has suggested that the service sector is one area where major occupational change is taking place. It is argued in Chapter 2 that the growth of tourism has created a need for organisational specialists to manage various aspects of this area of social life, and that this provides a potential basis for the creation of a distinctive occupation of tourism management. Some support for this proposition is provided by the growth of specialist qualifications in this area (especially at degree level) and the development of occupational associations oriented to this area. It is also suggested in Chapter 2 that local authorities may provide a particularly appropriate site for the study of potential occupational crystallisation in this area. Although encompassing only one facet of tourism management, some authorities have a long-established involvement in this area. Examination of their employment practices, as well as of the careers and identities of those employed in tourism management functions in local authorities, may shed valuable light on the possible processes which may be at work in this field.

The third chapter of the thesis outlines the range of methodologies used in the course of this study. The methodologies used have been primarily qualitative in nature, and have been used to collect data from a number of

different perspectives, thereby illuminating in greater detail the multifaceted process of occupational crystallisation.

Chapters 4 to 6 set out the principal findings of the study. Chapter 4 is concerned with the role of educational institutions and occupational associations as occupational promoters. The role of both in delineating a possible occupational constituency is considered, together with the nature of the emergent knowledge base which might be regarded as a basis for the crystallisation of a developing occupation of tourism management. Chapters 5 and 6 are focused more directly on tourism management within local authorities. Chapter 5 explores the role of employers in occupational crystallisation, examining the ways in which tourism management work in local authorities is structured, and in particular the extent to which recruitment and selection processes may facilitate or inhibit the creation of a distinctive occupational jurisdiction and constituency in this area. Chapter 6 looks at these issues more from the perspective of the employee, examining in particular the qualifications and career histories of those employed in tourism management work in local authorities, with a view to identifying the labour markets from which such individuals are drawn and the nature of the careers which they have pursued. Attention is also given to the extent to which these individuals identify with tourism as an occupational area, such self-identification being seen as a key characteristic of a distinctive occupational constituency.

The concluding chapter reviews the evidence gathered during the course of this study, and seeks to draw some conclusions about the extent and nature of occupational crystallisation within the area of tourism management. Factors which may both promote and inhibit this process are identified. This chapter also considers the limitations of the present study, and suggests areas

for further research which would shed additional light on occupational processes in this area. Finally, an attempt is made to suggest how the area of tourism management might develop in the future.

CHAPTER 1.

THE PROCESS OF OCCUPATIONAL CRYSTALLISATION

1. Introduction

The central process with which this thesis is concerned is that of 'occupational crystallisation'. The aim of this chapter is to explain what is meant by this concept, and to identify the processes through which occupational crystallisation may occur and the primary social actors active in these processes. In essence, what is meant by occupational crystallisation is the process by which a particular group of positions within the organisational division of labour becomes identified as constituting a distinctive and separate occupation. It will be argued that such an identification rests upon the delineation both of a distinctive cluster of activities associated with the occupation (what will be described as its 'jurisdiction') and a distinctive group of individuals undertaking these activities (which will be described as the occupational 'constituency').

It will be argued that the crystallisation of an occupation may involve the activities of three groups of actors. The first of these groups will be described as 'occupational promoters'. They consist of those, such as occupational associations and educational institutions, who seek to promote claims for the existence of a distinctive occupational jurisdiction, and to define the skills, expertise, qualifications or experience characteristic of the occupational constituency associated with a particular jurisdiction. Secondly, there are those employers and managers who determine and regulate the division of

labour and career paths in the organisational contexts within which the actual or putative occupational group is located. Finally, there are those employees who actually undertake the work tasks associated with the occupational grouping. They, through their career orientations and career movements, play an important role in determining the extent to which it is possible to identify a constituency characterised by a well-defined sense of occupational identity, and also by a continuity of employment over time in a particular occupational field.

In the discussion which follows, it will be argued (following such writers as Super and Kalleberg and Berg) that a crucial distinction is that between the 'job' (as a specific position within a given organisational division of labour) and the 'occupation' as a category which transcends specific organisational contexts. The analysis of such transcendence involves giving consideration to two interrelated issues - the structure of labour markets which facilitate or inhibit processes of intra- and inter-occupational mobility, and the structuring of career patterns which arise through the interactions between labour markets and processes of individual occupational choice. The first part of this chapter is therefore concerned with an exploration of the relationship between occupations, careers and labour markets, as a preliminary to the detailed discussion of the concept of occupational crystallisation.

2. Occupations, Labour Markets and Careers

2.1 The Concept of Occupation

The concept of occupation is one which is widely used in both everyday and social scientific language, but its definition is not unproblematic. Watson (T. J. 1995:171) defines an occupation as :

‘engagement on a regular basis in a part or the whole of a range of work tasks which are identified under a particular heading or title .
by those carrying out these tasks and by a wider public’.

There are two core elements to this definition. Firstly, an occupation is seen as being the performance of a particular cluster of tasks, roles and responsibilities, which (by implication) distinguishes that occupation from others. Secondly, the association of the performance of these activities with a particular occupational title also serves to distinguish an occupation from others with different titles.

In defining occupation (in part) by reference to the performance of a particular configuration of work tasks, Watson’s definition appears to contradict the earlier influential definition of occupation by Everett Hughes, in which he appears to deny that occupations are defined by the tasks performed by their members:

‘An occupation, in essence, is not a particular set of activities; it is the part of an individual in any ongoing system of activities . . .

The essential is that the occupation is the place ordinarily filled by

one person in an organisation or complex of efforts or activities.’
(Hughes 1959: 445 - emphasis added).

Hughes’ definition may be seen as a recognition that in practice particular occupations may not be clearly differentiated from one another by means of the particular work tasks, roles and responsibilities performed. This is seen most clearly where the same or similar activity may be carried out by individuals designated by different occupational titles. For example, activities associated with recruitment and selection may be carried out in one organisation by line managers but in another by specialist personnel staff. The work tasks may be the same, but the position within the organisation is not.

The converse of this situation may be seen by reference to the second element of Watson’s definition, in which an occupation may be characterised by a particular job title which is generally recognised. In the same way that those with different job titles may undertake similar activities, so broadly similar occupational titles may be used to refer to those carrying out quite dissimilar activities. A good example here is the use of the generic term ‘engineer’ to refer to those engaged in a range of activities from routine maintenance of domestic appliances to advanced level research and development (Glover and Kelly 1987).

It is apparent, therefore, that there is no simple match between specific occupational titles and the performance of particular clusters of activities. However, if Watson’s definition may be regarded as somewhat over - simplified, then that of Hughes may be considered to be unduly restrictive. Indeed, Hughes himself is somewhat ambiguous as to how far the term ‘occupation’ should, in fact, be separated from a particular cluster or ‘bundle’

of activities (Hughes 1959:452) for, having apparently denied such a connection in the passage quoted above, he subsequently goes on to argue that:

‘an occupation consists in part of the implied or explicit licence that some people claim and are given to carry out certain activities rather different from those of other people’ (Hughes 1959: 447 - emphasis added).

Part of Hughes’ difficulty arises from his failure to draw a clear distinction between the concept of the ‘job’ on the one hand, and that of the ‘occupation’ on the other. Kalleberg and Berg, for example, define the ‘job’ as the performance of specific work tasks within a particular organisation. In contrast, they see an ‘occupation’ as being a clustering of ‘work activities that are rather general and transferable among employers and often among industries’ (Kalleberg and Berg 1989:36-7). In a similar vein, Super differentiates between the job as ‘a group of similar, paid positions requiring some similar attributes in a single organisation’ and an occupation as ‘a group of similar jobs found in various organisations’ (Super 1976:20).

At the heart of the conceptions of both Kalleberg and Berg and Super is the notion that the occupation, as opposed to the simple job, is something which transcends individual organisations and, possibly, specific sectors of employment. The occupation is thus regarded as something more than the particular place within a specific organisational division of labour as implied by Hughes’ definition. However, Kalleberg and Berg’s conception of an occupation in terms of the transferability of work activities also suffers from the difficulty already encountered, that similar work activities may be undertaken by those regarded as belonging to different occupations.

This difficulty may be resolved by a consideration of two points. Firstly, it is important to recognise that what is being transferred between organisations is not work activities as such, but rather groups or 'portfolios' of skill, knowledge and experience which individuals may apply to particular work activities in different organisational contexts. To some extent, therefore, the occupation may be seen as transcending specific jobs through the ways in which such portfolios may be transferred from one organisation to another. Secondly, the way in which certain portfolios of skills and experience are linked to particular clusters of work activities is empirically contingent, and therefore different groups may lay claim to the same area of activity. It is here that the notion of occupational jurisdiction, to be developed later in this chapter, is important. Our attention for the present will be focused on the first of these two points, because it is the transferability (or otherwise) of portfolios of knowledge, skills and experience which is central to the analysis of labour markets and careers.

2.2 Occupations and the Labour Market

It has been suggested in the discussion above that the occupation may be distinguished from the job by the fact that members of an occupation typically possess a portfolio of skills or a body of knowledge or experience which opens up the possibilities of movement between one job or organisation and another. The existence of differentiated portfolios of skills and experience is a key factor in the division of the labour market into more or less distinct segments, a point long recognised in the concept of 'non-competing groups' developed by economists from the work of John Stewart Mill (see Phelps Brown 1977:16).

Perhaps the best-known discussion of labour market segmentation is that of Doeringer and Piore, with its influential distinction between 'internal' and 'external' labour markets (Doeringer and Piore 1971). At the core of this distinction is the notion that certain types of employer (likely to be those in more 'advanced' sectors) will restrict external recruitment into the organisation to certain low-level points of entry, and will then seek to recruit to higher-level positions from among their existing employees. A number of explanations have been put forward for the development of such 'internal labour markets' (ILMs). Doeringer and Piore's own explanation focuses on the role of ILMs in retaining employees, and so enabling employers to recover the costs of their investment in training staff (Fevre 1992:33). Others have focused on the positive motivational effects of providing employees with systematic opportunities for career progression afforded by the existence of ILMs (Rubery 1994: 41-51; Fevre 1992: 31-33).

A key element of Doeringer and Piore's analysis is the notion that employees within an internal labour market derive significant benefits, such as comparatively high levels of job security and the possibilities of career progression, which are not available to those in external labour markets. The implication here is that those within ILMs are advantaged over those outside, leading to the notion of the 'dual labour market'. However, Doeringer and Piore themselves recognise that not all employees are necessarily disadvantaged by moving between organisations, and it is here that we return to the notion of the occupation as transcending specific organisations.

The firm- or organisation-based internal labour market rests upon the acquisition of skills and knowledge within a single organisation, and which may be of limited applicability elsewhere. In contrast, some individuals may

possess skills and knowledge which are, to a large extent, independent of the particular organisation in which they are employed. They may therefore have the opportunity of pursuing careers which are essentially occupationally, rather than organisationally - based (Althauser and Kalleberg 1981; Savage et al. 1992: 24-5). Accordingly, Doeringer and Piore draw a distinction between two types of internal labour market - the organisationally-based Firm Internal Labour Market (FILM) and the occupationally-based Occupational Internal Labour Market (OILM). In the former movement is internal to the organisation, in the latter movement is internal to the occupation, but may entail, or at least permit, mobility between organisations.

In practice, labour market differentiation is less clear-cut than Doeringer and Piore's typology suggests. The typology therefore requires some modification in at least two ways. Firstly, it may be questioned whether it is useful to employ the term 'internal labour market' to describe both markets which are internal to organisations and those markets which are internal to occupations but external to organisations. This situation is further complicated by the fact that labour market mobility is not necessarily linked to either organisational or occupational movement, but may involve a combination of the two (Savage et al 1992:23-35; Althauser and Kalleberg 1981). Firms' or organisations' internal labour markets may themselves be differentiated along occupational lines, and it may therefore be more fruitful to follow Crompton and Sanderson (1990:40) in restricting the concept of the Occupational Internal Labour Market to the situation where occupational progression usually occurs within the organisation's internal labour market. The more general term Occupational Labour Market (OLM) may then be used for those labour markets involving 'individuals whose skills and qualifications provide a market shelter which enables them to move

between jobs without incurring any employer penalty' (Crompton and Sanderson 1990: 40; see also Savage et al 1992: 25).

The second difficulty encountered with the Doeringer and Piore's typology emanates from the fact that they identify only two forms of 'internal' labour market mobility - that which occurs within the firm or organisation and that which occurs within the occupation. However, it is possible to argue that a third form of internal labour market may exist - that which occurs within a particular sector of employment. Crompton and Sanderson recognise the possibility of employment mobility being restricted within a sector when they refer to employees within Firm Internal Labour Markets as being 'held within specific organisations, or categories of organisation (for example, local authorities)' (Crompton and Sanderson 1990:40 - emphasis added). It may, however, be questioned whether subsuming labour markets of this kind into the general category of Firm Internal Labour Markets, as is done by Crompton and Sanderson, is particularly useful. Rather, it may be more helpful to introduce a separate category of Sector Labour Markets. The acquisition of skills and experience within one organisation may well facilitate career mobility to a similar, or higher, position in another organisation in the same sector, but provide little or no opportunity for entry to labour markets outside that sector. In such circumstances, the sector acts as a kind of 'extended organisation'.

In the same way that labour markets are internal to particular firms or organisations, Sector Labour Markets may be differentiated according to whether they involve sector-specific skills and experience alone, or whether such sector - specific skills and experience are combined with more general occupationally- based skills and experience. In situations, for example, where individuals are enabled to move between different functions within a sector

on the basis of their sector-specific experience alone we may refer to it as the Sector Internal Labour Market (SILM). The term may, indeed, be applied to the example provided by Crompton and Sanderson in their definition of a Firm Internal Labour Market (quoted above) - local authorities, which may be said to operate as an 'extended organisation'. In contrast, where mobility is based on the possession of sector-specific and occupation-specific skills and experience, and occurs between the same or closely-related functions within the sector, we may refer to it as the Sector Occupational Labour Market (SOLM). An obvious example here would be that of the labour market for nurses in the health care sector.

To summarise, it has been argued that we can identify a number of ways in which occupations are linked into labour markets. If we believe that an occupation is characterised by the fact that it transcends specific jobs within the organisational division of labour, then we may be able to identify at least three types of occupational labour market:

- a) the 'pure' Occupational Labour Market (the OLM) in which the possession of a particular portfolio of qualifications, skills, and experience enables individuals to move relatively freely between particular jobs in different organisations and sectors of employment;
- b) the Occupational Internal Labour Market (the OILM) in which mobility internal to a particular organisation is mainly dependent upon the possession of a combination of generic occupational and organisationally-specific skills and experience.
- c) the Sector Occupational Labour Market (the SOLM), in which mobility takes place within a sector of related organisations and is dependent

upon the possession of a combination of occupational and sector-specific skills and experience.

The significance of these types of labour market for the process of occupational crystallisation will be discussed later in this chapter. Before doing so, the structuring of labour markets needs to be related to the concept of career.

2.3 Occupations and Careers

Labour markets set the framework within which individuals may pursue their careers (Fincham and Rhodes 1992:270). Indeed, the labour market differentiations outlined above appear to have parallels with much of the classical sociological literature on careers and career orientations. For example, Gouldner's distinction between 'locals' and 'cosmopolitans' (1968:164-168) rests on the differences between those who reveal a commitment to a particular organisation and seek to progress within it ('locals') and those who intend to further their career by using their occupational skills and knowledge to move between organisations ('cosmopolitans'). A similar distinction, expressed in a somewhat more analytical way, is made by Brown (1982) who differentiates between 'organisational' and 'occupational' career strategies (see also Watson 1995: 219).

The notion of both organisational and occupational career strategies rests on what may be described as the 'traditional' concept of the career, involving a systematic progression through a series of hierarchically - linked positions, as in the definition given by Wilensky:

‘a succession of related jobs, arranged in a hierarchy of prestige, through which persons move in an ordered (more-or-less-predictable) sequence’ (Wilensky 1961:523)

However, much of the more recent literature on careers has moved away from this traditional conception. There has been a growing emphasis on the influence of the elements of chance, circumstance and serendipity on the shaping of individual careers, (see, e.g. Evetts 1992:8; Scase and Goffee, 1989:87; Gunz 1989:68) and on the more proactive approach taken by individuals in respect of their career direction (London & Mone 1987: xii-iii; Grey 1994:481). Such ideas do not fit easily with the notions of rationality and systematic planning implied by the concept of strategy (see Crow 1989:1-24; Wallace 1993 :94-117). As a consequence of such influences, the nature and direction of their career is something which may only become apparent to the individual when viewed in retrospect, (Krause 1971:45) and may indeed require interpretation and re-interpretation over the period of the individual’s work-life (Barley 1989:49: see also Hughes’ ‘subjective’ career perspective 1937:409-10)).

Associated with these ideas about careers has been the growing recognition that patterns of career mobility are not necessarily confined to models of linear progression, whether organisationally or occupationally based (Gunz 1990:17). In practice, the extent to which it is possible to identify a distinctive career pattern will be dependent upon the nature and kind of job changes that the individual undergoes throughout their working life (Hughes’ ‘objective’ career perspective, *ibid.*). Watts’ influential typology of job change identifies ‘at least six types of job change’ (Watts 1981:227), which are summarised below:

- sequential - moving to a post of greater responsibility in the same occupation;
- lateral - moving to a comparable position in the same occupation (but not necessarily within the same organisation or sector);
- regressive - moving within an occupation to a less well-paid and/or prestigious position;
- spiralist - moving to a post with similar or greater responsibility in a different but related occupation;
- augmenting - moving to a post of a similar or lesser responsibility in a different occupation in which previous experience/skills provide 'added value' to that gained in the current occupation;
- recycling - moving to a totally different occupation.

Watts' typology has at least three significant implications. Firstly, it rests upon the (by now familiar) notion that a distinction may be drawn between the particular job which an individual occupies, and the wider occupation of which that job may be seen as a part. Secondly, it indicates that occupations may overlap with one another, since individuals are able to move to a different but related occupation (spiralist moves) or may move to different occupations in which their former skills/experience nonetheless 'add value' (augmenting moves). Thirdly, the concept of sequential movement to a post of greater responsibility in the same occupation indicates that individuals may change their particular job, but importantly, may be seen as remaining within the same occupation.

Watts' typology, therefore may be used to assess the extent to which individuals may be seen as pursuing occupational careers, and therefore operating in one or more occupational labour markets. Thus career patterns consisting primarily of sequential, lateral or regressive moves are indicative of the pursuit of an occupationally-based career. Spiralist moves may point to movement occurring between related occupational groupings and families, whereas career patterns exhibiting augmenting and (in particular) recycling moves are indicative either of limited opportunities for occupationally - based career moves, or of a reluctance or inability (for whatever reason) on the part of the individual to make such moves. It will be argued later that the extent to which these patterns occur is a critical indicator of the degree of occupational crystallisation in a particular area or function.

3. Occupational Crystallisation

3.1. The Concept of Occupational Crystallisation

A recurrent theme in the preceding discussion has been the idea that an occupation is something more than a job. Discussions such as those of Kalleberg and Berg and Super suggest that an occupation is something which transcends a particular organisation and the specific jobs within it. The concepts of occupationally - based labour markets and careers signal the existence of job transitions which may involve a change of functions and /or employers, but remaining within a particular occupation.

If, however, an occupation is to be seen as something which transcends particular organisational contexts, then it must possess certain characteristics

over and above the performance of a particular cluster of tasks, roles and responsibilities. It has already been suggested (see section 2.1) that one factor, which enables the occupation to transcend particular organisational contexts is the existence of a specific 'portfolio' of knowledge, skills and work experience which facilitates movement between positions in different organisations, and which may in some sense 'belong' to the members of a particular occupation or occupational grouping.

The extent to which this transcendence occurs, and a distinctive occupational grouping may be identified, is empirically variable. The process whereby such a distinctive occupation emerges is described here as 'occupational crystallisation'. The term has been used by a number of writers in the past to refer to the process of occupational formation (see Turner and Hodge 1970:22; Johnson 1972: 89; Crompton and Sanderson 1990: 39). However, the concept does not appear to have been subjected to any detailed articulation, and so the present discussion is intended to develop it in greater detail.

As we have seen earlier, definitions of occupation have encountered difficulties in articulating the relationship between the occupation and particular work tasks, roles and responsibilities. It will be suggested here, drawing on and developing the work of Abbott (1988; 1989; 1991), that the relationship between the two centre around the notion of occupational jurisdiction.

Within any organisation there is a division of labour and, attendant upon this, decisions are made as to how tasks, roles and responsibilities are to be organised, and how they are to be allocated to particular individuals (Abbott 1989:274). In most organisations these decisions are made principally by

employers or managers. Less common is the operation of what may be described as 'occupational control' - the situation where the occupational group itself makes these decisions. The most frequently occurring form of occupational control - and the one of primary concern to Abbott - is that exerted by certain professional groups. Where such groups are able to exercise 'a more-or-less exclusive claim' to engage in particular activities, Abbott refers to them as having a particular 'jurisdiction' (Abbott 1988:34). In the case of professional groups, such exclusivity may be sustained by state-sanctioned monopolies of practice (MacDonald: 1995:1-35). However, this is not the only basis on which a de facto jurisdictional monopoly of practice may be effected. The craft-based trade unions which in the past were able to secure a monopoly of practice for their members, combined with effective controls over entry to the occupation, exemplify such a monopoly of practice based on bargaining strength rather than legal status. A particularly good example of such 'colleague control' were the craft unions of the building trade cited by Pavalko (1971:104).

Despite the examples cited above, such tight occupational control is comparatively rare, particularly in the modern world of work (Payne 1987:58). Under these circumstances the concept of occupational jurisdiction may therefore be considered to have limited applicability. However, it is possible to give the concept a wider application, which is (at least in part) separated from the particular situation of occupational control. The crucial point here is that, even where control is located firmly within the hands of managers, decisions have to be made by those managers as to which actual or potential employees possess the necessary skills, qualifications, experience or aptitudes to perform particular tasks effectively. In some cases, it may appear to managers to be almost self-evident that appointment to particular positions should be dependent upon the possession of, for example, specific

qualifications or certain types of prior work experience. In situations like this, it is managers, rather than employees (or their organisations) who create an effective occupational jurisdiction. They do so by reserving certain positions for those possessing a particular portfolio of qualifications, skills, knowledge, or work experience.

It is the creation of such occupational jurisdictions which facilitates the development and operation of occupationally-based labour markets and career paths. The extent to which individuals are able to move from one job and / or organisation to another, but remain within the same occupation, is dependent upon these organisational positions being located within the jurisdiction of the occupational group to which they belong. It is through the existence of such connections that a distinctive occupational group may be seen as developing - i.e. as becoming 'crystallised'. Occupational crystallisation is thus centred on the linkage between a particular cluster of organisational activities (seen as falling within the 'jurisdiction' of a given occupational group) and a group of individuals who are seen as possessing the qualifications, skills, or capabilities which define them as members of that occupation. This group of individuals we will describe as the occupational constituency.

It is evident from this discussion that an occupation is not something which is objectively given, but rather something which is subject to processes of social construction. As Abbott argues :

'A category of workers is not an occupation, although it may become one. 'Occupationness' . . . results from social and cultural structuring of merely implicit links' (Abbott 1989: 275).

The study of occupational crystallisation is therefore concerned with the processes through which certain activities become identified with a particular occupational group, and recruitment and selection to these organisational positions comes to be based on membership of the perceived relevant occupational constituency. The more clearly that both the occupational jurisdiction and its constituency are delineated the more we may talk of the existence of a crystallising occupation.

In practice, of course, the extent of occupational crystallisation will vary widely. At one extreme are those occupations, such as the 'classic' professions, where both the jurisdiction and the constituency are clearly defined. (There may be, however, on-going debates as to where precisely the line should be drawn between the jurisdictions of related groups.) At the other extreme are those organisational positions for which no specific prior knowledge, skill or experience is required - the 'pure' job which has no links into a wider occupational structure.

However, in many - perhaps most - cases, the degree of occupational crystallisation is likely to lie somewhere between these two extremes, and it is cases such as these which are of greatest interest. In such circumstances, particular organisational positions may be filled by those individuals coming from different occupational groupings. The diversity of origin of such individuals may occur in at least two ways. Firstly, as pointed out in the earlier discussion of Watts' typology of job changes, occupations may be 'within the same field' or related to one another, so that training or experience in one area may be considered to be a suitable basis from which individuals may move into another area. Watts' own example of a teacher moving into educational publishing serves to exemplify this situation (Watts 1981: 228). In these circumstances, those selecting individuals for

particular positions may be prepared to recruit from not only those in the relevant occupational constituency, but also from those in the constituency of related occupations.

A second way in which occupational positions may be filled by individuals from several different occupations occurs in situations where organisational functions are a relatively recent development. It is therefore unlikely that an occupational constituency exists which can be seen as being directly connected to the activities associated with these 'new' functions. In such circumstances, recruitment may take place from a range of established occupational constituencies whose skills or experience are perceived to be both transferable to and have some relevance to the activities concerned.

This latter case is of particular interest, because it suggests one of the central ways in which occupational crystallisation may occur - through the processes which we describe as 'accretion' and 'melding'.

It is evident that in the circumstances described above, certain organisational positions may be seen as requiring people who can undertake a range of tasks involving knowledge, skills or work experience which are currently associated with several different occupational constituencies. Individuals may therefore be recruited to these recently established positions from these existing constituencies, bringing with them their specialised skills, experience and attitudes, but applying them to the newer function (Bensman and Lilienfeld 1973:341). In this way, the potential is created for the gradual crystallisation of a new occupational grouping, which takes the relevant aspects of the bodies of knowledge and skills associated with these constituencies ('accretion') and then 'melds' them together as a new and distinctive body of knowledge and skills. Thus, a new occupational grouping

can emerge from the accretion and melding of elements of several antecedent groupings.

The development of the occupation of Chartered Planner is a good example of one occupation which may have been created through the processes of accretion and melding. The individuals who initially migrated into planning activities are said to have had the “drawing board skills of architecture and engineering” and be capable of “embracing corporate tasks of managing environmental change” (Cherry 1984:10). Many of those ‘planning pioneers’ were inevitably drawn from what may be seen as the related occupations of architecture and engineering (both civil and municipal). Their design and spatial awareness skills could be modified to apply to the preparation of a range of plans necessary for the development of townscape and landscape. Thus the process of accretion could be said to be underway. Melding is of necessity likely to be an incremental process, facilitating the emergence of an distinctive planning-specific jurisdiction and constituency. A range of planning legislation and the Post War reconstruction programmes secured the demand for such skills which required those migrating from other occupations to supplement their portfolios through the acquisition of planning-specific knowledge and an understanding of local authority practice (Cherry 1984: 8-10). The ‘melding’ process was further facilitated by The Royal Town Planning Institute which was organised to (among other things) develop and oversee the provision of such a knowledge base, typically within institutions of higher education.

At this point, however, it is important to re-iterate that there is nothing automatic about such processes. Rather, as the example above illustrates, they are dependent upon the actions of three key groups of social actors - those whom we have earlier described as ‘occupational promoters’

(educational institutions and occupational associations), employers and managers, and employees.

3.2. Occupational crystallisation: the role of occupational promoters

As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, we use the term 'occupational promoters' to refer to those groups which are engaged in making claims as to the distinctiveness of a particular occupation, and in defining the body of knowledge, skill or experience which is believed to be characteristic of the occupational constituency.

Perhaps the most obvious example of an occupational promoter is the occupational association. Indeed, the very existence of such associations is founded upon the claim that it is possible to identify a more-or-less distinctive occupational constituency, whom the association in some sense represents or claims to serve (Pavalko 1971:105). There is, of course, a question here of which comes first, the association or the constituency ? There must be at least some potentially identifiable constituency in existence for the association to develop in the first place. (Indeed, it will be argued in the following chapter that the existence of relevant occupational associations is one of the grounds on which a particular area may be identified as one in which occupational crystallisation may be occurring.) However, the critical term here is 'potentially identifiable' because, at least in their early stages of development, occupational associations are not involved primarily in 'representing' an existing, established occupation. Rather they are concerned with the process of defining the nature of that occupation - the delineation of its jurisdiction and the characteristics of its associated constituency.

As we mentioned earlier, occupational associations are not alone in their quest to promote the existence of a particular (actual or putative) occupational grouping. The growth of vocational or vocationally-relevant qualifications, and the increased tendency for organisations to recruit and select on the basis of qualifications (Brown & Scase 1994:27), has drawn educational institutions increasingly into the role of occupational promotion.

In developing courses and awarding qualifications in vocationally-related disciplines, such institutions may be involved in three important activities. Firstly, in order to recruit students to such courses, it is necessary to make credible claims about the distinctiveness of the occupational area for which such courses provide preparation. Secondly, in devising course syllabuses, such institutions are involved in defining the body of skills and knowledge which are believed to be characteristic of the constituency associated with a particular occupation. Finally, through their connections with employers, educational institutions are involved in attempting to shape the linkage between the occupational jurisdiction and constituency. This is most evident in the institutions' endeavours to persuade employers that the education provided serves as a suitable basis for effective performance of occupational roles, but also entails the process whereby employers' needs are incorporated in some way into the course syllabuses.

These two categories of occupational promoter should not be seen as totally independent of one another. Occupational associations are likely to see possession of relevant qualifications as being (at least to some extent) indicative of membership of the occupational constituency they claim to represent, and as constituting therefore a basis for membership of the association. Furthermore, it is common for there to be close links between

associations and educational institutions. Academic staff will often be actively involved in what they believe to be relevant occupational associations, and in turn senior members of these occupational associations may act as 'industry experts' in advising educational institutions on course development and provision. Particularly in the early stages of occupational crystallisation there may be a close - almost symbiotic - relationship between associations and educational institutions. Occupational associations may confer some form of 'vocational legitimation' on the courses offered by the institutions, while educational institutions for their part may provide some form of 'academic legitimation' for the associations' implicit claims for the distinctiveness of the knowledge and skill base of the occupational constituency.

3.3. Occupational crystallisation: the role of employers

Occupational promoters, as we have seen, may make more or less explicit claims for the existence of a distinctive occupational grouping which is based upon the possession of a particular body of skills, knowledge or experience. Irrespective of these claims, in most circumstances it is only employers and managers who are in a position to establish a distinct occupational jurisdiction and its associated constituency.

There is no suggestion here that employers and managers are necessarily conscious of the fact that they may be defining an occupational jurisdiction and constituency. Rather, they do so (or fail to do so) indirectly, whilst engaging in four types of managerial decision-making. Firstly, managers will be involved in making decisions as to which tasks, roles and responsibilities need to be undertaken within a given organisation. They also decide how these activities will be allocated to particular positions and linked into other

positions within the wider organisational division of labour. Secondly, having identified the necessary configurations of work tasks to be undertaken, managers will be involved in deciding which particular skills, knowledge, experience, etc. are to be required from those who will occupy these positions. Thirdly, managers may, by design or default, influence the ways in which progression may take place within the organisation, thus shaping the career paths open to individuals, and the criteria to be applied in permitting or precluding particular career moves. Finally, managers may make decisions concerning the level and type of training and development opportunities available to individuals. In doing so they influence the scope for acquiring particular types of knowledge, skill, and experience open to employees. (It should be emphasised that although the above presents a conscious and systematic process, in practice these activities commonly occur in a more fluid, implicit and ad hoc fashion than this model suggests - see for example London & Stumpf 1982).

From the above description, it is clear how employers and managers may either facilitate or inhibit the process of occupational crystallisation. In determining the organisational division of labour, employers' establish a particular pattern of work tasks which may influence the extent to which it is feasible to allocate these to members of a particular (existing or nascent) occupational group. The decisions made on recruitment and selection are, of course, critical to the establishment of a particular occupational jurisdiction which, as we have seen, is dependent upon the decision that specific positions are most appropriately filled by members of a particular occupational constituency. Decisions on career paths and training and development are also influential in the shaping of occupational labour markets.

It must be stressed that what is of importance here is not primarily the decisions made in these areas by individual employers, but rather the way in which employers as a group act. If, for example, all employers in a particular sector assign employees to specific positions on the basis of the same or similar criteria, then a clear occupational jurisdiction and constituency may emerge. In practice, however, there may be significant variation between employers, a consequence of which is partial and fragmentary processes of occupational crystallisation.

3.4. Occupational crystallisation: the role of employees

While employers and managers have, in most cases, the dominant role in shaping organisational structures and processes, it is important not to see employees simply as passive respondents operating within a deterministic framework (Bell and Straw 1989:246; Grey 1994:494). Even in situations in which organisational structures and practices facilitate high levels of occupational crystallisation, and thus the pursuit of occupationally-based careers, many individuals may in practice choose to opt out of these by moving into related or unrelated jobs (Abbott 1989: 280). Employees therefore have a significant role to play in influencing the extent to which an occupational constituency exists in practice.

At the heart of the employees' role in this process lie the decisions which individuals make about occupational choice at or before the beginning of their working life, and the subsequent decisions which they make about job / role transitions. (The term 'occupational choice' implies a rational decision-making process which is questioned by for example, Dunkerley 1975:10-12). Where such decisions are shaped from an early stage by an individual's orientation to pursue an occupationally-based career, processes

of occupational crystallisation are likely to be reinforced. Indeed, it may be argued that a fully - developed occupational constituency is characterised by a strong sense of occupational identity among its members, so much so that the pursuit of the occupationally-based career is seen as the 'norm' for those who enter the occupational group.

The extent to which the pursuit of occupational careers is possible will, of course, be subject to various constraints. The pursuit of such careers is, of necessity, dependent upon the provision by employers of the occupational structures and labour markets which will facilitate their development. The more often employers define certain positions as coming within the jurisdiction of a particular occupational constituency, the more likely it is that the development of such career structures and labour markets will be possible.

Nevertheless, just because such opportunities exist does not mean that they will be taken. Whether individuals take advantage of the opportunities available will depend upon both the career orientations of the actual or potential members of the occupational constituency and also upon the alternative possibilities open to them. It will be remembered that Doeringer and Piore's original model of the Firm Internal Labour Market stressed the role of such structures in 'locking' employees in to particular organisations. Similarly, the development of strong Occupational Labour Markets may serve to lock individuals into particular occupational careers. It has been argued that the possession of specialised skills, knowledge or experience may be seen as fitting members of a constituency for one particular cluster of jobs. The consequence of this 'locking in' to either firm or occupational labour markets is that these individuals may lack other forms of skill, knowledge and experience which would enable them to move to other jobs. Between

these two extremes of firm / organisational, or occupational locking mechanisms lies the position where several bodies of knowledge, skills and experience may be seen as partly relevant to the performance of particular jobs. As a result of which these jobs may be opened to members of several occupational constituencies, thus facilitating the process of accretion.

It is apparent that individuals bring career orientations and choices to the processes of job entry and job transition, but their actual career patterns reflect the complex interactions between these choices and orientations and the labour market structures within which they are made. As indicated previously (section 2.3), the resultant career patterns are an important indicator of the degree of occupational crystallisation. The more firmly crystallised an occupation is, the more likely it is that its members will exhibit career histories revealing job transitions within the one occupation - i.e. transitions of the types identified by Watts as sequential, lateral or regressive within occupational labour markets. Also, associated with this, the more likely it will be that those undertaking jobs within the occupation will exhibit a sense of identification with the occupational group.

4. Conclusions

This chapter has been designed to set out the concept of occupational crystallisation, and to suggest the processes through which such crystallisation may take place. It will by now be clear that crystallisation is a process which is likely to occur to a greater or lesser degree, and that some groupings will exhibit higher degrees of occupational crystallisation than others. This thesis is concerned to identify the extent to which a particular cluster of jobs may be crystallising into a distinct occupation. It is therefore

necessary to conclude by setting out the criteria to be applied in evaluating the degree to which crystallisation may be occurring.

In the light of the preceding discussion, it may be argued that, in order to talk of a crystallised occupation existing, the following conditions must be satisfied:

- a) There must be a specific cluster of work activities (i.e. a particular set of jobs) which are seen as the province or 'jurisdiction' of the members of the occupational group.
- b) There must be an identifiable 'occupational constituency', whose members possess a specific body of knowledge, skills, qualifications or experience which is seen as the basis for the establishment of the jurisdiction of the group in question.
- c) Movement should take place between the different jobs associated with the occupational group - i.e. it should be possible to identify one or more types of occupational labour market.
- d) Members of the occupational constituency should display a measure of identification with the occupation and career plans which are oriented towards movement within the occupation over time.

It has already been argued that the examination of the extent of crystallisation within a given occupation requires an exploration of the activities of three distinct groups in relation to the criteria outlined above. In respect of occupational promoters, there are two main groups of issues to be examined. The first of these concerns the nature of the occupational

constituency. As we have seen, both the occupational associations and educational institutions are engaged in making explicit or implicit claims about the nature of the occupational constituency which they seek to represent or, for which they are preparing potential members. It is therefore necessary to explore the nature of these claims as a pointer to the type or types of occupation which is believed to exist or be in a process of emergence.

The second group of issues concerns the particular portfolio of skills, knowledge or experience which are believed to characterise the occupational constituency. Educational institutions are likely to play a particularly important role here, as it is the way in which they devise their syllabuses which provides the most direct evidence of the body of knowledge which is held to be associated with a particular occupation, or group of occupations. However, occupational associations may also provide relevant evidence on this point, most obviously through the criteria which they use to determine eligibility for membership of the association and, by implication, of the constituency which that association seeks to represent or serve.

The role of employers in the process of occupational crystallisation is, we have argued, crucial because - in the absence of direct occupational control - it is employers / managers alone who can establish a particular occupational jurisdiction and its connection to a particular occupational constituency. Therefore, an examination of the role of employers must concentrate on three groups of issues. Firstly, there is the question of how work activities are structured within a particular organisational division of labour. Is the work arranged in such a way that there is the potential for these activities to be seen as coming within the jurisdiction of a particular occupational group(s) ? Secondly, there is the crucial question of whether this potential is actually realised through the connecting of particular positions to those

possessing a certain portfolio of knowledge, skills or experience. In examining this process, it is important to bear in mind that this connection may be made in a number of ways. In particular, recruiting and selecting individuals from diverse occupational backgrounds may be indicative of a process of crystallisation occurring through a process of accretion and melding. Finally, there is the issue of the creation of occupational labour markets, whether these are internal to an organisation or sector, or transect a number of organisations and sectors. What needs to be examined here is the way in which employers' decisions on recruitment and selection may either facilitate or inhibit career moves of a sequential, lateral or regressive kind, thus creating or limiting the development of one or more types of occupationally-based labour market(s).

Lastly, we need to consider the actions of employees and the way in which they may facilitate or limit the process of occupational crystallisation. Even if there is prima facie evidence that employer's actions are creating the conditions which may encourage or permit the pursuit of occupationally-based careers, whether or not these are indeed pursued will depend in part upon the career orientations of individuals and the alternatives open to them. Three sets of data are of importance here. Firstly, it is necessary to examine the career histories of individuals, to see the extent to which they reveal involvement in a particular occupation or group of related occupations. Secondly, their future career aspirations and objectives need to be ascertained to establish, in particular, whether they see their future as remaining within a specific occupational labour market or, as maintaining the option to move between jobs in a diverse range of activities. Thirdly, there is the issue of occupational identity - the question of how far individuals see themselves as belonging - or aspiring to belong - to a particular occupational group, and to remain within it.

It is important to bear in mind that we are dealing with a process of occupational crystallisation which may be occurring to a greater or lesser degree at any given point in time. It would of course be possible to focus on a case where a high level of crystallisation has already occurred, such as a well-established professional group. However, it is arguably of greater interest to examine a situation in which the process may be occurring - in a situation which is more fluid, and the outcome of which is by no means determined. In the following chapter it will be argued that the potential occupation of tourism management represents such a situation, and that employment within the tourism management functions of local authorities represents a particularly appropriate site in which to study potential processes of occupational crystallisation (as well as counter-tendencies) at work.

CHAPTER 2.

TOURISM MANAGEMENT - A CASE OF OCCUPATIONAL CRYSTALLISATION ?

1. Introduction

The process of occupational crystallisation is perhaps most likely to be witnessed and experienced in an industry undergoing rapid and fairly sustained growth, thereby facilitating the emergence of new occupational roles and functions (Payne 1987:68; Pettigrew 1975:259). It will be argued in this chapter that the tourism industry represents such an area and that tourism management may be in the process of crystallising as a distinctive occupation.

At least three grounds may be put forward in support of this argument. Firstly, tourism is an industry which has experienced significant growth and development over recent decades, generating a range of work opportunities within a variety of labour markets (Employment Committee 1990:x; Richards 1995) [†]. Secondly, the very pervasiveness of tourism necessitates its management within a number of organisational contexts. Finally, and most critically, tourism management has become an area exhibiting a number of features which may be associated with the development of a distinct occupation. Most notable among these features is the development of specialised qualifications for those wishing to work in tourism management

[†] (It should be said that the appropriateness of the term 'industry' in relation to tourism has been much debated - see Lickorish 1991: 5 and 122; Hunter and Green 1996:1)

and a growth of occupational associations centred around one or more aspects of the tourism management function.

The objective of this first part of the chapter is to provide more detailed support for the arguments outlined above, and to establish that there are grounds for treating tourism management as a potentially emergent occupational grouping. However, it will also become apparent that there are significant ambiguities as to the nature of the grouping which may be emerging. In particular, the existence of several occupational associations, organised on different bases, raises a question as to whether it is possible to talk of a generic tourism management occupation. In an attempt to answer this question, this study focuses on tourism management in one specific sector - local authorities. The latter part of this chapter is devoted to setting out the nature of tourism management activities in this sector and suggesting the ways in which it may shed light on the wider issue of occupational crystallisation and tourism management.

2. Tourism Management as a Potential Site of Occupational Crystallisation

2.1. The growth of tourism

As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, tourism has been one of the major areas of economic growth in recent years. Hunter and Green argue that tourism is a nebulous phenomenon characterised by an amalgam of trades, organisations and activities (1996:4). It is therefore no surprise that the precise definition of tourism remains a matter of debate (see, for example, Wahab, 1975; Mill & Morrison 1985; Cooper et. al. 1993.). The sheer

diversity of activities involved is underlined by the working definition of tourism used by the English Tourist Board:

‘the temporary, short-term movement of people to destinations outside the place where they live and work and their activities during their stay at these destination (English Tourist Board 1991:6)

The broad scope of this definition indicates the variety of different groups who could be seen as engaging in tourism - day-trippers, longer-term holidaymakers, business travellers, and so on (see Lickorish et al 1991:4). Given the diversity of these groups - as well as the wide variety of locations to which they may travel - tourism is something which may clearly be managed in a range of organisational contexts. The need for such management may be seen to arise from the rapid growth in tourism which has been characteristic of the post-war period, fuelled by such factors as the growth in disposable income, improved transportation and the increasingly wide variety of choice in tourism provision (Heeley 1985:4; Tyler 1989: 18; Hunter and Green 1996: 5; and Towner 1995:339).

In the United Kingdom growth in tourism has been somewhat erratic (Johnson 1988:379), with a slowing of receipts from tourism and a decline in employment during the early 1980's (Morrell 1985:7-13). Nevertheless, over the past decade tourism has grown at the annual rate of 5.7% with a 31% increase in jobs, with the currently available figures showing that the tourism industry earns £30 billion in revenue which represents 5.6% of GDP and 7% of employment. (CBI, 1995: 6). Despite its erratic nature, the growth in tourism is set to continue with many predictions of its being the world's largest industry in 2000 AD. (e.g. BTA 1995)

In addition to the factors outlined above, the growth in the tourism industry has been actively encouraged by both central and local government, both as a general means of generating revenue, and as a means of promoting economic regeneration, especially in areas which have been adversely affected by the decline of traditional industries with its ensuing impact on the local economy and employment (see for example : IMS 1986:7; Association of District Councils 1988:1). Growth of tourism on this scale inevitably creates problems for tourist destination areas, which themselves require management and resolution of conflicts of interest between tourists and local residents (Godfrey 1989; Urry 1990a: 113).

2.2. The nature of tourism management

Despite the widespread recognition of the role of tourism as a source of employment, there has been considerable difficulty in defining the precise extent and nature of tourism employment (see for example Mathieson & Wall 1989:76-82; Parsons 1987; Williams and Shaw 1988; NEDC 1989; Baty 1990). As Holloway (1989) has argued, tourism is a multifaceted industry, and there will necessarily be some debate as to what activities are to be included within it, not least because certain activities (e.g. catering and transport) may service tourist and non-tourist alike (Burkart and Medlik 1981: 65; Parsons 1987; Medlik 1988:20). Perhaps the most useful classification of the types of organisation engaged in tourism-related activities is that developed from the work of Nightingale, in the course of a study of the numbers and distribution of 'professional' employees in tourism in the late 1970s. This classification is set out in Table 1.

Table 1. Classification of types of tourism organisations based on Nightingale (1980)

Tourism component sectors	Public /private	General function (s)
<u>Tourism destination organisations</u> • Tourist Boards (includes BTA 1) • Regional tourist organisations (RTBs + other regional tourism organisations 2) • Local tourist organisations (includes local authority tourism + RTB managed TIC's 3)	Public Public Public	Marketing of country, region, local authority and destination. Publicity and market research for future development Physical planning for tourism development
<u>Suppliers of tourist attractions, facilities and services</u> • Accommodation (range of hotels + guest houses + self-catering) • Conference facilities (some hotels + purpose - built centres) • Transport organisations (passenger carrying ,car hire + motoring organisations) • Tourist attractions + entertainment	Mainly private Public + private Public + private Public + private	General operational / management of services which cater for tourist and non-tourist Marketing of services/ facilities Entertainers
<u>Travel organisations</u> • Tour operations + travel organisations • Retail travel agencies • Guide + related services	Mainly private Private Public + private	General operations / management Marketing of destinations Retailing
1. BTA : British Tourist Authority , 2. RTB : Regional Tourist Board, 3. TIC : Tourist Information Centre Derived from Nightingale's (1980) Suggested Revised Classification pp. 110 and Summary of Impressions of Component Sectors pp. 115.		

It is clear that all of the types of organisation identified by Nightingale will require management of one kind or another, and this requirement has been shown to be increasing (Parsons 1987:33). The number of managerial positions in the area of tourism management has grown since the mid 1970's due to the expansion and development of tourism and leisure functions in local authorities (ETB / Host 1991:39). Furthermore, Metcalfe found that there was an increasing tendency to recruit graduates or equivalent to these managerial positions (Metcalfe 1988:92). On the basis of

the evidence reviewed above, a case may be advanced for treating the development of tourism management as a distinctive activity.

However, there are at least two important reservations which have to be made here. Firstly, as has already been indicated, not all of these organisations are related exclusively to tourism. It is evident that for example, some tour operators and local and regional tourist organisations could not exist without tourism. Management in such organisations may therefore be said to be, in some sense, 'tourism management'. On the other hand, tourism is linked into and influences a number of other industries or economic sectors (Williams and Shaw 1989:38). An obvious example is that of transport organisations. It is, of course, true that the management of transport organisations are likely to experience fluctuating demands for their services in areas of high tourist activity and / or at peak season, but there is nothing inherent in the activity of managing transport services which links it to tourism. Bus services, for example, would still be run if tourists did not exist.

Secondly, it is clear that even those organisations which are specifically tourism orientated undertake functions which are of a somewhat more general nature. For example, the functions of tourism destination organisations include such activities as marketing, market research, publicity and development planning, which are by no means restricted to the tourism industry. In view of this we may therefore ask whether there are grounds for believing that there is anything specific about tourism management, or whether it simply involves the application of a number of comparatively well-established occupational specialisms (e.g. marketing, local authority planning) to the area of tourism.

The possibility that something more than this may be involved is raised by referring back to the processes of occupational accretion and melding outlined in the previous chapter. It was argued there that new occupations may be crystallised by the amalgamation of elements from several existing occupations, which may be subjected to fusing or 'melding' through their focus on a particular area of activity - in this case the management of tourism. The fact that the diverse activities of marketing, planning and publicity are being amalgamated in this way may be interpreted as providing evidence of such accretion and melding taking place. The fact that the public sector, and local authorities in particular, are seen as the organisations having the major role in co-ordinating such a fragmented industry (Clarke 1986:4, ADC 1996:4) provides the impetus for engaging in such activities that are necessary to achieve such co-ordination. Whether, or how far, this is the case will be one of the principal questions to be answered by this study.

Notwithstanding these problems of conceptualisation, it does appear that there is a growth in managerial activities associated in some way with tourism. The possibility that tourism management is developing as an occupational specialism is reinforced by the growth of specialised courses and qualifications in this area. Their development is the subject of the next section.

2.3. The development of tourism management qualifications

The development of specialist courses in tourism has its roots in the discipline of geography, where the study of tourism began to be included in degree courses from the 1920s (NEDO 1991: 10). However, it was probably not until after the Medlik Report ((1966) that educationalists became extensively

involved in specialist tourism courses. Medlik concluded that the development of tourism qualifications was necessary:

‘to provide suitable education and training for the future tourist executive who represents a new profession in national, regional and local tourist organisations and other bodies primarily concerned with tourism’ (Medlik 1966:).

In the thirty years since the publication of the Medlik report a range of specialist tourism management courses has been developed. In 1967 tourism was first offered as an option on the University of Surrey’s degree in Hotel and Catering Administration (Lawson 1974 :12). The following year, students were offered the opportunity to study tourism as an option on HND Business Studies courses at both the then Dorset Institute (now Bournemouth University) and at Ealing College (CNAA 1993:70). Subsequently, postgraduate-level tourism courses were introduced in 1972 at the Universities of Surrey and Strathclyde. These were designed as ‘vocational conversion courses’ (CNAA 1993: 12), intended to facilitate entry to the tourism industry for those with first degrees in what were seen as unrelated disciplines.

It was not, however, until 1986 that the first undergraduate tourism-specific degrees were introduced, at the then Bournemouth and Newcastle Polytechnics (CNAA 1993: 70). Since then, particularly in the ‘new universities’, there has been a rapid increase in provision at both undergraduate and postgraduate level, as shown in Tables 2. and 3. Table 2. shows the steady growth of postgraduate tourism courses, and the much more explosive growth in undergraduate degree courses after 1986. Table 3. focuses in on this more ‘explosive’ growth, particularly during the period

1991/2, when the number of student places at undergraduate level increased by 34% and by 13% at postgraduate level. (A small decline in student places was experienced in the following year, despite an increase in courses, for funding reasons).

Table 2. The year of commencement of undergraduate and postgraduate tourism qualifications

Year of commencement	Undergraduate	Postgraduate	Total
Pre - 1976	-	3	3
1976 -1980	-	1	1
1981 -1985	-	2	2
1986 - 1990	5	4	9
Post 1990	12	5	17
Total	17	15	32
Note : Excludes 9 courses whose start date is unknown but post 1985 From Airey, et. al. 1993:10. - Survey population 28 universities offering 33 courses			

Table 3. The number of undergraduate and postgraduate tourism courses and places

Year	Undergraduate			Postgraduate			Total
	courses	sample size	total places	courses	sample size	total places	
1991	9	8	785	11	13	585	1370
1992	14	11	1041	13	13	658	1699
1993	18	14	1020	15	14	567	1587

Source : Airey et al. 1993:12

The rapid development of these courses indicates a perception by providers that there is a demand for qualified employees in the tourism industry. (This is, however, arguable. Ryan, for example, contends that the supply of such courses is as much a reflection of educational politics as it is of a growth in tourism - see Ryan 1995:98, Baum 1995:209; also Parsons 1991:202). The proliferation of these specialist tourism courses may be interpreted as incorporating a claim (made by educational institutions in their role as occupational promoters) that there exists a specific body of knowledge and skills which equips people for entry to the industry. As these courses are

directed at those intending to enter the industry at management or similar level (NEDO 1991:11), this growth may be viewed as further evidence of the possible development of a distinctive occupation of tourism management.

2.4. Tourism management and occupational associations

In Chapter 1 it was argued that the existence of occupational associations played an important, but complex, role in the process of occupational crystallisation. Their very existence may be seen as indicative of the possibility of at least a potential occupational grouping emerging. Moreover, associations may also be seen as actively promoting the emergence of such a grouping through the claims that they make about both its existence and the particular combination of skills, knowledge and experience which its constituency is said to embody.

Although the study of occupational associations lends some support to the argument that tourism management may be emerging as a distinct occupation, it is by no means unequivocal because there are four associations claiming to represent some or all of what might be seen as the tourism management constituency.

The oldest of these is the body known until recently as the British Association of Tourism Officers (BATO) whose membership has traditionally consisted of those 'primarily responsible for promoting tourism within local authority or regional areas' (Municipal Yearbook 1997: 626). Originating in 1932 as the Association of Publicity and Development Officers, membership tended until local government reorganisation in 1974 to be restricted to those employed by seaside resorts - indeed, prior to 1974, the organisation was known as the British Association of Resort Tourist

Officers (BATO 1993). After 1974 BATO's membership was extended to encompass those employed in all public sector tourism organisations, both local authorities and regional and national tourist boards. In 1996 its membership stood at 220, of whom 144 were employed in local authorities and 58 in the tourist boards (the remaining members were in education, and public / private sector tourism consortia organisations).

Inasmuch as a particular association may be said to reflect the existence of a particular occupational constituency, the existence of BATO would seem to imply that public sector tourism management might be considered to be a distinctive occupation in its own right. However, there is a second public sector association which also endeavours to represent those working in public sector tourism management, but within a wider occupational context. This is the Institute of Leisure and Amenity Management (ILAM), formed in 1983 through the amalgamation of several occupational associations related to leisure and amenities, primarily in local authorities.

ILAM's total membership stands at around 7000, (1996 figures confirmed by 'phone with the ILAM membership Secretary 17.7.97) drawn primarily from the areas of sports and leisure amenity management. Of these 1750 are now in the private sector. (This figure includes former local authority leisure staff in areas which have been privatised). ILAM also maintains that public sector tourism functions fall within its remit, and claims 200 of its individual membership work in tourism management. It maintains a Tourism, Marketing and Heritage panel, as one of its nine specialist panels (Introduction to ILAM, Membership Leaflet 1996). Thus, from the perspective of ILAM, the management of tourism in the public sector may be viewed, not so much as an independent occupation, but rather as part of a

related family of public sector leisure and amenity management occupations.

In contrast to the public sector orientation of both BATO and ILAM, the Institute of Travel and Tourism, founded in 1956, is primarily an organisation for those employed in private sector travel businesses, especially travel agencies, but also tourist attractions and tour operators and other organisations concerned with travel and tourism, such as carriers and their employees (ITT Profile 1996). Its current membership stands at around 3000, the majority of whom are in the private sector. (The Institute does not keep the details of its membership in such a way as to distinguish between the various sectors of tourism and travel, or public and private sectors).

In contrast to the public or private sector orientation of the three organisations discussed so far, the fourth occupational association involved in tourism, The Tourism Society regards itself as an 'umbrella organisation', encompassing a range of roles in both public and private sector (Interview with Professor V. Middleton, Chairman of the Society, 17.1.94). It sees its potential membership as consisting of those employed, or seeking to be employed, at 'a professional level' in any area of the tourism industry, defining 'professional level' as comprising 'managers and other with executive/specialist responsibilities' (Tourism Society 1993). The Society currently has a membership of just over 1200, of whom the majority (760) are employed in the private sector, with only 100 working in local authority tourism management (1996 membership figures from the Membership Directory 1997). The society appears to have particularly strong links with those engaged in educational activities in this field, as it contains two specialist groups, the Association of Teachers and Trainers in Tourism (of whom there are currently 232) and the Consultants group (of whom there are currently 296).

This brief examination of the four principal occupational associations connected with tourism management provides some support for the belief that tourism management is emerging as a specialist occupation and yet indicates the ambiguities which exist as to the precise nature of that occupation. Consequently, several possibilities may be said to exist. Firstly, tourism management may be seen to be emerging as a generic occupation, encompassing the diverse range of managerial activities involved in managing tourism in a variety of different contexts. The validity of this option is supported by the existence of the Tourism Society, which attempts to encompass all those working in managerial and related activities in the tourism area and is the only one of the four occupational associations referred to above which has increased its membership in the last three years. (from a membership of 1059 in 1993 to the current figure of 1202).

There is, however, an alternative way of viewing things, supported by the existence of specialist organisations for those working in tourism-related activities in both public and private sector. This is that any emergent tourism management occupations are likely to be sector-specific. Within the public sector there is a further ambiguity as to whether tourism management might be genuinely seen as an occupation in its own right (as implied by the existence of BATO) or as part of a wider family of inter-related occupations centred around leisure and amenity management more generally (as implied by ILAM's inclusion of those working in tourism management within its membership - which has remained fairly static in the last three years).

A note of caution should be added here so as not to make too much of the alternative bases of occupational formation implied by the existence of these

associations with very different objectives. Membership of associations is not mutually exclusive (e.g. there has been nothing to preclude someone being a member of both BATO and ILAM nor, indeed, of all four associations), and it remains to be seen how far membership is actually associated with a particular sense of occupational identity, (see Chapter 6). However, the identity of associations themselves may be undergoing a change, at least in BATO's case as, from its AGM in April 1997, BATO has been renamed the Tourism Management Institute (TMI). This name change is significant for the association itself in that it signals its intention to widen its membership to all "persons engaged in all aspects of tourism management" (BATO Year Book 1997:35) whether they are employed in the public or private sector attractions. (A possible trigger for such a change may have been a decline in membership from 240 in 1993 to the current 220). This possible change in its membership profile further underlines the ambiguous nature of the basis on which a distinctive occupation or occupations may be emerging in the area of tourism management.

3. Tourism Management and Local Authorities

3.1 Local authorities' involvement with tourism

It is clear from the preceding discussion that the public sector is one area in which activities related to the management of tourism are well-established. Reference to the typology of tourism sectors based on Nightingale's work (Table 1 above), emphasises the pivotal role played by the public sector in the tourism industry. In certain local authorities (notably the resorts - Walton 1997:42) there is a long tradition of local authority involvement in the promotion and management of tourism; indeed, it is argued that such involvement has been longer than that of central government (Richards &

Wilkes 1990:6). In others, the development of tourism-related activities is of rather more recent origin, reflecting both the changing legislative framework and the responses of local authorities to the decline in traditional forms of employment (see Gill 1991:155-9; Hughes 1992:33)

As long ago as 1948 the Local Government Act permitted local authorities to establish information and promotion services for tourism. The Local Government Act of 1972 reinforced and extended the 1948 Act to include measures to encourage visitors and provide appropriate facilities for them in an attempt designed to promote greater access to the countryside. These measures also impacted upon the responsibilities of local authorities.

(Richards and Wilkes 1990; Gilbert and Tung 1994:165). The 1949 National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act established the procedure for designating National Parks which, while generally managed by Park authorities, were often promoted as tourist destinations by local authorities within their boundaries (Bromley 1990:41-57). Section 27 of The Countryside Act of 1968 gave local authorities increased powers to establish, mark and safeguard bridleways and footpaths, and led to the definition of Heritage Coasts, many of which have become tourist destinations. (Blacksell and Gilg 1981:16-23)

In many respects the planning legislation has had the most significant implications for tourism management within authorities although Heeley argues, that 'most local planning authorities are not innovative and entrepreneurial and are only peripherally involved' (in tourism) (1988:29). The 1947 Town and Country Planning Act placed controls on development, including tourism-related development, (Cullingworth and Nadin 1994:10) while its successor of 1971 gave County Councils a statutory responsibility to consider tourism in their structure plans, and to engage in the physical

planning of tourism-related developments (Blacksell & Gilg 1981:108). In the 1980's, deregulation of land-use controls was introduced to facilitate economic development, in particular the redevelopment of inner cities such as the London Docklands (Goldsmith 1992:403; see also Blowers 1986:15). The Government, however, continued to reiterate the view that the planning process was vital to the effective management of tourism (DOE 1992;)

In spite of the evolution of a legal framework supporting the development of tourism and its management, many local authorities viewed tourism with some indifference until the recession of the 1980's kindled an interest born of the real or perceived need for economic development and regeneration in the face of the decline of traditional industries (Hudson and Townsend 1992: 64; Law 1992). Thus tourism and its management spread to areas not 'previously considered to have any tourism potential' (Gill 1991:159) and authorities such as Bradford (Urry 1990:105) and other industrial cities belatedly 'discovered' tourism as a means of bringing new sources of revenue and employment to the area. (Bramwell & Rawding 1994)

However, the promotion of tourism may be something of a 'double-edged sword' for local authorities. While it has often been assumed that 'tourism and community interests go hand in hand' (Association of District Councils 1988:2), in practice the growth of tourism may have serious negative as well as positive effects for the locality concerned. Promoting and facilitating tourism obviously carries with it costs as well as benefits, (Hughes 1983:87) such as those involved in the provision of roads and car parks, the funding of promotional activities, and environmental costs associated with congestion. (Fletcher et. al. 1990).

More generally, an increase in tourism may be perceived as impacting adversely on the environment and on the amenities of local residents, with possible negative effects upon the electoral popularity of the local authority (Urry 1990: 113). Consequently, there has been a growing emphasis on the need not only to promote and facilitate tourism, but also to manage its impact on the environment (France and Towner 1991; see also The Bruntland Report 1987) by, for example, dispersing tourists away from sensitive or overburdened areas (see Godfrey 1989; ETB 1990, 1991, 1992). This requirement to ensure that tourism growth is accompanied by improvements in the physical, social and environmental quality of the product is often seen as the main challenge facing all tourism providers, not least local authorities (Ryan 1991a:104).

3.2 Local Authority Tourism Functions

In the light of these potentially conflicting demands, the role of local authorities' tourism management function is to 'balance demand and capacity so that the conflicts are minimised' (Pigram 1993:171). Thus, on the one hand, authorities may seek to invest in the development of tourism and to promote their area as a tourist destination, while on the other they may intervene to protect from the detrimental effects of tourism the very features which attract the tourist in the first place. In seeking to achieve and reconcile these potentially conflicting objectives, local authorities become engaged in three main clusters of activity - tourism development, tourism promotion and visitor management.

3.2.1 Tourism development

Hall suggests that the term 'tourism development' is 'the most commonly used, but least understood, expression in the tourism lexicon' (Hall 1994:108). In the local authority context, however, it may be seen as entailing the development of local strategies which define the location, quality and nature of tourism activity and provision, and act as a guide to tourism managers in implementing the delivery of tourism services (Bevan 1989:13; Hall 1994:151). Indeed, Brown & Essex maintain that tourism officers need to see their role as strategic, encompassing infrastructure development as well as addressing the weaknesses of the product range or its quality (1989:536). Agarwal refers to this development of the tourism product as the process of planning renewal which she argues may be achieved by means of four strategies - lengthening the tourist season, diversifying the tourism product, encouraging out of season tourism, and improving the infrastructure (1997:147).

Although most authorities are involved, to some extent, in tourism development, (HMSO 1992:6) there is some difference in the scale of involvement in strategic issues between county and district councils (district councils include both borough and city councils). In general, county councils have seen themselves as providing more of an overall strategic view encompassing the needs of tourists and residents without normally becoming directly embroiled in local issues likely to arise when the needs of the tourist and the resident conflict, except where development occurs on their own land (Association of County Councils 1992). More specifically, as we have seen, county councils have a statutory responsibility to produce structure plans which identify guidelines for the location, type and scale of development within the county boundaries, thereby facilitating or

constraining the development of tourism. District councils also have an important statutory responsibility to produce detailed local plans indicating the specific location of future development and providing clear policies against which specific development proposals may be judged. Their significance in the tourism development process lies in their role as implementors of both the structure and local plans (Blacksell and Gilg 1981:108)

Over and above the setting of broad strategic plans outlined above, local authorities' tourism development strategies (where they exist) may entail a variety of activities designed to facilitate various forms of tourism. Such activities may include the provision of infrastructure, the provision of land for new developments, directly funding new developments and encouraging new private developments through such activities as site finding services and the sharing of commercial risks (Association of District Councils 1988:12).

It is by now clear that local authorities play a dominant role in tourism development but they are not the only players. The national structure for tourism management was instituted under the 1969 Development of Tourism Act. Four organisations were established with the remit to promote and develop tourism within different geographical areas. The British Tourist Authority's (BTA) responsibilities lies in the promoting of the UK as a destination to potential overseas visitors (BTA 1988 and 1989:24). The English, Scottish and Wales national Tourist Boards operate within the UK, developing a national tourism strategy, and co-ordinating the interests of local authorities, commerce and government (English Tourist Board 1988). The same Act established the twelve English Regional Tourist Boards (RTBs) (Johnson 1988:377; Lickorish 1991: 127-8). Although funded by central

and local government (DOE 1979), there is an increasing reliance on commercial sources. The RTBs prepare regional development strategies but are primarily marketing agencies, but the geographical/political structure of the region may not always lend itself to tourism promotion on a regional level.

At the local level, tourism development can only be achieved through the creation of public / private sector alliances which facilitate various levels of collaboration aimed at developing local tourism initiatives (Palmer and Bejou 1995). One significant, formal means of collaboration was through the Tourism Development Action Programmes through which the ETB provided matching funds for a fairly rigidly structured collaborative programme of local tourism initiatives (Palmer and Bejou 1995:622). The ETB withdrew the funding for this scheme and replaced it by the short-lived Area Initiatives for the financial years 1995/6 and 1996/7 (confirmed by the Southern Tourist Board's Development officer 15/09/97). Torbay is a widely quoted example of such a programme which was designed 'to revitalise the tourist industry, to promote tourism as a means to increase prosperity and employment, and to create an impetus for wider economic development' (Torbay Borough Council's strategy as discussed in Agarwal 1997:154). A legacy of this programme, apart from the sought - after economic revitalisation, was the increased liaison between the various public and private sector tourism organisations.

3.2.2 Tourism Promotion

Where local authorities have invested in or promoted the development of attractions, conference facilities, etc. they will typically seek to recoup that investment by the development of a coherent, attractive image which is

publicised through marketing techniques, and sets them apart, in some ways, from other tourist destinations (Urry 1990: 115). Promoting local attractions is seen by many authorities as a central part of their role because 'effective marketing is essential to the success of local tourism' (Association of District Councils 1988: 14; Richards and Wilkes 1990:22). It is important to note that tourism promotion is not the exclusive province of local authorities. Not only will owners of privately-owned attractions directly advertise their facilities, but the tourist boards will also be involved to differing extents.

A variety of activities may be encompassed within the broad heading of tourism promotion (Nightingale 1980; Bevan 1989). Some authorities may engage in market research, both as part of their promotional activities and as a tool to be used in the wider process of planning tourism development. The development and publication of publicity material will be a core activity for all authorities engaged in the promotion of tourism, and many will be involved in attendance at exhibitions (in the UK and abroad) to promote the area and its facilities, as well as becoming involved in more general public relations activities through links with the media. The provision of information through council-run tourist information centres, while falling primarily within the area of tourism visitor management (see below) also involves an element of tourism promotion.

While in principle, the activities of the Tourist Boards are intended to complement those of local authorities, in practice there may be tension between the two, with authorities seeing the boards' efforts as unnecessary or an interference with their own responsibilities (Gilbert and Tung 1990:165). Similarly, there has been some overlapping of responsibility for tourism promotion between district and county councils, which may also be

a source of difficulty. In fact, one of the reasons for the recent Local Government Review was to dismantle or alleviate the problems, such as overlapping responsibilities, associated with the two-tier system (Chisholm 1995:567). Whether the Review outcomes resolve these difficulties or exacerbates them through the emergence of 'a unitary myth rather than a unitary reality' remains to be seen (Leach 1994:539) .

3.2.3 Visitor management

The term visitor management is used here because it conveys the holistic approach to the operationalisation of tourism management strategies which 'embraces a whole range of measures aimed at managing both tourism and the environment in which it takes place' (ETB 1991:6). The whole point of visitor management is to ensure that the activities which service the tourist (and usually the residents) and which may be dispersed throughout the organisation are integrated, thus providing a means of 'quality control and service provision' (Grant et. al. 1996).

Visitor management is very much an integrating activity not just for those functions which are managed within the authority but also with private sector providers of accommodation, attractions and with other local authorities such as the county in which a district or city authority is located. Increasingly, both tourism development and its implementation is undertaken by a range of public / private sector consortia. Bramwell and Rawding (1994) identified four different types of partnerships designed at least initially for marketing purposes. Apart from this co-ordinating role the primary direct involvement of local authorities in the management of visitors / tourists lies in the management of council-owned services and facilities. In many cases the main involvement will be through the

provision of Tourist Information Centres (TICs) 80% of which are run by local authorities according to The Association of District Councils (1996:4). The other 20% are generally managed by the Regional Tourist Board (e.g. the local TIC in Romsey). Tourist Information Centres are set up to provide a vehicle to market local facilities and accommodation and to provide general local and regional information in a seasonal or year-round basis.

In addition, some authorities may own and manage visitor attractions, both built and natural, such as museums and country parks, and but often the primary facilities will be ones which may also be utilised by the local population, such as art galleries or leisure centres.

3.3 Local Authority Tourism Management and Occupational Crystallisation

The preceding section has identified the various functions undertaken by local authorities in managing tourism. Because of their pivotal role in this area, it is contended that local authorities represent a particularly appropriate site for examining the evidence on the possible crystallisation of tourism management as a distinct occupation. There are a number of factors on which this contention is based. Firstly, as has been noted above, certain authorities (particularly the resorts and historic towns) have a long tradition of involvement in the development and promotion of tourism, providing a basis for the development of specialised tourism management functions, and for the emergence as long ago as 1932 of a specialist occupational association for those working in this area. Other local authorities have developed a closer involvement with tourism much more recently, but even in these authorities statutory responsibilities and limited powers given

to them since the Second World War will have provided some basis for involvement with tourism-related issues.

However, just because tourism-related jobs can be shown to exist, it does not follow that these jobs will be undertaken by individuals who can be regarded as members of a wider tourism management occupation. It has been argued that for this relationship between a tourism management jurisdiction and its constituency to occur, the performance of these jobs must be linked to individuals who possess a particular portfolio of skills, qualifications or experience. Furthermore, it is suggested that if this process is actually occurring at all, then it is particularly likely to be taking place in local authorities.

The reason for this suggestion lies in the local authority human resource management practice, which is the second reason for selecting local authorities as a suitable site for this study. Traditionally, authorities have instituted and applied formalised recruitment and selection processes, based on the use of explicit criteria (Fowler 1975:46-86). Such a tradition has important consequences for who gets hired (Pfeffer 1989:383), as it is likely to encourage the selection of individuals to specialist positions on the basis of their possession of qualifications or experience which can be shown to have particular relevance to the activities associated with those positions. Furthermore, local authorities' tradition of commitment to staff development might be expected to encourage the acquisition of qualifications or additional training which would strengthen the individual employees' connection with a particular occupational area (Elcock 1992:92).

A third reason for proposing that local authorities might be an appropriate site to collect evidence on the possible crystallisation of tourism management is the fact that two of the four occupational associations which

are concerned with representing a potential tourism management constituency are located, at present, almost entirely within the public sector, signalling a particularly strong connection between public sector employment and collective organisation on an occupational basis in this area.

In selecting local authorities as a suitable site for this study for the reasons outlined above, it is recognised that, as suggested at the end of the preceding chapter, the study of occupational crystallisation was of greatest interest in those situations where the potential for crystallisation could be said to exist alongside countervailing tendencies. It is believed that these circumstances may also be shown to exist in the local authority context, for at least two reasons.

Firstly, there is a point which was noted in discussing the typology (based on Nightingale's work) of tourism organisations and which has become even more evident in the subsequent discussion. The functions which local authorities discharge in the area of tourism management are ones which in large measure draw upon existing areas of occupational specialism - e.g. marketing, planning and public relations. This raises the possibility that one of two very different situations may be developing. While local authority tourism functions may be reserved for members of particular occupations, such reservation might be on the basis of these existing occupational categories. For example, planners may be recruited for the planning activities, those with marketing qualifications or experience for marketing jobs, and so on. Thus, while local authority tourism jobs would be linked into occupational labour markets, these would be the occupational labour markets for local authority planners, marketing staff and so on, and not an occupational labour market for tourism managers. However, the converse

possibility also exists, that by bringing together these different occupations through a shared focus on tourism, a tourism management occupation is being forged through the processes of accretion and melding.

Secondly, there is the possibility that the execution of local authority tourism functions is primarily undertaken by those who are members of an organisational or sector labour market rather than any kind of occupational labour market. The fact that local authorities have long been characterised by strong internal labour markets, with scope for progression of managerial staff across functions (Brown 1982: 126; Farnham and Horton 1996:35), raises the possibility that at least some tourism management positions may be filled by individuals who are part of such a Firm or Sector Internal Labour Market - i.e. individuals who may be regarded as local authority careerists rather than members of a specific occupational grouping.

Thus, while there are grounds for believing that a movement towards the occupational crystallisation of tourism management may be taking place within local authorities, it is by no means clear that this will happen. It is the aim of this study to determine what is taking place in practice.

4. Conclusions

In the present chapter it has been argued that there are a number of grounds for believing that there is at least a potential for tourism management to develop as a distinct occupational specialism. The evidence in support of this belief that processes of occupational crystallisation may be taking place is based on the development of the need to manage various aspects of tourism, combined with the increase in the provision of specialist qualifications and the existence of tourism management occupational associations. However,

as has been shown, the evidence for such processes is by no means clear-cut. In particular, the diversity of the tourism industry raises questions as to whether there can be a portfolio of skills, knowledge and experience which is applicable across the industry as a whole, and the diversity of occupational associations compounds this uncertainty.

The extent to which occupational crystallisation may be taking place and the consideration of both facilitating and inhibiting tendencies is therefore a matter for empirical investigation. A consideration of the role of local authorities in tourism management, and of the nature of local authority employment and labour markets, leads to the belief that they may be a particularly appropriate area within which to study these processes. The detailed rationale for this approach, together with a consideration of an appropriate research methodology, will be the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

1. Introduction: Research Design and Objectives

At the end of the preceding chapter it was suggested that local authorities are an appropriate site for the study of the potential processes of occupational crystallisation in the area of tourism management. Their history of involvement in tourism management, combined with their use of formalised methods of recruitment and selection, indicates that they may be particularly likely to recruit staff who are pursuing or endeavouring to pursue specialist careers in this area. At the same time, however, the existence of generic local authority careers raises the possibility that tourism management activities may be undertaken by local authority 'generalists'. A third possibility is that staff will be recruited from related occupational areas, such as marketing and planning. Such recruitment strategies have been suggested as a process by which occupational crystallisation may occur via processes of accretion and melding, but there is also the alternative possibility that such individuals will be pursuing occupationally-based careers in their areas of origin, rather than committing themselves to a longer-term career in tourism management.

The diversity of tourism-related activities discussed in the preceding chapter means that the management of tourism takes place in contexts other than local authorities - travel and tourism operators, the providers of private sector facilities for tourists, the providers of tourist attractions, and so forth.

The question therefore arises, even if tourism management is developing as a distinctive occupation, is it doing so in a generic or sector-specific form? If tourism management were to be developing on a generic basis, one would expect to find individuals moving between tourism management functions in different sectors, with employers accepting experience in one area of tourism management as being capable of application to employment in a different area. Alternatively, if tourism management is developing on a more sector-specific basis, then labour markets and career patterns will be typically confined to particular areas of tourism management. Thus the crucial questions here relate to the nature of tourism-related labour markets and associated career patterns, together with the processes of organisational recruitment and selection, and occupational choice which underpin these structures.

Questions of this kind can only be fully addressed by a more extensive study than can be attempted here, in which recruitment, labour market and career patterns across the range of sectors in which tourism management activities are located are examined. However, a sector-specific study of the sort presented here may take a significant step towards answering such questions. By examining recruitment practices and criteria in one sector of tourism management it is possible to identify the extent to which generic tourism-related skills and qualifications, and experience in other tourism areas, are accepted as a basis for entry to employment in this particular sector. Furthermore, a detailed examination of the career histories and career plans of employees within this sector will shed light on the extent to which there is actual or potential movement between tourism management activities within in the different sectors.

Although the present study provides only a partial picture of potential processes of occupational crystallisation of tourism management, it does so in an area where these processes (as well as possible countervailing tendencies) are particularly likely to be found. The main focus of the empirical work reported here, therefore, is on the activities of managers and employees working in local authority tourism functions. As has been argued in preceding chapters, employers and employees comprise two of the key groups involved in processes of occupational crystallisation. Employers (or managers acting as agents of the employer) make the key decisions which have the capacity to create an occupational jurisdiction by linking particular organisational positions to the possession of a particular portfolio of skills, qualifications and experience. Employees, on the other hand, are the members of the actual or potential occupational constituency, and may facilitate or inhibit the process of occupational crystallisation through their career choices and job moves.

However, the third group of actors involved in the process of occupational crystallisation - the occupational promoters - cannot be ignored. As we have seen, educational institutions and, to a lesser extent, occupational associations play an important role in attempting to define the skill and knowledge basis on which the putative or actual occupational group is believed to rest. Furthermore, occupational associations define those who may be seen as members of a particular occupational constituency by their criteria for admission.

The present study therefore seeks to examine:

- a) the nature of the skill and knowledge base considered to be distinctive of tourism management and the potential tourism management

constituencies identified by the activities of occupational associations;

- b) the activities of local authority 'employers' (i.e. the managers of tourism functions) in recruiting and selecting staff, and the impact they may have on the potential for the creation of a distinctive occupational jurisdiction;
- c) the career histories, orientations and identities of employees working in local authority tourism management, and the evidence which these provide for the existence of characteristic labour markets and career paths, and the development of a distinct occupational constituency.

The focus of this study on the activities of these three separate groups necessitates the use of a variety of different research methods to collect relevant information on potential processes of occupational crystallisation. The approach used here is therefore one of data triangulation (Denzin 1989 :237; Fielding and Fielding 1986; Yin 1993:69; Gill and Johnson 1991:150-2). It is possible to build up a composite picture of the processes at work by utilising data from a range of different sources (Robson 1993:290). At the same time, data collected from different sources may be compared to examine the extent to which conclusions arising from different types of data are a 'means of mutual confirmation of measures and a validation of findings' (Berg 1995:5) or point to some 'discrepancy' where 'its investigation may help in explaining the phenomenon of interest' (Robson 1993 :383). In all cases, however, the data collection methods used are designed to collect information centred on the key issues in the study of occupational crystallisation:

- a) the nature of the skills, qualification and experience which may be

considered to be the basis for a distinct tourism management occupation;

- b) the extent to which an occupational jurisdiction may be seen as emerging through the recruitment and selection practices of employers and their impact on the development of distinctive labour markets;
- c) the extent to which there is evidence of the emergence of a distinctive occupational constituency, characterised by distinct career patterns, career orientations and a sense of occupational identity.

The particular research methods used to collect and analyse data from each of the three groups studied are outlined in the following sections.

2. Occupational Promoters

As has already been indicated, the main focus for examining the work of occupational promoters is on the way in which they strive to develop a body of skills and knowledge specific to a particular occupational grouping, and the role which they may have in the delineation and creation of an occupational constituency. Different methods of data collection are appropriate for each of the occupational promoters - educational institutions and occupational associations.

2.1. Educational Institutions

The main purpose in looking at educational institutions is to establish the way in which they define the body of skills and knowledge linked to a particular occupation. They do, however, also have a role to play in defining

a putative occupational constituency through the claims that they make as to the types of careers which are open to those acquiring this body of skills and knowledge.

To collect information on these aspects of the role of educational institutions, prospectuses were obtained from institutions offering undergraduate and postgraduate courses in tourism and tourism management (as identified in Universities Colleges Admissions Service - UCAS, 1997 Handbook, 1996:56 and Postgraduate Study 1997, 1996).

Prospectuses provide information on the content of the course curriculum, and thus on the type of skills and knowledge which are seen as fundamental to the 'portfolio' which those successfully completing such courses will acquire. In addition, as part of the marketing process for such courses, prospectuses typically include claims as to the kinds of careers options which are open to those acquiring such a portfolio.

The prospectuses studied were those from English educational institutions offering Tourism Management or Tourism Studies degrees (A list of prospectuses used in this analysis appears in Appendix 1). At undergraduate level courses were selected according to their UCAS coding, in which courses are assigned to categories on the basis of course content rather than course title or institutional structure (UCAS Standard Classification of Academic Subjects 1994; UCAS Coding Protocol 1996:1). It was decided to limit selection to the eleven institutions which may be seen as offering 'pure' tourism courses, as indicated by the designation of the UCAS Code P700. A range of other courses which offer tourism in conjunction with other subjects (e.g. Hospitality and Tourism; Business and Tourism) were excluded. The rationale for this limitation is that it is those courses which are focused exclusively on tourism which are most likely to exhibit in a

'pure' form the skill and knowledge portfolio associated with tourism management. (At the same time, the fact that tourism can be studied in conjunction with a range of other subjects may be considered to be indicative of the ambiguities associated with potential occupational crystallisation, a point which will be addressed in Chapter 4.)

Identifying the 'population' of postgraduate tourism management courses was less straightforward, as there is no central applications system analogous to UCAS for postgraduate programmes. Reference to Postgraduate Study 1997 (1996) identified 25 postgraduate tourism-related courses, seven of which were research degrees and the remaining eighteen taught programmes. (As with the undergraduate courses, tourism may be combined with other subjects such as Tourism and Leisure or Tourism and Hospitality). Again, it was decided to limit analysis to the seven courses which were exclusively oriented to tourism, and information was collected on these.

Prospectuses were analysed by utilising the methods of content analysis (Krippendorff, 1980. Silverman 1985 :149; Dixon et al. 1989 :95-100; Robson 1993;272-81), so as to identify the content of the courses studied. Content analysis is a useful analytical tool which 'tends to be a quantitative tool' (Veal 1997:84) but it is used here because it enables 'researchers to examine the artefacts of social communication' (Berg 1995:174). As will be explained in Chapter 4, the curricula content was analysed in terms of the balance between three types of element - tourism-specific subjects, generic subjects and those which relate generic subjects to the specific context of tourism. The aim of this analysis was to identify the extent to which the body of knowledge associated with tourism management was composed of elements which were occupationally specific; to examine the types of knowledge from

other occupational areas which were seen as being applicable to the sphere of tourism; and to consider how far skills of a more generic nature were also seen as being integral the tourism management 'portfolio'.

In addition to the examination of curricula content, prospectuses were analysed to identify the career paths which are claimed to be open to those acquiring such qualifications. As mentioned above, such an analysis can help to reveal the kind of occupational constituency to which a particular portfolio of skills and knowledge is claimed to be linked. However, as will be explained in Chapter 4., such claims are a vital element of the institutes' marketing function which means that their analysis has to be treated with caution.

2.2. Occupational Associations

In Chapter 2., four occupational associations with significant interests in tourism were identified - the British Association of Tourism Officers, The Tourism Society, the Institute of Leisure and Amenity Management and the Institute of Travel and Tourism. In their role as occupational promoters, these organisations are involved in helping to delineate an actual or potential occupational constituency and in defining the mix of elements within portfolios which may become characteristic of the members of that constituency. Collecting data from occupational associations was therefore concerned primarily with identifying the characteristics of those whom they saw as falling within their realm of interest, as well as looking more generally at the activities undertaken by these associations.

The principal data source here was documentary material produced by associations, stating their aims and objectives and identifying the processes

and criteria through which individuals were admitted to membership of the association. A detailed listing of the documents collected and analysed is provided in Appendix 1. The use of documentary material does, however, have limitations, in that particular points may be ambiguous, unclear or incomplete (Moser and Kalton 1986:240-4). Further information was therefore sought from associations to:

- confirm the aims and objectives of the association and the perceived scope of its membership;
- clarify issues concerning the criteria for granting membership;
- clarify issues concerning the development of the association, and to explore the extent to which membership of other associations in tourism or related fields was viewed as 'overlapping' with that of each association.

All four associations were contacted to seek an interview to cover these issues. Representatives of both the British Association of Tourism Officers and the Tourism Society took part in semi-structured interviews (see interview schedule in Appendix 2) and subsequently answered telephone questions to provide updating information at later stages of the study. In the case of BATO the interviewee was the Honorary Secretary (a part-time position) of the association, while the representative of the Tourism Society was the then Chair of the Society, a senior academic in the tourism field. It was not possible to interview representatives of the Institute of Leisure and Amenity Management and the Institute of Travel and Tourism. The ILAM representative felt that the questions were capable of being answered in a telephone conversation, supplemented with a range of documentary

material. On the other hand, the ITT representative did not feel that there was anything to add to the material already provided and declined to be interviewed. Their successor was more forthcoming and provided information for clarification and updating purposes by telephone.

3. Employers

To examine the activities of local authority employers which may impact on the process of occupational crystallisation, two main methods were utilised. The first of these was a systematic collection and analysis of job advertisements for local authority tourism management positions over the period January 1990 to April 1994, using content analysis for the reasons outlined in section 2.1 of this chapter. The second was a series of in-depth interviews with managers of local authority tourism functions in nine local authorities, conducted between July 1992 and January 1994.

The aim of the collection and analysis of job advertisements was to examine the qualifications, skills and experience which were identified by managers as being essential or desirable for those entering employment in local authority tourism functions. The aim of recruitment advertisements is, in general, to attract a pool of suitably qualified or experienced candidates from whom selection may be made (Brown, A. 1995:132; Watson, T. 1995:190-203). By identifying particular characteristics of potential employees in advertisements recruiters aim not only to attract suitable candidates, but also to deter applications from candidates lacking these qualities (Watson, T. 1995:201). Of course, the extent to which advertisements reflect a carefully considered person specification is likely to be variable. Nevertheless, advertisements, however concise, do provide an indication of the particular portfolio(s) of skills, qualifications and experience which managers see as

equipping individuals for particular posts, and therefore of the level of their involvement in forging a jurisdictional link between positions and portfolios.

Prior to the commencement of data collection, informal advice was sought from managers, employees and personnel staff within local authorities as to which publications were the most likely sources of job advertisements for tourism posts. In the light of this advice, five national publications were selected for monitoring advertisements. These were two national daily newspapers - The Guardian and The Independent - and three specialised publications - Planning and the Local Government Chronicle (both published weekly) and The Planner (originally published monthly, but from September 1993 published weekly as Planning Week). (Since February 1997 Planning and Planning Week have amalgamated under the former's title as a weekly publication.)

Initial monitoring was carried out in the period April 1992 to May 1993. This elicited twenty-one advertisements, identified as being appropriate either by virtue of the job title or (in cases where the job title was not tourism-specific) by the information provided in the advertisements themselves. To obtain additional information on these posts, advertisers were asked to provide their further particulars, which typically contained more detailed job and person specifications as well as more general promotional literature.

While the quantity and quality of the material obtained from responses to advertisements was considered to be good (and indeed rather better than anticipated) it was felt that twenty one advertisements was too limited a number on which to base conclusions. Accordingly, it was decided to extend the monitoring period both backwards and forwards. Examination of the

Local Government Chronicle for the period January 1990 to March 1992 generated a further nine advertisements, and a continuation of the monitoring period to April 1994 produced an additional 34, making a total of 65 advertisements in all as a basis for analysis. One of these was discounted as it was a joint appointment by a local authority and a regional tourist board.

For the purposes of analysis, the advertisements were divided according to the level of appointment, using the categorisation of Director (D), Manager (M), Officer (O) and Assistant (A). The relevance of this classification will be explained in Chapter 5. Table 4 sets out the distribution of advertisements between these categories, and between types of authority over the three monitoring periods.

Table 4. Location of tourism posts

Totals	1 / 1990 - 3 / 1992					4 / 1992 - 5 / 1993					5 / 1993 - 4 / 94					
	D	M	O	A	T	D	M	O	A	T	D	M	O	A	T	T
County Councils	1	-	2	-	3	-	-	2	-	2	-	1	2	1	4	9
District/Borough/City	5	-	1	-	6	5	-	7	3	15	3	7	18	3	31	52
Other	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	3
Totals	6	-	3	-	9	6	2	9	3	20	3	8	20	4	35	64
D = Director or equivalent level post . M = Manager. O = Officer. A = Assistant. T = Total Other - London Docklands Development Corporation; two London area partnerships public / private but local authority employees																

Source : Publications from which advertisements were abstracted

In addition to providing information on the location and level of post advertised during the periods of monitoring, the content of advertisements was analysed to provide information on what employers see as the tourism management tasks to be performed. These were divided into the three groups of activities comprising tourism management identified in Chapter 2 - tourism promotion, development and visitor management- and the titles assigned to these posts were also noted. The portfolios required by those

individuals employed to carry out these tasks were identified by analysing the discipline and level of qualification, the extent to which the work experience required was confined to the area of tourism management, other occupational experience, and the skills which were considered to be relevant to work in this area. Thus a broad view of employers perceptions of a possible tourism management jurisdictions and constituency was obtained.

This broad view was obtained from the job advertisements by identifying four sub-sets of data which enabled each element to be analysed and examined in more detail. The first of these was the location of each post, to establish the balance of posts between county and district (and city). The second sub-set of data centred on the tasks to be performed by the postholder which comprise the occupational jurisdiction. These were classified as tourism development, tourism promotion and visitor management tasks, both singly and in the possible combinations. Categorisation was not as clear-cut as it might appear as, for example, tasks such as 'liaising with public and private sector tourism providers' may indicate a development role or a visitor management function. Judgements as to how to categorise such cases were made on the basis of clues provided by other statements (within the text of the advertisements, or from further particulars where obtained) regarding the nature of the work to be undertaken.

The job title was the third piece of information abstracted from the advertisements. These were classified according to their occupational and organisational descriptor. The latter gives some indication of the level of post within the organisational hierarchy, and (by implication) the potential for career progression. Four levels of post were identified - director, manager, officer and assistant. The occupational descriptor gives important clues as to the job content, but of equal importance is that is the fact that it

also reflects whether these tasks are seen as the province of tourism management employees or as being open to those in other, related occupations. These occupational descriptors were classified into three categories according to whether the main or only descriptor was tourism-specific or non-tourism. In cases where two occupational descriptors were used, for example for a 'tourism promotion officer' it was classified as tourism-specific. Posts such as 'leisure and tourism officer' were classified as tourism and those such as 'economic development officer' put in the category other descriptor and as non-tourism. In these ways the horizontal differentiation of the potential jurisdiction was classified. The salary which each post attracted was felt to be an important indicator of vertical differentiation which, we have noted, is fundamental to the development of occupationally - based careers.

The fourth sub-set of information abstracted from the advertisements was that relating to the portfolios required of those performing the tasks, and therefore providing some clues as to the characteristics of the constituencies from which applicants may be drawn. Where qualifications were mentioned, they were classified upon analysis, as tourism-related, named non-tourism, or generic. Work experience requirements were classified according to whether they were tourism specific, non-tourism or non-tourism but management, and whether such experience was to be in local authorities or public sector. Skills required for these posts, where identified, were listed and categorised into managerial, communication, language and IT skills.

While advertisements can give a useful indication of the broad specifications laid down for appointment to particular positions, the amount of information they contain is of necessity limited. Furthermore, they

cannot provide information about how choices are made between candidates who meet these general specifications. Nor do they provide a very suitable means for examining the way in which less tangible characteristics, such as the nature and importance of individuals' 'personality package' (Fromm 1949), enter into the selection process. To obtain additional and more detailed information, the analysis of advertisements was complemented by a series of semi-structured interviews with the heads of tourism functions in nine local authorities. The use of semi-structured, or nonschedule standardised interview, (Denzin 1989:105-6) was felt to provide the opportunity for respondents to elaborate and expand on the issues of concern in this thesis. Questions were of a generally open-ended nature, with additional questions inserted in the course of the interview to seek confirmation or clarification.

The interviews were designed to cover two broad sets of issues:

- i) The structure and function of tourism-related activity within the authority, and its relationship both with other local authority activities and other organisations operating in this field, in particular the regional tourist boards. This information was sought partly to provide necessary contextual information, and partly to clarify the nature of tourism management jobs within the authority. In addition, it enables an exploration of the extent to which tourism management roles and functions overlapped with tasks undertaken by other groups both within the authority and external to it.
- ii) The recruitment, selection and staff development policies and practices of the authority's tourism function. This information was obtained primarily to establish the extent to which managers might be involved

in creating an occupational jurisdiction, through their decisions relating to the connection between particular positions and conditions of entry to these positions. In particular, attention was paid here to the relative importance attached to the possession of tourism qualifications and experience in recruiting and selecting staff, and attitudes towards membership of occupational associations. Through the exploration of such issues it is possible to assess how far managers are involved in the construction of distinctive occupational labour markets and career structures, and how far they have a sense of a distinctive occupational constituency from which they may select employees.

For reasons of geographic integrity and practical considerations, the research was carried out in authorities in Southern England. The nine authorities in which interviews were conducted were selected to provide a broad cross-section of tourism contexts in respect of both level of authority (district and county) and the relative importance of tourism to the local economy. In respect of the latter a review of the literature on local authority tourism (for example : Burkart and Medlik 1981 ; 44-7; Williams and Shaw 1988; ADC 1988; Nightingale 1989;) and informal, preliminary discussions with staff in the Local Government Management Board, suggested that within the study region authorities might be categorised into four types :

- i) seaside resorts with a high level of dependence on tourism as an income generator and source of employment, and typically displaying a lengthy history of tourism promotion and management;
- ii) historic cities, which are similarly likely to have had well-established tourism functions within their local authorities for some time;

- iii) coastal towns with a diverse economic base, but also with a limited history of tourism, but increasingly developing and encouraging tourism, which thus displays functions of promoting and managing such tourism;
- iv) counties, where responsibilities are to some extent at a more strategic level and extend county-wide.

An initial pilot study carried out in three authorities to 'trial the materials and methods' (Johnson and Briggs 1994: 64) suggested that little difficulty would be experienced in gaining access to respondents. In practice, of the twelve authorities approached, three felt unable to co-operate with the research. One resort refused access on the grounds that the tourism function was already overworked. One county council refused access as it was undergoing changes prior to local government reorganisation, and one coastal town felt unable to co-operate because of recent changes to the organisation of its tourism management function. The eventual group of nine managers interviewed were thus drawn from 3 seaside resorts, 2 historic cities, 2 coastal towns and 2 county councils. A brief description of these nine authorities is given in Appendix 3. The names of the heads of the tourism function were acquired from personal sources or by contacting the authority directly by telephone, and each one written to requesting access for the purpose of interviewing all members of staff involved in managing tourism above the administrative level. A copy of the documentation sent to each interviewee is in Appendix 4, including a summary of the research to explain the context and purpose of the study.

The schedule used for the interviews with heads of tourism is given in Appendix 5. Although the schedule is written in the form of questions this

is done for illustrative purposes only because, as we are reminded by Deutscher (1984), interviews in the field require a consideration of the language used in the interaction. All but one of the interviews were taped, with the permission of the respondents. In the one case where such permission was not given, detailed notes taken during the interview were written up within a few hours.

Employer interviews were analysed by classifying the data abstracted from the tapes into three major categories, as follows :

- i) contextual information : the location of the tourism function within the organisational hierarchy, the tourism organisational structure, the importance of tourism promotion, development and visitor management to the local economy. Information was also analysed on the extent of overlapping of tourism management responsibilities with other local authority functions and with other organisations (in particular the nature of the relationship with the regional tourist boards(s);
- ii) the division of such work among the employees in terms of the tasks roles and responsibilities undertaken in promoting and developing tourism and visitor management;
- iii) the qualities expected of employees entering the function in terms of the qualifications (in particular the relevance of tourism qualifications), work experience and skills and intangible aspects related to the 'personality package'. The opportunities available for training and development.

In addition to categorising this information from each of the nine heads of tourism interviewed and summarising it on data sheets (rather like 'short-answer sheets' - Berg 1995:61), verbatim comments were transcribed which could be used as quotations to illustrate the points made in respect of the categories of information. Thus the interviewees are able to 'speak for themselves', about themselves and their work (Alasuutari 1995:57).

4. Employees

As we have argued earlier, the means through which tourism management employees facilitate or retard occupational crystallisation relate to their behaviour in acquiring skills and qualifications and in their endeavouring to find employment in particular areas. An examination of their past career histories and future career aspirations may be used as the basis for inferences about their level of commitment to tourism management (Brown 1982:119-136). More direct questioning about such issues as occupational association membership and their sense of occupational identity may be used to assess the extent to which they consider themselves to be members of a particular occupational constituency.

To gather information in these areas two related research tools were utilised. The first of these was a CV-type questionnaire, designed to collect basic information on the respondent, and their educational and career history primarily through the use of 'fixed choice' questions (Rose 1982:307). The information collected through this questionnaire then provided the framework for a follow-up interview, in which the issues of career history and plans and occupational identity could be explored in greater depth.

The questionnaire and interview were initially piloted on five individuals (three women and two men) in October and November 1991. Three of these were employed by a county council and two by district councils located in two different counties. Four of the five were employed primarily in tourism promotion, while the fifth was a planner working on a tourism project. The experience of the pilot study suggested that little modification was needed to the research instruments, although some alterations were made to the interview schedule to facilitate easier movement between topics during the interview.

Given the intensive nature of the data collection, and the predominantly qualitative nature of the data collected, it was not felt that a large sample amenable to statistical analysis was appropriate for the study. Accordingly, it was decided to aim for interviews with approximately thirty employees working in tourism management. It was also decided to combine the process of interviewing managers and employers in two ways. Firstly, employees would be selected from the same group of local authorities as managers, so that the contextual information obtained during the management interviews could be used to interpret employee responses. Secondly, the managers interviewed would themselves also be included in the employee sample. This was felt to be important, as managers are themselves also employees. By including them it is possible to obtain data from across the span of senior and junior positions in the tourism management hierarchy, thereby facilitating comparisons between the career patterns of those at different levels and ages.

As indicated in the preceding section, twelve authorities were approached with requests to provide access to managers and employees. Nine of these authorities granted access, but in one resort authority this was given only to

the head of tourism, who felt that his staff did not have time to take part in the study. In the remaining eight authorities, employees were approached with a request to participate in the study. During telephone conversations with the heads of tourism to arrange interviews or during the interviews themselves, the names and organisational position of tourism management employees of a non-administrative level were obtained. Each employee was then written to personally with a request to take part in the study. Each letter was accompanied by a copy of the aims of the research (in Appendix 4) and a copy of the CV type questionnaire for them to complete and return in a stamped addressed envelope. The letter outlined the procedure for the return of the CV type questionnaire and informed them of the follow up 'phone call to arrange an interview at a mutually convenient time.

In most cases the CV's were returned very quickly and interviews arranged as planned. However, no forms were returned from the employees in the other two resort authorities in the sample. This was not entirely surprising as the heads of function has intimated that they were under pressure of work and were the recipients of many requests for access for research purposes. Follow up calls to these employees revealed that three staff at one authority were keen to participate in the research but with staff vacancies adding to work pressures felt unable to do so. The two staff at the second authority refused to participate. As a result of these requests an eventual total of 27 interviewees took part in the interviews. The distribution of respondents between types of authority, their gender and level of post is given in Table 5.

The problems of securing access or agreement to participate from employees working in resorts means that these are underrepresented, with interviews being confined to those at director level. That apart, there is an average of

Table 5. Distribution of male and female interviewees by level of post and local authority type

Local authority type and number in study		Male			Female			
		D	M	O	M	O	A	Total
Resorts	3	3						3
Historic cities	2	2	1	1	1	3		8
Coastal towns	2	2	1	1	3	2		9
Counties	2	2				1	4	7
Totals	9	9	2	2	4	6	4	27

four employees per authority. Nine of the respondents were at director level, and the remaining eighteen were classified as managers, officers and tourism assistants on the basis of their job title and work content. The distribution of interviewees by gender, age and organisational level is shown in Table 6.

Table 6. Interviewees by age, gender and organisational level

	Male			Female			
Age	D	M	O	M	O	A	Total
20 - 25		1				1	2
25 - 30				2		3	5
30 - 35	1		1	1	3		6
35 - 40	1			1	1		3
40 - 45	2	1			2		5
45 - 50	5						5
50 - 55							
Over 55			1				1
Totals	9	2	2	4	6	4	27

Source : Employees C.V.'s

It will be seen that all but one of the interviewees was under 50 years of age, and just under half were aged under 35. There is an almost equal split between men and women, but all of those at Director level were male and

all of those at tourism assistant level female. This may be seen partly as a reflection of the younger average of female interviewees, but may also reflect structural or cultural barriers to the advancement of women to more senior positions (MacEwen Scott 1986:154-189).

As already indicated, data were collected from interviewees by means of a CV type questionnaire, followed by an interview. It was decided to use a specifically designed questionnaire rather than simply to ask respondents to supply existing CV's, so as to ensure that all required information was collected in advance of the interview. The purpose of the questionnaire (which is reproduced as Appendix 6.) was primarily to collect biographical information in the following areas:

Personal information - age, domestic situation and details of dependants.

Educational history - educational attainments; type, location and duration of post-primary education; recent participation in training activities;

Career history - details of past employment, including duration, employer and career breaks;

Current Employment - length of service in post, salary, main duties and responsibilities, membership of occupational associations.

Each CV was analysed to collate information which was used both to construct individual profiles, (in conjunction with interview data), to provide information to show the personal characteristics of the respondent sample - the respondents' gender, age, (as at January 1994) salary and qualifications, and to provide the basis for comparative analysis of career

patterns and aspirations. Information was collated on the training courses undertaken and proposed, membership of occupational associations and career breaks for each respondent, where appropriate, to provide further information on career orientations and to provide a basis for discussions in the interviews on career options and intentions.

The effectiveness of questionnaires is obviously dependent upon the acceptability of the questions to respondents, and their consequent willingness to provide the required information (Moser and Kalton 1971). The topic of salary level was felt to be potentially sensitive, and respondents were therefore asked to indicate this in terms of salary range rather than in precise detail. Two respondents initially declined to answer questions about spouses/partners, but did so during the subsequent interview. Several respondents raised queries about the confidentiality of the information provided, but were willing to participate after being given the necessary assurances.

The interview which followed the completion of the questionnaire was designed to explore in depth the nature of the respondents' career histories and motivations, as well as to clarify the nature of the job tasks which they undertook and to examine their intentions with regard to future career plans, and their aspirations. One obvious difficulty is that much of the interview was concerned with exploring the reasons for actions and decisions made in the past, sometimes at some considerable time from the date of the interview. As was noted in Chapter 1, individuals' sense of the nature of their career is subject to processes of interpretation and re-interpretation as the career progresses. It may therefore be difficult for interviewees to recall with accuracy the reasons for decisions made at earlier times (see Kalton and Moser 1986:310-311). The completion of a

questionnaire on educational and career history prior to the interview may to some extent overcome this difficulty, as it will have served to focus the minds of respondents on their past histories, and in any event information contained in a CV may be referred to or up-dated regularly. Nonetheless, the data collected must be treated with some caution.

The same is true of questions about future career plans and intentions. It has long been acknowledged that individuals may not be good at predicting their own behaviour in some hypothetical situation (Moser and Kalton 1971). In particular, where there are uncertainties as to the environment in which individuals will be placed, responses would be likely to be of a somewhat tentative nature.

The detailed framework for the interview is presented as Appendix 7. The actual length of the interviews varied quite widely, ranging from 50 minutes to two-and-a-half hours. In part this reflects the variation in the length of respondents' career histories. Exploring job transitions necessarily takes longer for those with longer histories of employment. Interviews were again taped with the permission of the interviewees. (In two cases there were technical problems with taping, but this was recognised at the time, and extensive notes taken during the course of the interview).

A framework for analysis of interview material was constructed for each respondent which mirrored the broad structure of the interview schedule. Data was collated for each respondent in the following categories and sub-categories :

The past

- level, discipline and timing of education;
- factors influencing entry or non-entry into further and higher education;
- choice of discipline studied and perceived relevance to work;
- factors influencing career entry;
- for each past job : type of employer, work undertaken, reason for leaving;

The present

- route of entry to current job and factors influencing entry;
- the tasks and responsibilities in present job;
- links with others in tourism management;
- membership of and attitudes to occupational associations;
- perceived occupational identity;

The Future

- intended / expected next job;
- reasons for planned job changes;
- factors influencing future job choice.

5. Data Presentation

The data presented in this thesis are thus derived from a range of sources - documentary material, questionnaires and interviews. Some of the data collected lends itself to a degree of quantitative analysis and presentation in

tabular form (King 1994 :25). This method of presentation is most appropriate for such material as curricula content (derived from prospectuses), advertisement analysis and the detailed career histories of employee respondents. However, it must be recognised that drawing a hard-and-fast line between quantitative and qualitative analysis is not necessarily desirable and fruitful (Silverman 1993:1-29; Hammersley 1992).

In the case of employee's work histories, for example, our main concern is to explore the nature and perceived significance of job transitions, and to extract from the interview data the predominant patterns which appear to be emerging. These are often best illustrated through the use of particular quotations from individual interviews, or through the use of the vignette technique (Stake 1995). Vignettes - in this case of individual career histories - serve to illustrate, in a tangible form, particular types of career pattern found among respondents. However, it is necessary to establish the extent to which a particular vignette may be considered to be typical. For this reason, it is important that the presentation of the material on which qualitative analysis is based, is in a quantitative format. As Alasuutari points out, tabulation is often the :

'only handy way of presenting the material on which qualitative analysis is based. It shows that the material is being used systematically, not merely as a search for text passages to support our intuitive interpretation' (Alasuutari 1995:117).

In the present study, therefore, the data collected is presented in a variety of ways - tabulations, summaries, quotations and vignettes. As indicated at the beginning of the chapter, the use of different research tools and the use of different presentation formats provides the opportunity to view potential

processes of occupational crystallisation from a variety of perspectives, giving a multi-faceted view of the process. In the succeeding chapters, the key information collected through these methods is presented, commencing with a consideration of the role of occupational promoters in the development of the basis for the potential formation of a distinctive occupational jurisdiction and constituency.

CHAPTER 4.

PROMOTING TOURISM MANAGEMENT

1. Introduction

As indicated in the preceding chapter, the main reason for studying the work of occupational promoters is to identify the skill and knowledge base which may be considered to form the basis for the development of a distinctive occupational group, and to examine the occupational constituency which this skill and knowledge base may be believed to characterise. To an extent, educational institutions may be viewed as having the major role to play in respect of the former, and occupational associations the major role with regard to the latter. However, in practice, both educational institutions and occupational associations play some role in both of these areas.

2. Educational Institutions

The mainly recent development of a range of tourism management courses was described in detail in Chapter 2. This recent proliferation of courses is partly a result of the encouragement of educational institutions, particularly the former polytechnics, to create a range of undergraduate and postgraduate qualifications in vocationally-related areas such as tourism management (Wagner 1995). Interestingly, what may be termed the 'older' universities have tended to treat these vocational subjects as 'subsets of traditional academic disciplines such as economics, geography or anthropology' rather

than as separate areas of study in their own right (Ryan 1995:98). It is the vocational qualifications which are of particular interest here, as it is acquisition of such qualifications which are often claimed to provide a route into the tourism industry in a managerial capacity (CNAA 1993:1).

As was explained in the last chapter, the prospectuses of universities and institutions of higher education were analysed to identify the body of knowledge and skills held to underpin tourism management and to examine their influence on the creation of a distinctive occupational constituency. The institutions which have developed such courses market them explicitly on the facilitating of entry into a range of areas in which successful graduates may expect to find employment. Thus, for example, the University of Wolverhampton points to career opportunities in:

‘tourism management within local authorities; tour operations
tourism planning; conference organisation; business tourism;
heritage management; attractions management; resort
management’. (University of Wolverhampton Prospectus
1996:107 - BA in Business and Tourism Management)

Similarly, Bournemouth University and the University of Plymouth identify career prospects in:

‘tourist attractions; local government; transport operators; tour
operators; tourist boards; hotel and leisure facilities’
(Bournemouth University Prospectus 1996:118 - BA in Tourism
Studies)

‘both the private and public sectors, in the UK or abroad. ... (and) include work with the tourist boards and local authorities.’(University of Plymouth BSc. Hons Tourism Management 1996:34)

The claims made in respect of postgraduate courses are of a similar nature. The University of Northumbria’s Diploma/MA in Tourism Management

‘seeks to equip students with the necessary skills and understanding to be successful and effective managers in one of the world’s fastest growing industries - the tourism industry. Students will receive a thorough grounding in all relevant disciplines, but these will be placed firmly within the context of the tourism sector. . . Students will be qualified to work for tourist organisations in both public and private sectors. . . Former students have become tourist officers for local authorities, managers of arts, accommodation and leisure sectors as well as working for bodies in countryside recreation and economic development.’ (University of Northumbria at Newcastle Prospectus 1996:123 - Diploma/MA in Tourism Management)

Statements such as these may be construed as implying that, although there are a variety of different areas in which qualified graduates may work, there is a common body of skills and knowledge which is considered to underpin work in all these areas. At the same time, it can be seen that there is a certain ambiguity as to the precise scope of these areas. For example, the Bournemouth prospectus covers employment in ‘hotel and leisure facilities’ as well as areas which are more exclusively tourism related, whereas the Northumbria prospectus suggests that there are prospects of employment in

management in the arts, accommodation and leisure sectors. It cannot be claimed, therefore, that the boundaries of the tourism management field are delineated with exact precision. Rather they may be seen to overlap with related areas such as hotel and leisure sector management.

It is, of course, important to remember that prospectuses serve a vital marketing function for institutions which are concerned to fill course places and protect their revenue base. It is therefore unsurprising to find some institutions promoting their courses as suitable for role preparation in an wide range of occupational spheres. For example, South Bank University promotes its BA in Tourism Management as suitable for those who :

‘wish to develop a career in specialist areas within tourism and related industries or generic management areas such as human resource management, marketing or operations management.

This course aims to provide you with the skills and expertise necessary to give you the best opportunities possible to build a successful career in tourism and related management areas.’

(South Bank University Prospectus 1996:87 - B.A. in Tourism Management - emphasis added)

However, while such claims are partly a function of course marketing activity, they may also shed some light on issues of both occupational jurisdiction and occupational constituency. It appears that, while a tourism-specific body of knowledge underpinning a tourism management jurisdiction may exist, preparation for working in such a jurisdiction is seen also to require the acquisition of more generic management skills.

Consequently, the portfolio of skills and knowledge which graduates acquire may provide them with some basis for entry into a range of occupational

spheres, and not simply into tourism management. There is thus an element of 'hybridity' in the skill and knowledge base claimed for tourism management courses, which opens up the possibility of entry into a range of potential occupational labour markets. 'Hybridity' should not necessarily be seen as being detrimental to the development of tourism management. Indeed, Lavery advocated such a strategy as a means of servicing the long term needs of the industry (1987:21-3). Such a deliberate strategy also reflects the diversity of the industry and the fact that degree courses are seen as a means of preparing students for employment in one or more of the sectors (Jafari 1997:178). However, it does introduce a level of ambiguity as to the nature or distinctiveness of the occupational constituency which is constructed on or facilitated by the development of specialist qualifications.

This ambiguity is in some ways reinforced by the diverse contexts in which tourism and tourism management may be studied. At the present time some 31 English institutions of higher education offer undergraduate degrees with a tourism element. The majority of these (20) link tourism to some other subject. Degrees are offered in tourism with hotel and catering management (8), business studies (6), sport and recreation (1) and planning (1), while four further institutions offer modular degrees containing a number of pathways. This tendency to link tourism topics with other, related, areas is reflected in the Departmental location of tourism-related degrees. A survey of tourism teachers in higher education conducted by Richards in 1992 found 28% of tourism courses to be located in tourism and leisure schools or departments, 26% in business and management schools and departments, 19% in hotel and catering schools or departments, and 15% in departments specialising in services management (Richards 1992:56-69. The location of the remaining 12% was not identified by respondents.).

The fact that the majority of undergraduate degrees with a tourism element are offered in conjunction with other subjects might be construed as undermining any claim as to the distinctiveness of tourism management as a function which may be clearly delineated from other areas. However, a significant minority of courses (11 out of 31) appear to be focused exclusively on tourism. As explained in Chapter 3, these are the courses given the P700 (tourism management) classification designation by UCAS, based on their analysis of the course content which :

‘encompasses tour operations, planning, marketing, transport, conference and exhibition management and the management of visitor attractions’ (UCAS 1996:22).

It is these eleven courses which are focused on here, as those most likely to exemplify a specifically tourism management related body of skills and knowledge. Even here, however, the connection with other related areas is apparent in the institutional location of such degrees. Just over one-third (4) are located in business and management schools and departments, and a further 2 each found in departments of tourism and leisure and departments of tourism and hospitality. Of the remaining courses (3) one is found in each of : the service industries, environmental studies and agriculture, food and land use. The two latter cases clearly do not accord with what appears to be developing as the normal pattern. At the University of Sunderland tourism management appears to be linked to a suite of courses in the areas of environmental and geographical studies, while at the University of Plymouth it appears to be connected to courses in hospitality and estate management as well as courses in agriculture and food.

Too much weight should not, perhaps, be placed on this evidence of institutional location, which to some extent may be fortuitous or reflect factors specific to the historical evolution of particular institutions. Indeed, the diverse locations of tourism and tourism management degrees might even be interpreted as indicative of a certain distinctiveness of this field, in that linkage to a variety of other occupational fields might be construed as indicating a lack of a particularly close relationship with any one of them. In these circumstances it may be argued that tourism management has an 'itinerant' status with respect to close associations with any particular occupational areas, suggesting its having a semi-autonomous nature. Nevertheless, the evidence suggests that tourism management courses do appear to be predominantly located in close proximity to either courses in the field of leisure and leisure management, hospitality and hospitality management, or to courses in business management more generally.

Turning to the content of these tourism management courses, it was noted in Chapter 3. that the analysis of course content was carried out using a three-fold categorisation, dividing units or modules into the following groups:

- a) Tourism-specific units, i.e. units which appear to contain a subject matter which is focused directly on tourism and tourism issues.
- b) Generic applied to tourism units, involving the application of knowledge derived from or 'borrowed from' (Lawson 1974:11) some more general area to the specific context of tourism - e.g. 'economics of tourism' or 'tourism and planning'.
- c) Generic units. These are units which do not appear to be especially

oriented to tourism, but which are either intended to equip students with skills that are transferable across a range of ‘social settings and /or across a range of occupations (Bridges 1993:46), for example: information technology or language courses or which cover some particular aspects of general management, for example: marketing, finance or human resource management.

The above classification is a rather more elaborate one than that used in Richards’ survey of tourism teachers (see Table 7), which seeks simply to identify the extent to which particular areas are covered as either main or subsidiary subjects. It should also be noted that Richards’ data covers ‘hybrid’ as well as P700 degree courses.

Table 7. The content of tourism courses - the range of subjects taught

Subjects	% Respondents		
	Main subject	Subsidiary	Total
Planning / development	31	31	62
Dimensions / structure	24	33	57
Marketing	25	29	54
Tour Operations	26	16	42
Economics	18	35	53
Attractions	17	11	28
Social impact	16	43	59

Source : based on Richards 1992:62.

It must be acknowledged here that the three-fold classification used in this analysis does not always lend itself to straightforward application. In particular, there is an element of subjective judgement involved in deciding to which category to assign particular units. For some subjects or topics the category to which they should be assigned is evident, but for others the decision is not so straightforward. For example, a unit in tourism planning and development might be regarded as either a tourism-specific unit, or one

which entails the application of a more generic subject (planning) to the specific area of tourism. However, attempts to apply some objectivity to such classification decisions is not foolproof.

Despite the subjective nature of the classification it is nonetheless possible to discern a broad pattern in the course content of P700 degrees. This is presented here in two ways. Firstly, the balance between types of unit offered at each institution is set out in Table 8., (overleaf) together with examples of each category from each university (the University of Plymouth's modular degree included no exemplar). Both core and named options, where given, are included. Each of the three groups of units included subjects which are both core and options, this means that, for example, not all the core items are tourism-specific and not all options are of a generic nature.

What is striking here is the similarity between institutions in the broad balance between types of unit offered. In most institutions between 40% and 50% of the units offered are of a tourism-specific nature, while a similar proportion are in generic subjects. Only a relatively small proportion of units involve the application of other subjects to tourism. On this evidence tourism management degrees therefore appear to offer a broadly equal balance of units between those which are tourism-specific and those which impart general skills and knowledge of a managerial or other nature.

Table 8. Proportion of course subjects classified as Tourism-specific; Generic applied to tourism and generic

Location of P700 courses in tourism management	Tourism-specific subjects	Generic applied to tourism subjects	Generic subjects
Bournemouth	47% e.g. Travel and Tourism Operations	10% e.g. Economics of Tourism	43% Financial Management + Control
Buckingham College	47% e.g. The Tourism Industry	13% e.g. Tourism Economics	40% e.g. HRM
Central Lancashire	54% e.g. Development of Internal Tourism	-	46% e.g. Business Information Systems
Derby	48% e.g. Tourism Destination Studies	9% e.g. Geography of Tourism	43% e.g. Quantitative Analysis
Leeds Metropolitan	43% e.g. The Tourist	9% e.g. Geography of Tourism	48% e.g. Sales and Marketing
Luton modular	39% e.g. Public Sector Tourism	22% e.g. Sociology + Anthropology of Tourism	39% e.g. Introduction to Business Computing
Northumbria	43% e.g. Tour Operations	14% e.g. Economics	43% e.g. Personal Competencies
Plymouth	Modular degree	insufficient data	to compute
South Bank	47% e.g. Visitor services	-	53% e.g. Languages
Sunderland	47% e.g. Tourism Environment Structures	12% e.g. Geography	41% e.g. Computing Skills
Wolverhampton modular exemplar	39% e.g. Impacts of Tourism	11% e.g. Economics of Travel and Tourism	50% e.g. Corporate Policy

Source : University /College prospectuses 1996

A second way of presenting curricula data is to distil it and display it in the form of an ‘identikit’ picture of the ‘typical’ tourism management degree. Although such a distillation inevitably conceals variations between institutions, it has the advantage of providing a clearer overall picture of the knowledge and skills involved, and the point at which they are typically acquired. This is attempted in Table 9.

Table 9 Analysis of P700 Tourism management degrees

	Tourism specific	Generic applied to tourism	Generic
Years 1 + 2	tourism in context; tourism planning + development; tourism travel + operations; tourist attractions + their management; international tourism; regional tourism.	economics and tourism; people in tourism; marketing of tourism; transport and tourism; law; geography and tourism.	languages; HRM; IT; marketing; finance; research methods; communication skills

	Tourism specific	Generic applied to tourism	Generic
Year 3 / 4	tourism management; domestic and international tourism; tourism development; specialist tourism electives *	education and training in tourism; law of tourism and travel	finance; marketing; project planning; languages; research methods; HRM; business strategy; other management electives**
*eg: urban tourism and deconstructing tourism (Southbank); tourist attraction management and events management (Leeds); and ecotourism (Sunderland) **eg: arts and cultural industries (Southbank) environmental interpretation (Sunderland) ethical marketing (Leeds)			

Source : University /College prospectuses 1996

While the earlier years of tourism degrees focus primarily on issues of general applicability, the final year provides opportunities for further specialisation, perhaps based on subjects covered at a more general level in earlier years. Whilst there may be an expectation that final year

specialisation may have some implications for future employment, the options offered are partly a function of particular interests of the academic staff. As Veal points out, they themselves may have attachments to narrow specialisms or to other disciplines (Veal 1997:16).

It is also significant that seven of the eleven degrees considered here are four-year degrees, with a supervised placement in year 3, while a further two institutions offer this as an option. The aim of such placements (which are of course common in vocationally-oriented courses in the 'newer' universities) is instrumental because, in the words of the Bournemouth prospectus, it is included to help 'graduates to identify their chosen career and secure jobs on graduation' (Bournemouth University Prospectus 1996: 118). The inclusion of such placements indicates that the 'portfolio' which graduates acquire is widely seen as requiring experiential as well as knowledge and skill elements. The actual experience of working in the tourism industry is seen (by the institutions themselves, employers and potential employees) as facilitating entry to tourism management labour markets in a way which the acquisition of specific knowledge and skills alone may not.

At postgraduate level courses are necessarily more concentrated in terms of their content. As with undergraduate courses, postgraduate diplomas and degrees are marketed as providing a conversion course for graduates from other disciplines facilitating their entree into managerial positions in a range of areas of tourism management. For example, Manchester Metropolitan University suggests that those completing the course may :

'move quickly to positions of responsibility within many spheres of activity: tourist boards; transport; local authorities;

entertainment and leisure; travel agencies; tour operation, etc.'

(Manchester Metropolitan University, Diploma/M.Sc. in Tourism Management Leaflet 1996)

It is worth noting here that, once again, there is a tendency to claim that the qualification can facilitate movement into related but arguably distinct areas (such as transport and leisure management) as well as into tourism management. This is reflected in the fact that, as at undergraduate level, a number of postgraduate courses link tourism to related areas, such as leisure (e.g. University of Central Lancashire) and hospitality (e.g. University of Surrey).

However, there are several instances of the qualification offered appearing to focus on a specific aspect of tourism management - both Southampton Institute of Higher Education and the University of Staffordshire offer courses in Tourism Marketing. Of the seven courses which might be regarded as tourism-specific, five were actually designated as courses in Tourism Management. Such courses typically involve a mix of units focused specifically on tourism and units providing generic management skills. For example, the Diploma/M.Sc. in Tourism Management at Sheffield Hallam University consists of four tourism-specific units (chosen from tourism issues and trends, tourism policy and planning, international tourism, tourism marketing management and tourism development) and four generic management units (management information, strategic management, marketing and human resource management, operations and finance) (Sheffield Hallam University Prospectus 1996: 227).

As with the undergraduate P700 programmes, some postgraduate courses include units which may provide entrees to careers outside tourism

management. The University of Northumbria's Tourism management postgraduate diploma / MA is an example of such a course. It consists of five compulsory units in semester one, focusing on tourism-specific and generic units (comprising : finance in tourism, the tourism manager - in three parts, tourism and society, tourism marketing and tourism resources). The second semester includes two compulsory units (research methods in tourism in two parts and tourism management), the course is therefore similar to that offered by Sheffield Hallam. Where it differs is in the final unit which is chosen from a range of options : arts management, hospitality management, tourism planning, transport and tourism which effectively extends the relevance of the course to a number of other specialist management areas (University of Northumbria Prospectus 1996:123).

To sum up, institutions which offer qualifications designed to prepare individuals for employment in tourism management display a broad consensus on the portfolio of skills, knowledge and experience which can be seen as facilitating access to this field. As far as the tourism-specific element is concerned, institutions largely cover the core body of knowledge identified by the CNAA in 1993:

- the meaning and nature of tourism and its relationship with leisure and recreation;
- the structure of the tourism industry: key sectors and their principal operating characteristics; linkages within the industry;
- dimensions of tourism - internationally and within the UK - and issues of measurement;

- the significance and impact of tourism - economic, social and physical environment and issues of sustainable development;
- tourism applications - marketing;
- tourism applications - planning and development;
- policy issues, management of tourism, finance and organisation.

(CNAA 1993: 32).

However, as we saw earlier such tourism-specific components typically make up only between 40% and 50% of undergraduate and postgraduate courses, with equal weight being given to the acquisition of more generic skills and knowledge, particularly in the areas of management, languages and information technology. Even if we treated the 'generic applied to tourism' components as 'tourism-specific', around 40 % of course content appears to be of a generic nature. A significant element among the latter type of content (especially at postgraduate level) consists of courses in particular aspects of management, such as marketing and financial management. It might therefore be argued that these courses are contributing to a process of occupational crystallisation through accretion and melding, in that individuals are being encouraged to acquire particular types of managerial knowledge, in a context which facilitates their application to the specific context of tourism.

At the same time, the claims made by institutions about the occupational destinations of their students reveal a measure of ambiguity as to the precise nature of the constituency for which students are being prepared. In particular, the fact that courses may be marketed as preparing students for

careers in leisure and hospitality management, or indeed in management more generally, indicates that role preparation is not seen as entirely tourism-specific. Although such claims are partly a marketing device, they also point to the fact that an education in tourism management is not seen as preparing exclusively for employment in tourism, but also as a preparation for employment in other, albeit related, fields. In this respect, courses in tourism continue to differ from those which prepare students for careers in more firmly crystallised occupational areas, such as medicine and the law.

3. Occupational Associations

In Chapter 2 it was suggested that the very existence of a number of occupational associations involved with tourism management may be indicative of the emergence of a distinct occupational grouping. At the same time, the existence of several different associations, with different bases of membership, points to some of the ambiguities of occupational crystallisation in area of tourism management. As explained earlier, occupational associations are of significance for the study of occupational crystallisation because, through their definition of their coverage and of routes into membership, they suggest the existence of a particular occupational constituency. The existence of such a constituency may also be interpreted as implying the existence of particular types of labour market, and of the career paths which individuals may pursue within them. Furthermore, through activities such as organising or sponsoring courses, conferences and seminars, such associations may be seen as delineating the knowledge base associated with that particular occupational constituency.

The purpose of this section is therefore to examine relevant aspects of the policy and activities of the four occupational associations identified as having some involvement with those working in tourism management activities - the British Association of Tourism Officers (BATO), the Institute of Travel and Tourism (ITT), the Institute of Leisure and Amenity Management (ILAM) and the Tourism Society. The origins and development of each association were outlined in Chapter 2. (The documents used in this analysis are listed in Appendix 1).

Of these four, it is the Tourism Society whose membership coverage implies the broadest occupational constituency. The Society regards its membership as consisting essentially of those who work at 'professional level' in both private and public sector tourism organisations - 'professional level' being defined as 'managers and others with executive/specialist responsibilities (Tourism Society Leaflet 1993). Casting the coverage of membership this wide may be seen as implying that there is some commonality of interests and shared knowledge among all those working at this level within tourism. This commonality of knowledge base and identity is, as we shall see, reflected in the Society's criteria for membership.

All four of the associations considered here (in common with many other occupational associations) offer a range of membership grades, from student through affiliateship and associateship to full membership. The Society (as does the ITT) also maintains the status of Fellow for those deemed to have made a significant contribution to the tourism industry. The range of membership grades offered by each association is displayed in Table 10.

Table 10. Categories of membership of tourism occupational associations

	BATO	T. S.	ILAM	ITT
Honorary	√	X	X	√
Fellow	X	√	X	√
Member	√	√	√	√
Associate	√	√	√	√
Affiliate	√	√	√	√
Student	X	√	√	√

Source : Associations' applications packages

For reasons of space, attention here will be concentrated on the criteria for full membership. There are two main routes to full membership of the Tourism Society. The first of these is via a combination of formal qualifications and work experience. Individuals are normally required to possess a relevant tourism-related qualification obtained by examination and to have had at least five years' relevant experience, including three years at managerial level (Tourism Society: Membership Grades and Criteria Leaflet 1996). However, this five years' experience required of potential members is rather broadly defined, in that experience gained in the wider field of leisure management (as well as that gained working in education) is deemed as constituting 'relevant' experience.

Furthermore, there is a second route to membership, restricted to those over 35 who lack may lack the requisite formal qualifications. In such circumstances, three things are required for membership - the occupancy of an appropriately senior role, relevant experience and a demonstration of knowledge of the industry. The latter can be demonstrated in a number of ways, including the presentation of conference and seminar papers, the publication of relevant books or articles and the holding of 'significant positions on industry committees' (ibid.).

The inclusion of a route of entry for those lacking the necessary formal qualifications is partly a reflection of the fact that the widespread development of such qualifications is a fairly recent phenomenon. It may also be viewed as a recognition that individuals may enter senior positions in the tourism industry from other backgrounds. Occupational role may be seen therefore as the key defining criterion for membership, because it is precisely those in senior positions in the industry whom the Society defines as its membership group. However, the requirement that members (whether formally qualified or not) possess relevant experience suggests that membership depends upon evidence of a degree of commitment to employment in tourism. It is significant that experience within the wider field of leisure management is considered to be relevant for the purpose of employment in tourism management positions.

We have already seen, in examining the location of tourism management courses in educational institutions, that a linkage with leisure management is common, and the fact that experience in this area is accepted as being relevant reinforces this connection as does the way in which these occupational spheres (and attendant labour markets) may be seen to overlap or intersect (cf. Riley 1993:47-59).

In casting its membership across such a wide area, The Tourism Society does appear to see tourism management as an activity which encompasses those working in a variety of different sectors within the industry, and therefore implies that in some sense these may be said to constitute a common occupational constituency. It also may be said to mirror the way in which educational institutions' qualifications are focused on a generic tourism management curricula, rather than differentiated into courses on the management of tourism in particular sectors. Such a mirroring or

parallelism may be partly explained by the close relationship already noted between the Society and those involved in tourism education. This 'closeness' is exemplified by the existence of the Association of Teachers and Trainers in Tourism (ATTT) as a sub-group of the Society, (the Society has a second sub-group for consultants) and by the role of the Society in creating the National Liaison Group (NLG) for higher education, to forge closer links between employers and higher education institutions (NLG 1995).

The extent to which the Tourism Society's definition of its membership implies the idea of a generic tourism management constituency should perhaps not be over-emphasised. The Society's stated aim of 'enhancing professionalism - linking the sectors' (Tourism Society Publicity Leaflets 1996) clearly recognises the divisions between the sectors of the Tourism Industry (and by therefore, by implication between those employed in the different sectors), and equally importantly, the perceived need to forge closer links between them.

As discussed earlier in this thesis, the role of associations as occupational promoters encompasses not only their role as definers of an actual or putative constituency, but also as a participant in defining the body of skills and knowledge which characterise that constituency. In the case of the Tourism Society, this may be partly effected through the involvement of educationalists in the provision of tourism education. It is also partly due to the Society's activity (in common with other associations in this field) in promoting participation through seminars and conferences, as well as publishing a regular journal. Such activities are designed to enable participants to develop their industry skills and knowledge. The activities undertaken by the Society and the other associations considered here are summarised in Table 11.

Table 11. Review of tourism occupational associations' membership services

SERVICES	BATO	TS	ILAM	ITT
Journal	Yearbook + quarterly newsletter	Quarterly + Tourism Directory of membership;	Monthly + Review + Annual Report + bulletins	Quarterly
Meetings	regionally organised	@ monthly	regional programmes	√
Seminars	1 or 2 day on specific topics	√	√	√
Conferences	√	√	√	Annual at International venues
Specialists	X	Consultants group Association of Tourism Teachers & Trainers	9 specialist panels including Tourism, Marketing and Heritage	Odyssey Club for senior members and decision makers
Library / info.	X	X	√	X
Networks	official and unofficial	networks are an important part of activities	√	√
Other	X	Own training activities	CPD, ILAM qualifications + residential centre	Study tours own training and qualifications

Source : Tourism occupational associations' published literature

Some indication of the Society's activity in this area is provided by an inspection of its programme for the period between September 1995 and June 1996, during which it organised some 23 meetings, which focus on a particular area of the industry and which are described as conferences and seminars (The Tourism Society AGM information Booklet 1996:1). The topics for these meetings covered the whole range of the industry from developing tourist attractions ('Developing a Major New Attraction:



Legoland'), through promoting tourism ('Practical marketing- hitting the targets') to exploring public and private sector links ('Working together for visitor management in towns'). This programme is designed as part of its strategy to co-ordinate the industry and it describes its activities thus: 'at one level it provides an overview of the industry, stimulates ideas and discussions, it is also a forum for building contacts' (ibid.: 2). The wide range of topics covered confirms the view that the Society's aim is to become the 'umbrella' organisation for the whole industry.

As we have seen, the Tourism Society, while considering itself to be an organisation for all those working in professional/managerial roles in the tourism industry, recognises a particular linkage with leisure management through its definition of relevant experience as a means of entry to membership. These connections are even more evident in the case of the Institute of Leisure and Amenity Management (ILAM). In Chapter 2 it was noted that ILAM was formed comparatively recently (1983) through the amalgamation of a number of generally long-standing occupational associations concerned with leisure and amenity management such as the Institute of Baths and Recreation Management (founded in 1921) and the Institute of Recreation Managers (established in 1969) (Bacon 1989a; 1989b). As will be clear from these antecedents, ILAM's roots lie very much in the public sector, and this remains the case today. Of its 7000 total membership, approximately 5500 work in local authorities. Those working in tourism-related activities are only a small proportion of the total - some 200 in all, encompassing individuals in both local authorities and the national and regional tourist boards (ILAM, telephone communication, 16.7.97).

Despite the fact that tourism managers comprise only a small proportion of ILAM's membership, their inclusion is significant because it demonstrates

an institutional link between tourism management and other areas of leisure management. Although the particular interests of this tourism management group are recognised by ILAM's maintenance of a Tourism, Marketing and Heritage Panel as one of its nine specialist panels (ILAM 1996), its inclusion in this manner may be indicative of the fact that, in some sense, tourism management is seen as a sub-set of the wider leisure management occupation.

Like the Tourism Society, ILAM provides two access routes to full membership, one based on formal qualifications and experiences and the other on occupational role and experience. In the case of the former route, the possession of a specified formal qualifications - the ILAM Certificate or Diploma in Leisure Management - is compulsory, and must be accompanied by 'practical experience in the leisure industry' (ibid.). The requirement to possess ILAM's own qualification clearly excludes those with more tourism-oriented qualifications, and reinforces the association's primary identification with areas of leisure management.

However, the second route to membership gives no recognition at all to formal qualifications of any kind, admitting those occupying a senior position in the leisure industry with 'significant experience and responsibility' (ibid.). In practice, this is interpreted as meaning that members must be managers of a centre or its equivalent and have responsibility for between 25 and 30 people (ILAM, telephone communication, 16.7.97). This stipulation itself must erect a significant barrier to those working in smaller tourism management departments trying to achieve full membership status, and it may be that those members of ILAM move into tourism management and retain their status within the association.

Both ILAM and The Tourism Society stress the possession of formal qualifications as a route to entry but, at the same time, provide a second means of entry for those without these qualifications. This clearly raises the question of how far the occupational constituencies which they claim to serve or represent can be seen as possessing a distinctive knowledge base. As noted in discussing The Tourism Society, the application of a strict qualification-based criterion of entry would effectively debar many of those who may be regarded as part of the occupational constituency, and particularly older employees and those in more senior positions. This desire to link full membership to formal qualification (and thus perhaps acquire the status associated with formalised credentials) appears contrary to the desire to obtain the maximum level of participation, which in turn secures the associations' own viability.

The predicament facing associations is to 'tread the delicate line of compromise in order to retain and maintain numbers' (Friedson 1986:228) is not confined to occupational associations in the tourism and leisure fields, but is one which is probably faced to a greater or lesser extent by all occupational associations in which the possession of formal qualifications is not actually a condition of practising the occupation.

However, older, more established associations may be in a position to treat the 'non-qualification' route as more of an exception than those where qualifications are of more recent provenance. For example, the Royal Town Planning Institute, which was founded in 1914 (Cherry 1984:8) normally requires its 17,500 members to possess an accredited Diploma or Degree from one of the 20 undergraduate and 29 postgraduate courses accredited in the UK (Royal Town Planning Institute 1996:9-15) together with two year's

planning experience, with the adequacy and relevance of the latter being vetted by a special membership panel. These conditions are also the most significant criteria for entry into planning employment (Fidler & Dickens 1990: 16). However, even here there is provision for a 'special entry' route into the industry for use in 'exceptional circumstances', although the conditions imposed are rigorous. Those entering by this route must possess a degree or equivalent, with some planning content and have ten years' 'good quality, relevant town planning experience' (Royal Town Planning Institute 1996:2). It may be that an organisation such as ILAM would ideally like to impose such rigorous entry requirements, but to do so in practice would both substantially erode its membership and thereby its funding, and may exclude many of the more senior figures in its field, thus potentially, reducing its status. (It must be noted, however, that RTPI accreditation is not compulsory for planning practice.)

The case of ILAM reflects the ambiguous position of tourism management vis-à-vis leisure management. As we have seen, ILAM treats public sector tourism management as part of a broader leisure management constituency, but tourism management employees constitute only a very small part of that constituency. Furthermore, the existence of separate tourism management qualifications (albeit often with some links to leisure management) raises the question of the extent to which leisure management and tourism management may be seen as possessing a common skill and knowledge base.

This ambiguity is in sharp contrast to the position of the third association to be considered, the British Association of Tourism Officers (BATO). As we have seen, BATO can trace its origins to those public sector employees working in the promotion, development and visitor management in

seaside resorts and historic towns. Interestingly, its current President is a Chartered Planner who moved into tourism management through involvement with tourism development at a seaside resort (BATO Yearbook 1997). It remains primarily a public sector organisation. Of its membership of 220, 149 are employed by local authorities and 15 by tourist boards, the remainder being drawn from such quasi-public bodies as the Training and Enterprise Councils together with a group of 15 private sector tourism consultants. However, as was mentioned in Chapter 2, BATO has been succeeded by the Tourism Management Institute (TMI) which is intended to widen its membership and focus its activity on 'professionals at all levels in tourism destination management (TMI Overview 1997).

BATO's existence as a distinct (if small) group has rested implicitly on the notion that public sector tourism management constitutes a distinctive occupational area with its own occupational constituency requiring its own representative organisation. The new TMI no longer restricts membership to public sector organisations. Rather its focus has shifted to include 'qualified practitioners in tourism, working in National / Local government, Regional Tourist Organisations, National Parks, Tourist information and Visitor Centres, Museums, Visitor attractions and Tourism Education'(ibid.). Therefore, in practice its membership is likely to retain its domination by the public sector, at least initially.

In any event, insofar as a particular formalised knowledge base is associated with that constituency, it cannot be one focused on public sector tourism alone, for such specific courses are not offered by educational institutions. In any case, it is doubtful whether such a narrow knowledge base is either desirable or appropriate, given the interaction of public sector tourism with other areas of the industry. (This is, of course, the same with other more

clearly defined occupational groups. For example, doctors may specialise in particular areas of medicine, but are seen to need a sound general grounding in all its key areas.)

However, BATO, in contrast to the Tourism Society and ILAM, does appear to give a somewhat greater weight to formal qualifications in the sense that 'practising tourism professionals' may be admitted to full membership on the basis of 'a recognised tourism qualification', without the additional requirement of a given period of relevant experience (BATO Information Membership Leaflet 1996). The implication here is that the possession of a formal qualification is seen as equivalent to the possession of several years' experience. This situation is set to change with the new Institute and its inclusion of an additional criterion - to have acquired three years practical experience. In contrast, the experiential route into membership is reserved for senior officers who have spent at least five years working in tourism. This period of qualification has increased to seven years for the TMI and from 1998 applicants will have to submit a paper which 'clearly demonstrates knowledge and experience of Tourism Destination Management' (TMI Overview 1997).

In considering the experience which is seen as relevant for those acquiring membership by the experiential route, BATO does not restrict this to experience in the public sector - although current occupational position should normally be in public sector employment (see membership coverage of the TMI in earlier paragraphs.) Thus, although BATO's existence rests upon the distinctiveness of public sector tourism employment, it does have wider links with the Government's committees which relate to tourism and ILAM (Interview with General Secretary 26/1/94). This focus on the public sector does show some signs of changing as the programme for the

forthcoming National Tourism Managers' Seminar indicates (October 1997 - Seminar programme). This annual event is the main information dissemination occasion for members with speakers including the representatives of both national and regional tourist boards, the Secretary of State for tourism, and, representatives from the CBI. Practical and knowledge based skills may be acquired and honed during study tours and workshops which centre on publicly managed destinations (Seminar programme).

The final association to be considered here, the Institute of Travel and Tourism, is like BATO in that it seeks to represent those in a specific sector of the tourist industry - in this case 'the travel business', encompassing such organisations as travel agencies and tour operators (ITT Profile leaflet 1996). Like BATO, the ITT has a membership route for those employed in the travel business who are in possession of certain formal qualifications. The latter may be approved degrees in either tourism or leisure, or a variety of sub-degree qualifications (e.g. NVQ Level 4 in travel services), although in the latter case these must be complemented by a minimum of one year's experience in organisations within the travel and tour operations sector. As with the other associations considered, there is an alternative experiential route for those with five years' experience in 'the travel and tourism industry at management level' (ibid.). Interestingly, applicants may also be accepted on the basis of accredited prior learning, based possibly on the submission of a paper, each case being assessed on its merits by a membership panel.

The ITT, like The Tourism Society, offers a range of educational and training opportunities as is evidenced by their activities in which tailor-made in-company courses may be devised and delivered. These courses tend to be in

a more general skills area, for example, short courses are offered in marketing, HRM, finance, and IT subjects, as well as the team building, customer care and effective writing courses. Brochure production courses are also offered as a more industry-oriented provision (The ITT Leaflets on Development Training for Professionalism, Profit and Success, and ITT Open-day courses).

From the preceding discussion it is clear that the four associations are based on somewhat different conceptions of the constituency they represent - from ILAM which incorporates tourism management as a sub-area of leisure management, through the Tourism Society with its incorporation of all those involved in tourism management, to BATO and the ITT with their sector-specific focus. These variations may be taken to indicate the ambiguities which surround the potential crystallisation of tourism management as a distinct occupation, suggesting a variety of bases on which this might take place. The existence in each association of different routes to membership also points to the relatively weak development of a distinctive knowledge base for such an occupation. We have seen that a body such as the Royal Town Planning Institute admits members via an experiential route only in very exceptional circumstances, and that even here a formal qualification with some planning content is required. In contrast, all four of the associations here admit members on the basis of practical experience, and even this may normally be acquired in the related field of leisure management as well as tourism management.

On the basis of the foregoing analysis, at least three of these associations may be seen, in Coulson-Thomas's term, as 'status-seekers' (Coulson-Thomas 1988: 8). As the term implies, such associations are in the process of developing their role and constituency. They tend to be characterised by

their limited resources and few full-time staff, and are therefore concerned to attract members 'willing to assist association activities' (Ibid.). BATO with no full-time staff, and The Tourism Society and the ITT which have a small full-time membership secretariat and administration may all be viewed in this light. It is notable that the literature of these associations often places considerable emphasis on their lobbying role and their attempts to influence government and European Union policies, thereby enhancing their claims to status (The Tourism Society AGM paper 1996:3; BATO 1997:35 Year Book).

ILAM, on the other hand, may perhaps be seen as being rather closer to Coulson-Thomas's model of the status-maintainer. Having achieved some standing within their 'industry' status-maintainers are more concerned to maintain their existing position. They typically have full-time staff engaged in the provision of extensive membership services as well as representational roles. In spite of ILAM's public sector origins, it is credited with having industry-wide influence by being at 'the forefront of developing and promoting schemes of professional education and training..... in the leisure industry.' (Duffield 1997: xiii).

The four associations discussed here (and especially the three focused on tourism) are not 'strong' occupational associations, in the sense of representing a clearly defined and delineated occupational constituency with a firmly marked-out occupational jurisdiction. Rather, as suggested above, they distinguish some of the possible ways in which a distinctive occupational constituency might come to be defined. The extent to which one or other reflects an actually emerging constituency will become clearer in Chapters 5 and 6.

4. Conclusions

A recurrent theme of this chapter has been the ambiguous status of possible processes of occupational crystallisation in the activities of occupational promoters. The development of specialised educational qualifications at degree level provides evidence of the emergence of a tourism-specific knowledge base. However, this is not comprised entirely of tourism-specific elements, but encompasses significant elements of more generic knowledge, especially those derived from the wider field of management. This in itself is unsurprising. Not only are such courses marketed on the premise that they are a significant means of entry to managerial careers, but one would hardly expect courses in tourism management to neglect the broader management knowledge and skills. However, the development of such generic knowledge and skills opens up the possibility that those acquiring the knowledge-base may use it to move into careers in non tourism-specific fields. Thus preparation for tourism management is not preparation for tourism management alone.

In addition, possession of such a knowledge-base is not seen as a necessary condition for admission to occupational associations in the tourism field. Those in managerial positions lacking this body of knowledge may be admitted on the basis of appropriate practical experience. To some extent this is a pragmatic stance for associations to take, as they would otherwise exclude many of those whom they most actively wish to recruit - i.e. those in more senior positions in the industry. It does however mean that occupational closure via the use of credentials (Friedson 1986:63) is not a viable option. Even the associations which claim to represent the occupation - and often to promote or enhance its 'professional' status - treat experience as equivalent to formal knowledge and training. Consequently,

the basis for the creation of a distinctive occupational jurisdiction (which rests on the linkage of particular positions to a portfolio of knowledge, skills and qualifications) may be called into question. The actual role played by such portfolios in the recruitment and selection of staff is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5.

LOCAL AUTHORITY TOURISM MANAGEMENT AND OCCUPATIONAL CRYSTALLISATION : THE ROLE OF EMPLOYERS.

1. Introduction

It was argued in Chapter 1 that employers play a critical role in the process of occupational crystallisation, as it is normally through their decisions, particularly during recruitment and selection, that a linkage is established between particular organisational positions on the one hand and the possession of a particular portfolio of skills, qualifications and experience on the other. In the local authority context, it is the managers of the tourism management function who are primarily responsible for translating the perceived needs of the local authority into specific tasks, roles and responsibilities, and for staffing the organisational positions so established.

This chapter is therefore devoted to examining the ways in which such managers' activities affect the development or otherwise, of a tourism management jurisdiction and its associated constituency within local authorities. As outlined in Chapter 3, two main sources of data are used here - the information provided by advertisements for tourism management posts in local authorities and a series of interviews with senior managers in nine local authorities. However, in discussing the nature of tourism management work in local authorities, use is also made of data derived from the interviews with employees.

2. The organisation of tourism management in local authorities

The first step in examining the possible development of a tourism management jurisdiction in local authorities is to consider the nature of the work tasks undertaken, and the way in which these are configured, both internally within the tourism function and in relation to the wider organisation of which they are a part. The way in which jobs are defined and work tasks allocated may shape the extent to which they are regarded as 'tourism jobs', as opposed to jobs in which skills from other areas (such as planning or marketing) are applied to tourism. Similarly, the location of the tourism function within the local authority may influence the extent to which it is seen as a distinctive area of activity, as opposed to one undertaken as part of some wider organisational function.

Considering the organisational location of tourism management first, it is worthy of note that there was significant variation in the institutional location of the tourism function in the nine authorities whose heads were interviewed. In three cases (authorities E, H and I) tourism management was organised within a separate department. In three others it was part of a wider tourism and leisure department (authorities B, D and G). Less common was the situation where tourism management was located within a wider central services/economic development department (authorities C & F) or, in one case within a planning department (authority A). It became apparent during the course of interviews that tourism management was often an 'itinerant' function, moving between areas with successive organisational restructurings. For example, interviewee C1 explained how the function had evolved in his authority:

'Tourism started off in leisure, as it does in many local authorities, and that goes back quite a long time now. The new initiative on tourism was started by the council in 1983 . . . The benefits of

tourism were more economic related, job creation and wealth in C, and that's where the great success of tourism came through the 1980s and through the early 1990s, creating jobs, creating wealth, creating investment for C. That's a major success story for C and that led to the unit being moved centrally, working directly for the Chief Executive.'

A similar move was under consideration in Authority D, where the head of the tourism function (Interviewee D1) reported that 'there is talk of joining tourism and economic development, which is under the chief executive', rather than with leisure as it was at the time of the interview.

The fact that tourism management may be found in several different locations within authorities is of particular interest, but difficult to interpret from the point of view of occupational crystallisation. On the one hand, connections with leisure or planning might be understood to suggest that tourism management is not seen as a clearly distinct function, but rather as a sub-set of some wider group of activities within the organisation. However, the very fact that it may be located in a number of different settings, and in particular its frequent itinerant status, might suggest that in practice it is a relatively autonomous activity. The possibility of locating tourism management in several different contexts, and the fact that it may be moved between them, could be taken to mean that connections are not so tight as to tie it closely to any particular area.

Turning to the delineation of work tasks within the tourism management function, it was suggested in Chapter 2. that local authority tourism management activities could be divided into three broad areas - tourism development, tourism promotion and visitor management. An analysis of job advertisements (Table 12.) suggests that the great majority of posts (over 70%) involve individuals in at least two of these three activities.

A fifth of posts involve responsibility for all three areas. Unsurprisingly, the majority of these cross-functional posts are at director level. This is borne out by the interviews with heads of tourism functions. However, even at less senior levels, advertisements indicate that the great majority of posts are for individuals to engage in activities covering more than

Table 12. Tourism sub functions and non-tourism activities undertaken

Sub-functions / level of post	Director 15	Manager 10	Officer 32	Assistant 7	Total	% 64
Only Promotion P	-	1	5	2	8	12.5
Only Development D	-	-	2	-	2	3
Only Management M	-	-	-	-	-	-
Combinations of PM	-	1	5	1	7	11
PD	1	5	14	4	24	37.5
DM	-	1	3	-	4	6
PDM	9	2	2	-	13	20
Tourism not specified 1	5	-	1	-	6	10
TOTAL	15	11	32	7	64	100
All Promotion	10	9	26	7	52	81
All Development	10	8	21	4	43	67
All Management	9	4	7	1	21	33
Non Tourism 2	6	1	5	5	17	26

NB 1 Tourism not specified in a detail sufficient to determine the sub-functions included in the post 2. Non-tourism activities primarily, arts, leisure, recreation, amenities, libraries, cemeteries

Source : Content analysis of tourism advertisements 1990-1994

one area. For example, an advertisement for a Visitor Manager's post at an historic city involves all three areas of tourism management as it requires its recruit to engage in a range of activities to : 'stimulate and enhance the local economy, promote as a quality destination and co-ordinate the arrival and dispersal of visitors.' An example of involvement with development and management in an officer level post comes from an advertisement for a fishing port, not generally associated with tourism, where the recruit is expected to : 'manage a TIC and will take responsibility for developing additional tourism opportunities in the town.'

There was a tendency for many of the jobs advertised to combine tourism promotion and tourism development in particular. The reason for this was indicated by Interviewee C3 :

‘You’ve got to promote what you’ve got, but you’ve got to have development going alongside because people are looking for something different. People’s demands change. What people see as an enjoyable experience, or what they want to do, is dictated by so many people. The media change people’s minds and suddenly going to the seaside can be totally wrong.’

In contrast, relatively few advertisements (10%) specified combinations of tourism promotion with the management of tourism services, and even less (only 6%) specified combination of tourism development and visitor management. However, interviews within the sample of local authorities indicated that, in practice, the linkage was often tighter than advertisement data might suggest. Thus, for example, Interviewee D2, a tourist information officer, pointed out that:

‘We respond to all the efforts of the marketing department . . . When you see an advertisement for D all the response to that ends up in this office, so we are following up what marketing has started.’

These examples confirm what was suggested in Chapter 3.; that advertisement data may provide only a limited guide to the actual combination of activities that occur in practice. Indeed, several employers pointed out that the relatively small size of tourism management departments means that employees may be encouraged to be generalists, with the capacity to address a variety of issues and problems.

So far, the focus has been on the horizontal differentiation of tourism management functions within departments. It is important also to examine the vertical structuring of these functions, as it is the existence of such structuring which facilitates the development of occupationally-based labour markets and associated career paths. From the data collected from both job advertisements and respondents' questionnaires, four broad occupational levels may be identified - director/head, manager, officer, and assistant. The use of job titles as an indicator of level of seniority is not foolproof. In particular the title 'officer' (which was used in 50% of advertisements) is often used within local authorities to apply to many non-manual employees, as well as referring to posts with some managerial responsibility.

Nonetheless, data on salary levels collected from both the advertisements and interview respondents indicates the existence of a broad hierarchy associated with the job titles identified. Salary levels for directors /heads were mostly in excess of £30,000, although falling a little below this in some smaller authorities. For managers, salaries over £20,000 were the norm, while assistants were normally located in the £10,000 to £15,000 range. The ambiguity of the officer title was reflected in the diversity of associated salaries. Half were located in the £15,000 to £20,000 range, but a quarter were in the range of £10,000 to £15,000 and a quarter in the range £25,000 to £30,000.

It is clear that the structuring of the tourism management function provides some scope for the pursuit of occupational careers with local authorities, although this may be restricted by the relatively small size of departments, and the consequent limited number of posts at more senior level. How far individuals have, or seek, to pursue such careers will be examined in detail in the next chapter.

3. The Nature of Tourism Management Work

In the preceding section it was shown that the job advertisement data indicates that most tourism management work in local authorities involves working in more than one area of activity. This section seeks to discuss in a little more detail the nature of the activities undertaken by employees in each of these areas - tourism promotion, tourism development and visitor management.

As we have already seen, over 80% of advertisements mentioned tourism promotion as an integral part of the jobs advertised. In all the authorities in which interviews were carried out promotional activities were seen as an important part of the tourism function's remit. This was particularly so at the time of the interviews, as many authorities were preparing for local government reorganisation. In several cases a general raising of the corporate profile was considered to be particularly helpful in making a case for unitary status, both to the Review Commission itself and to the local electorate. More generally, a focus on tourism promotion was commonly seen as a key contribution to the authority's wider strategic objectives, and on occasion distanced from the more operational aspects of visitor management. Thus Interviewee I1, the head of tourism in a seaside resort, explained:

'The department is the main marketing body for the promotion of the town for both business and leisure tourism. So the aim of the department is to maximise the economic benefit of tourism to (Authority I) and is predominantly a promotional and marketing function, and there are other departments within the local authority that are geared to servicing the operational side of tourism. The obvious example is the beaches, the provision of deck chairs and beach cleaning.'

Whether tourism is promoted for primarily economic goals, or also as part of a general raising of the corporate profile, the key activities involved are marketing and PR functions. Interviewee C5, an Assistant Communications Executive, described her role in the following way:

‘I look after all the publicity and promotion for tourism. I do all the communication part of it . . . I do all the production work of all the publications that come out of tourism. I do all the exhibition graphics . . . I do media buying on a national basis.’

In most authorities the technicalities of creating, designing and producing publicity material are an important part of the work of tourism management staff, but this is commonly combined with other activities. Interviewee D3 was designated a Marketing and PR Manager, and much of her work lay in this area, covering such activities as creating advertising and publicity material, selling advertising space and overseeing the design and publication of brochures. However, she was also involved in visitor management, being responsible for overseeing the management and operation of Tourist Information Centres in Authority D.

This is not to say that a degree of specialisation does not take place within tourism management. Indeed, specialisation can occur within functions as well as between them. Such a situation can be illustrated by the case of the three tourism assistants working within Authority A. While all three were engaged in tourism promotion (and to some extent product development), their roles were somewhat different. Interviewee A4 (the most experienced) was concerned primarily with overseeing publications and with producing and managing overseas exhibitions and promotions. Interviewee A3 tended to specialise in the public relations aspects of the work of the unit, organising familiarisation trips for hoteliers and journalists, issuing press releases and editing a quarterly newsletter to publicise the achievements of

local attractions and accommodation providers. Finally, interviewee A2, a recent tourism graduate, was recruited to establish a market research activity, an aspect of the authority's work which it was seeking to expand. At the same time, such research illustrates the potential overlap of promotion and development work. While designed initially to monitor the effectiveness of promotional activities, market research was also intended to inform the direction of future tourism development, which was seen as being of particular importance, as the area was in the process of losing one of its major employers.

Tourism promotion work therefore involves a range of activities centred around publicity and public relations work, in some cases (most notably authorities A, C and D) underpinned by specific market research activities. The skills required for such work are primarily those associated with the more general occupational function of marketing - the ability to communicate effectively with current and potential customers, the press and local providers in the private sector; the capacity to develop effective promotional literature and to oversee its production and distribution; and the skills required to carry out effective market research. In addition, where promotional activities are directed at overseas markets (as was the case, for example, in Authority A where all four interviewees were either fluent in French or undertook language training at the authority's expense), language skills could also be of considerable value. At the same time, these more general marketing skills may need to be linked to more tourism-specific knowledge, such as information as to the social and geographical dispersion of those likely to participate in different types of tourism.

While tourism promotion was mentioned in the greatest number of job advertisements, it was followed closely by tourism development, mentioned in 69% of cases. This is hardly surprising, given the fact that tourism is often seen as a major source of economic regeneration. In some cases tourism

development was seen as a particularly problematic activity. Interviewee E1, the head of tourism in a resort, explained:

‘It (the council) has no choice but to accept the importance of tourism, sometimes reluctantly. I say that on two counts. One, politically, that tourism is not going to win them a lot of votes from the residents. The other one is reluctant in the sense that it is too much of a one horse town in that sense. Diversification of the economy is very high on our list but reality says that you won’t be able to diversify that much. . . If there is any tourism development then obviously I get involved in it, but the reality is that it has dried up in the past few years and we as a local authority do not have the funds to do it. We try and enable through planning measures or whatever initiatives we can but we have no funding capability for it.’

In this situation the emphasis was shifting from a focus on major new developments to smaller scale product development to maintain the resort’s economic viability, such as the promotion of high quality in existing accommodation and attractions. This shift was partly in response to the ending of a Tourism Development Action Programme which, as explained in Chapter 2., was a particular tourism development initiative partly sponsored by the ETB.

Elsewhere, an emphasis on wider economic development issues continued. Thus, in Authority F the head of the tourism unit was actively involved in strategic initiatives designed to acquire EU funding for tourism development programmes with the authority. His Tourism Development Officer (Interviewee F2) was focused on more local development initiatives - liaising with local transport providers and hoteliers, as well as with regional and national tourist boards, to encourage inbound tourism from overseas.

Tourism development may thus involve extensive engagement with organisations outside the authority, whether these be local providers or quasi-governmental organisations at regional, national and international level. At the same time, an equally important relationship is the internal one with the planning functions of the local authority. Interviewee I1 described how development projects are dealt with by both departments, each needing some basic understanding of the requirements of the other.

‘We would be involved in most tourism development projects in an advisory role rather than an enabling role and we would assist potential developers in market background, and possibly ease of communications through the various departments of the local authority planning, building permissions and so on . . . If a tourism related development was looking at us, then it would normally come through this department as a first step.’

In some cases, tourism development may be the means of implementing a tourism strategy designed to regulate and redirect the tourism effort. As was noted in Chapter 2, an increasing part of the role of local authorities in managing tourism lies in reconciling the demands of tourism with the demands of local residents. This was clearly the case in Authority D, an historic city which was considered to have reached near saturation point, leading to a shift in its tourism strategy. As the head of the tourism function (Interviewee D1) explained:

‘The residents themselves don’t realise the benefits that they get from tourism, the range of shops, leisure amenities, things like that. Therefore they see tourism in very much an ‘us and them’ situation. . . In 1991 a new strategy was adopted as a corporate policy of the council, so they actually agreed to reduce numbers and go for value build and not volume build. . . The product itself is intrinsically, absolutely right, it only needs minor changes, but

my job is that minor change. I don't have to build something from scratch, but merely have to bring it up to date. . . The challenges are there to use my experience to convince the trade, hoteliers, retailers, all that, to change their attitude.'

The examples cited in the preceding paragraphs underline the fact that tourism development comprises a complex cluster of activities centred on the need to maximise economic benefit through managing tourism, on both a large and a small scale. Both the macro-level economic development aspect, and more detailed product development activities, require tourism management employees to liaise with a range of interested parties. Co-ordination and integration of such activities is further complicated by the often contradictory nature of the relationship between the policy-makers and implementors at different levels of government (Hall and Jenkins 1995:29). In the case of large-scale development initiatives this may entail working with national and international organisations, as well as linking with the planning functions within the tourism manager's own authority. This is most obviously the case in respect of the development of a tourism strategy of the kind seen in Authority E, which emphasised the development of business tourism alongside commercial and industrial initiatives. In contrast, a tourism strategy such as that found in Authority D, with its emphasis on the development of existing products, is likely to lead to a greater focus on liaison with local providers.

To undertake these diverse tasks a range of skills and knowledge may be needed. Some understanding of economic and geographical issues may be of considerable value for those involved in large-scale tourism development. This is particularly so when leading or managing consortia from both public and private sector and different European countries in initiatives such as those under the auspices of Atlantic Arc Commission (The Regions of the Atlantic Arc Commission are a group of European Union regions which, broadly speaking, border the Atlantic Ocean) for which there is an action

plan to develop tourism. Both authorities A and F are among the twelve British members - see CRPM 1996.). More particularly, those working in tourism development will need to understand the structures of tourism provision (both public and private, and including structures for the provision of funding). The important links to the planning function mean that some understanding of the planning process and issues is required. There is also a need for the possession of certain skills of a more generic nature - in particular there is likely to be a high priority on communication skills, and in some cases European languages, given the extensive liaison with other groups within and outside the authority entailed by tourism development work.

While the majority of advertisements referred to one or both of tourism promotion and tourism development, tourism visitor management was mentioned explicitly in only one-third of advertisements. To some extent this may be because aspects of tourism visitor management are in fact subsumed under more general aspects of local authority functioning, such as the management of transportation and other facilities. We saw this earlier in the case of Interviewee I1, who described how beach management was part of a separate operational area. However, many tourism management employees regard it as the crucial element in successful tourism, as explained by Interviewee B2, the Tourism Development Officer for an historic city:

‘It’s no good having tourists if you’ve got nowhere to put them. We have a situation - it’s a Catch 22 - we want people to come in October but all the establishments close in September.’

Developing the tourism product out of season, and other such activities (see Agarwal’s suggestions discussed in Chapter 2.) have an impact on the management of the promotion effort. The possible extension of the seasons of the TICs, attractions and accommodation has consequences for resourcing.

These activities therefore require co-ordination with private sector providers of accommodation and with publicly or privately owned attractions. Co-ordinating and managing visitors at operational level is usually part of the responsibility of the Tourism Information Centres which are, inevitably, both part of the promotional activity of the authority and a vehicle for visitor management. As Interviewee C5 noted ;

‘The work that I do might reach people and they say yes, its sounds very good. . . It sounds like a very beautiful place, and when the tourists comes down here if the TIC’s whole infrastructure is not up to it, that’s going to be your first downfall. At the same time, if they are coming here and the roads are not marked to where they are going, then I think that the whole objective is lost.’

One aspect of the work of visitor management can be illustrated by interviewee H2, a Travel Services Manager. Her work has involved setting up and managing the advanced reservation service (a computerised accommodation booking service which can also be used to reserve places on particular day trips and so on) and co-ordinating and managing ‘day out in H’ packages. These activities involve negotiating with hoteliers on particular promotions, but also shade over into tourism promotion work, with the marketing of these promotions and packages.

In this case, visitor management is centred on the development of services in conjunction with the private sector. In other cases, major links may need to be established with other parts of the local authority for, as we have seen, the provision of facilities used by tourists may be subsumed under the more general management of these facilities. Interviewee C1 noted that :

‘It has to be working with other units. Internally, with planning and how we develop the product, that’s physical development. With leisure and how we develop our leisure facilities to take

account of tourism, be it engineers and how we look at our transport system to take account of the tourists as well.'

In yet other cases visitor management may centre more specifically on the direct management of visitor facilities, most obviously the Tourism Information Centres. Thus in the same authority, H4, the Visitor Services Manager, is responsible for the recruitment and management of TIC staff and the financial management of the visitor services' unit, as well as the training of staff in the unit.

The skills involved in visitor management are thus in part of a generic managerial nature. Managers may require skills in the management of human resources and in techniques of accounting and financial management. Where the work is centred on liaison with other providers, communication skills will be important, while the management of information systems will require a level of expertise in aspects of information technology. Working with other functions within the authority will require both communication skills and some knowledge of the activities undertaken by these functions.

In discussing the work of those involved in tourism management a recurrent element has been the way in which the activities may overlap and diffuse into other areas. The presence of such interlinkage became obvious from the advertisements analysed earlier where, as we have seen, the majority of advertisements were for working in more than one area, and this is reinforced by the questionnaire and interview data. Even where work is focused primarily on a single area, it may in practice shade over into aspects of the other two. Market research undertaken primarily for promotion may also become an aspect of the development process, managing of visitor services may also entail promoting them, and so on.

Thus, although it is possible to differentiate between tourism management functions at an analytical level, in practice individuals are likely to be involved in a number of different aspects of the work which transect this functional classification. This may provide a basis for possible occupational crystallisation. Much of the skill and knowledge required in aspects of tourism management work is either drawn from other occupational areas (e.g. marketing, public relations), or is of a generic rather than a specific nature (e.g. skills in communication or people management). However, the fact that individuals may engage in a range of functions suggests the potential exists for an accretion and melding together of these elements into a distinctive occupation centred around their application to the diverse aspects of managing tourism. Further - and critical - light may be shed on this potential by turning to examine the recruitment and selection criteria of managers, as evidence by the advertisement and interview data.

4. Occupational Jurisdiction and Occupational Constituency

It has been argued throughout this thesis that the most critical link between jurisdiction and constituency lies in the extent to which employers seek to recruit to particular positions individuals who possess a specific portfolio of skills, knowledge, qualifications or experience. In this way employers' recruitment and selection strategies reflect their views on the 'best mix of attributes' of potential constituents (Kiel 1981:191). Within the context of local authority tourism management, managers' strategies might be to specify their requirements (or at least preferences) in terms of tourism-specific portfolios. Such portfolios could include such things as the possession of tourism-related qualifications and a history of work experience in tourism management occupational labour markets (private and / or public).

A second possible recruitment and selection strategy is that managers could be looking primarily for evidence of other types of occupational experience

or occupationally-related qualifications which they consider to be particularly relevant for the post in question - e.g. marketing qualifications/ experience for a post in tourism promotion. A third possible strategy is to focus on skills and qualifications of a more generic nature - e.g. general management experience, or evidence of communication skills which would be seen as more relevant to the position to be filled. Finally, the location of the tourism management functions within local authorities, and the need to work closely with those in other local authority functions, such as planning and leisure, means that a portfolio of experience and qualifications centred around local authority employment could be seen as an important route into the vacant post.

Insofar as managers' strategy is to reserve tourism management work to individuals with tourism specific portfolios, they will be involved in crystallising both a distinct occupational jurisdiction and its associated constituency comprising those who may seek to pursue careers within that area. However, the extent to which managers may do this (even if they wish to) is, to some extent, constrained by the relatively recent development of formal qualifications in this area, and indeed by the fact that tourism management itself is an area which has expanded in recent years. Consequently, there may be difficulties in recruiting more senior employees on the basis of a tourism specific portfolio, simply because relatively few individuals have had much opportunity to build up such a portfolio.

To examine the extent to which employers are seeking to recruit those with a tourism specific or some other type of portfolio, we draw on data from 'ideal candidate' profiles in advertisements, and the views expressed by managers during interviews. The focus is on those characteristics which were specified as being either 'essential' or 'desirable' for individuals being recruited to tourism management positions in each of the three areas. The analysis commences with a consideration of the qualifications which were

seen as either essential or desirable, and then goes on to consider preferences for particular types of labour market experience and particular skill profiles.

Employers have four options when they specify the qualification element of the required portfolio. Firstly, they may require or prefer individuals to have a tourism-specific qualification. Secondly, they may require some other type of qualification in a specified, but non-tourism area. Thirdly, they may prefer employees with a given level of qualification, rather than specifying the discipline in which it is obtained - for example, they may require or prefer appointees to be graduates, because of the general qualities which being a graduate are held to indicate, without being too concerned with the particular discipline. Finally, of course, they may not specify any content or level of qualification at all, either because this is not felt to be necessary for effective work performance, or because they are on a 'fishing expedition', and wish their initial trawl of the labour market to be as wide as possible.

The qualifications identified in advertisements as being essential or desirable for effective performance were classified in accordance with this four-fold classification, and are analysed by level of post in Table 13.

Table 13. Essential and desirable qualifications by level for all advertisements

	Essential (E)						Desirable (D)						
Qualifications	D	M	O	A	T %		D	M	O	A	T %	Totals (E+D)	% of 64
Tourism specific	2	-	4	-	6 9		-	-	-	2	2 3	8	12.5
Non-tourism specific	1	-	3	-	4 6		1	-	1	2	4 6	8	12.5
Generic qualifications	5	-	15	-	20 30		-	-	-	-	-	20	30
Totals	8	-	22	-	30 47		1	-	1	4	6 9	36	56
None mentioned	D 6 M 10 O 9 A 3											28	44

Source : Content analysis of tourism advertisements 1990-1994

It will be seen that only about 12% of advertisements mentioned tourism specific qualifications, with less than half of these specifying them as essential requirements. Given the fact that the large-scale provision of such qualifications (at least at undergraduate level) is a fairly recent phenomenon, this is perhaps unsurprising. This pattern of limited specification of tourism qualifications may well change, as more tourism graduates enter the labour market, and more employers become aware of their content. Interviewee I1, one of the resort heads of tourism indicated as much:

‘The fact that there are many more courses available now means that there is the opportunity to make a selection of people from tourism-related backgrounds . . . It affects selection in the future.’

The fact that this trend is actually emerging was suggested by the Tourism Manager (Interviewee C2) in Authority C, which had recently appointed two tourism management trainees:

‘If you’re going to get the right calibre of people in tourism in the future qualifications in tourism are important. . . We have appointed someone with a tourism degree.’

(It was also indicated that of the ten candidates short-listed for the post, three had degrees in tourism.)

Two heads of resort tourism (E1 and G1) themselves had postgraduate tourism qualifications (which have, of course, been in existence for a significantly longer period than undergraduate qualifications), and therefore felt themselves to be in a particularly good position to discuss why and how the possession of formal qualifications adds value to a tourism management employee. Interviewee E1 particularly valued the broad industry perspective which such qualifications were seen to provide:

‘Tourism is such a massively diverse subject that if you end up in one little sphere, you don’t get to see the other spheres. The one true benefit of what I did, which was the first ever postgrad course in tourism, wasn’t that I was an expert in it, because in one year you couldn’t be. What it was that I had was a complete, broad view from the aircraft and shipping industries, the marketing side, finances, you name it, it was there. So I went in knowing what it was, instead of going in and not knowing and realising the connectivity of everything. . . That’s its value, and that’s the value of tourism qualifications.’

In contrast, Interviewee G1 placed more importance on the non-academic selection criteria (Ashton and Maguire 1980:146). His preference was for employing those with tourism qualifications, not because of the specific skills or knowledge acquired, but rather for the fact that possession of the qualification was felt to indicate a level of commitment to the field of work:

‘As somebody who has taken a postgraduate degree course in tourism, I’m always favourably disposed towards candidates who’ve demonstrated their commitment to the field. I think that’s primarily what you get out of saying that somebody has done a course in tourism. The relevance of a lot of courses to the real world is, I suspect, somewhat lacking. Certainly in my own case it was, but I took the course because I wanted to go into tourism, and I think that tends to be the motivation of most people taking the courses, they see it as a way of demonstrating their commitment.’

All but one of the managers interviewed felt that tourism qualifications were of benefit to aspiring employees, although some had doubts about the general standing which such qualifications conferred. Interviewee A1 (without tourism qualifications and with a limited background in the industry) noted that :

'I'd like to think (tourism qualifications) more useful, but it worries me people are not taking the tourism industry seriously. . I think that a degree in English Literature, or any other subject, would seem to carry a higher weight than tourism would carry. It's unfortunate, it's taking time to recognise it. The other side, of course, is that colleges and universities are churning out dozens of students, but students at a higher rate than jobs available.'

A similar number of advertisements (12.5%) specified a particular non-tourism qualification as a suitable basis for appointment. For example, a rural district council appointing an assistant level post in promotion would prefer someone with an 'appropriate marketing qualification' (The Guardian 19.2.94). At the county level, an advertisement for tourism officer post based in the planning department included a preference for a degree in geography or town planning for applicants without a tourism degree (The Guardian 4/12/93). Another example from an advertisement reinforces the relationship between the tourism management aspects of the post and the wider organisational linkages : a district council recruiting to a economic development and tourism officer level post required the applicants to 'hold a suitable degree or postgraduate qualification probably in planning or economic development. (The Guardian 4/2/94).

As suggested in the last example from the advertisements, some employers (30%) sought qualifications of an unspecified nature - most commonly 'educated to degree level' or 'should possess a relevant qualification'. Both are indicative of the view expressed by Interviewee F1 that the possession of a degree could be taken as 'an indication of an individual's ability to think and communicate'. The desire for 'a relevant qualification' or the requirement that applicants 'must hold a degree or professional qualification relating to tourism' (The Independent 3/11/93) may indicate that some advertisers felt that some type of tourism-related knowledge was

desirable, but felt unable to specify in detail what this was. Interviewee I1 described how this might happen :

‘Given the option we would want tourism or similarly related experience, I mean if it is a marketing function it may well be that they've had experience in something that is not too diverse from the activities that we're undertaking.’

Finally, a full 44% of advertisements made no mention of any qualifications being required or desirable. Interestingly, 40% of Director level advertisements and all of those for Manager level appointments gave no specification of an essential or desirable qualification. This might be taken to indicate that as individuals move to more senior positions the significance of qualifications tends to be displaced by the importance attached to specific types of work experience. Such an assumption about these senior positions is borne out by the advertisement data, for example, for a manager's post advertised in The Guardian (23/7/93) ‘a record of relevant achievement in the public or private sector’ was required without any expansion on what that meant. Similarly, for an Assistant Director level post in a major seaside resort the advertisement started by stating that the job was for ‘a skilled communicator and strategic thinker’. Further into the advertisement some idea of what was meant by this was given : ‘... a person with an exceptional knowledge of the tourism industry, able to demonstrate both significant career progression and strong creative and managerial skills’. (The Guardian 22.1.94) It is also notable, however, that none of the Assistant level posts required qualifications, while around three-quarters of those at Officer level did.

Whatever the role attributed to experience at more senior levels, it is clear that even managers favourably predisposed towards the possession of relevant qualifications would still tend to give priority to work experience.

Thus Interviewee G1, whose support for the possession of qualifications has been cited above, went on to say :

‘I think that most employers will employ on the basis of experience, in the first instance. I don’t know the extent to which my colleagues share my perception of tourism courses which shows a certain keenness on the part of the person, and keenness is one of the things I look for. . . It (a tourism qualification) is a good starting point, but unless people coming out are willing to take virtually no money to gain some experience, they’ll find it very, very difficult to demonstrate to a potential employer that they are willing to be taken on because the number of graduate entry schemes in the tourism field is extremely limited.’

The way in which employers choose to specify the work experience in the portfolio of their ‘ideal candidate’ may be classified into five categories. Firstly, the requirement may be for someone who has at least some prior work experience in the tourism field, as is evident from the advertisement for the Assistant Director referred to above. Secondly, employers may seek someone who has generic management experience, without any necessary requirement as to the area in which it is acquired. A third option is to require some type of specific experience in some field other than tourism. Fourthly, employers may seek appointees with prior experience in local government. Finally, as with qualifications, there is the option that employers will simply ‘hedge their bets’ by omitting any reference to specific forms of work experience.

An analysis of job advertisements along these lines is presented in Table 14. (In some cases, more than one type of work experience was specified, and percentages therefore add up to more than 100.)

Table 14. Work experience requirements in all advertisements

Work experience	Essential					Desirable					Totals
	Dir. of 15	Mgr. of 10	Off. of 32	A sst. of 7	T % of 64	Dir. of 15	Mgr. of 10	O ff. of 32	A sst. of 7	T % of 64	of 64 %
Tourism	1	-	10	2	13 20	1	-	3	-	4 6	17 27
Non-tourism management	7	-	9	2	18 28	-	-	-	-	- -	18 28
Non-tourism	-	2	5	4	11 17	-	1	1	-	2 3	13 20
Local authority / public sector	1	1	2	2	6 9	1	1	1	-	3 5	9 14
None specified	4	6	7	3	20 31	-	-	-	-	- -	20 31

Source : Content analysis of tourism advertisements 1990-1994

It will be seen that specific work experience in tourism was seen as essential or desirable in some 27% of cases, largely at the (somewhat ambiguous) 'officer' level. The data therefore gives some limited support to the idea that prior work experience in tourism is seen as necessary for entry to tourism-related jobs in local authorities.

A similar number of advertisements stressed the desirability of generic management experience. This was most strikingly the case at the Director level, for reasons which are fairly self-evident. What is perhaps interesting, however, is the fact that such general management experience was far more likely to be specified at this level than actual experience in the tourism sphere. This may have some implications for the possibilities of career progression open to employees in local authority management, suggesting at least the possibility that advancement to senior posts may be inhibited by competition from managers with generic experience gained in other fields.

It appears, however, that local authorities are not especially likely to be such a field. Despite the fact that advertisements were for local authority posts, only 14% asked for local authority experience as an essential or desirable characteristic. The reasons for this became clear in the interviews with

managers. Interviewee E1, although himself having a long local authority career, argued :

‘In fact I’d favour no local government experience, in the sense that I’m the front for local government, and if we get too many local government people together then it becomes local government. I take the view that we’re a quasi private sector/public sector organisation. We are away from the Town Hall, which is good for us and we have an identity on our own.’

This rejection of the need for local authority experience implies that local authority tourism managers, at least, see tourism management as something different from other local authority work. This may be a reflection of their involvement with a particularly complex and diverse sector of the economy - and thus E1’s perception of the tourism function as a ‘quasi private sector/public sector organisation’.

Interviewee E1, however, is not alone in his views. Interviewee A1 (who, in contrast to E1, did not have a long local authority background) argued that :

‘I haven’t got any local government experience. I think it’s a hindrance. Coming from the commercial world is better because once a person has been used to a sort of high flying organisation then, if they can come to terms with local government, it injects a new level of thinking and we are beginning to see this in the sort of people who are being employed.’

Others, while sharing some of these views, took a more ‘balanced’ approach. Interviewee I1 (himself with a long history in local government) argued that there was a need for some understanding of the local authority environment:

‘I think it depends upon the mix in the department. I think there needs to be a general understanding of the restrictions that there are within the local government operation, but it doesn’t mean that everybody has got to have worked in a local authority before. If you’ve got one or two that have got that experience, they can help the team by passing on that experience and highlighting the pitfalls.’

Given these views, it is possible to see why generic managerial experience is given greater priority than local authority experience, especially, as we have seen, for appointment at more senior levels.

While about a quarter of advertisements specified the requirement or desirability of prior tourism experience, a fifth specified experience in other particular areas. These specifications were typically in relation to experience in the ‘marketing field’, ‘leisure field’ or the possession of ‘an economic development background’. Experience in marketing was seen as being relevant to posts involving promotional activities, for example an advertisement in Local Government Chronicle for an assistant level post with ‘relevant experience preferably with a marketing or sales bias (18/08/1992). In a similar vein, a marketing and tourism officer post for a rural authority sought someone with ‘A proven track record in marketing. . . Public sector experience and membership of the Institute of Marketing an advantage’ (The Guardian 19/03/94). Advertisements which specified an economic development background tended to be for broader economic development activities of which tourism was a part. An example of such a specification appeared in an advertisement for an assistant level economic and tourism development post, in which recruits were required to have ‘a background in economic development, planning or surveying’. From the advertisements it appears that the leisure field covers a number of areas, including tourism such as ‘entertainment, leisure, tourism or the arts’ (for a director level post in recreation and tourism in Local Government

Chronicle 17/17/92). In specifying areas of work other than or including tourism, employers are reflecting the nature of the work in the sense of its linkages to other areas of the councils' responsibility which for structural, political or other reasons are located within the same organisational hierarchy.

As with qualifications, it is striking that in nearly 30% of advertisements, there were no criteria relating to the desired content of the appointee's work experience element of their portfolio. This does not mean that employers do not value work experience. Interviewee D1 was typical in his assertion that 'experience, initiative and aptitude to do the job, to achieve objectives is more important than a bit of paper'. However, both advertisements and interviews reveal somewhat diverse views as to what types of work experience are relevant. In a not insignificant number of cases there is a preference for those with tourism experience, but it is at least as common to find a preference for managerial experience of a more generic nature. (This balance in some way mirrors the balance in undergraduate and postgraduate diplomas and degree programmes between tourism-specific and generic managerial elements.) In some cases, employees may be sought with specific experience in other fields, but not on such a scale or with such a consistency as to suggest a significant process of accretion and melding to be at work.

These findings are reinforced if we turn to the types of skill which were specified in advertisements. These were categorised into five areas - communication skills, managerial skills, computer literacy, languages and a residual category of 'others'. The areas specified as essential skills are set out in Table 15.

Many of these findings are unsurprising, such as the emphasis on managerial skills at Director level. This was reflected in the views of several of the heads of tourism interviewed. Thus Interviewee H1 commented:

‘(The possession) of a tourism qualification is not essential. No. They have some value, but an over-rated value when compared with marketing and management skills. It depends on the job. For my job, far more important than tourism skills are management skills. I’m a manager, even though I love tourism.’

Table 15. The 'essential' skills required by employers in sample advertisements						
Skills	Director (of 15)	Manager (of 10)	Officer (of 32)	Assistant (of 7)	Total (of 64)	%
Communication	8	7	10	4	29	45
Managerial	8	2	4	-	14	22
Computer Literacy	-	1	-	3	4	6
Language 1	-	1	1	1	3	5
Others 2	5	-	5	-	10	16
None	6	-	10	1	17	27
1 For 1 other Officer post and 1 Assistant post a language qualification was desirable. 2 included time management, self management skills and ability to work strategically.						
Source : Content analysis of tourism advertisements 1990-1994						

Similarly, Interviewee B1 gave priority to managerial skills in recruitment to certain types of position. Referring to a forthcoming appointment he commented that he would :

‘be looking for somebody, I think, with a management qualification as opposed to a tourism qualification . . . certainly for a TIC manager.’

The importance attached to managerial skills is further attested to by data from the employee interviews and CVs. In the preceding five years one third of employees had received some management training, including five of the nine heads of tourism.

The one area given greater weight than managerial skills is that of communication skills, mentioned in 45% of advertisements. In the light of the earlier discussion of the nature of tourism management work, this

emphasis is understandable. As we have seen, much of the work in this area entails liaison with other groups, either within the authority itself or outside, such as hoteliers, attraction providers, tourist boards and so on. Interviewee I1 confirmed this in his attempt to summarise the essence of tourism management in local authorities :

‘Communication skills are of fundamental importance as most of what we do is to try to communicate with people. So, I suppose to understand the principle of marketing and general people management and communications covers the makeup of the local authority and committee work to a large extent. Communication skills are very important.’

In contrast to the prominence given to managerial and communication skills, other areas were mentioned only infrequently. As we have seen from the interview data, I.T. and language skills are used by a number of people in tourism management positions. For example Interviewees A2 and H2 mentioned the role of information technology in visitor management and TIC work, while A2 and D4 also used databases in their market research work. However, computer skills were rarely mentioned in advertisements, and then almost entirely at the lowest (Assistant) level, possibly because as these interviewees confirmed, much of their work centred on establishing, manipulating and interpreting information on computerised databases.

Somewhat similarly, as we have seen, several interviewees placed considerable stress on language skills. Interviewee D1, indeed, argued that these were ‘more important than customer care or computer literacy’. This view partly reflected the tourism strategy being pursued in his authority, one targeted on attracting a high proportion of visitors from Japan, regarded as a source of high value tourists. However, other heads of tourism (e.g. Interviewees F1 and G1) also endorsed the importance of languages. It is therefore a little surprising to find languages being mentioned in only five

advertisements. It is possible to speculate that the southern bias of the sample of local authorities - and therefore the possible orientation to continental visitors - affects the respondents in this respect. However, the fact that two respondents had language degrees, five had worked abroad and six had received language training suggests that a language capability may be associated with those having a career interest in tourism management.

Over and above the specific skills discussed above, many of the heads of tourism interviewed placed a heavy emphasis on the somewhat nebulous category of 'personal characteristics' or the 'personality package' referred to in earlier chapters. Thus Interviewee F1 laid great significance on the ability to 'think for oneself', although this was associated in his mind with the more specific criterion of 'high level qualifications'.

The significance of such personal characteristics, and their interplay with other factors in the selection process for tourism management employees was illustrated by Interviewee G1 in discussing his 'ideal tourism candidate':

'There are a number of criteria that I look for and the first one is always the right attitude, proven ability to learn on the job and take initiative, and be capable of working in a small team effectively, because if that doesn't work then nothing else will. It doesn't matter how well qualified somebody is. Obviously I try and look for relevant experience, not necessarily that they have done precisely what it is that the job entails, but they've done something which demonstrates that they have the ability to be able to do that. Again, that would depend upon the level of seniority of the position. For a more senior position I would be looking for more relevant experience. For a more junior position I'd be more flexible in terms of what they are capable of doing. Occasionally, language skills are useful, but obviously it's the attitude that comes first.'

This emphasis on personal characteristics - and especially the 'personality package' - is hardly surprising for, as Richard Jenkins has indicated, recruitment and selection processes are often as much about 'acceptability' ('fitting in') as they are about 'suitability' (1984:65-75). In other words, the issue of whether people display the right attitudes, and will therefore 'fit in' may be seen as at least as important as whether they possess specific skills and abilities which are deemed to be 'suitable' for such an appointment. In the case of local authority tourism management it appears that, while certain types of knowledge and experience may be seen as desirable, they are not universally seen as essential. Consequently, there may be a tendency to emphasise 'acceptability' over 'suitability', in a way which would be less possible in a job where suitability (in the sense of possession of certain specific qualifications and skills) would be deemed to be of greater importance.

The last, possible element of an 'ideal candidate' to be considered is that of the requirement for membership of a particular occupational association. It has to be said that in the group of advertisements analysed such requirement was totally absent as nowhere was it an essential condition of employment. In only four cases were associations mentioned at all. Two advertisements suggested that membership of tourism-specific associations would be desirable, one specified the British Association of Tourism Officers, and the other the Institute of Travel and Tourism. The other two advertisements were either non-specific, suggesting that membership of a 'relevant' association might be helpful, the fourth post for a tourism development officer suggested membership of the Royal Town Planning Institute might be appropriate. Employer interviewees' views on the relevance of association membership tended to reflect their own personal behaviour in this respect - a matter which is discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

It is also important to stress at this stage that the specific mix of qualifications, experience and skills sought by employers is closely related to

the individual position for which staff are being recruited. Given the small size of tourism departments, and the often eclectic mix of activities which their members undertake, managers are typically recruiting not for 'standard' positions, but rather to fill particular gaps in their present work force. This can be illustrated from the interview with B1, who focused on the need to replace another interviewee (B2) who was shortly to retire :

'We're examining, really, how we are going to replace him. The emphasis will be on development, but I'm looking to get somebody with the right qualifications and experience to actually start into some of the key recommendations coming out of the strategy that the (Regional Tourist Board) is doing for us on marketing and information systems . . . I'll be looking at a graduate, basically. I'd ask for a tourism degree - whether I'd go just below to a tourism HND I don't know. . . It'll be someone with a degree and experience. We're quite keen to recruit from the better tourist boards.'

In this case, therefore, the specific nature of the job predisposes the manager to recruit from within the sphere of public sector tourism - preferably from a Regional Tourist Board, reflecting the existing close relationship he had with the RTB undertaking a development strategy for his authority. This example also indicates the idiosyncratic features which may enter into the selection of staff, which may in part reflect the background of the individual managers concerned. For example, Interviewee D1 had particularly strong views on the relevance of qualifications:

'It is immaterial to me whether they have a BA or a BSc in anything under the damn sun. It means nothing except photographic memory to me. It goes back to my own background. I have five O levels. I've got where I am today with experience and

initiative and an aptitude to do the job and achieve the objectives
- more important than paper.'

Nevertheless, at the same time, D1 was particularly interested in, and supportive of, post-employment training, especially where it was of direct relevance to the work in his own sphere of activity:

'I spend a lot more of my time encouraging my staff to take on training in those areas that are relevant to what I want them to do in my sector, which is a different qualification to what would be expected if they were in a travel agency, working for an airline, working as a hostess over in Spain, or whatever.'

This attitude clearly runs contrary to that of Interviewee E1, reported earlier, for whom the benefit of tourism qualifications lay precisely in the fact that they provided a breadth of knowledge about the tourism sector which enabled people to place their own particular activity within the wider context. In a sense, the attitude of Interviewee D1 is one which would encourage the development of skills and knowledge specifically related to aspects of local authority tourism management, and thus a process of occupational crystallisation around this specific sector of tourism employment.

5. Conclusions

From an examination of the roles of employees working in tourism management in local authorities, it is apparent that a number of distinct types of activity may be undertaken. The activities associated with tourism promotion - producing brochures, attending exhibitions, liaising with the press, and so on - are essentially activities in the area of marketing and public relations. Tourism development activities - formulating tourism strategies, liaising with providers and public agencies and linking to other

local authority functions - entail a mixture of planning activities and negotiating with other agencies and the private sector. In some ways these might be thought to be closest to the traditional activities of local government. Finally, activities in the area of visitor management - managing visitor services and facilitating certain activities on the part of other public and private providers - involve a mix of generic managerial activities, such as people management, financial management and the negotiation of working agreements between different groups.

In practice, however, these tasks, roles and responsibilities cannot be neatly separated out from one another. Not only does activity in one area shade over into activity in another, but those recruited to positions in local authority tourism management will often be involved in more than one of these clusters of work tasks. Thus, although certain of these work tasks may be connected with other occupational areas, such as marketing or planning, the overall cluster of activities which people undertake is likely to be characterised by engagement in, or relations to, a range of tourism management functions. It may therefore be argued that the groundwork is laid by this configuration of activities for the identification of a distinct occupational grouping of those working in tourism management. What is less clear is how far such a grouping might be sector - specific (i.e. an occupation of local authority tourism management) and how far it might be part of a more broadly-based occupation of tourism management.

There is some support for development of a sector - specific occupational constituency based on the existence of a hierarchy of local authority tourism management positions, which create the opportunity for systematic career progression in this area through a set of sequential or lateral job changes. At the same time, it is worth emphasising that a substantial part of the activity undertaken by local authority tourism managers involves working with other groups with an interest in tourism, such as the providers of attractions. Consequently, local authority tourism management employees

may gain substantial knowledge and understanding of these other areas. Widening the knowledge base in this way raises the possibility that career moves could also take place between these groupings, the experience gained in one area being of value when the employee moves into another.

The extent to which these possible patterns are realised depends partly on the actions of local authority managers in determining the basis on which they will recruit individuals to positions in tourism management. The critical issue here is how far tourism management positions are being regarded as reserved for those with particular portfolios of skills, qualification or experience. The evidence reviewed here gives only a limited amount of support for the development of occupational crystallisation in this area.

There is evidence to suggest that the possession of formal qualifications in tourism may be becoming of increasing importance in recruiting individuals to local authority tourism. Although specified as essential or desirable in only around an eighth of the advertisements studied, interviews with several heads of tourism suggested that the possession of such qualifications would become of increasing importance in the future and, indeed, are already becoming so. The fact that neither a particular level nor discipline of qualification was widely required is also significant. In Chapter 2. it was suggested that crystallisation of a tourism management occupation might be inhibited by the recruitment of individuals from other occupational areas related to aspects of tourism management - e.g. those with a planning portfolio to development functions, those with a marketing portfolio to promotion functions, and so on.

The evidence on required or preferred qualifications gives little support to this idea. Local authority tourism management involves working in a range of related activities which may bring together aspects of planning, marketing, public relations, and so on, but with a specific focus on tourism.

There is thus some evidence of the process of accretion and melding which, it was suggested in Chapter 1., was one of the principal ways in which occupational crystallisation may take place. But insofar as this is happening, it does not appear to be through the large-scale recruitment of those with formal qualifications in these areas. Qualifications are important in shaping access to many local authority tourism management positions, but it appears that it is often the possession of any higher level qualification as such which is important, rather than a qualification in a particular discipline or area.

This impression is reinforced by an examination of the role of work experience in recruitment and selection. Here though, there is somewhat stronger evidence for the importance of tourism specific portfolios, in that around a quarter of jobs saw tourism experience as being essential or desirable - predominantly the former. The proportion of jobs for which such a requirement existed is enough to point to the existence of some kind of tourism-based occupational labour market. The evidence is however, not easy to interpret, as experience in local authorities or the public sector is not explicitly required in many advertisements, but the location of such work in the public sector may give rise to the expectation that such experience is relevant. However, the fact that only a minority of job advertisements specifically mentioned experience in tourism suggests that this occupational labour market, while having some existence, is comparatively weakly developed.

What does seem apparent, however, is that there is relatively little predisposition to fill local authority tourism functions with local authority careerists. This possibility was raised in Chapter 2., where it was suggested that these positions might be part of a local authority Sector Internal Labour Market. The evidence suggests that this is unlikely. Local authority experience was mentioned in only a small minority of advertisements, and interviews with heads of tourism suggested a definite predisposition against recruiting from this source, either internally or externally. Strikingly, this

was true even among managers who themselves had pursued lengthy careers within local authorities. On the whole, experience in tourism more generally was seen as significantly more relevant than experience in local authorities. A clearer view of what types of labour markets may be emerging should come from the analysis of the career histories which indicate the development of such markets which are actually occurring.

As with qualifications, the evidence on work experience requirements gives only limited support to the idea that tourism management jobs are recruited from within other occupational labour markets. There is some evidence to suggest that work experience in leisure or planning may be deemed relevant for particular positions, but this is less widespread than the perceived desirability of work experience in tourism. The fact that experience of these varied kinds are specified in 20% of cases may, however, give some support for the existence of processes of accretion and melding, whereby elements of other occupations are drawn into the sphere of tourism management. However, it is striking that there is little overt drawing upon those with backgrounds in marketing and public relations, given the centrality of these to the tourism promotion function in particular.

The overall picture which emerges, therefore, is by no means a clear one. While there is some evidence that tourism qualifications and (especially) experience may be a particular route of entry in local authority tourism management positions, there is by no means a fully developed occupational labour market. Some elements of accretion and melding may be taking place, but again this is by no means a universal process. An examination of the skills deemed essential for those entering tourism management jobs suggests that it is generic managerial and communication skills, together with certain personal characteristics, which are valued more highly than qualifications and work experience in particular areas.

In summary, there is evidence to suggest that a measure of occupational crystallisation may be taking place around the area of tourism management. There are also some grounds for believing that this process may be strengthened in the future, as managers come to see formal qualifications in tourism as an increasingly important factor in deciding who to appoint. For the present, however, it appears that local authority managers continue to draw their employees from a range of backgrounds, in terms of both qualification and work experience. While tourism qualifications and experience are valued in a number of cases, the position is far from one in which tourism management positions are reserved for those with a particular portfolio of qualifications and experience. Generic skills, and general management experience, will often count for more than a specific educational or work background in the area of tourism. Some elements of crystallisation are present, but by no means in a fully developed form.

It is important, however, to remember that the data here only tells us what local authority managers tell us that they want. What they actually get will be shaped also by the characteristics of those who put themselves forward for positions in local authority tourism management. In principle, it is possible that an authority seeking to fill a tourism management position might not require tourism qualifications or experience, but that those who apply for the position might largely be drawn from those with tourism specific portfolios of skills and qualifications. The extent to which a distinct occupational constituency forms is shaped not only by the activity of employers, but also that of actual and potential employees. It is the activities of these employees to which the next chapter is addressed.

CHAPTER 6.

LOCAL AUTHORITY TOURISM MANAGEMENT AND OCCUPATIONAL CRYSTALLISATION: THE ROLE OF EMPLOYEES

1. Introduction

In Chapter 1. it was argued that employees could play an important role in the process of occupational crystallisation through their decisions on occupational choice, their career orientations and their development of a distinct sense of occupational identity. These are, of course, significantly constrained by the structural characteristics of the situations in which actual and potential employees are placed. Career patterns are shaped by the interplay between individuals' career choices and orientations and the labour market structures within which these are located. The more firmly crystallised an occupation is, the more likely it is that those occupying particular positions will display certain types of career pattern, especially those described by Watts as sequential, lateral or regressive. This is partly because the creation of a particular occupational jurisdiction will give those possessing certain types of qualification and experience advantages in access to certain positions. It must, however, be borne in mind that even where individuals have the possibility of access to such opportunities they may not choose to take advantage of it. As we have noted, career movements often reflect chance events and circumstances rather than the strategic pursuit of a clearly-defined career orientation. As a consequence of these chance events and circumstances, as well as a result of conscious choice, individuals may become involved in the types of movement which Watts describes as augmenting, spiralist and recycling.

In the previous chapter it was suggested that there was some prima facie evidence for the existence of a tourism management occupational labour market, but that this was not a strongly developed market, in the sense of entry to tourism management positions being restricted to those within that labour market. Although employers occasionally gave preference to those with tourism qualifications and experience, they did not do so to such an extent that full crystallisation could be considered to be taking place.

However, as was discussed at the end of the previous chapter, employers' choices are themselves constrained by the characteristics of those who put themselves forward for employment. Because the present study has gathered data only from those actually recruited into tourism management functions, it is not possible to explore the characteristics of all potential applicants for such employment. It is, however, possible to explore to what extent in practice those in tourism management functions are people who have pursued or are pursuing occupational careers oriented to tourism. Furthermore, by an examination of their identification with their work, their future plans and their attitude to occupational associations, it is possible to explore how far those employed in local authority tourism management feel themselves to have a distinct sense of occupational identity and, if they do, what the nature of that identity is.

2. Qualifications

In the preceding chapter we have seen that many employers place a value on formal qualifications in selecting staff, but that there is considerable variation in the discipline and level of the preferred qualification. At one extreme there are those for whom a tourism qualification is at least a desirable characteristic of potential employees. At the other are those for whom a qualification of a particular level is seen as desirable, but it is the possession of the qualification (and the implied level of competence) that is important, rather than its discipline and content. In between these two

extremes lie those employers for whom a 'relevant' (but unspecified) qualification is seen as desirable.

The objective of this section is to explore what qualifications local authority tourism management employees actually possess. This will help to establish the extent to which tourism management employees in practice display a distinct qualification profile. It is important also to remember that individuals may acquire qualifications after they have entered particular jobs, and that such acquisition may reflect their commitment to remaining and progressing within a particular field, or alternatively their desire to relocate into another area. Thus, when individuals acquired qualifications, as well as the nature of the qualifications themselves, is of importance. Having said that, the great majority of the tourism management employees studied (some 80%) had in fact acquired all their formal qualifications prior to their initial entry to the labour market.

78% of the sample (21 individuals) had acquired post-secondary qualifications of diploma level or above. A number of individuals (7) had acquired more than one such qualification. As might be anticipated, there was an association between age and qualification acquisition. All but one of the six respondents without post-secondary qualifications were aged 40 or above, and the youngest employee in this group was at the time of the interview about to embark on a Diploma in Management. Table 16 shows the distribution of qualifications by subject area in the group studied.

Something which strikes one immediately is that around a quarter of respondents possessed formal qualifications in tourism. Only one possessed an undergraduate degree, two had postgraduate diplomas in tourism, and four had completed BTEC HNDs in Business and Finance with Tourism. All but one of those with formal qualifications in tourism were aged under 40, reflecting the more recent growth of such qualifications. Indeed, the one

respondent with an undergraduate degree had graduated in the first cohort of students to undertake such qualifications.

While only a minority of respondents possessed formal qualifications in tourism, it is a quite substantial minority. Furthermore, those who

Table 16. Qualifications of employees : discipline / subject; level of qualification and age

Subject	First degree				Postgraduate Diplomas/Higher Degrees				Diploma				Total				
	<30	- 40	-50	50+	<30	- 40	-50	50+	<30	- 40	-50	50+	<30	- 40	-50	50+	T
Tourism	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	2	-	-	3	3	1	-	7
Geography		2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Economics		2	-	-	-	1	-		-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3
Languages	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Business	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Marketing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	3
Catering	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	2
Estate mgt	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	2
History	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Science	-		1	-	-	-	1		-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Total	2	6	2	-	-	3	2	-	9	4	-	-	5	11	4	-	28
None	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	4	1	6

Source : Interviewees' C.V.'s.

possessed formal qualifications in other fields were mainly in academic areas which we have come to regard as being 'relevant' to tourism. Four respondents had degrees in geography or economics (one of the latter possessing both a first and a higher degree, and one of the former having followed it with a postgraduate diploma in tourism). As was indicated in Chapter 2. the academic study of tourism has its antecedents in geography, while in Chapter 4. it was shown that these are the generic areas which are most commonly taught with their applications to tourism in undergraduate degree programmes. Other respondents had qualifications in business, marketing or languages which are again subjects commonly included in

tourism degrees. The ways in which skills in these areas are often utilised in tourism management work, or may be regarded as 'relevant' or 'suitable' in selection processes, have been indicated in the previous chapter.

Furthermore, two respondents had diploma level qualifications in catering, which has strong links with tourism. Indeed, one respondent (H1) with an HND in catering indicated that he might have taken a tourism qualification had it been in existence when he was studying.

Although those with formal tourism qualifications were in a minority, the great majority of those with qualifications held them in disciplines and areas which had some relationship to tourism or to tourism management activities. Only a small minority had qualifications in disciplines which may have appeared to have no direct relation to the tourism industry. Even here there might in some cases be scope for debate as to their relevance. For example, a degree in history might not, at first sight, seem a relevant qualification. It might, however, be treated as one if an individual was being recruited to an authority whose tourism strategy centred on its role as a place of historic interest. Indeed, the two respondents with history based degrees both work in the same historic city.

It is, however, notable (but not surprising, given the recency of many vocationally based degrees) that the minority who had qualifications whose relevance to tourism was not immediately apparent (history, science, estate management) were almost all graduates, whereas qualifications held in more directly relevant areas were often at sub-degree level. It is, again, interesting, but not unexpected, that the graduates in these areas tended to be in the somewhat older age groups, whereas those with vocationally relevant diploma level qualifications were heavily concentrated in the under-30 age group. The possible significance of these patterns may become clearer if we turn to examine the career histories of respondents.

3. Career Choice and Career Patterns

The objective of the present section is to explore the routes through which individuals entered local authority tourism management, and the factors shaping career choice and job mobility. The analysis begins with an examination of the factors shaping the point of initial entry to the labour market. It will then move on to examine how far respondents possessed a portfolio of work experience which could be regarded as tourism-specific in nature. In analysing these issues use will be made of data derived from respondents' questionnaires and interviews. In a number of cases, the vignette technique will be used as a means of summarising the career histories of particular individuals to illustrate in greater detail the processes at work.

The point and level of entry to employment following full-time education is influenced by a number of factors, such as family origins, educational experience and achievement, and available opportunities (Roberts 1981:281-290). According to many respondents, parental influence had a significant impact on career entry, either directly or through more indirect processes. For some individuals this may have led to entry to jobs which they would not otherwise have chosen. For example, Interviewee C2 had to enter the family business rather than continue with his studies:

'I would have preferred to stay on at school. I was Head Boy at School and my Headmaster would have preferred me to continue because at that time they were introducing GCE's . . . My parents decided that I should go into the family type-setting and printing business. I probably would have leaned towards English and journalism.'

In the case of Interviewee C3 it was her gender which shaped her parents' attitudes. Taking the view that she would 'only be working as a secretary', her parents saw no point in her continuing in education:

I'd like to have gone on to further education, but one was pushed that we had to go out to work - that's the end of the story. My brother went to university. It was very much that there is no point in your carrying on if you are going to work.

For both of these interviewees, it was a desire to escape the destinations imposed by these earlier constraints which led them eventually into tourism. In Interviewee C2's case, his involvement in the printing of tourism brochures was a significant factor in propelling him toward a career in this area, after a period of work abroad. Interviewee C3 underwent a more protracted occupational migration. As her parents had assumed (and indeed helped to determine) she did indeed start her working life as a secretary, but pursued an upward path of progression which led to her involvement in managing a leisure centre (of which she was a partner) for several years before moving into the area of business tourism.

In other cases parental influence may take the form of actively discouraging entry to a particular area of work. Following her acquisition of a language degree Interviewee F3 had wanted to become a teacher. However, she had been dissuaded by her parents (both themselves teachers), and therefore followed her boyfriend abroad, taking a temporary job with a tour operator in France, and thereby making her initial entry to tourism work. (Indeed, six of the 27 respondents had experience of working abroad at an early stage in their careers, which may possibly indicate some connection between this and an interest in tourism work.)

In the case of other respondents, family influence was more positive. Interviewee A3, for instance, came from a family which ran a hotel business

and felt that this had provided her with both an early insight into this facet of tourism and an interest in working in this area.

For some interviewees it was their actual experience of education which had first aroused their interest in working in tourism. Interviewee G1 had done an economics-based degree, followed by a postgraduate diploma in tourism which confirmed in his own mind his likely career intentions :

‘I took most of the international options. I decided I wanted to go into tourism during the summer holidays of the second year. I had a year to go, and I had to decide what I was going to do, so I worked out what I enjoyed - which is the wrong answer to give in any interview ! If you enjoy the whole nature of travel and tourism, it’s logical to want to go into it. I took the decision to take the year off after University to do the postgrad course in tourism, if I could get on to it. Then the idea was to go and work for a travel company and outbound tourism because they were the only people I knew of who were putting together a decent graduate entry scheme.’

In this case we see an individual developing a coherent career strategy at an early stage, influenced by what interested them in their academic studies. Not everyone has such a clear idea of either what work they want to do, nor do they have a realistic understanding of what the work entails. Interviewee A2 (the one tourism graduate among the employees) is also a respondent whose entry into the tourism industry occurred at an early stage, but her idea of what tourism involved was less clear-cut. She initially considered gaining a qualification in catering, but she opted for tourism as:

‘Tourism seemed more interesting at the time, because it had more width to it. Catering was more narrow, a bit channelled, whereas with tourism you did a range of things - economics, law

and different things. When I first started (the course) - to be honest I think it's the same for everybody - you think of the glamour, you get to go to all these places. In the first year everybody was expecting it not to be careers as such, but to become marketing directors jetting off around the world - very glamorous. By the second year we were beginning to realise that it was not quite like that. I did my placement in a tourist board and found it very interesting, particularly marketing. This dictated my fourth year marketing option and gained me exemption from all but the case study of Chartered Institute of Marketing Diploma. It was a useful thing to do.'

Somewhat similarly, Interviewee A4 had opted to do the tourism option on their BTEC Business and Finance Diploma because :

'I thought it would be the most fun, I thought it would be the most interesting course, actually. . . I never thought, 'right, I'm going into tourism'. I did the option because it was an interesting option, I enjoyed it . . .If I hadn't done my BTEC course, then I wouldn't have got the job, and I think it's important to have an HND or degree behind you.'

The examples of Interviewees G1, A2 and A4 illustrate the role that courses and work experience may play in crystallising career aspirations. In contrast, for some other individuals the acquisition of post-experience formal qualifications was a way of realising perhaps latent career aspirations, prompted by their dissatisfaction with their existing situation. Both Interviewees C2 and C4 used strategies of this kind. Interviewee C4, for example, faced the prospect of remaining in the clerical/administrative structure of local authorities, and sought alternative possibilities:

‘I wanted to go into tour operating, I felt. I wasn’t sure, but I thought I probably would, and so I thought that I did this course (BTEC), that as it’s a professional qualification, it will give me a good grounding in all aspects of tourism. So I didn’t have to decide immediately which particular sector I wanted to go into.’

In fact, Interviewee C4 is an interesting example of how friends can influence course choice because, as he explains, this fairly radical move of leaving his administrative job to do a full-time BTEC in Business Studies and Tourism, was prompted by discussions with a friend as well as dissatisfaction with his work :

‘A friend of mine had got on the tourism course at Bournemouth and up until that time I'd never even heard of tourism. I didn't even know that you could do any courses in tourism at all. In the meantime, while I had been working for the county council, they had sent me on a day release to do an ONC in public administration, so that got me back into academic thinking again and I really enjoyed that because I'd hated the sixth form but did quite well in the ONC ... It was a bit of a gamble but it was the best thing I ever did’

Individuals may therefore arrive at employment in tourism management by very different routes, from those who decide to go into tourism at an early stage, to those who move into it via employment in other areas. The question therefore arises as to how far individuals currently in tourism management positions possess a tourism-specific work experience portfolio. An initial indication of the diversity of these routes may be gained by examining the immediate point of origin of those in the sample of interviewees - i.e. what areas were they employed in prior to their present job. Data on this is presented in Table 17.

Table 17. Areas of employment from which respondents were recruited to present position

Areas of employment from which interviewees recruited	<30	31 - 40	41 - 50	50+	Total 27	%
Local authority tourism	1	5	4	-	10	37
Local authority non-tourism	1	-	2	-	3	11
Other public sector tourism	1	1	-	1	3	11
Other public sector non-tourism	-	-	1	-	1	4
Private sector tourism	1	2	-	-	3	11
Private sector non-tourism	1	1	3	-	5	18.5
None	2	-	-	-	2	7.5
Total	7	9	10	1	27	100

Source : Respondents' C.V.'s augmented from interview data

Table 17. shows that just over a third of respondents (37%) had been previously employed in local authority tourism, and a further 22% in other areas of tourism, either public or private sector. If we exclude the two respondents who had no previous full-time or permanent employment, 52% of the sample had come straight from jobs in public sector tourism, and 64% from tourism more generally. Only a small number of respondents (3, if we exclude the previously non-employed) had immediately prior jobs in other local authority functions. This is of interest, and is consistent with the employer views discussed in Chapter 5, which suggested that local authority employment was not necessarily regarded as being a suitable background for working in local authority tourism management.

These data give some support to the idea of a tourism management labour market, and especially to the idea of a more specific labour market focused around public sector tourism. It does not, however, tell us how individuals moved into such labour markets, nor the processes of job transition undertaken as a means of entering such labour markets. Some indications of this have been provided by the individual cases outlined earlier, but there is clearly need for a more systematic analysis of the career paths of the respondents as a whole.

To carry out such an analysis, the detailed career histories of respondents were summarised in two ways. Firstly, the sequence of job moves undertaken by respondents was analysed using Watt's six-fold typology. Secondly, an analysis was made of the time spent, and number of individual positions occupied, in four broad categories of employment - in local authority tourism, in tourism employment outside local authorities, in local authorities in non-tourism employment, and in jobs which were based in neither local authorities nor tourism. These classifications are outlined in full in Appendices 8 and 9 respectively.

For the present, analysis will focus primarily on the second of these two classifications, while the analysis based on Watts' typology of job moves will be used in the discussion of particular career patterns. This enables us to identify the extent to which respondents' career histories can be characterised as demonstrating the presence of a tourism-specific portfolio of work experience. Examination of these career histories reveals a diversity of patterns; in order to make it more manageable respondents have been divided into two categories. On the one hand there are those whose career histories display a clear predominance of tourism-specific activity. For analytical purposes this has been defined as having spent 70% or more of the total career in tourism-related activities. On the other hand, there are those whose career histories demonstrate a more diverse portfolio of work activities.

In accordance with the criterion outlined above fourteen of the respondents had career histories which could be described as tourism-specific. The details of their career histories are summarised in Table 18. From Table 18 it can be seen that only four respondents have spent the whole of their working life in local authority tourism management. Furthermore, two of these (Interviewees A2 and A3) are at the beginning of their careers and have only spent two and three years respectively in employment.

Table 18. Summary of selected career history details for those with tourism-specific work experience

EMP	Local Authority Tourism	Tourism - Non-Local Authority	Local Authority Non-tourism	Non-Local Authority Non-tourism	T o t a l	Occupational route into tourism management
	Yrs / % total	Yrs / % total	Yrs / % total	Yrs / % total	l	
A2	2 100%				2	Tourism only
A3	3 100%				3	Tourism only
A4	5 83%			1 17%	6	Press /PR
C2	20,4 jobs 74%			7,2 jobs 26%	27	Printing; publishing
C4	6 50%	4,4 jobs 33%	2 17%		12	Clerical
D2	17,3 jobs 100%				17	Secretarial
D3	6,3 jobs 75%		2,2 jobs 25%		8	Historic research
E1	19,5 jobs 95%			1 5%	20	Hotel management
F3	3 43%	2 29%		2,2 jobs 29%	7	Travel; marketing
G1	4,2 jobs 36%	7,4 jobs 64%			11	Tourism only
H1	14,3 jobs 78%	4,2 jobs 22%			18	Tourism only
H3	6,3 jobs 100%				6	Tourism only
H4	12,3 job 70%		8,2 jobs 30%		20	Housing publicity
I1	15,2 jobs 54%	6 21%		9,3 jobs 25%	28	Removals, travel;
Emp = Employee. Total = Total number of years at work. Yrs = years. % total = % of total time at work						

Source : Interviewees' interviews and CVs.

A further two respondents (Interviewees G1 and H1) have spent their working lives exclusively in tourism-related work. In the case of G1 this has been in predominantly non-local authority positions, while H1 has spent the bulk of his working life in local authority tourism. Thus, of the fourteen respondents who can be characterised as having tourism-specific portfolios, only six have held employment exclusively in the tourism area. Taken together with the fact that a further 13 respondents had spent less than 70% of their time in tourism work, this would suggest that careers exclusively in tourism management, and especially in local authority tourism management, have been relatively uncommon.

However, it is important to note that nine of these fourteen respondents have held two or more positions in local authority tourism, suggesting that

once individuals have moved into this area there is a tendency to remain within it, and to migrate from one position to another, either within or between authorities. Such migrations provide some support to the notion of a sector occupational labour market for tourism management specialists within local authorities. The fact that five respondents have moved into this area from tourism work outside local authorities might also be taken to give some support for the existence of a wider tourism management occupational labour market. However, three of these five have in fact moved into local authority employment from work in tourist boards, which are also public sector organisations (Interviewee H1 has worked in a tourist board but prior to several career moves within local authority tourism). The other two had previously worked in the travel industry. The evidence from this group of respondents therefore gives more support for the existence of a public sector tourism management labour market than it does for a tourism management labour market of wider coverage.

In the case of those with some work experience outside tourism, five had prior work histories in non-local authority work, while three had histories of working in the local authority sector. Those coming from outside both tourism and local authorities displayed diverse prior career histories, but often in areas that could be seen as related to aspects of local authority tourism work. Thus, for example, Interviewees A4 and F3 had prior experience in areas relevant to tourism promotion - public relations and marketing respectively - while Interviewee E1 had spent a small part of his career in hotel management.

To give a more detailed understanding of the kind of career transitions involved here, brief vignettes are presented of the careers of three individuals. Interviewee D2 exemplifies the pattern of someone who has progressed within the tourism function of a single local authority. She graduated with a degree in history and languages, and intended to become an interpreter. However, having taken a full-time course for bilingual

secretaries, she moved to D to join her husband-to-be, and joined the tourism department as it was seeking someone with language skills to carry out secretarial work. From this position she gradually became involved with the work of the Tourist Information Centre, and after four years was appointed as its assistant manager. A further three years later she became its manager. Now in her late thirties, she has held this post for ten years. D2's career corresponds to that which one would find in an occupational internal labour market centred on a single employing organisation, with a clear pattern of sequential moves. Her tourism specific skills and knowledge have been acquired solely within the authority. However, it would appear probable that these skills and knowledge are transferable to other local authorities, and her continuing employment within a single authority has been due to the family commitments which brought her to D in the first instance.

In other circumstances, it is possible that D2 might have entered the wider sectoral occupational labour market for which we have suggested there is some evidence. The kind of career pattern operating in this SOLM is indicated by the career history of Interviewee H1. Now in his early forties, H1 is Head of Tourism in a coastal (but non-resort) authority. He originally qualified in catering, and worked for a brief period in a restaurant before relocating to be nearer his girlfriend, when he took a clerical job with a tourist board. This experience fired his enthusiasm for tourism work, and he subsequently moved to a neighbouring board as an assistant tourism officer. He then moved into local authority tourism in a small resort, moving soon afterwards to a larger authority as a tourism manager. During this period he developed a small travel activity based on short 'theme' breaks for the authority. He spent twelve years there before recently moving to Authority H as its new Head of Tourism.

Further evidence of the existence of a SOLM comes from the career histories of Interviewees E1 and H3. Interviewee E1 is in many ways quite different

from H1 in that he is a graduate with postgraduate tourism qualifications, but he shares with him the experience of working in the same 'larger authority'. Interviewee E1 preceded him here and on to Authority H before moving on to Authority E. Interviewee H3 was recruited by H1 whilst he was at the 'larger authority' and she later followed him to Authority H. All three interviewees' career movements described here are generally of the sequential kind.

The careers of Interviewees H1 and E1 and H3 illustrate the way in which tourism-specific skills and experience may be acquired largely through work within a particular sector. Lacking any qualifications in the area, Interviewee H1 fell into tourism-related work almost by accident, but systematically acquired his skills, knowledge and experience by generally sequential movement between a number of public sector tourism organisations. It will be remembered that Doeringer and Piore's original model of the internal labour market stressed the importance of firm-specific skills. What we are witnessing is an indication of the analogous process of the acquisition of sector-specific skills through movement between organisations within a common sector, as suggested by the concept of a sector occupational labour market.

The final vignette to be presented, of those with tourism-specific portfolios, is that of Interviewee C4, one of three to have entered local authority tourism management from private sector tourism. Interestingly, Interviewee C4 is the only one of the fourteen to have worked in both non-local authority tourism work and in local authorities in a non-tourism capacity. Now in his mid-thirties, he is a tourism manager in a large non-resort coastal authority. Having originally worked in local authorities in a trainee clerical assistant position, as we mentioned in the last section, his dissatisfaction with this work led him to undertake a full-time BTEC in Business Studies and Tourism. He then joined a travel company on the passenger relations side of its work, but found this very technical and boring,

and so moved laterally, to work for three small tour operators in rapid succession over four years by sequential moves, eventually becoming a tour sales manager - testimony to the transient nature of tour operations companies rather than his own desire to move. Although uncertain about returning to local authority employment, he was persuaded to join Authority C's tourism department, with responsibility for managing the commercial travel and tour aspect of the authority's work, and liaising with private operators in this area.

Interviewee C4's career history, while not typical of these respondents, exhibits several interesting features. Firstly, his movement into a new area of employment via the acquisition of new qualifications is a clear example of Watts' recycling job move. Secondly, although movement from private to public sector tourism management appears to be uncommon, the case of C4 indicates the basis on which such moves may occur. His recruitment to local authority tourism management in Authority C reflects his prior experience in the travel industry, and therefore his presumed capacity to carry out related functions in the authority, in particular to liaise with private sector operators in this area which is the core activity of his present work.

So far attention has been focused on the fourteen respondents whose work experience portfolios could be described as tourism-specific, in that they had clearly spent the major part of their careers in tourism work. The remaining thirteen had what we may call diverse work experience portfolios, in that tourism had not dominated their careers. The work histories of these respondents are summarised in Table 19.

What is immediately apparent here is that for the great majority of these respondents time spent in tourism-related work has generally constituted a comparatively small proportion of their work history to date. The (arguably somewhat strict) definition of a tourism-specific portfolio as involving

Table 19. Selected career history details of those with diverse work experience

EMP	Local Authority Tourism Yrs / % total	Tourism - Non-Local Authority Yrs / % total	Local Authority Non-tourism Yrs / % total	Non-Local Authority Non-tourism Yrs / % total	T o t a l	Occupational route into tourism management
A1	6 21%			22,4 jobs 79%	28	Marketing
B1	2 7%		13,4 jobs 50%	11,4 jobs 43%	26	Sport; recreation; sports management; leisure
B2	13 26%	6,2 jobs 12%		31,4 jobs 62%	50	Mining, engineer support
B3	2 40%		2 40%	1 20%	5	Arts; leisure
B4	3,2 jobs 60%			2,2 jobs 40%	5	Tourism; languages
C1	5,2 jobs 22%			18,6 jobs 78%	23	Science research; production management; marketing
C3	5 19%			22,7 jobs 81%	27	Secretarial; PA; leisure
C5	4 36%			7,5 jobs 64%	11	Sales/marketing; advertising
D1	7,4 jobs 25%		20,11 jobs 71%	1 4%	28	Admin; Admin/PR; PR/ marketing; econ dev.; marketing
D4	1 12%	2,2 jobs 25%		5,2 jobs 63%	8	Estate agency; leisure; tourism, arts
F1	9,2 jobs 35%		17,5 jobs 65%		26	Valuation; surveyor; econ. dev;
F2	6 20%		20,5 jobs 80%		26	Secretarial, Admin
H2	1 12%	1,2 jobs 13%		6,6 jobs 75%	8	hotel mgt.; travel
EMP = Employee. Total = Total number of years at work. Yrs = years. % total = % of total time at work						

Source : Interviewees' interviews and CVs.

70%+ of the career spent in tourism means that those defined as having diverse portfolios could in principle have spent well over half of their time in this area. In fact only one respondent (B4) in this group has spent over half of their time in the tourism area, and seven of the thirteen have spent twenty-five percent or less of their careers in tourism. As with those with tourism-specific portfolios, it is striking that the tourism-related employment is largely confined to local authorities, only two of the thirteen having engaged in tourism work elsewhere. (Interviewee B2 came from a regional tourist board, and Interviewee H2 from a travel agent).

In contrast to those with tourism-specific portfolios, entry to local authority tourism management in this group is more commonly found from other

local authority functions, five of the thirteen having had prior work in this sector. It is here that a possible link between local authority tourism and other related local authority functions becomes apparent. Of these five respondents, two had previously worked in the leisure / recreation or arts area, and two had been involved in economic development. The fifth respondent (D1) had also been involved in marketing and public relations work. It is notable, however, that three of these five also had experience of working in the private sector, Interviewees B1 and D4 for periods of eleven years and five years respectively. Only one respondent with a local authority non-tourism background (F2) had a career history confined to general local authority administrative work. Turning to those with backgrounds in private sector non-tourism work, it is striking that all but two of the thirteen respondents with diverse portfolios had some experience of this, with experience in marketing, leisure and recreation being especially common.

It is obviously a tautology to say that those with diverse work experience portfolios display a diversity of routes into local authority tourism management. This makes the use of vignettes particularly problematic. However, some flavour of the kinds of movement involved in the careers of these respondents may be given by looking at four particular career histories.

Interviewee F1 is head of tourism in a county authority with responsibility also for wider issues of economic development. Although he wished to become a planner, his lack of A level Geography led him to take a degree in estate management. Through contact with a friend who worked for a London borough in the land valuation function he entered that authority as an assistant valuer. Five years' later, on a family visit, a friend informed him of a post involving town centre development in Authority F. He successfully applied for promotion to this post and has remained with the authority for 22 years. Over the years he moved into a series of more senior positions, until with the reorganisation of the Chief Executive's department

he was given responsibility for tourism alongside more general economic development.

Interviewee F1 has pursued a career largely made up of sequential job moves, but his movement into tourism management represents a spiralist move into a related area. Interviewee F1 himself is convinced that his movement into tourism management was largely accidental, resulting from a conjunction of his past economic development interests and the changing structure of his employing organisation. It was pointed out in Chapter 1 that other research has indicated the way in which career moves often have a chance or fortuitous character, and this was the declared experience of many of those in this group, who commonly recalled that they just 'fell into tourism' almost by chance.

F1's history is one of movement in a well-established local authority sector occupational labour market, which has eventually brought him by a sideways shift into the area of tourism management. As we have seen, however, local authority backgrounds are less common in this group than backgrounds in private sector work which may facilitate movement into tourism management functions. This is exemplified by Interviewee C1, who is in his late forties and heads a department in a coastal authority. A Chemistry graduate, for the first eighteen years of his career he was employed by a film manufacturing company, initially as a research chemist. He subsequently moved into production management before deciding that he would prefer the challenge of working within the company's market research section, where he progressed to launching new products for the company. Around his fortieth birthday he decided to seek a new challenge and, drawing upon his acquired marketing skills, he moved to Authority C as a marketing officer. The close relationship of marketing and tourism in that authority led to his subsequent move to head of department with responsibility for tourism and marketing. (Shortly after being interviewed

C1 moved again to a job with a Training and Enterprise Council involving issues of both tourism and economic development.)

Interviewee C1's career illustrates how the acquisition of generic skills in a particular area may facilitate movement into tourism management without a background in this area. In Interviewee C1's case these skills related to both marketing and more general managerial experience. At a lower level than head of function, individuals may migrate into tourism management from the private sector via spiralist or augmenting moves, particularly from related areas. Interviewee H2's career history exemplifies such a migration. As she enjoyed English, her initial career ideas focused on journalism. Having decided that university was not for her she embarked on a two year full-time BTEC HND in Catering. In doing so she was following both her father's advice and a family tradition of working in the catering industry. In the five year period after leaving college she was employed in four large London hotels in various positions, engaging in both sequential and lateral moves before augmenting her skills by taking a series of 'Training the Trainer' courses to facilitate her progression to the position of training manager. She then moved out of London following changes in her personal life. Making a lateral move, she was employed for a year in each of two hotels in managerial positions. By this time she had become dissatisfied with conditions of work, and took a regressive move to work as a supervisor in a travel agency. She applied for her current job in Authority H encouraged by her former 'boss' who had also applied, but unsuccessfully.

Interviewee H2's wide ranging managerial experience in the hotel business, together with knowledge and skills acquired in an albeit limited experience in the travel industry was presumed, not unreasonably, to equip her for her present post - managing the advance hotel reservations system, and organising day tours and trips, together with basic marketing activities. The application of knowledge and skills acquired in private sector areas which are related to tourism is not uncommon among these respondents. In

particular, three individuals have a background of leisure/sports/arts area, some of which is in the private sector.

Interviewee B1, who is in his late forties and is now head of tourism and leisure in an historic city, exemplifies such a migration pattern. His early interest in sport led him to qualify and work as a sports teacher where he worked for four years. As he did not want to stay in teaching he left (with the intention of moving) into recreation management via a full-time Diploma in Management Studies specialising in the area - a recycling move in Watts' term. His post-experience diploma acted as a springboard to a change of occupations by incremental migration. Subsequently, he became a recreation development officer in a football club - an augmenting career move into leisure management. His next job involved a spiralist move to an assistant manager's post at a sport centre. He moved sequentially, first as a recreation development officer in a local authority, and then as an assistant director of recreation and amenities. The next step was a lateral move working to develop sport in liaison with local authorities. He then returned to local authority employment as a recreation officer in Authority B, assuming the tourism and leisure mantle on internal reorganisation.

Looking at all of the twenty seven respondents together - i.e. those both with and without tourism-specific work histories - it is apparent that there is no one route into local authority tourism management, but rather a diverse range of routes of entry. There is certainly little evidence to suggest the strong development of an occupational jurisdiction in which certain positions are almost exclusively reserved for those with a particular portfolio of work experience. However, there clearly are certain tendencies in this direction. The majority of respondents could be described as having tourism-specific portfolios, on the basis that over two-thirds of their careers had been spent in tourism work. Even among those who did not have this degree of career involvement, seven of the thirteen had had at least two jobs in the tourism sector. Work experience related to tourism is

overwhelmingly in the public sector with only three individuals having private sector tourism experience.

There are also indications to support the evidence from advertisements and employer interviews that local authority experience is not a particularly strong basis for entry into local authority tourism management. Only nine of the twenty seven respondents had experience of working in local authorities outside the tourism function. This was commonly, as we saw from the career histories of Interviewees B1 and F1, in related areas such as leisure, recreation or economic development. Most interestingly, a history of local authority employment in these areas was also often linked to a history of employment in the private sector, suggesting that it is the occupational area, rather than local authority involvement as such, which may be significant.

The data provide a limited amount of support for the idea that a process of accretion and melding may be taking place. In particular, a number of employees have backgrounds in marketing and public relations (in both public and private sectors), indicating that those with skills in this area may be drawn on for employment in local authority tourism management.

It must be emphasised, however, that the material analysed here provides only a picture of where people are at this stage in their careers. The majority of those interviewed were in their twenties and thirties, and therefore at a relatively early stage in their careers. We have seen some indications that once people move into local authority tourism management they are likely to remain within it, as evidenced by their tendency to have moved through several different jobs in this field. However, just as most of those in tourism management have come in with backgrounds in other areas, so younger employees in this area may subsequently choose to go elsewhere. The analysis of past career patterns therefore needs to be complemented by a consideration of future career intentions.

4. Career Intentions

Although the evidence considered above does not indicate the existence of a tightly delineated labour market in local authority tourism management, it does nonetheless suggest that a significant number of individuals may be able to pursue long-term careers in this or closely related areas. For the creation of a distinctive occupational constituency to occur, it is necessary for some degree of durability of membership to exist. That durability is shaped not only by the opportunities for career progression provided by employers, but also by the future career orientations of the individuals currently employed in the relevant area - without whom the constituency would not continue.

Interview respondents were asked about their future, focusing primarily on their next intended job transition. Such a focus seems appropriate because of the difficulties of realistically identifying plans for the more distant future. The results derived from these questions are set out in Table 20 analysed by age and gender. Differentiation by age is particularly important in this connection as both age and tenure were important shapers of individual careers. (Krecker 1994) The older and more senior the respondent is, the more likely they might be expected to have settled into a career in their present area as 'resource accumulation' becomes an important influence on career mobility (Krecker 1994).

The expectation that older employees exhibit a stronger aversion to moving is not, in fact, fully borne out by the data. While two-thirds of those in the 31 to 40 age group indicated an intention to remain in tourism work, this fell to 50% among those aged 41-50. However, it is clearly those in the youngest age group, the under 30's, who as one might expect, display the lowest level of settled commitment to tourism.

Table 20. Current ideas about future career destination stratified by gender and age and organisational position

Occupational area	Age				Male			Female			Total of 27 %	
	<30	31-40	41-50	50+	D	M	O	M	O	A		
Tourism	2	6	5	-	4	1	1	3	4		14	52
Marketing	2	2	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	2	5	18.5
Leisure	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	4
Unsure	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	7
Other	2	-	2	1	2	1	1	-	-	1	5	18.5
Total	7	9	10	1	9	2	2	4	6	4	27	100

Source : Analysis of interview data

Overall, just over half of interviewees indicated an intention to remain in tourism. One factor in this intention may be the perceived interest, and indeed excitement, of the work itself. As Interviewee A3 (one of the small minority in the youngest age group planning to remain in tourism) put it:

‘My job as it is in tourism is only two years old, it’s a very new fledgling job, but I hope I’ve made it into a sort of career within itself. It’s not a stagnant job, it changes all the time and that’s what appeals. I think that’s what is appealing about tourism generally, it’s not a static industry, it is changing all the time.’

Among somewhat older employees, who are more likely to confirm an expectation that they will remain in tourism, there is a recognition that their choices may be constrained by their past qualifications and work experience. Interviewee D3, for example, commented that:

‘The environment (in Authority D) makes it difficult to move. I would like to move upwards in marketing and PR. It may be that, having been involved in tourism or local authority PR so long, I have burned my boats, so that I have to stay, but on the other hand possibly not. I mean anything to do with marketing and promotion is of interest to me . . . It’s difficult to say (how tourism

oriented her next job would be). I would like it to be less, I would like to do work more orientated to the arts, and perhaps that might even happen in the new departmental structure.'

For others, the constraint lies less in external factors than in the investment they have built up through the acquisition of particular types of experience, and their consequent commitment to the area. Interviewee C4, for example, indicated that:

'The ideal post for me, I think, would be going into an area that was starting off tourism as a tourism manager or head of department. I like starting up new projects and I think it would be nice to set up a project exactly how I think it should be. I think I have the knowledge and experience to do that now . . . I don't want to go outside tourism, to me that would be a waste. It's an industry that I know, it's an industry that I enjoy, and so with all my career and background it would be stupid to go into anything else. I've no wish to go into anything else at all.'

There was also a recognition on the part of local authority employees that their prospects of advancement within such generally small tourism units were somewhat constrained by the limited number of posts available, especially at more senior level. This is perhaps particularly the case for those who have reached head of department level in mid-career. Asked about his aspirations for the future, Interviewee A1 commented that :

'The further up the tree you go the more difficult it gets to become a director of a tourist board, and there is little point in going to (a county post). Certainly a tourist board, but I would also like to consider private sector marketing linked to the leisure industry.'

It may be this sense of having come close to the ceiling of career opportunities in local authority or public sector tourism which accounts for

the somewhat lower evidence of continuing commitment to tourism in the 41+ age group. (64% (11) of the respondents in this group were at head of department level.)

Despite the fact that just over half of respondents saw themselves as likely to remain in tourism work, few were convinced that they would remain in local authorities. At the same time, they recognised that opportunities of interest elsewhere might be limited and, indeed, that further opportunities might arise within local authority tourism. Uncertainty as to future career moves was compounded by the unknown consequences (at the time of the interviews) of planned local government reorganisation, which could significantly alter the environment in which they were working. Again these concerns seemed particularly marked at head of department level. Interviewee H1, for example, was considering returning to the travel industry. He enjoyed running the travel activities in his previous authority and still kept in close contact with that part of the industry :

‘I want to see what comes out of the local government review. I don’t want any more responsibility. I enjoy this level of responsibility. I’m a hands-on manager, I enjoy people management as much as tourism. I don’t want to be in the situation that I was in X, where I thoroughly regretted waking up in the morning to go to work, because it’s the sort of job that to be effective at what you’re doing, you’ve really got to enjoy it. I intend to retire at 50 . . . Somehow I’ve got a yearning to get involved with the travel trade, it’s an industry which I miss the vitality of doing business, I think.’

Similarly, Interviewee I1 felt that ‘with government pressures and changes that are taking place’ a move outside local authorities might be appropriate. At the same time, like H1, he saw the most feasible change as being a return

to an area like travel, noting that '(tourism experience) is what I've got to marketable benefit'.

Among female respondents in particular there was an acknowledgement that future job moves would be influenced by the felt need to reconcile work and non-work commitments. Interviewee C3, for example, had spent twenty years in the private sector, firstly in secretarial work and then in leisure, before moving into local authority tourism work for the preceding seven years. For her, the desire not to disrupt her son's education meant that her career was likely to remain in Authority C for the foreseeable future. Her career aspirations were therefore cast very much in terms of movement within the authority's tourism management function:

'(I'd like to) move out of conferences in a couple of years, perhaps more on the tourism and economic development side. I'd quite like to do more on the local authority in a changing environment.'

Similarly, Interviewee D2 saw herself as being 'tied to Authority D' due to family circumstances. However, in the situation in which individuals have spent a long period of time in an occupation or area, there may come a time when progression is limited by a lack of formal qualification which other 'newer entrants' possess (Murphy 1986:132). Interviewee D2 now finds herself in this situation and also feels that a lack of qualifications in the marketing area is a barrier to her mobility within the organisation :

'I can't really progress at present, because I think they want people with a formal marketing qualification. The people that I report to are marketing based, and I think that I would probably have to go back to college and do some marketing qualification with a number of years' marketing experience.'

However, a large proportion of individuals are not necessarily committed to tourism management. As will be seen from Table 20., marketing was the most common alternative option mentioned by those who did not see their career as remaining within tourism. One of these had taken precisely the route suggested by Interviewee D2, as a 'new entrant', and is again influenced by family circumstances but, in this case, her husband's possible geographical mobility. Interviewee F3

'may not stay in tourism for the rest of my life. That's one of the reasons that I took (a diploma in) marketing. The principles of marketing I think you can apply to any product, and that's why if anything happens to my job, or my husband has to move, jobs in tourism are so few and far between, that it will actually give me another string to my bow. I think that I would like to end up either being a tourism officer or, if the (Regional Tourist) Board is still in existence, getting back into the Board structure, certainly at marketing manager level. I think that would be my immediate goal. Then it would depend how things developed really. I'm certainly not dissatisfied with my job at the moment. . . I think that if the competition gets fiercer you may have to look at tourism qualifications, but at the moment, in the current structure, people are still looking for experience, first and foremost, and if they have a tourism qualification as well then that's good. I don't see it as essential at the moment.'

This case illustrates well the interplay of career aspirations, career opportunities and (in the case of female respondents) family circumstances (Brannen 1987; Kreckler 1994). While aspiring to remain within public sector tourism management, F3 recognises the constraints of her situation and has mapped out an alternative set of possibilities centred around marketing - thus she has some form of 'insurance' for her future career. The acquisition of a qualification in this area can be seen as having a dual function. On the

one hand, it may act as an enhancement to a career within public sector tourism management, as Interviewee D2 suggested. On the other, it may facilitate what Watts describes as a 'spiralist' move, in which the marketing skills acquired within tourism management are applied to marketing activities in a different area.

Apart from marketing, interviewees identified no other clear set of possible alternative destinations other than remaining within tourism. Only one respondent envisaged future employment in the leisure field. For one (Interviewee B2) the immediate prospect was retirement, and two (both under 30) had no clear career aspirations. In at least one case, a younger employee (B3) was contemplating a 'recycling' move based on his leisure time interests and past work experience:

'I'm just starting to dabble back into the broadcasting side, which goes back to my initial interest. A new commercial radio station is just starting and I've been given the opportunity to get involved in that in my spare time. I'm really keen and really pleased about that. If it takes off, and I enjoy it and get opportunities back working in the media, that could possibly be the next stage of development.'

To summarise, then, around half of the interviewees envisaged their future career lying in the tourism area, a pattern which was most marked in the 31-40 age group, and least so among those aged 30 or under. The indications therefore are that those entering local authority tourism in their 20's are perhaps still at a stage where they are exploring possible career options, while older employees are more likely to have developed a settled commitment to work in the area of tourism. Even here, however, relatively few saw their future careers lying entirely within local authorities. We saw in the earlier discussion of routes of entry to local authority tourism that relatively few entrants had a background in private sector tourism.

The evidence on career aspirations suggests that movement from local authority tourism into private sector tourism may be more common. However, it must be remembered that what we have here are statements about aspirations or expectations, and not necessarily a guide to what will actually happen in practice. The main alternative to a tourism- based career favoured by nearly on fifth of respondents, was one in marketing, doubtless reflecting the strong marketing element in local authority tourism management work and the fact that two of these respondents had marketing diplomas. There is of course, a parallel here with the fact that several of those entering local authority tourism management had prior marketing experience. Interestingly, there was limited evidence of any desire to move into local authority work in different areas, confirming the earlier impression of tourism management as something relatively independent from other local authority functions.

So far the analysis of past career histories and future career intentions has been undertaken separately. However, the clearest indication of the extent to which individuals have an orientation to tourism management comes from the two sets of data combined. When this is done it becomes apparent that there is a significant linkage between past career history in tourism and an intention to remain in the function. Of those who have been identified as having a tourism- specific portfolio of work experience, some 86% indicated an intention to remain in tourism management. Looking at the data from a slightly different perspective, nearly 80% of those who indicated an intention to remain in tourism were drawn from those who possessed a tourism-specific portfolio.

What this means is that 40% of all respondents could be regarded as having a sustained commitment to working in tourism management. This is a significant finding, as it suggests that a substantial minority of those working in tourism management are, in some sense, tourism careerists, as evidenced by both their past work histories and their future career intentions. These

data therefore, offer some support for the existence of a tourism management occupational constituency. They do not, however, constitute a majority of those working in this area. This suggests that within local authority tourism management there may be at least two distinct groups - on the one hand, those who are oriented to work in this area and on the other, a more transient group who may display both a more diverse set of career histories and career orientations. This point will be further developed in Chapter 7.

5. Occupational Identity

Career aspirations give us some clues as to the extent to which individuals have developed a particular career identity, and may therefore be regarded as part of a distinctive occupational constituency. The data discussed in the preceding section suggests that a sizeable proportion - but by no means all - local authority tourism managers possess a sense of commitment to and involvement in the area of tourism, which may be regarded as indicative of such an identity. It is of interest to note, however, that that identification appears to be with the tourism industry in general, and not with local authority or public sector tourism specifically.

To explore the issue of occupational identity more directly, interviewees were asked how they described their jobs when people asked them what they did - in other words, how did they identify themselves in respect of the work they undertook. Their responses, classified into six categories, are presented in Table 21. (The term 'qualified tourism' is used to characterise those whose responses focused on tourism, but with some qualifying element other than simply one indicating local authority employment - e.g. 'tourism marketing' or 'tourism promotion').

Unsurprisingly, a majority of respondents (seventeen out of twenty seven) said that they described themselves as being employed in tourism work. If we look

at how many of those with tourism-specific portfolios identify with tourism work we find that 13 of the 14 define themselves in this way, which again confirms the commitment of these interviewees to tourism management work and strengthens any claim for the development of a distinctive occupational constituency.

Table. 21. The occupations with which tourism employees identify

OCCUPATION / FUNCTION	MALE			FEMALE			TOTAL
	D	M	O	M	O	A	
Local authority tourism	3	-	1	-	-	1	5
Tourism	-	1	-	1	2	-	4
Qualified tourism	2	-	1	2	1	2	8
Leisure	1	-	-	-	1		2
Marketing	-	-	-	1	1	1	3
PR / publicity	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Economic dev.	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Local authority	1	-	-	-	1	-	2
Other	-	1		-	-	-	1
TOTAL	9	2	2	4	6	4	27

Source : Analysis of interview data

However, as can be seen from Table 21, less than a third of respondents who see themselves as working in tourism (three of whom were at Director level) linked this to the local authority context of their employment. We have already seen that heads of function were often at pains to point out that tourism work was different from that undertaken in other parts of the local authority, these differences partly accounting for such views (Elcock 1992:105) and this was mirrored in the attitudes of a number of respondents. Interviewee B3, for example, commented:

‘In local government tourism it’s not like being a typical local government officer. Well, people have a view of a local government officer which is a thirty-seven hour person who is overpaid.’

Similarly his colleague, Interviewee B4, who also works in a tourism and leisure department, is keen to distance herself from the general activities of the local authority :

‘I’d never admit to working for the council. First and foremost, the council round here has got a very bad name - Poll Tax, services. I don’t want to be branded for not collecting people’s rubbish. So I usually say that I work for the leisure department or leisure services. Very rarely do I admit to working for the council.’

In these cases employees are anxious to distance themselves from a perception of local government as a bureaucratic organisation involved in the provision of traditional services. Only two respondents (F2 and C1) identified themselves directly and exclusively by their local authority employment. Interviewee F2 has long career history (26 years) of local authority employment, while Interviewee C1, sees himself as a corporate employee, rather than aligning himself with a particular function.

In contrast, Interviewee B4’s identification with leisure is facilitated by the fact that she works in a combined tourism and leisure department, and that aspects of her work in event management involve an overlap between tourism and leisure functions. Apart from those identifying with tourism in some form, the most common identification was with marketing per se, although this was only the case for three respondents. All three of these had marketing diplomas, and tended to see this as indicative of their primary occupational identity. As Interviewee D3 put it:

‘Asked about work I say I’m in marketing, and if they are still interested I tell them what I market. I see myself as a professional marketer, not a tourism officer.’

A further two respondents qualified their identification with tourism by saying that they worked in tourism marketing. One of these is Interviewee I1 who has already described the function as a marketing activity and is himself committed to tourism work, having worked in private sector travel before coming to Authority I. The other is Interviewee H3 who has a marketing qualification but has worked in local authority tourism for her whole career.

A second way of looking at occupational identity is to consider membership of occupational associations. We have already seen that there are at least four associations which those employed in local authority tourism management may join, each of which has a somewhat different view of the occupational constituency. In addition, membership of associations outside the tourism field may be indicative of a career orientation to work in other areas - although it may also be little more than a residual legacy of past involvement in such areas. In the preceding chapter it was noted that attitudes to occupational association membership on the part of employers was at best ambivalent. Occupational association membership is mentioned in only a tiny minority (6%) of job advertisements, but a number, but not all, of senior managers themselves appear to value such membership, as evidenced by the fact that they are themselves members.

The pattern of occupational association membership among the twenty seven interviewees is set out in Table 22. One point is immediately apparent here - a substantial number of interviewees (37%) had no association membership at all. Female employees in particular are unlikely to be association members - 70% of non-members are women. One might expect that the explanation here is that women's family commitments (and perhaps the failure of associations to arrange activities to accommodate those commitments) restrict their participation, but the interview data suggest that there are a number of reasons for such low female participation rates.

Table. 22. Membership of occupational associations stratified by gender and level

Membership of associations	Male			Female			Total	%
	D	M	O	M	O	A		
BATO	5	1	-	1	1	-	8	30
Tourism Soc.	3	1	-	-	-	-	4	15
ILAM	2	2	-	-	1	-	5	18.5
CIM	1	1	1	-	1	2	6	22
ITT	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	4
Other 1	1	1	-	1	-	1	4	15
None	2	-	1	2	4	1	10	37 *
1. 1 member of each of : Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors, Institute of Public Relations, Hotel & Catering Industry Management., and Member of the Royal Agricultural College Note : 4 directors are members of 2 or more associations. 1 male manager is a member of 4.								

Source : Respondents' C.V.'s augmented from interview data

The uncertainty over future career direction (although she has a part exemption from her CIM membership through her tourism degree) seems to deter Interviewee A2 from joining :

‘I'm not a member, I would like to carry on with the CIM because if marketing is the way I really want to go then its really important because its a recognised organisation and it seems to be respected.’

Also, as her colleague Interviewee A3 pointed out, they have access to ILAM’s literature through Interviewee A1’s membership. Job or career uncertainty is something which also inhibits Interviewee D4 from joining BATO which she would like to do, but feels that ‘it’s not a priority at the moment’ as she has only been in Authority D for a few months.

Some non-members had been members in the past, but had resigned or let their membership lapse. Interviewee F2, for example, had previously been a member of BATO. She explained :

‘I resigned from it because I resented paying the fees ... I also felt at the time, and to a degree I still do, I didn't feel that I got very

much from it. Having said that, I acknowledged, at the time, that I didn't put very much into it and you can only get out benefits if you put the effort and time into it as well. I think that the only way that membership of BATO would enhance your career is if you carved a niche for yourself in some BATO officer capacity. I cynically say those who have got time to carve a niche for themselves in that way must have got spare capacity in their professional day to day role. Maybe that's unkind.'

This suggests a somewhat instrumental view of the reasons for and benefits of association membership. In a rather similar vein, Interviewee H4 indicated that, as she felt her position was unlikely to change, she could see no benefits in joining an association. Given the existence of such attitudes, and the general lack of interest displayed in association membership in the process of selection, it is perhaps surprising that association membership is in fact as high as it is, at 63% of the respondents.

Of those who were members, the largest single group belonged to the British Association of Tourism Officers. Given that BATO exists specifically to represent this group of employees, this participation rate is hardly surprising. Even here, however, it is notable that less than a third of interviewees were BATO members, and that these were heavily concentrated (five out of eight) at Director level. Indeed, membership of almost all associations is disproportionately concentrated at this level, with seven of the nine director level respondents being members of at least one association, and four being members of two or more. The relatively low membership of BATO is not, however a new phenomenon, in that Nightingale's 1980 survey found a similar level of membership (Nightingale 1980).

For some of those who are members of BATO, it is seen to have some value as an adjunct to their CV and bears out the views of Interviewee F2. As Interviewee C2 put it:

‘We have most contact with BATO, I suppose. . . In local government tourism BATO is very useful. If you want to get your name known - and we’ve all done it - apply to go on to committees. Some people have done it and got some very good jobs without spending too many years in tourism.’

BATO membership was also seen as being of value for aspects of job performance, as well as providing links into the wider industry. Interviewee D3, who was a member of the BATO executive, explained:

‘I think it (BATO membership) is extremely helpful. Even as a non-active member you have access to important information which is going to impact on your job at some time. It is a very good access route to information from the Department of National Heritage. I’ve become involved in it because I have access to information about the industry nationally, and what the government intends to do before anybody else. I am consulted as to what my view might be, which is always nice . . . I wouldn’t be consulted if I wasn’t on the BATO National Executive. It’s very helpful in that respect, it makes you feel part of a whole industry as opposed to looking after one little block. . . To be perfectly honest, I don’t think that I have anything to learn from them (i.e. the Chartered Institute of Marketing, of which D3 was also a member and paradoxically sees herself as a marketing person), whereas BATO is a way of acquiring valuable information about the industry. I mean no offence to the Institute, but from the things that I get from them, I don’t see anything of value.’

Both Interviewees C2 and D3 thus display what we have described as a predominantly instrumental view of BATO membership, although the expression of instrumentality is rather different in each case. For Interviewee C2 it is essentially the utility of BATO membership for career advancement which is significant, whereas for Interviewee D3 it is the practical short-term benefits which are uppermost, although she also perceives a longer term career advantage. How far either case can be taken as an indicator of occupational identity or commitment is questionable. Despite her enthusiasm for BATO (and lack of enthusiasm for the CIM), D3 describes herself, as we have seen, as a local authority marketing manager rather than as someone working in tourism.

The perceived lack of utility of membership which is cited as a reason for non-membership of associations by some of the female respondents was also expressed most strongly by Interviewee B2:

‘The Tourism Society is a load of rubbish because it only meets on a Wednesday night at half past five in the middle of London. I used to be a member of the Tourism Society. I used to be a member of BATO, and when I was a member of BATO I went to two conferences, and they were like a bunch old bloody women, they were arguing - pathetic ! What they were were the old hands who were resort officers, they didn’t have many tourism officers then. . . After I left some of the younger people got in and took it over, and now BATO is much more an association than it used to be when it was run by the old hands.’

The Tourism Society had four members among the sample, with an even more marked bias towards director level membership (three of the four). This is significantly lower than was found by Nightingale in his 1980 study, some 50% of his respondents having membership of the Society. (However, as Nightingale’s study was commissioned by the Tourism Society, this may

have predisposed members to reply, and thus distorted the representativeness of his figures.) The value of the Tourism Society for its members appears to lie in the networking opportunities which it provides for its members, something which may be of particular value for those in the most senior positions who, as we have seen, account for a disproportionate number of association members. In this respect both BATO and the Tourism Society may be seen as playing a useful role. Interviewee G1 commented that when he worked in London the Tourism Society was useful as 'the programme of events was interesting (and) I felt that it was important to network with colleagues outside the structure of what I was doing'. For Interviewee I1 membership of both (or either) of BATO or the Tourism Society is felt to be of value:

'I'd encourage them (staff) to be a member of an organisation which encompassed colleagues around the country. I think there's a great educational benefit. From our point of view, because we are a specialist tourism department rather than being a subsection of leisure or amenities, I would say the Tourism Society or BATO.'

As this last quotation indicates, the attitude of the departmental head may play an important role in determining whether individuals join an association. The interviews with senior managers suggest at least three ways in which the potential benefits of association membership may be realised. In some cases, members may be encouraged to disseminate the information gained through membership to non-members as occurs in Authority A. In other cases, it may be suggested that different individuals become members of different associations, thereby widening the pool of information on which members may draw, as happens in Authority C. Finally, two authorities (C and F) directly encouraged membership by paying the membership fees for one work-related association. This latter factor was significant in impelling Interviewee C4 to become the sole member among respondents of the Institute of Travel and Tourism. (This situation may change in the future

because at least one university's postgraduate course - that at Manchester Metropolitan - is accredited by the ITT, enabling successful students to apply for membership.)

'It's an odd story really. When we were at college they said that there are two societies that you can join, ITT and TS. For years I didn't join either. I didn't see any particular need to do so then, but a couple of years ago a memo came round from the council. They wanted to know which people were members of which professional organisation, and I thought 'hello - it could be quite important if they are going to put that on record'. So I thought, 'right, I'll join'. They pay for one professional society. I was at the travel fair and the ITT had a stand there, so I had a chat with them and joined. I don't put the letters after my name on the business card. To be honest, I don't think tourism is that kind of industry.'

It is, of course, somewhat ironic that the council's willingness to pay for association membership led Interviewee C4 into joining the largely private-sector oriented ITT. Interviewee C4's membership illustrates again the often instrumental factors which may lie behind association membership, as well as the way in which membership of a particular association may reflect chance circumstances, rather than being indicative of any more deep-seated occupational commitment. In fact he was quite keen to suggest that he wishes to remain in tourism and regards himself as working in tourism for Authority C.

The fourth association discussed in Chapter 4, ILAM, seeks to include those in local authority tourism management within its orbit. Five respondents were members of ILAM. In all cases this was at least partly a 'legacy' from their former position. As Interviewee B3 explained:

'I am a member of ILAM because I have a professional interest in the subject and it keeps you up to date

. I am not a member of tourism associations as tourism is a new thing for me and I don't have enough experience.'

In other cases, however, ILAM membership was seen as being relevant to tourism work precisely because of its broad coverage, and also because they had some orientation towards working in this broader field. Interviewee A1 noted that :

'So many of the organisations are great at sending out invoices for £69 but do little for it. I joined ILAM because I see that's where my job, if anything, is going to develop, because I don't see myself just in the role of the development of tourism, but my vision is - I think we have got to look at the countryside and archaeology. We have to extend our repertoire to cover other avenues, and from what I've seen so far, ILAM takes their membership very seriously.'

Just as ILAM membership may in some cases represent a reflection of past occupational positions, so too may that of other institutions. Three respondents retained membership of, respectively, the Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors, the Institute of Public Relations and the Hotel and Catering Institutional Management Association. All reflected their past employment, and may perhaps indicate an unwillingness to completely relinquish these ties, partly, as Interviewee F1 suggested, because it was so hard won and one never knew when it might be useful.

The one remaining occupational association substantially represented was the Chartered Institute of Marketing, belonged to by six of the respondents. There is in a fact an institutional link between this membership and the

possession of tourism qualifications, as some Universities (notably Bournemouth) negotiate exemption from the first part of the Institute's examination, and may encourage further CIM examinations to be taken during the course. Two interviewees had entered by this route. In addition, as Interviewee C2 observed, some may be attracted by the perception that membership of a marketing association is more prestigious than membership of one oriented specifically to tourism. At the same time, as we have already seen, several respondents saw their possible longer-term future in the marketing sphere, and their retention of CIM membership may be seen as an indication of this.

As this discussion has indicated, there are difficulties in treating occupational association membership as an indicator of occupational commitment. Where individuals are members, their membership, or lack of it, is frequently of an instrumental or pragmatic nature. In some cases, membership appears to be seen primarily as something which may enhance the possibilities of career advancement, whereas in others (particularly for those in more senior positions) it is the benefits of access to contacts and information which is valued. The fact that membership of ILAM and the CIM is more common than that of the Tourism Society, and that BATO membership occurs primarily at director level, might be taken as indicative of a relatively weak commitment to tourism - although in the case of the Tourism Society a perceived London-centredness may play a part in the low level of membership. Overall, however, the evidence on occupational association does not provide strong support for the existence of a distinctive occupational constituency with a well-developed sense of its own identity.

6. Conclusions

We now attempt to sum up what has been a rather lengthy and complex discussion. The aim of this chapter has been to examine the extent to which the career patterns, career orientations and occupational identifications of

local authority tourism management employees give support for the argument that a process of occupational crystallisation is taking place around the area of tourism management.

The findings appear to carry mixed implications in this respect. Perhaps the strongest support comes from the data on respondents' qualifications and (especially) career histories. These suggest that a significant minority of those engaged in local authority tourism have qualifications in this area, and that many of the remainder possess qualifications in areas which may be regarded as relevant in some way to work in the tourism area. One cannot say, however, that employment in local authority tourism is reserved to those with tourism-specific qualifications. Nevertheless, one can say that through the interactive processes of occupational choice and occupational selection there is a tendency towards the development of an occupational constituency centred around tourism qualifications and work. The indications given by senior managers that tourism qualifications may become more important in selection in the future suggest that this process may be strengthened over time.

At the same time, the majority of those with qualifications have them in areas outside tourism. The fact that most of these are in fields which have some relation to tourism work (and which are often included as elements in tourism degrees) suggests that the 'non tourism-qualified' are likely to be drawn from a restricted section of the labour market, and have the potential to become part of a tourism constituency. However, it is equally possible that they may in fact belong more to some other constituency, with their involvement in tourism being simply one phase in an overall career oriented in other directions. This is perhaps particularly true in the case of those with marketing qualifications, but even here there is some recognition of it as an 'insurance', should there be a need to widen career options.

Examination of career history data again gives some support for the idea of a tourism management occupational constituency. Only a small minority of respondents had spent their whole careers in local authority tourism management, and these included two who were in their first jobs. However, just over half possessed what could be described as tourism-specific work experience portfolios, in that they had spent 70% or more of their working lives in tourism. The great majority of these had had all of their tourism experience in the public sector. In contrast, most of those with diverse portfolios tended to have spent a relatively small proportion of their working lives in tourism - usually substantially less than the maximum 69% possible proportion by the definition of tourism-specific portfolios.

Interestingly, neither group displayed a high level of recruitment from among those who had an exclusive history of local authority employment, which paradoxically, seems to be undervalued by both employers and employees who have such commitment to this area. While past local authority employment was comparatively high, this was commonly combined with private sector experience in such areas as leisure and recreation. On the other hand, recruitment from those whose past experience was in private sector tourism was relatively low.

What this latter point suggests is that, insofar as one can identify a distinct constituency, it is one based around public sector tourism management, rather than tourism in a broader sense. There are also some grounds for believing that once individuals have entered local authority tourism, there is a tendency to remain within it. Relatively few individuals had begun their careers in local authority tourism, and a number had undergone moves of an augmenting, spiralist or recycling kind to move into this field. However, fourteen of the twenty seven respondents had held more than one job in local authority tourism, suggesting that having entered there is a tendency for individuals to pursue a series of sequential or lateral moves within this field.

This conclusion must, however, be qualified by the evidence on future career intentions, where relatively few respondents indicated a settled intention to remain in local authority tourism. Given the focus on local authority tourism employees, this study obviously has no access to those who may have pursued careers in this field, and subsequently moved out. The data on career intentions suggest that this may be a relatively common pattern. In particular, while few individuals had moved into local authority tourism from private sector tourism, exit to this sector may be regarded as a greater possibility. However, a number of respondents acknowledged that their possibilities of movement may be restricted in practice, and we should be cautious about making firm predictions on this basis.

The argument that an occupational constituency may be forming around local authority tourism management is not given substantial support by the data on individuals' occupational identity. Indeed, it appears here that, insofar as there is a tourism-related sense of identity, it is with tourism in general, rather than local authority tourism in particular. Indeed, a number of respondents were anxious to distance themselves from a status as local authority employees. While too much should not be made of occupational association membership, it is striking that membership of tourism-related associations was relatively low, and concentrated substantially at senior management level. Furthermore, membership appeared often to be dictated by pragmatic considerations rather than a sense of commitment to a particular occupational area.

To sum up, the data considered in this chapter provide evidence for a degree of occupational crystallisation. Tourism management employees do appear to be drawn from those with a limited range of qualifications, with a bias towards specific qualifications in tourism. There is also evidence of a significant number of individuals pursuing long-term careers in public sector tourism management, although these make up by no means all of those in tourism management roles. Indeed, it appears that there are several

distinct types of career pattern, and these will be analysed in greater detail in the next chapter. Data on self-identification, however, suggests that inasmuch as individuals do have a tourism-related identity, it is one oriented to tourism in general rather than public sector tourism management as such.

CHAPTER 7.

TOURISM MANAGEMENT AND OCCUPATIONAL CRYSTALLISATION: CONCLUSIONS

1. Introduction

This thesis has been concerned with developing the concept of occupational crystallisation, and examining how the actions of three groups of actors - occupational promoters, employers and employees - may facilitate or inhibit such a process. It has been argued that occupational crystallisation is a process whereby particular positions within the division of labour become identified as a separate occupation with a distinctive jurisdiction and an associated constituency.

This study has sought to examine these processes in the specific empirical context of tourism management, focusing in particular on employment within the tourism management function of local authorities. The activities of the three groups of actors concerned, and their possible contribution to the process of occupational crystallisation has been explored by means of a range of predominantly qualitative methodologies, which have been outlined in Chapter 3.

The selection of tourism management as an area in which to study processes of crystallisation reflects the fact that tourism is a rapidly developing industry, which provides opportunities for the development of a variety of work roles and associated labour markets. In particular, the need to manage tourism in a variety of contexts provides scope for the development of the

distinct activities of tourism management. The fact that there has been a substantial growth in the provision of specialised occupational qualifications, and the existence of a number of occupational associations related to the area, provides further grounds for believing that this is an area in which occupational crystallisation might be occurring. Local authorities were seen as a particularly appropriate context in which to study the processes at work, due to their pivotal role in managing tourism, fostered by government policies and economic imperatives. Furthermore, in some authorities at least, distinct tourism management positions have been established for some time.

At the end of Chapter 1. four conditions were outlined which, it was suggested, had to be met if we were to say with any confidence that occupational crystallisation was taking place. Firstly, there must exist a distinctive cluster of tasks, roles and responsibilities which may be identified as the potential jurisdiction of a particular occupation. Secondly, there needs to be an identifiable occupational constituency, characterised by its possession of a particular portfolio of skills, knowledge and work experience, which is linked to this cluster of work positions. Thirdly, there must be some kind of identifiable occupational labour market, although this may take one or more of several forms, which have been identified as those of the occupational labour market, the occupational internal labour market and the sector occupational labour market. Finally, those identified as the occupational constituency should exhibit some measure of identification with the occupation as evidenced through such things as their career orientations and aspirations. The objective of this concluding chapter is to ask how far the evidence reviewed in the preceding pages indicates that tourism management satisfies these four conditions.

2. The Crystallising of Tourism Management ?

As a starting point in assessing the evidence on the occupational crystallisation of tourism management, an attempt was made to identify whether there was a distinctive knowledge base associated with tourism management and, if so, what the nature of that knowledge base is. Although there are specialist qualifications relating to tourism which range from GCSE to postgraduate degrees, the emphasis in this research was on undergraduate and postgraduate degree qualifications, which are explicitly designed and marketed as routes of entry into various areas of tourism management. In particular, attention was devoted to those degrees which were oriented exclusively to tourism and tourism management, so as to capture what might be regarded as the most detailed and explicit formulation of the tourism knowledge base. At the same time it was recognised that many qualifications in this area were offered jointly with other subjects, notably hotel and catering management and business studies. This in itself might be taken to indicate the ambiguity of tourism management as a distinctive area.

The connection identified with hotel and catering management points to the way in which tourism management may be regarded as one aspect of a somewhat wider field of related areas of service management. The links with business studies are perhaps less ambiguous and to be expected, in that business studies, when linked with the study of tourism, may be seen as a generic grounding for work in tourism management. However, it also indicates that students in these areas of study are being prepared for entry to a wider field of managerial occupations, rather than for tourism management alone - something which is also claimed for some of the more specialised tourism degrees.

The analysis of the specialist tourism and tourism management degrees suggests that their curriculum consists of three broad elements - tourism-specific elements, generic elements, and a significantly smaller group of elements which apply broader subjects (notably economics and geography) to the tourism context. Tourism-specific elements tend to make up only a minority (albeit a large minority) of subjects in the curriculum, generally in a broad balance with the generic subjects, which are either subjects of a 'transferable skills' nature (languages, information technology) or focus on specific business areas (e.g. finance, human resource management). This mix of tourism-specific and more generic elements gives some support to the idea that a tourism management knowledge base is being formed through the process we have earlier described as accretion and melding - i.e. the taking of elements from a range of other areas and focusing them specifically on a particular area of work. Thus, tourism degrees typically involve taking various managerial specialisms, and elements of other disciplines, such as geography and economics, and applying them to tourism. At the same time, however, there is a substantial tourism 'core', indicating a body of knowledge specific to those working in tourism.

This 'core' is, of course, one which is designed to apply across the tourism industry as a whole. While parts of the curriculum may focus on particular areas of tourism management - e.g. public sector issues - preparation is for the tourist industry as a whole. Indeed, given the fact that the industry as a whole may be unable to absorb all the graduates being produced (Baum 1993; Ryan 1995) it is difficult to see how more narrowly focused courses could attain any real credibility or viability.

The creation of an at least partially distinctive knowledge base can provide only one basis for occupational crystallisation. Even if possession of such a

knowledge base were to be treated as a necessary condition for new entrants to tourism management, this would be more difficult to apply to more senior positions, given the recent provenance of most undergraduate courses - although it should be remembered that postgraduate courses have been in existence for a longer time. In this respect occupational association membership might serve as an alternative means of indicating the possession of an appropriate knowledge base. However, as we have seen, the structure of occupational associations provides little consensus or clarity as to the nature of the occupational grouping which might be emerging. The existence of at least four associations, with varying types of coverage ranging from the sector specific (BATO and ITT) through the encompassing of tourism in general (the Tourism Society) to a linkage with leisure management (ILAM) underlines the continuing ambiguities as to the nature of any emerging occupational constituency.

Nonetheless, it is possible to establish an association between the knowledge base as encapsulated in degree curricula and the different clusters of tasks and responsibilities in public sector tourism management identified in Chapters 2 and 5. The function of tourism development centres around two broad areas - the macro-level fostering of projects which develop the tourism potential of the area and the more detailed work of developing the existing tourism product. The activities involved in tourism development clearly have a grounding in issues of economics and geography, whose applications to tourism are covered in most tourism courses, as well as a more general understanding of the tourism industry and its socio-political context. Tourism promotion is, above all, a marketing and public relations function, and again issues of marketing are typically a feature of tourism courses. Finally, the function of visitor management involves various combinations of skills and knowledge which tend to be of a more generic

managerial nature, including such areas as human resource management and financial management, which again form a significant component of tourism courses.

That linkages of this kind exist is unsurprising, given the connections between educational institutions and employers (either directly or through the auspices of associations), and the role played by the latter in shaping the curriculum content. The question remains, however, of how far possession of this formalised knowledge base is actually linked to entry to tourism management positions. The limitations imposed on this linkage by the recent development of many qualifications have been noted above, and this is reflected in the relative infrequency with which the possession of tourism qualifications was mentioned as an essential or desirable characteristic in advertisements for tourism posts. At the same time, interviews with heads of function gave some indication that a shift in the direction of a greater emphasis on tourism qualifications may be taking place.

The fact, noted above, that degree courses may now be producing more graduates than can be absorbed by the industry may reinforce this process. Where tourism qualifications are in scarce supply, restricting entry to those with such qualifications will severely restrict the pool of candidates from which employers may recruit and select. Where they are more plentiful, on the other hand, employers may be able to specify their requirements in these terms and still secure a pool of adequate size and quality to select from among that pool, according to the other criteria which they also value. How far this actually occurs will partly depend on the perception which employers have of those who graduate from such courses. As far as the use of tourism-based entry qualifications in recruitment and selection is concerned, therefore, there are some grounds for believing that a nascent

process of crystallisation may be taking place within the context of local authorities, but at present it is only weakly developed. Where employers do specify qualifications (and it is important to remember that many do not), this is more likely to be either a qualification in any area at a particular level, or a qualification in what is seen as a related area, such as marketing or management.

To an extent, this evidence on the specification of qualification level or discipline is reinforced by that from the (admittedly limited) sample of employees interviewed. The actual level of possession of qualifications among this group was rather higher than the advertisement analysis might have led one to expect, with 21 out of the 27 having qualifications at diploma level or above. Similarly, the possession of tourism qualifications was rather more common than advertisements and employer interviews might have suggested, giving some grounds for identifying a connection between these qualifications and entry to these occupational positions. How far this constitutes evidence for the emergence of a distinctive occupational jurisdiction is, admittedly, debatable. It is to be expected that those with qualifications in tourism will be disproportionately likely to apply for - and therefore be appointed to - positions in tourism management. Furthermore, five of these tourism qualifications were acquired after those possessing them had entered full-time work, suggesting a commitment on their part to continuing in the field, rather than a process whereby qualifications are a significant means of entry.

However, it is notable that those whose qualifications lay outside the tourism area, tended nonetheless to be drawn from what may be regarded as related areas. The most common backgrounds for the non-tourism qualified were in geography, economics, marketing, languages and business

management. As we have already seen, it is precisely these areas which are taught, either in their own right or in their application to tourism, in most tourism degrees. In discussing the latter, it was suggested that a process of accretion and melding might be at work here, with elements of different subjects brought together in a distinct curriculum focused around tourism issues. An analogous process may be suggested as operating in the entry of individuals to local authority tourism positions, those with qualifications in these areas being drawn together, alongside those with tourism-specific qualifications, in a focus on the various aspects of local authority tourism management. How far this process results from the recruitment and selection policies of employers, and how far from a tendency of those with particular qualifications to gravitate to work in this area is an open question, but it seems likely that elements of both are at work here.

A focus on qualifications gives only a partial picture of the way in which a connection between employee 'portfolios' and particular organisational positions may be facilitated. In the case of tourism management the link between past work experience and recruitment is arguably more central. Using the typology of labour markets developed in Chapter 1, it may be suggested that employers have a number of possibilities open to them. Firstly, they might seek to recruit (at least to more senior positions) staff who already have experience of working in local authority tourism management. Were this to occur on a significant scale one could identify the existence of a sectoral occupational labour market. Secondly, given the location of local authority tourism management within the wider functioning of local authorities, preference might be given to those who had generic local authority experience, but not necessarily in the tourism management area. In this case we could talk of the existence of a sector internal labour market. A third possibility is that employers might seek to recruit those with

tourism management experience more generally, regardless of whether this were obtained in the private or the public sector. In this case we would be dealing with a general occupational labour market for tourism management employees. Finally, they might seek to draw employees from a range of other occupational labour markets, of either a specific (e.g. marketing) or more general (e.g. managerial) nature.

Each of these possibilities may be linked up to a distinctive type of career pattern, in the following ways :

- i) *Local authority tourism management careerists* would have spent a significant part of their career in tourism management work within local authorities. While not necessarily having entered this area as their first destination, having once entered it they would tend to remain within it, moving normally through a series of sequential or lateral job transitions. Their careers would thus be spent in a sector occupational labour market, moving between tourism management or closely related jobs in a number of authorities. One might anticipate that those falling within this category would display a relatively high level of identification with the occupation, as evidenced by membership of relevant associations (most obviously BATO) and by their future career intentions to remain within this area.
- ii) *Local authority careerists* in contrast would have spent much of their working life within local authorities, but possibly with movement between different functions. Their careers would tend to display a relatively high incidence of spiralist or augmenting moves, as their accumulated experience is complemented by new skills and capabilities as they move between functions. The main frame of reference for such local authority careerists would be the sector internal labour market of local authorities. Tourism

management would tend to be regarded simply as one step in a local authority oriented career, and their career plans, association memberships and job identification would be expected to reflect this fact.

iii) *Tourism management careerists* would have spent much of their working lives in tourism work, but with careers which transcend the public/private sector divide. Such careers would display the characteristics one might expect of a general occupational labour market, with sequential or lateral moves within particular parts of the tourism industry existing alongside spiralist moves into other areas of tourism. Tourism management careerists might possess specialist qualifications in the area of tourism, acquired either before or after entry to work in this area. Their occupational identification would tend to be with tourism management in general rather than tourism management within a specific area, such as local authorities, and one might expect this to be reflected in their occupational association membership.

iv) *Non-tourism management careerists*. This is something of a 'catch-all' category, consisting essentially of those who are currently employed in tourism management positions but who are either not oriented to, or are doubtful about, a longer-term career in this area. They would most likely be individuals with a background or qualifications in other (but typically related) areas, such as planning, economic development, marketing or leisure management. They would be more likely to display identification with these areas than with tourism or tourism management, and this may be reflected in their occupational association memberships, which may be partly reflect their past work situations and partly to be an indicator of their continuing orientation to work in these areas in the future.

An analysis of the career histories and career intentions of respondents suggests that in practice local authority tourism management positions tend to be occupied predominantly by two of these four types, those we have characterised as local authority tourism careerists (type 1) and those characterised as non-tourism management careerists (type 4).

There appear to be a significant number of individuals who, while not normally entering local authority tourism management as their first destination, do tend to have remained within it once they have gravitated to it. The pursuit of a career exclusively within tourism was extremely uncommon among the sample, but just over half had what we have described as tourism-specific portfolios, in the sense of having spent 70% or more of their careers in the tourism field. Nine of these fourteen had held two or more positions in local authorities, suggesting the development of a career centred on sequential or lateral moves within the local authority tourism management sector. Even among those identified as having diverse portfolios, four individuals had worked in at least two local authority tourism management jobs. This gives some support for the existence of distinctive sectoral occupational labour market. This is further reinforced if one defines 'sector' in slightly broader terms, to encompass the whole of public sector tourism management, including the tourist boards as well as local authority tourism management. If 'sector' is defined in this way a further 3 individuals have careers which can be regarded as oriented to public sector tourism.

However, data on future career intentions provides a rather more ambiguous picture in respect of local authority tourism management careerists. While the majority of those with past tourism-specific portfolios of work experience displayed an orientation to future work in tourism,

many of those currently engaged in local authority tourism work envisaged a future move into tourism work in other areas. Furthermore, their occupational identification tended to be with tourism management in general rather than with local authority tourism specifically. This identification with tourism management in general is reinforced by the fact that of those with membership of the specifically tourism-oriented occupational associations (BATO, ITT and the Tourism Society) three-quarters are what may be termed local authority tourism management careerists. How much weight should be placed on these future career orientations is open to question. A number of respondents recognised that their future career destinations may in practice be constrained by their past work history, as well as by non-work circumstances, such as family commitments in the case of several female respondents.

The second major group among local authority tourism employees were those who may be characterised as non-tourism management careerists. Nearly half of those interviewed had pursued careers in which tourism-related employment accounted for only a minority of their work history, with past employment in marketing, leisure and recreation being particularly common. In some cases these individuals might be seen as operating within distinct non-tourism occupational labour markets. Thus several of those with marketing qualifications and experience seemed to see themselves essentially as marketing people who just happened to be currently working in a specific marketing function related to tourism. The existence of this career orientation is reinforced by the relatively high level of membership of the Chartered Institute of Marketing among the respondents.

Others appeared to be engaged in spiralist moves between labour markets in related areas. This appears to be particularly the case among those with career histories which link tourism with recreation, leisure and arts management, careers which also often tend to span the private/public sector boundary. The fact that local authority tourism management draws in those from these backgrounds could be taken as evidence of a process of accretion and melding, whereby specific skills from a range of fields are focused on the specific area of tourism. However, while this may be true at the level of work tasks, it is clearly less applicable at the level of careers, as those who displayed these more diverse past career histories were also those who were less likely to exhibit a future career orientation to work in tourism. This more tentative orientation to tourism is supported by the fact all those retaining their membership of ILAM come from such backgrounds. A similar situation obtains with those retaining membership of 'other' associations, although two of this group indicated that they might develop a stronger attachment to tourism management in the future.

The other two types of career pattern identified - that of the local authority careerist and the tourism management careerist - were, perhaps surprisingly, uncommon. While eight of the twenty seven respondents had experience of working in local authorities in non-tourism areas, half of these had also worked in the private sector, usually those in the areas of leisure and recreation. In addition, one respondent whose career had begun in local government had undertaken a 'recycling' move into tourism to move out of this area, and had only latterly returned to local government employment. Only a limited number of the respondents could therefore be seen as having pursued careers in the sector internal labour market of local authorities which had sooner or later led them into the tourism function. Possible reasons for this are indicated by the interviews with senior managers, in

which the distinctiveness of tourism management from other local authority functions was commonly emphasised. Far from seeing a past history of local authority employment as a basis for entry to local authority tourism management, several managers seemed to see this as an actual disadvantage, or at least sought to restrict the number of those with local authority backgrounds employed in their area. Given these considerations, it is unsurprising that only a small minority of respondents (and these primarily at senior level) identified themselves primarily or substantially with local government work.

Given the extensive interactions which exist between local authority tourism work and the private sector, one might have expected to find a significant number of individuals operating in a wider tourism management occupational labour market, and moving between tourism work in public and private sectors. In fact, only 3 of the 27 had past experience in private sector tourism work, suggesting that the scope of such a market is limited. As we have already seen, a larger number of respondents envisaged moving into private sector work in the future, but it is difficult to know how much weight to place on these data, particularly as responses may have been conditioned by the uncertainties surrounding local government reorganisation at the time of the interviews. At the same time it is possible that there is a pattern here, but that the limitations of the present study fail to give a sufficiently clear indication of it. We have seen that movement from private sector tourism work into local authority tourism management is uncommon. However, movement out of local authority work into the private sector may be more common. The interviews suggest that interviewees saw this as a possible career move, but it would be possible to determine the extent to which this occurs only by examining the career

histories of those employed in particular areas of the private sector, to see how many had spent an earlier part of their career in public sector work.

What then may be said about the extent and nature of occupational crystallisation in the area of tourism management ? The evidence reviewed here is clearly ambiguous in a number of respects, as may be seen if we return to the four questions posed at the end of Chapter 1, and reiterated at the outset of this chapter.

Firstly, it was suggested that for occupational crystallisation to occur there must be a specific cluster of work tasks, roles and responsibilities which can form a potential basis for the establishment of an occupational jurisdiction. Within the context of local authority tourism management it can be argued that such a cluster of tasks exists, centred around the activities of tourism development, tourism promotion and visitor management. Furthermore, the actual activities undertaken by those employed in local authority tourism functions typically cut across these areas, so that the work involves a cluster of related work activities, rather than a focus on one alone.

Although the location of local authority tourism functions on occasion ties them in to other areas (e.g. leisure or economic development) tourism-related work tasks are usually distinct, except at the most senior level where managers may have responsibilities going beyond the tourism area. It may therefore be suggested that a basis exists for the creation of a distinct occupational jurisdiction within the area of local authority tourism management. How far there is a basis for a more broadly defined tourism management jurisdiction cannot be answered on the basis of the evidence from this study. To answer this question it would be necessary to analyse the clusters of work tasks and responsibilities which are involved in tourism management work in other settings (e.g. attractions and tourist boards) and

see to what degree these are analogous to those characteristic of local authority tourism work.

The second condition to be fulfilled is that there should be an identifiable occupational constituency, characterised by a distinctive portfolio of skills, qualifications and work experience, which is linked to these organisational positions. We have seen that the development of specialist degree-level qualifications in the area of tourism provides a basis for the existence of such a constituency, with a distinctive knowledge base combining tourism-specific knowledge and experience (through placements) with more generic skills and knowledge, drawing on aspects of economics, geography and business management. It is therefore possible to argue that a process of accretion and melding to create a distinctive knowledge base is at work.

However, the extent to which those currently working in tourism management (at least in local authorities) are characterised by that knowledge base is limited. Only a small minority of this group possess formal qualifications in the tourism area, although a substantial number of others have acquired knowledge or skills in the related areas which contribute to the tourism-specific knowledge base. The great majority of those aged under 40 possessed some kind of qualification in what might be deemed to be a relevant area. Occupational association membership may also play a limited role in enhancing this knowledge base. Several respondents valued association membership for the information with which it provided them, and some non-members clearly gleaned useful information for their member colleagues. However, membership of associations was by no means universal among those interviewed, and in some cases at least, appeared to be engaged in for reasons of career advancement rather than primarily as a means of enhancing knowledge of

the area. Overall, it may be suggested that there some signs of an emerging occupational constituency, but that this is by no means a clearly delineated one.

This point is reinforced if we turn to the third condition for occupational crystallisation, the existence of one or more types of distinct occupational labour market. As the evidence reviewed earlier in this section suggests, some of those working in local authority tourism management functions do have careers which are distinctively oriented to tourism, and career histories which exhibit the characteristics one might expect of an occupational labour market. Insofar as one can identify such a market, it appears to be primarily one centred on public sector tourism employment - i.e. what was defined in Chapter 1 as a sector occupational labour market. While very few respondents have spent the whole of their career in such a labour market, a substantial minority appear to have become embedded in one, although their future career intentions may suggest movement out into a wider tourism occupational labour market. The data on entry to local authority tourism management, however, provide only limited evidence for the existence of such a market. Insofar as we can, from this small sample, identify an occupational labour market, it is essentially one which is sectorally based rather than one which transcends the public/private sector divide. It is, furthermore, a labour market which encompasses only a minority (albeit a large one) of those working in local authority tourism functions. Again, therefore, there is evidence of some occupational crystallisation, but one which is partial in nature, and apparently centred more on the public sector than on tourism management more generally.

The final condition specified in Chapter 1 was that members of the actual or putative occupational constituency should display some measure of

identification with the occupational group. In this respect the findings of the present study are ambiguous, and to some extent run counter to the conclusions of the previous paragraph. We have already seen that the diversity of occupational associations in this area itself points to the ambiguity as to the nature and coverage of the potential occupational constituency. This is reflected in the diverse patterns of membership of occupational associations, and perhaps also in the negative attitude towards such associations displayed by a number of respondents. Furthermore, as has been noted above, membership of associations is often entered into for pragmatic or instrumental reasons, rather than as an expression of some more deep-seated occupational commitment.

At one level, respondents' self-identification mirrors the labour market fragmentation already noted, with a substantial number oriented more to wider careers (e.g. in marketing) than to tourism work itself. Interestingly, however, those who do display an identification with tourism work tend to see themselves as 'tourism workers' rather than specifically as 'local authority tourism workers' - indeed, a number are at pains to distance themselves from the association with local government employment. We thus encounter a somewhat paradoxical situation. A substantial number (17) of employees do display, to some degree, the occupational identification which we would associate with occupational crystallisation. However, while the labour market criterion would suggest that such occupational crystallisation is taking place primarily on a local authority tourism basis, the evidence from employee identification points rather in the direction of crystallisation on the basis of tourism employment more generally. This apparent contradiction may itself be taken as evidence of the continuing uncertainties surrounding occupational crystallisation in this area.

To summarise, the evidence reviewed here gives some evidence for processes of occupational crystallisation being at work. It is, however, by no means conclusive. Different pieces of evidence point in somewhat different directions. Most fundamentally it is clear that, at least in the local authority context, we are still some way from a situation in which tourism management positions are reserved as the exclusive jurisdiction of those with a tourism management portfolio of qualifications, skills and experience. Tendencies in this direction do, however, appear to exist, and may arguably be reinforced in the future. For the moment, however, there are factors at work which may both facilitate and inhibit occupational crystallisation. What these are is briefly summarised in Table 23.

Table 23. - Occupational crystallisation and tourism management : facilitating and inhibiting factors

	<u>FACILITATING FACTORS</u>	<u>INHIBITING FACTORS</u>
Qualifications	Specialist courses designed for entry to tourism management and providing knowledge base	Inclusion of generic topics facilitating entry to other labour markets
Occupational Associations	Specialist associations oriented to tourism management	Provision of alternative bases of organisation and constituency definition
Recruitment and Selection Processes	Some preference (possibly growing) for specialist qualifications and work experience	Continuing recruitment from other occupational areas
Labour markets	Development of sector occupational labour market for public sector tourism management	Majority of employees still drawn from other labour markets
Identity	Substantial minority identify with tourism employment	Competing bases of identity for number of employees. Weak identification with occupational associations

3. The Future of Tourism Management

As has been emphasised throughout this thesis, the present study can provide only a partial picture of the possible processes of occupational crystallisation at work in the area of tourism management. Although part of the study (that concerned with occupational promoters) has focused on tourism management in general, the data on labour markets, careers and occupational identities has concentrated on one specific sector of tourism management, that taking place in local authorities. Even in this area, the study has been relatively small-scale in its coverage. It is therefore necessary to recognise the limitations of the study and its conclusions, and to suggest how further research might explore these issues further. There are at least three areas which it may be fruitful to develop or explore.

Firstly, as has been pointed out in the preceding paragraph, the local authority coverage of this study is fairly small-scale for reasons outlined in Chapters 2. and 3. Because of the Southern 'bias' of the sample, no former metropolitan areas which have 'discovered' tourism recently have been included in this study. Such authorities may be characterised by more of an emphasis on large-scale tourism development projects which may influence the background of those they employ. In any event, a case can be made for replicating the study in a more diverse sample of local authorities.

Secondly, a case can be made for extending the scope of the study to encompass other areas of public sector tourism. This was not done initially because tourist board involvement in tourism management is likely to be more fragmented than that of local authorities. Tourist boards are more likely to be involved in tourism promotion with varied involvement with development and management, and even then it is either on behalf of or in

conjunction with local authorities. Thus, the tourism management work undertaken by tourist boards may be similar but not necessarily as long term or as comprehensive as that in local authorities. Furthermore, if we remember the definition of a sector occupational labour market outlined in Chapter 1. it refers to such markets as being an 'extended organisation' which local authorities and tourist boards are patently not. However, as we have seen indications in the sample of a more general public sector labour market, this may merit investigation.

Finally, perhaps the most obvious need is for a more comprehensive study encompassing the different spheres in which the management of tourism activities may take place. There has been some discussion in the preceding section of the movement of tourism management employees between private sector and public sector organisations, in particular its rarity among this sample of employees. It was suggested, however, that as a number of employees' career aspirations indicated the possibility of a move into the private sector, such movement might be more common than that taking place in the in the opposite direction. Evidence to this effect would serve to support the existence of a wider occupational labour market. To examine this possibility in more detail it would be fruitful to consider undertaking a similar study in sectors such as travel and attractions.

However, further examination in individual sectors or across the industry may only be considered to be worthwhile if there is confidence in the durability of the tourism industry and its management.

Although there is fairly strong support from the evidence of respondents' future career plans that tourism management may be characterised as being durable, its future is determined by wider environmental influences on the

industry. If we consider the immediate future of the industry, we can see that the focus on place, landscape and townscape, and its preservation, so prevalent in the 1960's and 1970's (Davidson & Wibberley 1977:58-60) gave way to a focus on the environmental concerns in the 1980's (Godfrey 1989; ETB 1990, 1991, 1992) and it only in this decade that the a more holistic approach to managing the place, the visitor and the host community has been advocated (ETB 1991: 10-15; Krippendorf 1991:307-17).

The claims made in Chapter 2., about the growth of tourism and the expectation that it will be the largest industry in the next millennium suggests that the future of tourism management, as far as such matters can be assessed, appears secure. What may be less certain is the durability of local authority tourism management because of possible extension of 'privatisation' of services to this area, and more significantly the changing balance between public and private sector involvement (see Bramwell and Rawding 1994; Poetschke 1995:57). Such partnerships of themselves may encourage greater diffusion between the sectors, facilitated by the fact that both public and private sector employers and employees may feel more confident about such movements.

Nonetheless, the fact remains that sectorisation of the industry is hard to eradicate because, as Agarwal suggests (1997 156-7), there is a continued need for tourism management within local authorities. Not only does tourism take place within local authorities boundaries and therefore under their regulation, but if tourism is to be developed without Government grant aid then authorities will be prime instigators of collaboration between the tourism providers, involving them in attracting money from other sources such as the European Union.

Such activities require a proactive tourism management strategy and its effective implementation. The likelihood of the public / private boundaries becoming less rigid, and the broad base of most tourism qualifications suggest that the potential for careers to be based in the wider occupational

labour market will increase, thereby bringing about a 'tourismification' of the industry (Jafari 1997). In these ways the facilitators of tourism management identified in Table 23 may become strengthened and the possibility of a broad based occupation may be seen to develop in this area. Whether it does so will depend upon the capability and willingness of the sectors of tourism management to overcome the fragmented nature of the industry and embrace 'tourismification'.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. LIST of DOCUMENT SOURCES

TOURISM OCCUPATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

British Association of Tourism Officers

Membership form which includes information on : BATO's aims and objectives; and the benefits of membership of BATO, 1993 and 1996.

Application form and rules of membership which includes information on levels of membership and the entry criteria for each level, 1993 and 1996

Year Book / Who's Who 1993 and 1996 / 7 which includes information on the history of BATO.

Copies of British Tourism News, the BATO journal which included information on tourism projects; news of members and in particular, developments in local authority tourism (particularly May 1991 on the role of tourism in local authorities)

Tourism Management Institute Information Pack 1997 includes, aims and objectives and transfer arrangements from BATO and regulations on membership.

National Tourism Managers' Seminar programme 1997.

The Tourism Society

Membership regulations (attached to the membership application form) which included information of the categories of membership together with the entry criteria, 1993 and 1996.

The Tourism Society promotion leaflet which included the Society's aims; its mission statement; the tourism sectors covered; and the membership benefits.

Membership list from The Tourism Society Directory 1993 and 1997 which identified the numbers of members in various sectors.

Copies of 'Tourism' - the bulletin of The Tourism Society which was a news magazine with projects and other tourism information, 1993, 1994 and 1996.

The Institute of Leisure Managers

ILAM Review 1993 and 1996, and annual report including details of committee and sector groupings and occupations covered, including that of tourism; membership rules.

Application form which included a list of the membership categories and entry criteria and membership benefits. 1996.

The Next Five Years 1992 which was a strategic plan covering issues including the associations strategies, structure, resources and membership plans during its currency.

Copies of Leisure Manager journal a news and information publication in 1993, 1996 and 1997.

ILAM's Tourism Policy Position Statement No 16 1996.

Institute of Travel and Tourism

Application form which includes details on its aims; membership categories and entry criteria; and training available (separate leaflet) 1993 and 1996.

ITT promotion leaflet which included its history and its raison d'être, 1993 and 1996.

Copies of Journal of Institutes of Travel and Tourism. 1993, 1996 and 1997.

The Royal Town Planning Institute

'General information about membership'

LIST OF PROSPECTUSES of ENGLISH INSTITUTIONS of HIGHER

P700 Tourism management undergraduate courses (Source UCAS Handbook 1997)

Bournemouth University BA(Hons) : Tourism Studies

Buckinghamshire College of Higher Education : BSc(Hons) Tourism

Leeds Metropolitan University : BA(Hons) Tourism Management-

South Bank University : BA(Hons) Tourism Management.

University of Central Lancashire : BA(Hons) International Tourism (and course leaflet)

University of Derby : BA(Hons) Tourism

University of Luton BA(Hons) :Travel and tourism (and course leaflet)

University of Northumbria: BA(Hons) Travel and Tourism Management

University of Plymouth : BSc.(Hons) Tourism Management

University of Sunderland : BSc.(Hons) Tourism Development Studies

University of Wolverhampton : BA(Hons) Business and Tourism Management

:

Postgraduate taught courses (Source : Postgraduate study 1997)

Bournemouth University : MA. Tourism management.

The Manchester Metropolitan University : Diploma, Tourism Studies

Sheffield Hallam University : Certificate, Diploma, MA., Tourism management

Staffordshire University : Diploma, Tourism management

University of Derby : Certificate, Diploma, MA. Tourism management

University of Northumbria: Diploma, MA. Tourism management

University of Surrey : Diploma, M.Sc., Tourism management and Tourism Studies

APPENDIX 2 CHECKLIST WITH ILLUSTRATIVE QUESTIONS FOR OCCUPATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS' REPRESENTATIVES

1. What are the origins and history of the association ? (some information will be gleaned from secondary sources)
2. What are the main factors that encouraged the development of the association into what it is today ?
3. What do you do ?
4. More specifically what services do you provide for members ?
 - magazine
 - tourism specific meetings
 - seminars
 - conferences
 - facilities for specialists
 - library
 - networks
 - other
5. Who do you recruit ? (Which aspects of tourism does your association cover ? How do distinguish between tourism and leisure jobs ?)
6. What are your categories of membership ?
7. What criteria do you use to select your members ? (Age, qualification, job level / title? - Do you reject anyone for membership ?
8. What is your total membership ? (LAM how many are in tourism)
9. How is membership distributed between public and private sectors ?
10. Do you have and other sections / divisions in the membership?

11. What are your membership fees ?
12. There other associations to which tourism jobholders can join why do you think that association x is different ?
13. How do you promote the voice of tourism ?
 nationally
 regionally
 locally
14. Does the association belong to any national tourism organisations ?
15. Is the association consulted on tourism matters by government or its agents ?
16. Do you have any corporate members ? If so what benefits do they gain from their membership ?
17. Do you have any formal / informal links with higher education ?
18. What are you views on the relevance or otherwise of tourism-specific qualifications?
19. Will tourism jobs of a non-clerical level will increase ? Why ?
20. Do you wish to include any other jobs or occupations within your membership ? If so which ones ?

APPENDIX 3. LOCAL AUTHORITY DESCRIPTIONS

Authority A is a largely rural county which is heavily dependent on tourism. This dependency might well increase with the loss of jobs in other sectors of the local economy. Within the county two district / borough authorities have their own fairly large tourism function. The tourism function comprises three tourism employees plus the head of tourism and is part of the planning department. The department has extensive promotion responsibilities; with increasing responsibilities for development (to counteract the loss of jobs elsewhere in the economy) and management of the function. Authorities H and I come within this county.

Authority B is a small district / city authority which, due to its historic connections, relies heavily on tourism to support the local economy. The tourism and leisure functions are part of a central services department as the function is considered to be too small to support an independent tourism and leisure department. There are three tourism staff, and the head of the section. The section is responsible for promoting tourism, with a growing role in developing the tourism product. Managing tourism through the Tourist Information Centres occurs. A strategy for tourism development and management was being developed at the time of the interviews.

Authority C is a coastal town / city although not a resort. It has a fairly large tourism section which falls under the jurisdiction of a central marketing and economic development services department. Tourism is considered to be a vital vehicle for economic development. The function is therefore involved in tourism development as a contributor to economic development; promotion of the town / city and managing the development and operation of tourism delivery. In addition to the head of department there are four other members of staff working on aspects of tourism.

Authority D is a well established historic city which relies almost totally on tourism for its income generation. Its tourism function resides in the leisure department, although the head of tourism is a deputy in the department. There are three other tourism employees responsible for the promotion, development of the tourism product and management of tourism in the city. The authority's tourism strategy is to restrict tourism development

because of the social and environmental pressures and to concentrate on tourism product development.

Authority E is a large resort with a separate tourism directorate. Although the tourism function has been reduced in size due to economic recession the function is responsible for promoting the resort and developing the tourism product. The state of the economy means that large scale tourism development is not an issue. Managing the tourism function is also important. Although there were two other staff who might be included in this study their overwhelming workload made it impossible for them to spare the time to participate.

Authority F is a large rural county which is dependent on agriculture and tourism to generate its income, increasingly tourism is seen as the income generator. Tourism is a small part of economic development within the central department. There are two employees plus the economic development officer responsible for promoting the county, developing tourism and overseeing the management of TIC's. Authority E is in this county.

Authority G is a large resort which has developed a significant business tourism or conference reputation. Tourism function within a tourism and leisure directorate is fairly large with five employees who meet the conditions of this research. The head of tourism agreed to the interview but refused access to other staff due to their workload. A large part of the tourism work is promoting and developing both the resort and the business tourism.

Authority H is a district authority and a non-resort coastal town. It is developing its tourism potential as an important means of development of a mixed economy. Tourism is one of many separate service units and is responsible for tourism and corporate promotion; tourism development and management of TIC's. There are four tourism staff including the head of tourism.

Authority I is similar to Authority G in that it is a large resort heavily dependent upon tourism and developing a reputation for business tourism. It has a separate tourism department responsible for promotion, tourism

development and management. Apart from the director there are three tourism staff. However, the staff did not wish to take part in this research.

Authorities B; C; D; and G are within four different, Southern counties.

APPENDIX 4. LETTER TO ALL RESPONDENTS

Dear

I am currently carrying out research on tourism occupations in local government for a higher degree which is being supervised by the Department of Sociology and Social Policy at the University of Southampton. To give you some more information, I am enclosing a brief outline of the aims and objectives of the research, together with some details of how it is being carried out.

As you will see, the research involves interviewing individuals who are employed in tourism development, promotion and management at a non-clerical level within local government in order to collect information on how the individual's career in tourism has developed, and how it may do so in the foreseeable future. In addition, it is intended to interview the heads of departments who have some responsibility for tourism to examine how authorities select individuals for these posts and how they seek to develop their careers.

I should be very grateful if you would allow me to interview you and your staff / colleagues to collect information on how individual careers in tourism have developed, and how they may do so in the foreseeable future. Prior to the interviews, respondents will be asked to complete a short, C.V.-type questionnaire, which will provide basic information on education, training and work experience and which will form the basis of the subsequent interview. It would obviously be more convenient for me if the interviews could be conducted during working hours, but I do understand that this may not always be possible. The length of the interviews is likely to vary slightly but they are expected to take between 60 and 80 minutes, with interviews with heads of departments probably taking a little longer.

Finally, I should stress that all information collected during this research will be treated in the strictest confidence and that no individual or organisation will be identified by name in the thesis or in any other publication resulting from this research.

I hope that this letter, together with the attached outline, gives you sufficient information about the research but if you require further information or clarification please do not hesitate to contact me. I should be very grateful for your support in this research.

Yours sincerely ,

Jean Prescott M.Sc. FIPM, Senior Lecturer in Human Resource Management.

Enclosure : Outline of research

TOURISM OCCUPATIONS IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

(a copy of research background information sent to interviewees)

Background

In recent years there has been a major growth in tourism-related occupations, and an increasing development of specialist courses and bodies promoting the concept of tourism as a distinctive occupational field with its particular qualifications and career patterns. At the same time local government has a significant role to play in the development, promotion and management of tourism, and employs a number of specialist staff in these areas.

Research Objectives

The objective of the present research is to examine the extent to which a distinctive set of tourism-related occupations is emerging, in England, and how far these occupations are moving in the direction of professionalisation through the development of specific qualifications and career routes. The research will examine this issue from two perspectives. Firstly, it is proposed to look at the employment and careers patterns of those working in tourism promotion, development and management, in local government and to determine the extent to which those in such positions are pursuing distinctively tourism-related careers. The views of those responsible for the management of these functions will also be sought to determine such factors as the recruitment criteria and the ways in which they seek to develop the careers of those in their department(s). Secondly, it is proposed to examine those educational institutions and occupational associations which are concerned to advance the concept of tourism as a distinct occupational field.

It is anticipated that the research will contribute not only to the body of knowledge about tourism related-activities, but also that it will add to the increasing body of research into the professionalisation of occupations.

Methodology

The principal part of the research will consist of a series of semi-structured interviews with those employed at non-clerical levels in tourism - related activities (development, promotion and management) in a sample of approximately seven local government organisations, together with interviews with those who manage these activities. Participants will also be asked to complete a C.V.-type questionnaire, giving details of their work history and qualifications, prior to the interview.

In addition documentary information will be collected from educational establishments running tourism-specific courses, and from organisations such as The Tourism Society and the British Association of Tourism Officers.

Output

The research is being carried out for a higher degree, and is being supervised by the Department of Sociology and Social Policy at the University of Southampton. It also has the support of Bournemouth University, where the researcher is employed as a Senior Lecturer in Human Resource Management. The principal output of the research will be a thesis to be submitted for the award of a higher degree by research, but it is also hoped that the research will give rise to a number of papers for publication in academic and professional journals. It should be stressed that no individual or employing organisation will be referred to by name, or identified in other ways, in the eventual output arising from the research.

Jean Prescott

APPENDIX 5. QUESTION PROMPT FOR HEADS OF FUNCTIONS

1. What roles / functions are seen as tourism in this authority ?
2. How is the function organised ? (Probe how many and which departments are involved and , if it is spread over more than one department , how in the function co-ordinated ?)
3. Why is there a tourism-related function in this authority ?
4. What is the aim of the tourism function in the authority ?
5. How much influence do members have on the provision of tourism-related service ?
6. What sorts of decisions do they make - strategy /policy ?
7. What do they delegate to officers - strategy /policy?
8. What links do you have with the regional tourist board ? (probe liaison, financial / staffing support, joint ventures etc.)
9. * How many people are employed in tourism development/delivery management and promotion ?
10. What does each person do ? (probe job description and whether it is a full-time commitment)
11. Which posts are regarded as non-clerical/admin. posts ?
12. What criteria distinguish them from non-clerical/admin. posts ?
13. When you recruit staff to tourism-related jobs how important do you rate tourism-related experience / previous local government

experience ?

14. How relevant do you think tourism-related qualifications are ?
(probe generalist / specialist)
15. Do you expect them to become more or less relevant Why ?
16. Do you expect staff to be members of professional associations ? - If
so which ones do you encourage membership of and why ?
17. What does the department offer by way of professional
development ?
18. How do you know what each persons' training and development
needs are ? (probe appraisal, project work, secondment)
19. What support is offered to individuals to undertake training and
development? (probe financial, managerial support, career
counselling)
20. When giving advice on further development do you encourage staff to
become tourism specialists or generalists ? Why ?

APPENDIX 6. PRE-INTERVIEW CURRICULUM VITAE

1. PERSONAL DATA

Name _____

Date of Birth _____ / ____ / ____

Gender _____ Male/Female

Do you have a spouse/partner ? _____ YES/NO

What is their occupation ? _____

Do you have total or shared responsibility for dependants ? _____ YES/NO

If so how many and how old are they ? _____

How far do you commute (round-trip) to your usual place of work ? _____

2. EDUCATION

a) Please give details of schools , colleges , universities etc. attended since the age of 11.

YEARS	NAME + LOCATION (TOWN/ CITY) of SCHOOL/ COLLEGE ETC.	P/T F/T
From To		

•

3. SHORT COURSES - Please list the short courses of up to one month's duration that you have attended within the last 5 years.

Number of Days	Topic/course content
-----	-----
-----	-----
-----	-----
-----	-----
-----	-----

4. CURRENT EMPLOYMENT

Job Title	-----
Grade	-----
Date of start	-----
Salary	◇ Less than £ 10,000
	◇ £ 10,000 - £ 14,999
	◇ £ 15,000 - £ 19,000
	◇ £ 20,000 - £ 24,999
	◇ £ 25,000 - £ 29,999
	◇ £ 30,000 Plus.

Main responsibilities and duties	-----

What percentage of your time do you spend on tourism-related activities ?-----

6. BREAKS IN EMPLOYMENT Please give details of any breaks in employment :

DATES	REASON
From/to	(e.g. maternity , child / elderly care , redundancy etc.)
-	

7. PROFESSIONAL STATUS

Are you a member of any professional bodies ?----- YES/NO

If so please give name(s) and category of membership -----

How was membership gained ? (e.g.: by examination/project etc.).

Please list any qualifications which gave you exemption from part(s) of professional membership, stating how much exemption was given

Thank you for you time and effort in completing this questionnaire

APPENDIX 7. QUESTION PROMPT FOR EMPLOYEES

PAST

Education

1. Do you remember why you opted to take the subjects that you took whilst at school ?
2. Why did you finish your full-time education when you did ?
3. Who or what influenced your occupational/educational choice when you left school ? (probe access to professional advice- careers officers etc. . and influence of parents/ family /peers)

Work

4. What did you want to do when you left school ?
5. Why did you make the choice (s) that you did after leaving school ? (probe motivation - intrinsic v extrinsic rewards)
6. What did you think your work options were ?
7. What preparation, for your working life, did your education provide?

FOR EACH OF THE SUBSEQUENT PAST JOBS :

8. What was it that attracted you to the job ?
9. Who or what has influenced your decision to change jobs ? (probe anchors / motivation and possible barriers)
10. How easy or difficult was it to change jobs ? (probe resilience and success / failure of career objectives.) How long did it take you to settle in to your new job ?
11. What aims did you have in mind when you changed jobs ? Were

these fulfilled ?

PRESENT JOB

12. What made you apply for your present job ?
13. How did you find out about it ?
14. When asked, by others, " What do you do ?" how do you describe yourself ?
15. How would you go on to describe your job ?
16. How far is your job as tourism-related - what else do you do ?
17. Elaborate on the tourism elements of your job ? (probe - involvement in development / visitor management and promotion)
18. Do you think that tourism has a high profile within the authority ?
Explain
19. What aspect of tourism promotion, visitor management or development do you consider to be more important for the authority? Why ?
20. Do you see this emphasis changing in the foreseeable future ?
21. Who decides on the scope tourism-related activities within the authority (probe member involvement focus on restriction / development / management)
22. Who is involved in formulating tourism-related policy ?
23. Which departments / sections are responsible for policy making and implementation ?
24. How do you think that the present structure of tourism-related provision affects its delivery ? (probe perception of arguments for

planning / recreation / tourism / chief execs.).

25. What changes would you make to the structure of provision ? why ?
26. Which part of your present job do you enjoy most/least ? Why ?
27. Do you think that you have mastered the job yet ?
28. What experiences / skills would help you to master your job ? What tourism-related knowledge or skills would you have found useful ?
29. Are there any particular factors that hinder you in doing your job well or better ? (probe organisational - structural and policy and personal factors)
30. Do you think that you have received appropriate training and development in order to do your job ?
31. What training and development does the authority provide ? (probe tourism-related, managerial etc.)
32. How does the authority encourage you to participate in training and development ?
33. Is there any form of career counselling ?(probe links with other HRM policies)
34. What qualifications/skills/experience do you think people who work in tourism promotion, development and delivery management should have ?
35. How important to your career is the membership of professional associations ? (probe whether it is discretionary or compulsory. Is it seen as a means of career advancement /professional development /commitment i.e. an active member ?)
36. Why did you become a member of X rather than Y ?

NON-WORK LIFE

37. Apart from job-related considerations , are there any other factors which have influenced your career decisions ? (probe If a parent - Do you feel that having children has affected your career ? If so how ?If a mother - have you taken advantage of the maternity/ returner/ job-share etc. packages - if yes how well do they operate -If no , why not ? Other responsibilities and geographical mobility of self /others)
38. Do you think that these non-work factors have affected your career ? How?
39. Looking back on your career is there anything that you would have done differently ? Why ?
40. How far do you think that these differences would change what you hope to do in the future ?

FUTURE

41. What do you think are your career goals for the future ?
42. What do you see as your options for your next job ? (probe insight and circumstances)
43. How will know when you are ready to move from your present job ?
44. Describe the features that would attract / deter you when considering your next job ? (probe technical/managerial etc.)
45. Do you feel that your next job will be more or less tourism-related ?
Explain
46. What knowledge , skills and behaviour do you need to develop / enhance in order to master your next job ?

Is there anything that we have missed that you would like to include ?

APPENDIX 8. THE SEQUENCE OF CAREER MOVES USING WATTS TYPOLOGY AND CONSTITUENTS' OCCUPATIONAL FIELDS

Emp	S	L	R	Sp	A	R/C	T	Occupational fields
A1	3	1			1		4	Marketing ; tourism
A2							0	Tourism
A3							0	Tourism
A4				1			1	Press / PR; tourism
B1	3			2	1	1	8	Sport; recreation; sport; leisure; tourism/ leisure
	3			1	1	1	6	Mining; engineering support; tourism
B3	2			1			3	Arts; Leisure
B4		2		1	1		4	Tourism; languages; tourism
C1	4			1	3		8	Science research; marketing; marketing/tourism
C2	2				1	1	4	Printing; publishing; tourism
C3	2	1	1	2	1		7	Secretarial/ PA; leisure; tourism
C4	1	2		1		1	5	Clerical; tourism
C5		2	2	1			5	Sales; advertising; tourism
D1	5	1		3	6		15	Admin; Admin/PR; PR/ marketing; economic development; marketing/ tourism
D2	2				1		2	Secretarial; tourism
D3	2	1			1		4	Historic research; tourism
D4					4		4	Estate agency; leisure; tourism; arts; tourism
E1	4				1		5	Hotels; tourism
F1	3	1		1	1		6	Valuation; surveyor; econ. dev; econ. dev /tourism
F2	3			1			4	Secretarial; Admin; tourism
F3	1	1			1		3	Tourism; marketing; tourism
G1	3	1		1			5	Tourism
H1	3	1					4	Tourism
H2	3	2	1	1	1		8	Hotel mgt; travel; tourism
H3	2						2	Tourism
H4	2	1			1		4	Housing publicity; tourism
I1	3	1			1		5	Removals; Travel; tourism

S = sequential; L = Lateral; R = regressive; Sp = Spiralist; A = Augmenting; R/C = recycled
Emp = employee

APPENDIX 9. EMPLOYEE PATTERNS of WORK AND CAREER LENGTH

Emp	Local Authority Tourism		Tourism -Non- Local Authority		Local Authority Non-tourism		NonLocal Authority Non-tourism		Total length of time a t work
	Years	% of total time	Years	% of total time	Years	% of total time	Years	% of total time	
A1	6	21%					22 (4 jobs)	79%	28
A2	2	100%							2
A3	3	100%							3
A4	5	83%					1	17%	6
B1	2	7%			13, 4 jobs	15%	11(3 jobs)	43%	26
B2	13	26%	6, 2 jobs	12%			31(4 jobs)	62%	50
B3	2	40%			2	40%	1	20%	5
B4	3 (2 jobs)	60%					2 (2 jobs)	40%	5
C1	5, 2 jobs	22%					18 (6 jobs)	78%	23
C2	20 (4 jobs)	74%					7 (2 jobs)	26%	27
C3	5	19%					22 (7 jobs)	81%	27
C4	6	50%	4 (4 jobs)	33%	2	17%			12
C5	4	36%					7 (5 jobs)	64%	11
D1	7 (3 jobs)	25%			20 (10 jobs)	71%	1 (1 job)	4%	28
D2	17 (3 jobs)	100%							17
D3	6 (3 jobs)	66%			2 (2 jobs)	33%			8
D4	1	12%	2 (2 jobs)	25%			5 (2 jobs)	63%	8
E1	19 (5 jobs)	95%					1	5%	20
F1	9, 2 jobs	35%			17 (5 jobs)	65%			26
F2	6	20%			20 (2 jobs)	80%			26
F3	3	43%	2	29%			2 (2 jobs)	29%	7
G1	4 (2 jobs)	36%	7 (4 jobs)	64%					11
H1	14 (3 jobs)	78%	4 (2 jobs)	22%					18
H2	1	12%	1 (2 jobs)	13%			6 (6 jobs)	75%	8
H3	6 (3 jobs)	100%							6
H4	12 (3 jobs)	70%			8 (2 jobs)	30%			20*
I1	15 (2 jobs)	54%	6	21%					28

EMP = Employee
* career breaks taken