

University of Strathclyde

Department of Work, Employment and Organization

**Career experiences of Kenyan migrant hotel workers in the UK
hotel sector**

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degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

Globalisation has led to many people moving from one country to another. The service sector, particularly the hospitality and tourism sector is considered labour-intensive, therefore, acts as magnet for migrant labour and as such, is largely reliant on marginal workers. Furthermore, the hospitality industry is often used as an entry to the labour market, and finds itself as a large employer of migrant workers. However, the industry lies in the secondary labour market which is characterised by low wages, poor training, low unionisation, and general poor working conditions.

Nevertheless, a career in the hospitality and tourism sector is often considered vibrant unlike in the western context. In the Kenyan context, workers undergo a rigorous training, equipping them to work not only for their country but globally. Thus, the low-skill perception of the hospitality sector in the west, presents inconsistency in the labour market for a skilled workforce with the desire to pursue a career in the industry. As such, skilled Kenyan hotel migrant workers are faced with the limitations to progress their hotel career abroad. The presence of structural factors limits migrants' career mobility in the host country resulting in underemployment and a degradation of their skills in advanced economies, such as the UK. construed as career loss.

In evaluating the empirical evidence of the skilled Kenyan hotel migrant workers, concepts have been employed to develop a framework for the understanding of complex intersection of a number of inter-related themes that include, *inter alia*, economic migration, migrant professional and social integration, motives for migrants to leave or stay in their host country and occupational underemployment, thereby contributing to migrant labour literature.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Even during the post-war period, in-migration was considered a possible solution to labour shortages particularly to sectors of core European economies (Jackson, 1986). By the 1960's Europe had become a major importer of labour as the continent continued experiencing a shortage of skills. Consequently, many European countries adopted positive policies towards recruitment of foreign labour such as the right to settlement. In the United Kingdom (UK), Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson (1998) identify that different industries such as, London Transport and the hotel and catering industry sourced their labour from Commonwealth countries as a means to resolve labour shortages given the migrant-friendly recruitment policies. In light of this, Adepoju (2000) stresses that migration is rightly perceived as a livelihood strategy, seeking a better lifestyle for the individual and dependants and especially those from the less advanced economies for whom poverty and human deprivation has led to the deterioration of their well-being. This reflects the study by I.O.M (2010b) that mobility is intended to encourage social and economic development, globally, through movement of goods and services.

There has been an increase in the level of migration to both developing and advanced economies over the last few decades resulting from skilled labour shortages and a more integrated global economy (I.O.M, 2013). The globalisation of business activity and production systems has seen a rise in the free movement of capital, goods and people, whilst also exposing the apparent global economic inequality that extends beyond geographical boundaries to impact on individual lives. Nevertheless, the movement of people across borders is considered a significant aspect of modern day life (Canzler, Kaufmann and Kesselring, 2008, King and Skeldon, 2010). In light of this, migration is regarded a valuable

phenomenon which is considered to have positive outcomes within societies, particularly economically and culturally (Castles, 2010). Nonetheless, Janta, Ladkin, Brown and Lugosi (2011) and King and Skeldon (2010) argue that labour mobility can cause migrants to be entrapped, in particular, within the labour market. For instance, economic migrants seek better employment opportunities that will enhance their livelihoods and those of their family members, others may seek to progress their career abroad only to encounter factors that may inhibit their personal migration objectives.

Labour migrants are increasingly recognised as significant contributors in the UK hotel sector (Alberti, 2014, Batnitzky and McDowell, 2013, May, Datta, Evans, Herbert, McIlwaine and Wills, 2008). Literature suggests the predominance of migrant workers in the low sector is driven by the low status image of the industry (Anderson and Ruhs, 2010, Baum, 2002), particularly from an employment perspective. As such local workers are perceived to shun from these jobs (McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer, 2009) thus creating a demand for migrant labour.

Taking into consideration that migrants are desperate to obtain employment, any job offers are accommodated despite migrants' level of qualifications and skills (Ioannides and Zampoukos, 2011). Statistics supplied by Oxford Economics (2015a) indicate a growth within the hospitality and tourism industries of which a record of significant global economic contribution is noted (British Hospitality Association, 2013). The industry is documented as the country's 4th largest industry employer with an estimated 4.5 million workers (British hospitality Association, 2017), yet the sector continues to face labour shortages (Baum and Devine, 2007). This suggests that given the sector's significant contribution to the economy, migrants are at the heart of the sector's functioning. Migrant workers in the hotel sector

bring with them new skills, working culture, knowledge and innovation that will usually benefit host countries and employers (Baum, 2012) and can gain financially from their migration experience given the potential to earn higher wages in host countries. However, to date, there has been a growing discussion of labour migration within the framework of globalization, but with a predominance of EU workers. In analysing recent discussion in migrant labour literature, a weakness is identified, being, the scarcity of labour migration studies from an African context. Therefore, it is against this backdrop that the study seeks to address the dearth in literature by focusing on labour migration from a non-western perspective. The study examines the lived experiences of a cohort of skilled Kenyan migrant in the UK.

In a critical analysis of migrant labour literature, theoretical discrepancies are identified and it is the study's aim to plug these gaps. Firstly, the push and pull human migration framework explains migration from an economic perspective and primarily assumes mobility from less advanced to advanced economies. The framework fails to explain the phenomenon of return migration that is prevalent in society. Secondly, the study recognizes an intersection between cultural capital and the boundaryless career concept. Migrants seek to transfer their cultural capital (skills, professionalism, language) abroad while aiming at developing and advancing their hotel careers but encounter career boundaries in spite of the postulation by the boundaryless career concept that in contemporary society, individuals aiming to progress with their careers, are unstoppable. And lastly, within the context of return migration, the study seeks to add another element of cultural capital - 'international exposure'. What is striking, is that the additional cultural capital endowed on the workers, is country-specific, given that its consideration as a resource, is valuable in the country of origin, when workers return to their home country.

More so, the study addresses the complex intersection of a number of inter-related themes that include, *inter alia*, economic migration, migrant professional and social integration, motives for migrants to leave or stay in their host country and occupational underemployment. These themes are reflected in the lived experiences of 32 Kenyan hospitality migrants to the UK and the purpose of this research is to better understand these experiences and to assess them at both theoretical and applied levels.

The first section begins by explaining the rationale for the focus on the career experiences of skilled hotel migrant workers. Thereafter, the general methodological approach that is utilised in the study in order to achieve the objectives of the research is discussed but not before examining the research objectives. The final section provides an outline of the structure of the thesis.

1.1 FOCUS AND OBJECTIVE

A growing body of literature on migration studies has suggested that, frequently, migrants are likely to encounter occupational downgrading (Anderson, 2010; Brandi, 2001; Liversage, 2009; Reitz, 2001). This is particularly so, taking into account that the jobs they obtain in the host country are disproportionate to the skills, qualifications and work experience they possess from their home countries. It points to the focus of this study, which is upon the hotel careers of trained and skilled hotel migrant workers in the UK hotel sector. Janta et al. (2011) caution that the sector has traditionally been dominated by a non-career path image often viewed as a temporary solution that opens the door for different career paths in the future or as a gateway to the labour market. However, there may be flexibility for local workers but, given the nature of the work in the sector, there is a wide perception of workers' disinterest in

the sector. This leaves job opportunities to be taken up by other groups of workers (students and migrant workers), whose circumstances suit the flexible working pattern of the sector and who are restrained to fewer opportunities to choose between jobs (Baum, 2015, McDowell et al., 2009).

The reluctance for local workers to take on occupations in the low-waged economy creates a labour shortage in the sector. Taking this in consideration, Anderson and Turner (2010) point out that industry employers seek migrant workers, as they are perceived to provide cheap labour, presumably because of a lack of awareness of their rights within the labour market. This coincides with migrants' tolerance to accept low-waged jobs despite their relatively high level of education, skills and work experience gained from their home countries (Anderson 2010). Ioannides and Zampoukos (2011) argue that because of a willingness to accept low-end occupations whilst in possession of relatively high skills and education, it is likely to jeopardize migrants' pre-migratory professions. This is because it is possible that they remain trapped in dead-end, low-end jobs and a consequent loss of status and possibly, long term career devaluation (Bauder, 2003, Liversage, 2009b).

It is notable that whenever migration occurs, two societies are impacted upon; the one that is left and that to which the migrants have come. In relation to the former, the departure of highly educated individuals from developing to countries with advanced economies creates a skill gap in the origin countries (Krasulja, Blagojevic and Radojevic, 2016) which will have invested heavily to equip its citizens with human capital. In contrast, employers in the migrant-receiving countries benefit from skilled manpower and often take advantage of the migrant's skills and qualifications which Baum (1995) observes as a devaluation of migrants' abilities. Nonetheless, the sending countries may also benefit from its citizens who have

migrated to work abroad through the monies remitted back to their countries, for instance money sent to support the migrants' families in the home countries.

At an individual level it cannot be ignored that migrants bring with them valuable capital which they seek to exchange in the host country in order to meet their personal objectives. In the case of labour migrants, the possibility of earning relatively higher wages is considered to be a motivating factor to migrate in order to acquire an enhanced lifestyle. Therefore, as a means of exchanging their skills for higher wages, migrants are bound to encounter consequent changes to their resident status and other circumstances (Jackson, 1986). Hence, although often neglected by academic, public discourse and even industry stakeholders, migrants encounter socio-economic challenges during and after their migration journey which has often resulted in a neglect of their voices and their labour migration experiences. In light of this, this study serves as a useful conduit in 'voicing' migrants' lived experiences in a foreign country and in particular, considers shedding some light on the impact of migration on migrants' hotel careers. With reference to Kenyan hotel migrant workers in this study, their career development (or lack of) in the UK is examined and the impact considered as it bears even on the migrants' personal and family lives. Attention is also drawn to the Kenyan hoteliers who returned to Kenya after a period of living and working in the UK hotel sector.

Therefore, the research objectives that aim to address the significant issue of skilled Kenyan hotel migrant workers' career encounters in the UK are:

- To explore the lived and career experiences of hotel migrant workers, their aspirations and impacts on their career paths

- To propose ways to conceptualise the hotel career experiences of skilled migrants in the context of structural influences
- To analyse key determinants of hotel workers' decisions to remain in the UK or to return to their home country

1.2 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The methodological approach that is appropriate to meet these research objectives has its foundations in interpretivist philosophy. Interpretivists aim to understand the meanings created by human beings as they engage in the world in which they live and interpret (Crotty, 1998). As such, in order to explore meaning rather than discover reality, the subjective meanings that people place upon their experiences are examined, seeking to understand the participants' perspective of the phenomenon in which they are part of. Thus, Goldkuhl (2012) calls upon interpretivist researchers to take an epistemological stance that creates knowledge through the process of interpreting perceptions, experiences and consequent actions of the participants involved.

To explore and to understand how migrant workers make sense of their career experiences abroad, the knowledge of migrants' career experiences is reconstructed by interpreting how Kenyan hoteliers give meaning to their lived experiences. The knowledge is generated by both the researcher and the hoteliers in an interactive process that takes the form of modified life history interviews. The life history technique gives the overall picture of an individual, however, this research, focussed only on the career stage of the participants and as such, parameters were drawn which started with their post secondary education through to their working lives as at the time of the interviews. Furthermore, to fit with this study's research

design, the life history technique requires that the researcher listens to the participants' stories whilst getting deeper into understanding the meaning of their narratives. As discussed above, an interpretivist stance seeks to understand the participants' experiences and perceptions rather than those of the researcher. Hence, a modified life history approach was seen to be best suited to help to understand career experiences of underemployment in the hotel sector in spite of the level of professionalism of the Kenyan hotel migrant workers.

1.3 OUTLINE OF THESIS

The remainder of the thesis is laid out in seven chapters. Chapter 2 begins by examining the conceptualization of career experiences from the perspective of skilled Kenyan hotel workers in the UK. In order to examine and explain the workers' experiences, three influential concepts are analysed: the application of their cultural capital to build up their hotel career is first considered, followed by the push and pull model of migration to explain the unfavourable conditions in the migrant's country that motivate them to seek favourable conditions in another country. Finally, the workers' career development and progression intentions are considered by the use of the boundaryless career concept.

The discussion then turns its focus to the Kenyan hoteliers who return to their home country after a period of living and working in the UK and considers their return preparedness and the transfer of their cultural capital back to their home country. The chapter then explores the specific issues relating to migrant hotel workers that emerge from the literature whilst taking into consideration the research objectives laid down herein, and the research questions that frame the fieldwork are outlined. The third chapter positions the contextual understanding of the Kenyan trained hotel worker. It does so by first contextualising the UK hotel sector,

followed by a presentation of key labour issues faced in the sector. This sets the scene for the subsequent section which addresses migrant labour concerns in the country's hotel sector and finally provides a contextual understanding of the Kenyan hotel migrant workers. This section highlights their specialised hotel training in Kenya and later turning the focus to providing a perspective on the extent to which the literature helps answer the research questions.

Chapter 4 presents the research strategy employed in the thesis, outlining the research paradigm adopted and establishes the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the research. The rationale for using the modified life history approach is examined. Each of chapters 5, 6, and 7 are organised into two sections: the first, presents the findings of the empirical data and the subsequent section in each chapter discusses and illustrates the themes that emerge from the data. Notably, a chronological order is considered in an attempt to provide a sequential explanation of the hotel workers' migration journey, beginning from their pre migration stage and moving onto their lived experiences in the UK before turning the focus to the migrants' outcomes of either remaining in the UK or returning to Kenya. Chapter 8 concludes the thesis by providing an interpretation and discussion of key research findings.

The research objectives and questions are revisited in order to examine how and why they have been met. The strengths and limitations of the study have also been outlined. In an attempt to contribute to knowledge, the theoretical and practical contributions of this thesis have been laid out within this chapter and with the final section pointing forward to potential areas of future research.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUALISING CAREER EXPERIENCES OF KENYAN TRAINED HOTEL WORKERS IN THE UK HOTEL SECTOR

Chapter 2 aims to give an understanding through migration literature of the career experiences of trained Kenyan migrant hotel workers as shaped by structural factors. To do so, it employs three conceptual resources: migrants' cultural capital¹, the push and pull model of migration² which is then considered alongside the boundaryless career concept³. Attention is then turned to the returned migrants, the extent of their preparedness to return is considered and the factors leading to the decision to return to their home country are discussed. Following on in the chapter are the specific issues that emerge from the literature relating to the migrants' hotel career examining how they are shaped by the structural factors in the host country. Finally, the section outlines the main themes and gaps in migration literature explored herein, to form the research questions.

2.1 MOBILISING MIGRANTS' CULTURAL CAPITAL

One of the primary economic reasons for individuals seeking to migrate is to seek better prospects of employment and consequently improve their livelihood (Castles, 2000b; 2010; Chiswick, 2000; De Haan, 1999), given the potential to earn relatively higher wages. However, previous studies on labour migration indicate migrant workers are often faced with difficulty in accessing the host labour markets (Castles, 2000b and 2011). Generally, this is for the reason that their previous work experience and qualifications are not valued or recognised. Yet, as Becker (2009) argues, individuals place significance in obtaining

¹ A form of capital (accent, behaviour, language, skills and/or educational or qualifications) that individuals possess and draw on to generate advantages or benefits

² Assume that people migrate as there is potential to maximize their income in a different country due to a lack of opportunity to earn a higher income in their own country

³ Rationalises that individuals seek opportunities to cross geographical boundaries with career development and progression intentions

education and job training to improve their labour market outcomes. Further, Becker posits that despite the level of education, skills and work experience that migrants may possess, in most cases an unsatisfactory labour market outcome occurs in consideration of migrants' 'capital' (job-related skills, education, qualification and length of stay in their host country). Therefore, to address the tendency by employers in the host country to disregard migrants' qualifications and professionalism, this study seeks to highlight the application of migrants' cultural capital, predominantly the workers' hotel training and job-related skills acquired from a renowned hotel school in Africa (Sindiga, 1994). Taking into consideration the workers' cultural capital, the study further seeks to demonstrate how the workers are positioned in a foreign labour market, and for the workers that return to their country of origin, the bargaining power they have in navigating their local labour market after a period of absence.

Cultural capital, in this context, refers to the workers' skills, hotel professionalism and language, which they utilize by engaging their personal or migrant networks which act as a source of vital information necessary to obtain employment and facilitate migration. Accordingly, this follows the widespread general simplistic and informal recruitment practice in the hotel sector (Kelliher and Johnson, 1987, Croney, 1988) which are manifested through the social networks, given, also the cost cutting advantage acquired (Matthews and Ruhs 2007). As a useful resource to migrants within the host communities, previous studies have provided insights of migrants' networks as a useful channel to obtain employment (Waldinger, 2005), and a tool of integration and social cohesion (Castles, 2000a, 2010, Janta, Lugosi, Brown and Ladkin, 2012). By and large, these studies have highlighted the importance of social networks to facilitate an individual's migration from their home country to a chosen destination. Furthermore, recruitment and employment agencies have also

become a common channel through which migrant workers use to obtain employment abroad (Lai and Baum, 2005). The use of ethnic networks positions migrants to work in industries that are already dominated by members of their ethnic groups, for example, in the hospitality and health sectors in the UK (Batnitzky and McDowell (2013). Therefore, this study attempts to conceptualise and highlight hotel migrant workers' application of their cultural capital from Kenya into the UK whilst taking into consideration the importance social networks play in facilitating workers' mobility that is driven by the goal to enhance their hotel career.

Bourdieu (1986) distinguishes three forms of capital that an individual may possess. Firstly, economic capital (material assets and income) which may be immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalised in the form of property rights. The second form of capital is cultural-symbolic assets (accent, socially valued norms, language, skills and educational qualifications), hereafter referred to as 'cultural capital', and finally, social capital that refers to the size and type of social network an individual can access and draw upon to generate advantages or benefits. Nonetheless, the focus of this research applies Bourdieu's (1986) cultural capital given the need to understand career experiences of migrant workers. Bourdieu cautions that the value of each form of capital is socially evaluated, suggesting that an individual's stock of capital is determined within a particular social and spatial context. Therefore, elucidating Borjas' (1989) argument that whilst new arrivals may be equipped with the essential qualifications, skills and work experience in the host country, typically lack valuable skills such as language, knowledge about the location of jobs and where and how to engage in the labour market. Thus, it is this study's aim to draw on Bourdieu's (1986) cultural capital to rationalise migrants' attempt to utilize their cultural capital in order to obtain their career objectives in a foreign country.

In spite of Borjas' argument, human capital theory is insufficient in explaining the career experiences of migrant workers, more so, as encountered within different sectors. Within low waged sectors such as hotels, the theory attempts to rationalise migrant workers' lower earnings in contrast to expected earnings of local workers. Given that over time new arrivals get settled into the host country and develop a higher incentive than the locals to invest in their human capital (improve their language skills and search for higher-paying jobs). The theory generalizes migrant workers and overlooks the legal status of certain categories of these workers. For example, within legal frameworks, there may exist certain criteria in accordance to migration policies that individuals seeking to migrate for work must meet, such as, a.) proficiency in the host language considered as necessary to facilitate entry into the labour market, and b.) secured employment prior to arrival, perceived as a means to mitigate challenges likely to be encountered by new arrivals who lack the host country's labour market know-how. As such, possessing sufficient skills, qualifications and work experiences may not be sufficient to enable individuals to migrate, other resources, such as migrant networks are necessary to facilitate workers' migration.

Boyd (1989) acknowledges that relationships developed through social networks may actually be a powerful force that influence an individual's decision to migrate. The networks are useful because they can provide money to finance migration, information regarding jobs, accommodation and even become useful for emotional support. Therefore, this not only acts as a support network for migrants but also as an influencer in migration-making decisions. Bauder (2005) regards social connectivity as the ability to access scarce resources through belonging to a social network and/or institution, whilst highlighting the intangible aspect of social structure which migrants can mobilise to facilitate the action of movement from their country to another (Cederberg 2015).

In the work of Ryan, Sales, Tilki and Siara (2008) on Polish migrants in London, social networks are considered important in helping migrants obtain work through their existing social networks. The Polish migrants were resourceful to each other by passing useful information regarding employment opportunities and referring their comrades to potential employers. The free movement available to European Union (EU) citizens enabled and facilitated their mobility across the EU boundary. However, in view of social connectivity, it is necessary that migrant workers have access to social networks that facilitate labour market access to new migrant arrivals. However, the right to free movement is not available to all migrants who desire to relocate to the UK. For this reason, stringent UK immigration laws restrict free movement of non-EU migrant workers.

As such, despite the presence of existing non-EU migrant networks in targeted destination countries in the West, it may be necessary to utilize the services offered by employment intermediaries which often are perceived to facilitate the migration process including securing employment for migrant workers. This characterizes Putnam's (2007) definition of trustworthiness whereby migrant workers and employers exercise trust in the employment agent's ability to find suitable employment and workers, respectively. Similarly, Currie (2016) acknowledges that migrant workers rely on employment agents because they trust their (intermediaries') expertise to provide a safe and secure passage to destination country's labour market. Their strength is likely derived from their interconnectivity with employers and potential employees, whereby both parties are linked to each other through intermediaries.

Furthermore, Putnam (2007) emphasizes on applying the features of social organizations such as networks, norms and social trust coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit.

Alongside social networks, migrants can mobilise a variety of resources for a better quality of life, for example, Waddington and Sabates-Wheeler (2009) and Cederberg (2015) believe that migrants with higher levels of education and skills, are more likely to migrate as they have a comparative advantage in searching for employment abroad. Quite distinctively, Meyer (2001) notes that highly skilled workers, referred to as knowledge workers in industries such as IT, tend to migrate through formal routes. These consist of direct recruitment by employers or through relocation agencies. On the other hand, what is known about low-skilled migrant employment is largely linked to labour migration through personal or ethnic networks (Anderson, Ruhs, Rogaly and Spencer, 2006, Janta and Ladkin, 2009). This casts light on economic migrant workers who are perceived to be low-skilled, yet uses formal routes to migrate. However, in consideration of Bourdieu's (1986) notion of social networks, whilst educational qualifications, work experience and motivation are necessary for migration to occur, social networks are particularly significant in facilitating the migration process. In view of social networks, they could exist either formally or informally, but are vital in assisting migrant workers to integrate within the host community.

Similarly, Castles (2011) observes the recent shift from the traditional economic pull factor to family, friendship and community-based networks as facilitators of labour migration due to an increased awareness of micro and macro determinants of migration (Boyd, 1989). This echoes Portes and Rumbaut (2006) acknowledgement that the strength of social networks is derived from their interconnectivity between former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship and community. This is particularly useful to migrant workers who often have to overcome the labour market barriers of securing employment particularly that which is commensurate with their qualifications and skills.

Different studies suggest that the more employed contacts a new immigrant has, the more likely they are to learn about employment opportunities and a likelihood of obtaining employment (Andersson, Burgess and Lane, 2009, Anderson et al., 2006). However, stringent migration controls put in place in most Western countries have rendered existing migrant networks obsolete particularly in the case of non-EU workers who require work permit and visas to be legally employed. Regardless of the density of a migrant network that is useful in providing information about living and working conditions in distant locations, non-EU mobility is challenging. Nevertheless, employers who choose to abide by immigration law and policies are likely to find employing migrant workers a challenge given the strict requirements they are subjected to in the recruitment and employment of such workers.

From an employer's perspective, the networks are a means of reducing labour costs by sourcing labour directly from the pool of 'hard working with good attitude' migrant workers. This is undeniably favourable to the EU migrants who have the right of free movement particularly following EU border expansion in 2004. However, owing to State regulation, non-EU migrant workers face stringent visa restrictions, generally, requiring a mediator between employer and worker. The work visa regulations restrict non-EU workers to one employer until the end of their visa period. Nevertheless, it is considered profitable to the employers given the reduction of employers' labour costs which, in turn, to some extent reduces employee turnover. Employers appear to gain the full benefits of employing migrant workers through the work permit system given the ease of retaining workers, dictated by the validity of their work permit and visas.

Castles (2010) points towards the movement in migration studies from economic to non-economic drivers of migration and suggests investigation of the role of families, communities

and other social actors within the migration process. The networks are not only useful in providing information about potential employers, but also in the integration process which Sayad (2004) suggests is a continuous process where neither a beginning nor the end can be assigned. Therefore, as a coping mechanism of migration and settlement, migrants often have developed informal social networks which include personal relationships, families, friendship and community ties in both economic and social matters (Castles, 2000a). According to Garip (2008), the strengths of social networks accumulate and in the case of migrants, every migrant that comes into a country is assisted by migrants already settled in the host country, depicting migration as self-sustaining. Nonetheless, regardless of existing social networks that new migrants can capitalise on to facilitate settling in new environment, wider social processes may limit the practicality of these social networks. This is regardless of migrants' level of cultural capital, which is essential in equipping them with appropriate skills for the labour market.

DiPrete (1988) recognises the large and growing body of literature which questions how work has become more routinized and degraded, with less autonomy and responsibility for the worker, resulting in worker de-skilling. The term deskilling is coined from capitalist employers who redesigned the production process in order to take control of workers' knowledge and pass this into the hands of management (Braverman, 1998). In migration literature, the term is used to describe the non-recognition of migrant workers' educational qualifications and work experiences in the host country (Bauder, 2003, Kofman, Raghuram and Merefieid, 2005, Williams, 2006, Siar, 2013). It is often the case that, in spite of migrants' qualifications and previous experience, they have less autonomy at work. Thus, the study extends the argument of deskilling through Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital arguing that structural factors present in the host country play a role in inhibiting utilisation

of migrants' capital. Furthermore, the hotel sector is one that is associated with de-skilling of workers (Lindsay and McQuaid, 2004 and Talwar, 2002). In the case of migrant workers bound by visa regulations, often the workers are faced with restrictive immigration policies that have an impact on their geographical and career mobility. For instance, the immigration frameworks may restrict labour migrants changing employers irrespective of poor working conditions at work places. It is likely that working in precarious conditions will impact on migrants' career progression.

Kelly and Lusia (2006 p.836) emphasise that 'all forms of capital within an individual are not fixed assets or attributes, but are always dynamically circulating'. Thus, in fact, forms of capital are embedded within an individual and do not get spent even when they are used. So therefore, when migrant workers obtain employment in the host country, this results in their cultural capital being applied and perceived to yield results if the workers obtain employment commensurate with their skills and qualifications. In contrast, when migrant workers' cultural capital is suppressed, it is likely that there is a mismatch between their skills and the type of employment they are in, resulting to underemployment of the workers.

In its broadest terms, McGuinness, Pouliakas and Redmond (2017) describe skill mismatch as a concept that incorporates various measurements such as over/under education, over/under skilling, skill gaps, skill shortages and skill obsolescence. Whilst there is an overlap amongst these factors that result in skill mismatch, this research focuses on the skill element of workers. The ineffective utilization of workers' skills has negative impacts on both the employee and the employer. Research on skills mismatch has focussed on the overages of individual's cultural capital; over education and over skilling which surprisingly do not necessarily lead to overemployment (McGuinness et al., 2017). Overeducated workers are

disadvantaged because they often earn wages equivalent to workers who are appropriately qualified and are suitably matched for the job. But in the case of skilled migrant workers in low- waged economies, they are even less privileged taking into account their state of being overeducated and overqualified workers yet local workers could occupy the same position, on higher pay but with little or no qualifications. As such, one of the ways in which skill mismatch manifests itself is through underemployment of skilled migrant hotel workers.

Migration emerges as a lifestyle enhancement strategy to many individuals and governments may consider it a means to reduce unemployment within their countries, whilst improving balance of payments via remittances for a country with a primary goal of stimulating development (Castles, 2004). According to Asis (2017), there are countries such as Philippines where migration is culturally engrained such that many families have migrant networks consisting of relatives in different parts of the world such as North America, Western Europe, East and South East Asia and Middle Eastern countries. This is not only individual or family driven but also government led, for example, the Philippines government also actively encourages and supports outward migration of its citizens (Abella,1993; cited in Castles, 2004). The outward migration of such countries may be viewed as part of national culture which is supported for economic requirements.

Whilst official statistics of migrants' remittances to their origin countries are usually estimates, given the various channels (formal and informal) used by migrants, Rodriguez (1996) acknowledges the general acceptance of their importance. Scholars such as Gubert (2002) view migrant remittances as informal insurance covers for family members left behind in country of origin. Generally, south-north migration is fuelled by a pursuit for economic gain, given the poor economic conditions in most countries in the south (Tzeng, 2010) and

the prospect of remittances that facilitate economic developments in the countries of origin. However, there are cohorts of the south-north migrant workers whose outward migration is not culturally or economically engrained, instead it is motivated by the cultural capital in their possession. These individuals consider exchanging their skills, knowledge and professional qualifications for relatively higher wages whilst anticipating the establishment of long-term careers and a possibility of permanent residency in the host country.

2.2 PUSH AND PULL FACTORS OF LABOUR MIGRATION

Migration is an on-going process that can be re-evaluated and re-considered severally over an individual's life-course (Ryan, Sales, Tilki and Siara, 2009). The push and pull framework alongside the Harris-Todaro (Harris and Todaro 1970) model assume that people migrate because of the potential to earn a higher income in a different country. Dzvimbo (2003) considers the push factors as the unfavourable conditions in country of origin such poor wages, unemployment, crime, and currency devaluation among others in the home country, all or any of which drive people to leave their country. On the other hand, pull factors relate to the favourable conditions including likely higher salaries, opportunity for employment, safety, and a higher standard of living amongst others that attract individuals to the receiving countries. Van Hear, Bakewell and Long (2018) also identify mediating factors that enable, facilitate, or constrain migration. The facilitators are classified as infrastructure for example, transport, communication and other resources needed for the journey, whereas the constrainers are categorised as those that hinder migration, for instance the lack of infrastructure and information and other resources required in order to move.

The commonly widely view is that, whilst motivations for human migration are numerous human migration is for economic gain (Boon and Ahenkan, 2012). Monetary motivation is posited by Borjas (1989) and Gross and Schmitt (2012) as the effort to maximize income by moving from low-wage to high-wage economies. In examining the economic capital of migrant workers, one most obvious approach might be to estimate the purchasing power of their financial assets brought to the host country, alongside their earnings upon arrival (Kelly and Lusia, 2006) and eventually calculate their financial assets upon returning to their countries. Furthermore, stronger and stable economies are likely to attract migrant workers in contrast to weaker economies of developing countries. In addition, the ease and economic advantage of attracting workers from developing countries is a strategy that advanced economies (Jordan and Brown, 2007). Perhaps, also assuming that when migrants leave, job opportunities arise in the countries of origin, thus providing employment for the unemployed. However, Vasquez (1987) cautions that this is only a temporary effect, given several reasons, for example, the void created by migrating workers is not necessarily equivalent to number of unemployed individuals in the sending country, or workers available may not be qualified for the vacancies created, amongst other causes.

Scholars of economic migration acknowledge that international migration tends to be seen as a form of geographical mobility that potentially leads to other forms of mobility in wages or occupations (Chiswick, 1978; Borjas, 1994; van Ham, 2001) and consequently, mostly related to forms of socio-economic advancement. Through migration, individuals have the opportunities to improve their lifestyles in a myriad of ways, for example, develop careers, access better labour market opportunities, and improve their language skills amongst many others. According to Sander and Mainbo (2005), people not only migrate to improve their own lifestyle but also the lives of the families they leave behind.

However, a criticism based on economic push and pull factors is the failure of the economic models to recognize that although there may be potential for migrant workers to earn a higher income abroad, some sectors are generally classified in the low wage economies. For example, hospitality work, particularly in a European context, has a stigmatised status primarily due to the perceived low-skill and low-wage image (Choi, Woods and Murrmann, 2000, Szivas, Riley and Airey, 2003). Therefore, to fill the gap of undesirable hospitality work, job opportunities particularly in the low end of the skills spectrum are reserved for the marginalised individuals in the society, such as, migrant workers given that they are driven to accept low wages irrespective of their skill capabilities. Furthermore, the degree of flexibility in terms of working hours offered by the nature of the work in the hotel industry is a pull factor for many migrants seeking quick returns of their human capital investment. This confirms May, Wills, Datta, Evans, et al.'s (2007) and Wills, Datta, Evans, Herbert et al.'s (2010) finding that it is common for migrants to work long hours and hold two or more jobs, with additional jobs also being in the low-sector. This might require that the workers are psychologically prepared to work long shifts and seek extra work hours as a means of rapid accumulation of cash savings.

Therefore, this study adds to the work of other scholars who challenge the notion of undesirable hospitality work arguing the presence of hospitality workers who are highly educated and willing to pursue a career in the sector (Baum, Hearn and Devine, 2007b, Szivas et al., 2003). The pursuit of a hotel career abroad is a desirable factor that leads career actors into migrating into another country and not necessarily the economic prospects.

The studies mentioned above cast light on other structural factors present that may hinder migrant workers' mobilities in the host country. Van Hear et al. (2018) note that public policies and practices in an European context are often concerned about integration and transnational engagement of migrants (Bakewell, Oliver, Engbersen, Fonseca and Horst, 2016). Further, they argue that migration begets migration. This could often lead to policies targeted at curbing migration given the rise in unprecedented numbers of migrants in a country. Thus, resulting in implementation of policies that could bear variety forms of mobility for migrant workers.

The push and pull factors of human migration lay emphasis on a form of mobility of individuals from less advanced to advanced economies, given the economic prospects. However, the framework fails to address mobility of returning migrants to their home countries, who may not necessarily return because of prospects of higher wages in their countries of origin but for other reasons.

2.3 BOUNDARYLESS CAREER CONCEPT

As part of globalization, there has been an increased trend of individuals seeking opportunities to cross geographical boundaries with career development and progression intentions (Tung, 2008). Arnold, Silvester, Patterson, Robertson, Cooper and Burnes (2005 p.520) define career as 'the sequence of employment-related positions, roles, activities and experiences encountered by a person', over time (Arthur, Hall and Lawrence, 1989). Time is a crucial factor in the subject of career, given that it is only over a period of time that an individual's employment stability, skills and experiences are acquired, relationships are nurtured and opportunities encountered, whereas a job does not make such assertions (Arthur

and Rousseau, 2001). Therefore, it becomes more logical to relate an individual's past and future rather than solely consider their job only in present moment. Moreover, career experiences are considered either subjectively or objectively (Greenhaus , Callanan and Godshalk, 2000), by shifting from the organizational career concept which considers careers to unfold in a single employment setting.

A key element of the boundaryless career is the focus on the career actor's subjective meaning, hence an independent career arrangement rather than the dependence form on the traditional organizational career that has an objective perspective. Arthur and Rousseau (2001) emphasise six attributes of the boundaryless careers: Moves across boundaries of separate employers, has the ability to draw validation and marketability from outside present employer, is sustained by external networks, traditional organization career boundaries are broken, existing career opportunities are rejected for personal/family reasons, and dependant on the interpretation of the career actor. However, other than the observable attribute where workers exercise mobility across boundaries, other boundaryless career attributes fail to characterise migrant workers; whose foreign credentials are invalidated in the host country and whose external networks are dysfunctional in the context of dominant immigration regulatory frameworks. In a similar vein, Myers and Pringle (2005) caution the unpredictability of careers given complexities present beyond national boundaries that individuals may not be aware of until they encounter them.

In respect to an individual's mobility, in matters of geographical boundary crossing, career actors demonstrate career changes which Sullivan and Arthur (2006) view as physical (objective) or psychological (subjective). Zikic, Bonache and Cerdin (2010) distinguish between objective careers as considered by the host society compared to subjective careers

which are interpreted by the individual. Within objective careers, individuals are presented with structural constraints and opportunities which influence how the workers' abilities are construed (King, 2004). The perspective of the subjective career according to Barley (1989), is how the career actor evaluates and experiences their career hence making it a personal and unique account of career success (Gunz and Heslin, 2005). As such, societal norms that benchmark career success by way of, for example, pay or rank may possibly not define an individual's self-assessed career success. Consequently, from a subjective career lens, it is not unusual that individuals are required to assume ownership of their career development, acquire and maintain a skills set that would foster their adaptability in rapidly changing labour markets (Hall, 1996). As such, where career actors take responsibility of their career experiences, it is necessary that they draw upon a variety of resources for example, social networks in order to gain benefit of other people's knowledge and resources to serve their career interests. Relying on the interpersonal networks that provide career-related information and resources is considered important if mobility is to be achieved. Hence, the view that an individual's career does not revolve only around work but hinges on other social aspects is essential in its shaping. In the same way, any factors that influence a lack of career progression span beyond the work- place, given that they are either internal or external specific.

The traditional viewpoint of career has generally considered it 'a succession of related jobs arranged in a hierarchy of prestige, through which persons move in an ordered (more or less predictable) sequence' (Wilensky, 1960 p. 554), and through a single employer (Arthur and Rousseau, 2001). Therefore, implying a logical translation of career as that which relates to an individual's past and future rather than the mere consideration of the present. In contrast, alternative 'newer' career notions denote a subjective perspective. For instance, Arthur

(1994) and Arthur and Rousseau (2001) conceptualize the 'new' career not only as a sequence of work experience over time but urge understanding of an individual's experiences in interaction with the broader social and economic environment. This ultimately spans beyond any single employer and within any specific country, befitting the description 'boundaryless'(DeFillippi and Arthur, 1996). In a similar vein, Sullivan and Baruch (2009) define career as that which comprises an individual's work-related and other relevant experiences, both inside and outside of the organization that form a unique pattern over an individual's life span. This echoes Bourdieu's (1986) argument that the combination of social, economic and cultural capital play a significant role in enabling or constraining an individual's career. By investing in their cultural capital, individuals develop competencies required in their work assignment.

According to Baum's (2015) assessment of tourism industry employment, there is a widespread negative image of the industry which is a strong indicator of poorly defined career paths, particularly in a western context. Consequently, there may be several implications of the negative image of the industry generally and, with particular reference to migrant workers, where underemployment appears to be inevitable. This poor reputation of the industry may not have undergone fundamental changes in recent years. For instance, for a long time, the tourism and by extension hospitality industry has, and continues to experience a negative image (Ladkin, 2011). This is attributed by perceptions of poor pay, difficult working conditions and limited growth and development opportunities for marginalized groups of people in the society (Baum, 2015). Nevertheless, other scholars, justify the working hours pattern to be beneficial given the flexible working patterns that maybe suitable to certain individuals for example, female workers and part-time students (Baum, 1995; Lai and Baum, 2005; Wood, 1992). Nevertheless, such characteristics appear less deterrent to

individuals who aspire to pursue a career in hospitality. However, other external factors form barriers towards such career aspirations.

Swanson and Woitke (1997, p. 446) define career boundaries as events or conditions “within the person or in his or her environment that make career progress difficult”. These are differentiated by Gunz and Mayrhofer (2011) as career boundaries that constrain, enable and/or punctuate an individual’s career development. This echoes Forrier, Sels and Stynen’s (2009) observation that an interplay of individual and structural factors are likely to shape individual’s careers, suggesting that individuals could make decisions that inhibit or accelerate progression of their careers. However, structural factors considered to present both geographical and career mobility will determine the career progression of individuals (career actors). Individuals can move from place to place to seek employment that suits their lifestyle whereas the characteristics of the labour market is a determinant of their career outcome.

The low-skilled sector is perceived as an employer suited primarily to individuals with little or no formal qualifications, arguably due to the nature of tasks performed that require a low level of skills and are repetitive in their type. As such, migrant workers with higher educational credentials in employment within the low-skilled sectors inevitably are underemployed given that their ‘foreign’ career capital is unrecognized (Zikic et al., 2010) and foreign work experience is discounted (Fang, Zikic and Novicevic, 2009, King, 2004). The immediate impact is underutilization of their specialized hotel skills and given that they remain in low-skill employment in the long term, their career progression is constrained. To address the challenge of remaining in underemployment and facilitate career development, King (2004) urges individuals to increase their level of cultural capital and build more social networks. Individuals can seek to improve their educational credentials by obtaining further

training in relevant skills, consequently enhancing their labour market outcomes (Becker, 2009). However, taking heed of King's (2004) suggestion and given the presence of structural factors that often hamper workers' progression, it is important to facilitate the inclusion for migrant workers of the improvement in their cultural capital within the host country. Additionally, it would also be beneficial to actively widen and engage their social networks in order to generate as numerous advantages and benefits (Bourdieu, 1986) in the labour market as is possible resulting in numerous employment prospects.

Eby, Butts and Lockwood (2003) categorize an individual's career competencies into three, to primarily reflect their ways of knowing. They refer to: motivation and identity (knowing-why), skills and expertise (knowing-how) and relationships (knowing-whom). Thus, in their study, they conclude that individuals bearing greater levels of competences in the three domains achieve career success. However, these career competencies are likely to enable career actors, such as native workers operating within their own labour markets, and for whom structural factors present in the state do not act as a constraint. Cohorts of workers such as migrants, may be restricted by certain immigration rules that govern migrant labour so that their career competencies are taken for granted. Nonetheless, Bourdieu (1986) argues that for an individual to enhance their productivity, it is necessary that they mobilize their varied forms of capital. Thus, as a means of progressing their career, recognizing and operationalizing their capital is crucial. It is necessary that individuals build up cultural capital by acquiring knowledge and skills relevant for employment, engage their economic capital (liquidate assets) to fund training, during which time associations are maintained and new ones created, subsequently resulting in employment opportunities..

2.4. RETURN MIGRATION

Economic models of migration explain prospects for a higher income as the primary reason for migration. In a similar vein, Qureshi, Varghese and Osella (2013) argue that migration is considered an asset, particularly with respect to the receiving country. Migrant workers transfer their skills and professional knowledge from their country of origin to the receiving country thereby enriching it. The argument is further extended to skilled migrant workers who also reap a career benefit should they have the opportunity to advance their careers (Qureshi et al, 2013). From the perspective of the sending countries, they also get to benefit from migration through migrants' remittances and/or when migrants transfer skills gained abroad back to their countries of origin. In light of this, it validates questions for migrant workers who have made the decision to migrate abroad to want to return to their home country. However, unless the initial migration decision was erroneous in respect to anticipated economic opportunities (Borjas and Bratsberg, 1994) abroad, return migration may inevitably become a puzzle (Yang, 2009). Nonetheless, in regards to return migration and from an economic perspective, when the benefits of staying abroad are lower than the cost, an individual decides to return (Dustmann and Weiss, 2007). Nevertheless, key drivers of return migration are identified to be: improvement of the situation at origin country, the feeling of belonging to one's culture and society (kinship ties), the achievement of specific set objectives whilst in the host country (Chappell and Glennie, 2010) and homesickness and educational pursuits (Filimonau and Mika, 2019).

It is also possible that as a result of structural factors that take the form of career boundaries, careers may become punctuated. Interestingly, it may be a period when yet another career is being enabled. This echoes Okay-Somerville and Scholarios (2014) who argue that career boundaries on some occasions in an individual's career journey effectively act as a guide to

the formation of a different career. Perhaps a different job within the same sector which they term 'lateral boundary-crossing' and which could lead to progression of one's career. These authors argue that, within the lateral movement, individuals may accumulate skills and experience over time that could be useful in obtaining better employment. The lapse period of their former career turns out to be a period when their former career was coming to a halt and a foundation for their new career being set up. However, it is unlikely that lateral boundary crossing applies to migrant workers in the host country, given immigration restrictions, but they could experience it once the restrictions are lifted and they exercise permanent residency rights or once they have returned to their country of origin.

On the contrary, Yang (2009) classifies motivations for individuals to return to their home countries as target-earning levels and life-cycle considerations. The latter considers where the workers may encounter conflicting commitment between their careers and families (Munton, Forster, Altman and Greenbury, 1993), whereas the former takes into account improved economic conditions in the host country resulting in longer stays or target earners may have shorter stays should there be improved economic conditions which lead them to achieve their targets quickly. In addition, Dustmann (1999) maintains the desire for migrants to consume goods and services in their home country, whilst enjoying location-fixed externalities such as climate, language, food and culture, with family and friends increases return probability. However, such factors as considered by Dustmann (1999) lead migrants to their home countries on visit purposes but not returning permanently. They become a cycle, where migrants move away abroad, accumulate goods and return to spend these with their families in their country of origin with the aim of returning to the host country to earn some more and the cycle continues. Nevertheless, the schools of thoughts according to Chappell and Glennie (2010) and Yang (2009), are of the view that individuals will seek to return to their home

country as soon as they have achieved their goals without risking the eventuality of staying on longer. Nonetheless, the assumption of these schools of thought is that steps to achieve personal goals are linear in form. However, given externalities that may present themselves in the host country, these factors are likely to disrupt an individuals' plans and cause them to remain in the host country for a period much longer than was previously anticipated.

Therefore, it is logical that target earners prefer shorter stays abroad, short enough to accumulate savings at a minimum investment threshold (Yang, 2009). For example, targeting to obtain tuition fees for educational or capital equipment investment. However, Yang is careful not to provide an estimate of the length of time that defines a short or long stay. Nevertheless, the focus of his studies on return migration has primarily consisted of expatriates from western countries (Tzeng, 1995, Saxenian, 2005). A further widening gap on returnees as identified by Tzeng (2010) is the focus on the well-educated but non-corporate elite western professionals. Yet still, little attention has been paid to workers from less advanced countries who migrate to pursue their careers abroad and for whom a decision to return to their home country is reached.

According to Cook, Dwyer and Waite (2011), decisions to settle on a more permanent basis are, however, often dependent upon migrants' experiences in the host country's labour market, irrespective of time spent. In the same vein, Dustmann (2003) discusses that return intentions shape migrants' settlement processes labour market performance, and economic performance such as savings and remittance behaviour. Interestingly, such expositions can be traced in explaining the potential to influence decisions of return migration. Nonetheless, individuals may be reluctant to return to their home countries if they assume that the push factors are still prevalent, for example high unemployment rates in origin countries. This

echoes Cook et al.'s (2011) study, which reveals that as people become aware of potential migration benefits, they are likely to remain for longer periods in the host country and there is a possibility of taking up permanent residence. Thus, the desire to return to their home countries diminishes given the original push factors from home country outnumber pull factors in the host country rendering return to their countries questionable, unless other factors compel the workers' return to their countries of origin.

Similarly, Klinthäll (2006) and Böcker and Balkir (2012) observe that the behavioural intentions to return may vary depending on a) migrants' life-stage b) constantly changing contextual factors, such as economic, political and other external factors which drive migrants to decide whether to return or delay their return until when they are pensionable. Yet, in other cases, staying permanently in the host country becomes a choice due to return constraints (Bolognani, 2007, Waldorf, 1995) probably derived from either home or the host country. Amongst migrants who chose to remain, return or delay their return (De Coulon and Wolff, 2006), the decision to migrate is facilitated by an individual's ownership of resources. This suggests that individuals will take into consideration whether they have achieved their target prior to returning to their home country, or assess how much more to achieve in order to determine the length of their stay in the host country.

Migration scholars acknowledge that migrants returning from the West to their countries of origin in developing countries are often more concerned with their personal and social competencies as opposed to their professional skills (Sabates-Wheeler, 2009). This is attributed by their acquired new competencies which are highly regarded in their homeland due to the international exposure. Individuals act in the context of evaluations and expectations by the various forms of capital being valued and given meaning (Kelly and

Lusis, 2006). For example, Williams and Baláž (2005) study found that Slovakian students who had returned from UK considered that it was more important to have enhanced social and personal competence than have formal qualifications and professional skills because the latter were highly valued than possessing educational qualifications even though from abroad.

According to Bourdieu (1986), an individual may boast of their cultural that he/she would transfer from their origin country to the host country. A vast majority of migrant workers would expect to 'trade' their capital in return for a different resource. Economic migrants presume that they could transfer their cultural capital abroad in exchange for an enhanced lifestyle for themselves and their families, either those who migrate with them or those left behind in the origin country. However, Erel (2010) refutes that cultural capital cannot be assumed to be transferred in a 'rucksack' from one country to another by an actor. Metaphorically, she argues that migrants should not be perceived as individuals who pack their cultural capital from their home country and upon arrival in the host country unpack it for their use. Instead, she metaphorises their cultural capital using Bourdieusian notions as a treasure box that consists of valuables such as language skills, education qualifications, and work experience amongst others.

Once in the host country, the migrant engages in bargaining activities with employers, or other institutions about the value of their treasures. Frequently though, the value of the migrant's treasure box are undervalued (Anderson et al., 2006, Datta, McIlwaine, Evans, Herbert, May and Wills, 2007) hence leading to the systematic exclusion of migrant workers from the upper segment of the labour market (Bauder, 2003). This is not because they are actually worth less but because it takes a period of several years or even generations for migrants to be integrated in the host country (Bauder, 2003). Nevertheless, such individuals

could add on new valuables to their treasure box such as new skills or gain personal competences which whilst they may not be valuable in the host country, will still be considered valuable in the country of origin. Accordingly, the various forms of capital are simply not packed and unpacked during migration, instead a process of valuation and exchange takes place even well after settlement or even at the point of return to one's home country (Erel, 2010).

2.4.1 REINTEGRATION

According to Cassarino (2004), when return migration is voluntary it is preceded by gathering of resources to facilitate reintegration at home. The intention to return prompts migrants to remit and accumulate physical capital in the country of origin to facilitate their resettlement (Ahlburg and Brown, 1998). Return preparedness is an important element to consider because it is part of an individual's migration cycle which commences from their preparation to migrate abroad, leading to their experience while abroad and eventually their return to home country (those that return or are yet to). However, other scholars emphasise that returnees, particularly to less advanced countries are often likely to be the more successful highly educated ones (Batista, Lacuesta and Vicente, 2007). This is echoed by Dustmann and Weiss' (2007) in their study for the UK that, among those likely to return to their home countries, are those workers in highly skilled occupations and regularly within the first ten years of their arrival in the host country.

It is maintained that return migration is hardly a straightforward matter of re-uniting with the society in the country of origin. Howard (1974) and Szkudlarek (2010) argue that adjusting upon return to one's country of origin is a more difficult and complex process compared to the initial adjustment during outward migration. Nevertheless, it is fundamental that returning

migrants are prepared for their return in order to fully reintegrate in their original society. Cassarino (2008, p.101) defines return preparedness as ‘a process which, takes place in real life, through time, and is shaped by changing circumstances (personal experiences, contextual factors in sending and receiving countries) in their broadest sense’. It is not only about preparing for return but also having the ability, although not always, to gather the tangible and intangible resources needed to secure one’s own return to country of origin. Following Cassarino’s (2008) outlook on return preparedness, implies the expectation of returning to home countries by any individual who has migrated.

There appears to be similar characteristics exemplified by migrants upon arrival in the host country and when they arrive back to their home country. As described above, migrant workers often are faced with challenges of re-integrating into the host country. Arowolo (2000) refers to reintegration as the economic, cultural and social reincorporation of returned migrants into their home country. This is in parallel to challenges they encounter when they migrate to other countries. Often, there are difficulties of social and cultural re- adjustments given the absences in home countries. According to Nititham (2011), re-adjusting to one’s own culture after a period of absence can be challenging. For example, Nititham’s (2011) study demonstrates a challenging time to Filipinos who had returned to the Philippines to find that their previous social circles had shifted. The manifestation of this can be isolating to the returned individuals given that previous friendships might have been terminated. Thus, individuals begin to form other close bonds either with former acquaintances or make new social connections. According to Arowolo (2000), other acute challenges that return migrants are likely to face range from joblessness and social maladjustment to boredom and frustration. As a result, this could often lead to personality disorders resulting in effects that are manifested in various ways such as alcoholism, depression and other social

misdemeanours. Nonetheless, language is often not a problematic element in reintegrating to one's country of origin, given that one is not likely to have lost their native language skills. This echoes Dustmann's (2003) argument that the adeptness of a host country's language will contribute to a positive social integration within the host community.

From an economic perspective, Arowolo (2000) argues the primary impediment to a full re-integration is the inability to secure waged employment. Further, he rationalises that returning migrants seeking employment, particularly in a developing country context, exacerbate the existing socio-economic challenge of unemployment. For this reason, scholars have suggested intervention strategies to enable a smooth re-integration process. Suggested plans include, a pre-return orientation following a comprehensive study of the social, economic and demographic conditions of returnees and the environment to which they return (Arowolo, 2000). In addition, major elements of reintegration programme should include but not limited to provision of: financial and investment advice particularly to potential returning entrepreneurs (Batista, McIndoe-Calder and Vicente, 2017), information on labour market entry (Agyeman and Garcia, 2016), and career guidance alongside counselling (Arowolo, 2000). Agyeman and Garcia (2016) consider financial assistance, housing and training also fundamental in the reintegration process of returning migrants.

2.5 SPECIFIC ISSUES EMERGING FROM LITERATURE

2.5.1 MIGRANT WORKERS' CAREER EXPLOITATION

Wu, Guo and Sheehan (2010) acknowledge that labour exploitation is not limited to undocumented, smuggled or trafficked people, but can extend to legal migrant workers too. Generally, this may be due to the dependence migrant workers have on a particular employer

for legality purposes thereby reinforcing the dependence on the employers' goodwill for their legal stay to work in the UK. For example, it is to be expected that generally non-EU workers, mainly those on work permits were threatened by the numbers of new arrivals from the new member states of the European Union from May 2004 (Salt and Millar, 2006). The Eastern European migrants were often perceived to be willing to accept any wages, even lower than the norm and inferior terms and conditions of work (May, Wills, Datta, Evans, Herbert and McIlwaine, 2007), which as Borjas (2001) argues, drives down wages which non-EU migrants, regardless of their level of cultural capital had to accept.

Nevertheless, given the dependence on their employers with regards to suitable documentation for legality purposes, May et al.,(2007) suggest that migrant workers may remain silent to any form of work exploitation. The silence is further exacerbated by the increased numbers of migrants competing for low-waged jobs (May et al., 2008). For instance, previous studies highlight the predominance of migrant workforce as a constant supply of unskilled labour in the hospitality sector (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009, Janta et al., 2011). Reasons for labour exploitation vary across different groups of migrant workers and may take different forms. For example, migrants who in spite of their hard work ethos have limited language skills may inadequately express themselves when negotiating for a fair pay, and could result in employer misjudging the workers' negotiations. Furthermore, Anderson (2010) argues that migrant workers who are subjected to immigration controls are also often faced with the challenge of occupying positions that are not commensurate with their qualifications and skills. Such workers are compelled to remain compliant in order to maintain good relations with the employer for purposes of continuous legal status through consequent sponsorship of work permit. Migrant workers' good ethic may be as a result of their attempt to gratify employers for a favourable response during the legal process of

seeking permission to remain as legal workers. This may be confused with Rowley and Purcell's (2001) observation that hospitality employers value migrant workers soft skills over hard skills.

It is argued that the influx of migrant workers from post-socialist Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) in the UK following the opening of the border in 2004 (Samaluk, 2016) is an appreciated phenomenon. This suggests that their density could be one that leads to replacing long-established minority ethnic populations in the UK. Nevertheless, Anderson and Ruhs (2010) argue that employers prefer the recent Accession 8 (A8) migrants of (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia) over local workers on the basis of their work ethic. There is also the possibility that these workers are regarded a workforce that may be reluctant to negotiate fair working conditions given the lack of language skills. Few years after the 2004 EU expansion, the UK adopted an intense managed and regulated migration regime on non-EU and as such, the route for country-specific workers could not be further explored but as an alternative, employers' focus shifted to EU migrants (Anderson et al, 2006; Anderson 2010). Thus, in exchange for trained and skilled hotel professionals the hotel owners were inclined to employ individuals who may or may not have had suitable skills for the job.

Chiswick, Lee and Miller (2003) regard international migration as a form of geographical mobility that potentially leads to other forms of mobility in wages or occupations. In most instances, migrants seek to enhance their socio-economic position. Owing to their economic advantage and the ease of attracting migrant labour in advanced economies (Jordan and Brown, 2007) employers obtain an upper hand over the migrant workers. Samaluk (2016) identifies that a lack of embodied cultural capital in the host country is likely to result in

migrants experiencing a cultural inferiority regularly demonstrated by deskilling and the devaluation of migrants' credentials. According to Iredale (2005) and Kaczmarczyk and Okólski (2005), it is common for highly skilled migrant workers (university degree holders) to migrate and instead of advancing their professional careers find themselves in the lower echelons on the skills spectrum, qualify as 'occupational skidders'(Trevena, 2012). This echoes what other scholars describe as 'occupational downgrading' (Brandi, 2001; Reitz, 2001; Liversage, 2009), whereby skilled migrant workers' level of human capital (relatively higher education qualification alongside their work experience) is often overlooked that they end up in low end jobs, they arguably experience. Inevitably, rendering it difficult for such workers to obtain a return on their human capital investment.

Previous research on labour migration acknowledge that migrants moving from developing to developed countries experience relatively higher gains in income than they would in their own countries. However, in comparison to the native workers, migrants are placed on a lower earnings scale (Papademetriou, Somerville and Sumption, 2009) and are likely to work in lower skilled occupations. A study by Tzeng (2010) identified employers in Taiwan with businesses that were orientated towards western markets with a preference for western expatriates. Employers preferred hiring professional migrants with proficient language skills in contrast to the local employees who were considered to have poor English. Furthermore, the workers were deemed to have an understanding of western cultural values which the locals lacked. Thus, such workers were perceived to attract large volumes of business. Similarly, hotel employers in advanced economies have preferred to employ migrant workers as they are deemed 'to have good work ethic'(Anderson and Ruhs, 2010) which results in higher profit margins for the hotel business enterprises.

However, Gordon and Lenhardt (2007) contend the preference of migrant over local workers. They argue that the preference of migrant workers, especially the work permit holders over local workers, must be understood that it is partly in terms of the level of dependence these workers have on their employers. The workers may portray and maintain a good work ethic in return for continued work permit sponsorship in order to maintain a legal status in the host country. Once the migrants are no longer subjected to migration controls they may no longer portray the 'good' worker culture. Despite the change of working attitude that might be portrayed by the workers, the cultural diversity at work places brought about by the influx of migrant workers within the hospitality sector is one that must be appreciated (Baum et al., 2007b).

Many studies reveal that despite the education, skills and work experience gained by migrants from their home countries often these abilities are either taken for granted or devalued by employers in the host country (Olivier, 2013). For example, McDowell et al. (2009) note that in Britain many EU migrants perform jobs which do not match their academic and vocational qualifications, and inevitably cluster in occupations of the lowest graded work in the sector. This could be due to a number of factors: insufficient knowledge of where to search for jobs, devaluation of the migrants' credentials, disregard of their work experience, inadequate language skills (Dyer, McDowell and Batnitzky, 2010, Liversage, 2009a) and lack of social networks (Dyer et al., 2010), all resulting in systematic exclusion from the upper segments of the labour market (Bauder, 2003).

The debate about the lifestyle paradigm by hotel entrepreneurs investing in hospitality and tourism business brings a fresh prominence in the subject of hospitality entrepreneurship (Skokic, Lynch and Morrison 2016). Hospitality and tourism entrepreneurial scholars raise different motivations geared towards individuals venturing into business within the industry.

Incentives include but are not limited to: maximising profit as a non-priority for small business owners, Dewhurst and Horobin (1998), maintaining a distinctive balance between work and private leisure time (Di Domenico 2003), desire to be one's own boss (Lashley and Rowson 2010), moving to a favourable natural environment (Shaw and Williams 1998), switch from a stressful urban corporate employment (Morrison, Baum and Andrew, 2001) and keeping the family together (Hall and Rusher, 2004). Therefore, taking into account these factors, there is a clear indication of an emotional inclination rather than a financial predisposition. Thus, there is a likelihood that the running of such business enterprises may not match a potential worker's aspiration to employment or career objectives. However, given the pressure of migrant workers who might have escaped harsh economic conditions to seek employment abroad, it is possible that individuals may take on any jobs. In this instance, there is a potential of the workers encountering career frustrations, if their career aspirations are taken into account. Nonetheless, migrants' willingness to accept low-end occupations irrespective of their qualifications jeopardizes their pre-migratory professions.

According to Ioannides and Zampoukos (2011), it is because migrants are likely to remain trapped in a dead end of the low-end jobs, even though the intention was temporary. Thus, leading to an 'irreversibly permanent' (Brandi, 2001, p.108) situation of a loss of status and possibly long term career loss (Bauder, 2003; Liversage, 2009). However, the hospitality sector has constantly been considered a gateway to other careers or at least the labour market (Alberti, 2014) where many are attracted to the sector given the ease of penetration into the labour market (Ladkin, 2011). As such, Janta et al. (2011) note that employment within the sector is often considered a temporary solution that opens doors for different career paths in the future. Therefore, suggesting that skilled migrant workers in hospitality sector could also

choose to switch their hotel career for others in the labour market, however dependent on the flexibility of their immigration status, resulting in a loss of skilled workforce for the industry.

2.5.2 UNDEREMPLOYMENT OF SKILLED HOTEL MIGRANT WORKERS

Overall, there seems to be a general consensus that migrant workers' cultural capital is often devalued when workers' skills are underutilized. Skill underutilization, is a term used by Reitz (2001) to refer to any employment of immigrants in work below a level of skill at which they could function. This is likely caused by global inequalities that may compel migrant workers to be prepared to take on jobs at wages and conditions that the local workers may not consider attractive (Anderson, 2010). Taking into account existing global inequalities, Adepoju (2000) points out the two categories of migrants needed to cope with the economic and demographic imperatives: the highly specialised professionals (high-skilled) who are in short supply, and the other set of low-skilled migrant workers to perform poorly paid, dirty, and dangerous jobs which local workers may tend to shy away from. The research focus is on the latter set of workers that emphasises the plight of migrant workers undertaking work that is below their qualifications as highlighted in different studies (Baum and Weinz, 2010, Janta and Ladkin, 2009, McDowell et al., 2009). Attention is drawn on the service sectors predominantly the hospitality and retail which are perceived to occupy the low-skills, low-waged economy (Baum, 2002 , Baum et al., 2007b, Baum and Nickson, 1998).

Developed nations tend to benefit from an influx of skilled migrant workers who fill in the gap of skilled shortages in these countries (Borjas 2001; Iredale, 2005). In consideration of migrant workers' pursuit of a better lifestyle, it is to be expected that the workers fully engage their talents and skills by transferring these to the host country. Therefore,

showcasing their good work ethos. As such in order to optimize on such talents, Yoshida and Smith (2005) suggest that migrant workers are integrated into the appropriate sectors of the labour markets of their host countries, commensurate with their level of qualifications and skills. The failure to capture migrants' cultural capital appropriately is likely to result in the underemployment of the workers (Pearson, Hammond, Heffernan and Turner, 2012). The outcome of migrant workers' underemployment has detrimental effects upon the individuals, including health implications, for example they are likely to suffer low self-esteem and culminating to individuals with low life satisfaction (Dollard and Winefield, 2002). Moreover, Wagner and Childs (2006) caution that the impact of underemployment is not only detrimental to the individuals but also to the host country given that skilled workers are denied the opportunity to fully employ their skills in the host economy.

As such, the recognition of the foreign credentials also greatly depend on the worker's ability to negotiate the value of their cultural capital. In light of this, Liversage (2009b) contends that migrant workers whose movement is within organizations that operate in more countries other than their home counties are less likely to be affected by the conditions and risks associated with labour migration. These workers are likely to have their pre-migration occupations preserved. Thus, an indication that the type of social ties individuals have, determine their economic opportunities and occupational outcome in the host countries labour markets. Additionally, but cautions is Csedő (2008) contention that employers' knowledge of foreign qualifications is essential in determining the level of employment migrant workers undertake.

Poros (2001) maintains that organizational ties of professionals provide a wider and better range of employment opportunities and career development than interpersonal ties. This

suggests that organizational ties whilst weak in nature (Granovetter, 1973; cited in Poros, 2001) are likely to generate information that leads to an individual's career development. This echoes the argument by Pearson et al. (2012) that migrants' tendency to be disconnected with professional networks results to less chances to acquire employment in positions of power and influence. Therefore, as suggested by Wagner and Childs (2006) creating platforms on which migrant workers can access professional networks and peer groups that link them to labour markets is necessary for migrant workers' inclusion in labour market. In contrast, interpersonal networks usually characterised by strong ties tend to be part of networks whose members are employed in the dominant low echelons of labour market (Poros, 2001) bearing an impact of underemployment.

Migrants' accumulated cultural capital can be limited by institutional factors such as racism and discrimination which the workers may not have control over, yet impinge their ability to move upwards in respect to their careers (Sayad, 2004). Furthermore, a concern raised by Qureshi et al. (2013) is in respect to intermediaries responsible for channelling migrant workers towards low-wage economies, resulting to workers being employed below their qualifications. Consequently, migrants' cultural capital is untapped by employers and the host labour market fails to acquire the benefits such migrant workers bring into the country. As such, little attention has been paid to effects on careers for such a cohort of workers who are overeducated and overqualified for the positions they occupy. Thus, the research identifies the gap of skilled migrant workers who are perceived to be low-skilled yet are evidently underemployment in the low-waged economy.

The labour migration literature explored so far provide insight into the significance of migrant workers in the hotel industry given their ability to contribute new skills, knowledge

and innovation within their workplaces. However, there are gaps identified within this literature that fail to address certain aspects that migrant workers encounter in their migration journeys, particularly in the context of their hotel careers. Furthermore, the dearth of literature of in-migrant labour encounters from an African context is a fresh insight this research seeks to contribute. Thus, from the train of thought of attempting to understand migrant workers' lived experiences, it is necessary to consider the research focus which emerges to plug the ontological gaps, thereby developing research questions as discussed below.

2.6 RESEARCH FOCUS: RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This section outlines the main themes of the study which were derived from gaps emerging from the literature review, hence giving rise to research questions which when addressed contribute to the knowledge of migrant workers career experiences in the UK. Stemming from the elements of the dimensions which relate to migrants' lived experiences in the UK, interview questions were drawn up focusing on the influence of the UK hotel sector and the UK immigration policies in shaping the migrants career experiences and the consequent return of some of the workers to their home country. The central focus that this research intends to achieve is to give a clearer understanding of Kenyan hotel migrant workers' lived experiences in the contemporary society whilst considering the factors that influence their experiences and perceptions of living and working in the UK, mainly with respect to the outcome of their hotel career. In chapter 1, the main objectives of the thesis were stated to be:

- To explore the lived and career experiences of hotel migrant workers, their aspirations and impacts on their career paths

- To propose ways to conceptualise hotel career experiences of skilled migrants in the context of structural influences
- To analyse key determinants of hotel workers' decisions to remain in the host country or to return to their home country

The concepts proposed in chapter 2, seek to provide initial insight that will assist in understanding the focus of this research, the lived experiences of skilled hotel migrant workers in the UK hotel sector and has posited conceptual resources to analyse the trajectory of the workers' hotel careers. The concepts of migration discussed in the chapter aim at broadening the readers understanding careers experiences of skilled migrants, particularly in the hotel sector and give insight into factors that influence the workers in deciding whether to remain in the host country or return to their country of origin. Nevertheless, emerging from the literature explored for the purpose of this study are the specific issues related to migrant's experiences in the host country that need addressing. By turning the focus to these issues, research questions arise. These include:

- To what extent do the macro factors considered as boundaries and constrains preclude migrants' skill development and career advancement?
- How does the hotel-trained labour migrants' cultural capital influence their lived and career experiences in the host country?
- To what extent do migrants' socio-economic and socio-cultural experiences determine their decision to remain in the host country or return to their country of origin?

Therefore, in an attempt to answer these questions, the literature explored helps to answer the questions as discussed in the section below. Much of the current literature on labour in the

UK hotel industry highlights the predominance of migrant workers in low-waged economies (Anderson, 2010). However, a majority of these workers in the UK are migrant workers from the A8 accession member states. The influx of these workers is an implication of the European Union (EU) enlargement in May 2004, whereby individuals exercised the right of freedom of movement agreement within the EU borders, and migrated to the UK. In contrast, non-EU migrant workers were faced with stringent visa restrictions that limited their geographical mobility. This echoes Fudge's (2012) argument that immigration law and policies go beyond regulating immigration to the generation of various immigration statuses.

In light of Forrier et al.'s (2009) argument, structural factors have a role in influencing an individual's career either by inhibiting or accelerating career progress. In view of the skilled Kenyan hotel migrant workers' utilization of their cultural capital, the workers tapped on UK-based employment agents to operationalise their employment in the hotel sector. Given the structure of the UK hotel sector that predominantly consists of small owner-managed hotels (British Hospitality Association, 2013) that may have restrictive operating budgets, the workers were inevitably positioned to work within these establishments. In addition, migrant workers are required to meet strict work visa requirements that limited them to work for a single employer at one given period. It may, therefore, be reasonable to assume that structural factors drove the workers to an inflexibility that detached them from taking control of their career development. Thus, this may suggest that immigration policies set to control immigration, could be a major factor, hindering skilled workers particularly those working in the low-waged economies from progressing in their careers.

In view of the discussion so far on cultural capital, one may suppose that individuals invest in education and training in order to improve their labour market outcomes (Becker 2009). This

may be the case if an individual is economically active in their country of origin but the labour market outcome may vary in a foreign country. According to Anderson and Ruhs (2010), a primary cause for employers in the hotel sector relying on migrant workers is for the reason that local workers show disinterest in hotel jobs. The authors argue that the perceived poor image attributes to the disinterest, perhaps given that local workers have alternative employment opportunities. In general, therefore, it seems that despite migrant workers possessing cultural capital in the form of education, skills and work experience appropriate for the sector, it is possible that these qualities are overlooked by employers as echoed by Zikic et al., (2010) and King (2004). As such, posing a career progression challenge to skilled migrant workers. Nevertheless, there is a large and growing body of migration literature focusing on migrants' qualifications and their labour outcomes (Ruhs 2005; Anderson et al., 2009; Anderson, 2010) with little attention drawn to migrants' career experiences. Thus, it is important that migrants lived experiences are examined in order to provide insight in a subject that is of significance to not only individuals but governments and society in general.

Individuals are motivated to migrate to another country in search of better lifestyle outcomes. Overall, economic theories assume that individuals migrate due to the propensity to earn higher income by moving from low-wage to high-wage economies (Borjas 1989 and Gross and Schmitt 2012). Consequently, there is a likelihood that when individuals achieve their economic objective in the host country, they could decide to remain in the host country or return to their home country. However, it may be questionable when migrants decide to return to their country of origin unless they do so when they are no longer economically active. Thus, it is probable that other factors are also crucial in determining whether the migrants stay or return. For instance, work visa regulations may limit non-EU migrant

workers from being accompanied by their family members in the UK and this is likely to bear challenges (financially and emotionally) to both the primary migrant and the family left behind. Even where economic gain is a primary objective for economic migrants, family circumstances, for example, when family separation is unbearable for extended periods it may compel an individual to choose to remain in the host country or return to their country of origin prior to their economic aims being achieved.

This study employs concepts of migration that are considered useful in analysing career experiences of skilled migrant workers in the UK hotel sector. Cultural capital is applied to demonstrate that whilst individuals seek better lifestyles away from their countries of origin, their host countries expect them to bring in resources that are of benefit to the country. Thus, in Bourdieu's terms, the workers bring in their qualifications, skills and work experience to utilize in the host country which is expected to benefit the individual and the host country. The push and pull factors of migration provide insight into the motivations that lead individuals in choosing to leave their countries for another and when appropriate return to their home countries. As a response to globalisation, it is expected that not only goods move across geographical boundaries but there is also an expectation of movement from people across borders. From Bourdieu's (1986) perspective, individuals invest in their cultural capital with the aim of enhancing their labour market outcomes. As such migrant workers with career aspirations will seek to enhance their careers without any geographical boundaries and may consider migrating to other countries. According to Bourdieu (1986), migrants' cultural capital is a primary determinant of the outcome of their labour market performance in the host country. However, Swanson and Woitke (1997) identify that there are events or conditions that may hinder career progression such as structural factors (Forrier et al., 2009).

2.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter seeks to conceptualise career experiences of migrant workers in the hotel sector. However, it is important to note that conceptualising such labour market outcomes merely at an individual level is not without its difficulty. The aim of the chapter was to examine labour migration literature whilst considering migrant workers' career development. The discussion focused on how migrants' mobilise their cultural capital to access foreign labour markets.

The three main areas argued to conceptualise skilled migrant hotel workers were: cultural capital, push and pull factors of migration and boundaryless career capital. In the chapter, Borjas (1989) argues from an economic perspective, that the motivation for individuals to migrate is so that they can maximize their income by moving from low-wage to high-wage economies. Workers consider moving away from unfavourable conditions such as poor wages, in their home country and are attracted to more favourable conditions in another country including higher wages and more opportunities for employment. Migrants possess cultural capital in the form of skill and work experience and migrate to another country seeking to exchange their capital for an enhanced lifestyle for themselves and their families left behind in the home country. Their cultural capital is their bargaining power as they seek to escape (push) unfavourable economic conditions present in home country and are attracted (pull) by seemingly favourable economic conditions elsewhere. However their cultural capital (accent, behaviour, language, skills, and educational qualifications) determine the outcome of their labour market performance in the host country. To operationalize workers mobility, engaging social networks is considered useful in order to generate benefits that are useful in enabling the workers to penetrate the labour market. As such, they are prepared to cross geographical boundaries to advance their subjective careers (Sullivan and Arthur, 2006), and may be met with disagreeable objective career views in the host country.

The involvement of other key stakeholders such as employers or recruitment personnel either in the home or host country who also play a crucial role in an individual's career would introduce specific-work related dynamics, thereby developing the conceptualisation on migrants' career experiences. The role of the UK- based recruiting agencies is discussed as it is integral in shaping the outcome of their worker's career given their pattern of operation

A common theme that emerged is migrants' career exploitation manifested through the non-recognition of their cultural capital in the host country. Consequently, resulting in the workers' underemployment and effectively their skills being underutilised. Return migration is considered a response to barriers of career progress in the host country for some workers. However, other workers return to their country of origin for personal reasons and not necessarily because of regression of their careers. Finally, the section revisits the research problem by stating the focus and outlining the main themes that explore migrants' experience abroad and ontological gaps that emerge from the literature review, to form the research questions.

CHAPTER 3: CONTEXTUAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE KENYAN TRAINED HOTEL WORKER

This chapter provides a background context to the research that has a primary focus on lived experiences of migrant workers employed to work in the UK hotel sector. This is against a backdrop of the hotel profession in Kenya and delving into the role of the key hotel training institution. This represents an attempt to stand in the gap of under researched areas on African labour migration, particularly with respect to low-medium skilled mobility. It provides the framework for this research to investigate the career trajectories of the Kenyan migrant workers who enter the UK to work within the hospitality sector.

3.1 UK HOTEL SECTOR

3.1.1 HOTEL SECTOR STRUCTURE

A growing body of literature acknowledge the dominance of small, owner-managed hospitality and tourism establishments in many countries (Morrison 2000; Thomas 2000; Tinsley and Lynch 2007). The hotel sector in the UK is one as these, predominantly characterized by small and medium sized hospitality and tourism enterprises constituting around 80% of them whereas the larger hotels constitute the remaining 20% of the sector's share (British Hospitality Association, 2013). Furthermore, as reported in Oxford Economics (2015a), the sector is the country's 4th largest industry employer. In 2014, there were an estimated 4.5 million workers in employment within the sector (British hospitality Association, 2017). Statistics indicate the perpetual growth within the hospitality and tourism industries with a global economic contribution British Hospitality Association (2013) yet

they continue to experience labour shortages. Furthermore, the industry is still expected to face greater shortages in the future (Baum et al., 2007).

In spite of the sectors' low skills image, Baum (2002) reports that a range of capabilities at a higher level are accommodated, for example management and entrepreneurs. Furthermore, Choi et al., (2000) argue that the low-level entry positions are an opportunity for those who may find accessing the labour market a challenge. This suggests that the lack of career paths and poor image is prevalent primarily at the low level entry positions, given that the desire to work or engage in the industry may exist mainly within the higher levels. The nature of work within the hotel sector is summarised by Keep and Mayhew (1999) as one that has: a tendency for low wages except in cases of shortage of skills where wages are higher than the average across industry, prevalence of unsociable working shift patterns, poor career paths, informal recruitment practices, and difficulties in recruitment and retention resulting in high staff turnover rates. These characteristics have created the image of the hospitality as an unattractive sector, mainly to local workers and the imposition of low skills expectations of workers by employers (Baum, 2002). However, Burns (1997) cautions that the low skills perspective is one that has a western-centric view of hospitality work given that Baum (2006) argues the case for a vibrant hospitality career in some non-western countries.

Furthermore, Riley (1990) notes that in the UK the traditional way of training some specific roles such as chefs and waiters is through obtaining trade certification and vocational qualifications. This may be different with other countries where training takes a formalised route for managerial hotel courses whilst the vocational roles still adopt a vocational training.

3.1.2 DEMAND FOR AND SUPPLY OF HOTEL WORKERS

According to the World Travel and Tourism Council, the tourism sector, of which, a key element is the hospitality industry, remains the world's largest and fastest growing industry (Oxford Economics, 2015b). However, it struggles to attract and retain suitably motivated, trained and qualified employees (Barron, 2008). Additionally, even in a global context, the industry faces challenges relating to management of employees given its labour intensive nature (Meijerink, Bondarouk and Kees Looise, 2012). Irrespective of the perceived negative image, there is also a widespread shortage of skills in the sector (Baum, 2002; Janta et. al 2011), particularly with respect to the specialised skills domain of chefs resulting in poor defined career paths. Nonetheless, the sector is one that attracts migrant workers (Alberti, 2014) primarily as an entry point but not a career path. From an economic perspective, the functionality of the hotel sector, as with any other sector, is dependent on the macroeconomic environment in which it operates. Other factors such as institutional and regulatory frameworks of the labour market are also responsible for influencing certain dynamics of the business.

In the case of UK hotel sector, the negativity associated with the hospitality industry is related to concerns about the level of skills required, work-place conditions and uninspiring hotel careers which are likely the cause of labour shortages experienced in the industry (Anderson and Ruhs, 2010). Therefore, this places a continuing demand for labour, notably migrant labour. Spivack's (1997) study predicted that a) the hospitality industry will favour hiring employees who have a combination of on-the-job training and formal education, and b.) groups that have been traditionally been under-represented at management levels in the tourism workforce, such as women, will have a greater role in the future. Thus, her predictions are the reality of contemporary workforce situation within the industry. First,

recent literature documents employers favouring migrant workers who for the majority are well educated and possess the 'right' work attitude (Matthews and Ruhs, 2007) regardless of the image of the industry and thus a desirable work ethic for example, findings from a large-scale study by the Institute for Employment Studies, commissioned by the Home Office (Dench, 2006) indicated that businesses believed in overcoming staff shortages by employing migrant labour given migrants' willingness to take up jobs shunned by local workers primarily due to low pay and unfavourable working conditions. Likewise, according to Forde et al (2009), employers substitute local workers with migrant workers in order to maintain low labour costs that are achieved by the employment of these workers. Secondly, although not many may hold managerial positions, migrant workers are reported to play a necessary role in the industry because of their essential presence characterised by their cultural capital consisting of skill, work experience and professionalism.

Guerrier and Lockwood (1989) portray the picture of migrant workers as peripheral workers because they tend to be unskilled, carry out closely supervised tasks and are replaceable (numerically flexible). This is in contrast to core workers (local) who are likely to be more skilled, adaptable (functionally flexible), committed and trusted, have employment security and extensive benefits. In a similar vein, McCollum and Findlay (2011) categorize migrant workers into: a) complementary workers described as having different characteristics to local workers and b) substitute workers viewed as having similar qualities as local workers yet bring an economic advantage to the employer. A third possible category identified by Geis, Uebelmesser and Werding (2008) and Green, Atfield and Adam (2013) is as supplementary workers who provide additional flexibility to meet changing demands in terms of numbers. Thus, the migrant workforce in the UK is broadly described by Janta et al., (2011) as one that provides a constant flow of unskilled labour in the hospitality sector, echoed by Borjas (2001

p.70) as ‘greasing the wheels of the labour market by injecting into the economy a group of persons who are responsive to regional differences in economic opportunities’.

One primary characteristic of the sector is that it provides easy entry into the labour market (Anderson 2010). Therefore, following the European Union (EU) expansion in 2004, it would have been expected that there would be an influx of A8 category workers, given the ease of entry into the hospitality sector. Thus, for a long time the focus has been on EU workers in the UK such that research on non- EU labour migrants, mainly low-medium skilled labour migrants in UK hospitality sector has been neglected. Strict immigration laws on non-EU migrants is arguably accountable for the underdevelopment of literature on African labour migrants to the UK as moves are put in place to limit the scope of immigration.

Article 2 of The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families defines the migrant worker as ‘a person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a state of which he or she is not a national’. Following the expansion of the European Union in 2004 which resulted in freer mobility of nationals of the new member states to some countries, debates on the use of migrant labour in an international context have been on the increase (Bauder, 2005, Ryan, Sales, Tilki and Siara, 2007). In view of this, reports indicate that the UK hospitality sector is highly reliant on EU nationals (British Hospitality Association, 2013). Further, this report highlights that even with the open access to the EU labour market, the sector still is faced with the challenge of recruiting adequate workers to meet business needs. McCollum and Findlay (2015) argue that employers perceive domestic labour as unattractive because there is an abundant supply of migrant labour with appealing attributes such as a superior work ethic (Lucas and Mansfield, 2010).

According to Larsen and Vesan (2012), employers and employees possess imperfect and asymmetrical distributed information about the other. As a result, recruitment processes are likely to be impacted upon as employees pursue suitable employment opportunities and employers seek appropriate employees. Therefore, employment agencies stand to fill the gap whereby they convey information about potential workers to organisations and about job vacancies to workers. Employment agencies function as a matchmaker between employers and employees, assisting either party to find each other.

In the context of the hospitality industry, there appears to be a growing tendency for the hotel industry to use flexible working services of employment agencies. It is argued that the essence of using flexible workers rests, to a great extent, in its benefits to employers and, to a lesser extent, to individual flexible workers (Pollert, 1988, Marchington and Wilkinson, 2000). Moreover, flexibility arrangements are often in response to increasing labour costs and fluctuations in service demand given the seasonality nature of the hotel business. While employment agencies may have much to gain from flexible workers, this should not disguise the fact that client hotels also need to make a maximum of the flexible workers' efforts in order to minimize their labour-intensive operations' costs.

3.2 LABOUR ISSUES IN THE UK HOTEL SECTOR

The hotel labour market is multifaceted. Taking into account, the difficulty in attracting suitable labour, underemployment of skilled individuals and exploitation of some of the marginalised workers for example, migrant workers which often results in challenges in developing their hotel career.

3.2.1 RECRUITMENT CHALLENGES IN THE HOTEL SECTOR

From a labour market point of view, recruitment difficulties at both the high and low end of the skills spectrum have the potential to constrain productivity and the capacity for economic growth. It has been widely documented that employers face difficulties in recruiting domestic labour for a variety of reasons: lack of suitably skilled, qualified or experienced applicants or simply the domestic workers are not attracted to vacancies because of the poor pay and other working conditions (Anderson and Ruhs, 2010) .

With respect to recruitment practices adapted within jobs occupying the low end of the skills spectrum, Matthews and Ruhs (2007) highlight the hospitality sector's notoriety for labour cost minimization despite its characteristic of high-labour intensity for efficient operations. Consequently, employers have regularly adopted informal recruiting practices that are presumed to benefit both the employer and worker (Lucas, 2004, Shields and Price, 2002). Employers would expect that their recruitment cost implications are lowered whereas the initial entry into the labour market is made less challenging. This suggests rather than formal recruitment practices, casual staff employment procedures are adapted. Examples include, using existing members of staff or relying on migrant networks to refer friends or relatives to employer for various positions. One disadvantage of hotel employers relying on informal recruitment practices is the clustering of single cohorts of workers within specific areas of work places. A practice that can be detrimental in the business operation if a diverse workforce is not embraced. For instance, Lucas (1995) highlights gender clustering whereby an-all female housekeepers workforce who spoke one common language, unlikely to be the host language, given that they were drawn from the same ethnic minority group. In such instances, proficiency in host language is necessary for communication purposes.

Moreover, studies have projected the rationale of agency workers from an employer's perspective that advocate the use of workers to act as temporary cover, complete special projects or one-off tasks and to acquire specialist skills from agency professionals (Moshavi and Terborg, 2002, Felstead and Gallie, 2004). However, from a worker's perspective, this may be to their detriment given the likelihood of being subjected to agency status. Hence, in an effort to reduce recruitment challenges encountered by industry, Lai and Baum (2005) acknowledge employers' tendency to rely on external labour suppliers (employment agencies). The two primary concepts of employers engaging in agency labour are as a response to skill and/or labour shortage or to deal with peaks in production and to make hiring and firing less problematic (McKay, 2009). Inasmuch as migrant workers demonstrate McKay's (2009) claim, it is notable that the workers also present intermediaries with an extended role. The intermediaries play an integral role in the labour market for both employer and workers by matching employer with employee. In addition, their significant contribution in the mobility of migrant workers is demonstrated by their obligation to pay travel costs and other associated travel costs for the workers. Nonetheless, with an arrangement with the workers to pay back funds once the workers are settled into employment.

On the contrary, international migrant workers draw on intermediaries to facilitate their labour mobility. This can take the form of recruitment agencies or ethnic migrant networks. The role of intermediaries, particularly recruitment agencies has often been overlooked, yet it is critical in the process of individuals migrating from one country to another. Their role goes on beyond spatial relocation of workers (McCollum and Findlay, 2018). Taking into account that whilst an apparent involvement is to pair potential workers with employers often intermediaries are required to facilitate, accommodation and travel particularly for in-coming migrants. It is important to note that the supply of migrant workers through the engagement

of intermediaries meets employers' business expectations and needs. However, according to Sporton (2013), the relations of power and control enacted by intermediaries who act as key institutional players in the mobility of migrant workers also produce and reproduce exploitation to the workers themselves, leaving their expectations and needs unmet. A growing body of research highlight the exploitation of migrant workers in the labour market, either directly at work-places by employers or indirectly by structural factors such as the labour market (May et al., 2008, McDowell, Batnitzky and Dyer, 2008, Lucas and Mansfield, 2010b). Nevertheless, McCollum and Findlay (2018) argue that over time, the workers become less accepting of undesirable jobs. This could be due to reasons such as, as workers integrate within the society they are more aware of their rights within work-places hence increases their bargaining power as they are aware of their rights within work-places or given that mobility of workers is no longer restricted, the workers have a choice of suitable employers and do not have to tolerate precarious employment conditions.

McDowell et al., (2008) and Lucas and Mansfield (2010), highlight the plight of migrant agency workers as often being subjected to extreme precarious employment conditions more than other workers in the hospitality sector, given their inadequate knowledge of their employment rights. Nonetheless, Marchington and Wilkinson (2000) and Pollert (1988) acknowledge that the use of agency migrant workers is of benefit to both the employer and worker. Migrant workers sign up with temporary work agencies (McGinnity, O'Connell, Quinn and Williams, 2006), as a means to easier absorption in the labour market but this is not without its challenges. Often, the workers are left unsure of their rights and are regularly excluded from legal forms of employment protection and suffer labour market exploitation (McDowell et al., 2008).

3.2.2 UNDEREMPLOYMENT AND SKILL UNDERUTILIZATION

The hospitality industry is not one categorized within the high skills economy, even though its significance in servicing the 'elite' business environment (Baum, 2002), is notable. The definition and meaning of skills in the hospitality industry are social constructions where tradition, gender and ethnicity can influence the interpretation of hospitality work as skilled or unskilled.

Baum (2002) and Lashley (2009) highlight the contentious issue existing between training activity and business performance in the UK hospitality sector. Industry employers have been criticised for low-level skills expectations of workers and further exacerbating their own industry challenge by inadequate provision of training for these workers. By contrast, the industry holds education and training providers responsible for the inadequate training of graduating workers. As such, when different industry stakeholders fail to come to a consensus on the common challenges faced by the sector, pertinent issues remain unresolved.

There is a build-up in the body of literature on skill underutilization, particularly with respect to migrants whose formal qualifications and work experience are unrecognised in the host countries. Recent studies indicate that underemployment in the UK is still rife (Qureshi et al., 2013). In view of economic migrants, that suggests that individuals may invest in their cultural capital yet encounter difficulties in applying their capital effectively. These skilled workers with professional experience are typical of workers described by Lucas and Mansfield (2010b), as being generally of high quality yet positioned to work in low-waged sectors. As argued by McDowell et al. (2008), it is likely that such conditions of employment produce precariousness amongst labour migrant workers. Although Andrees (2008) and David (2010) argue that exploitation of migrant workers can range from less severe acts and

situations to very serious acts, it can be argued that all forms of migrant labour exploitation are damaging to the individual, and by extension to the organisation's output which impacts on the delivery of service to hotel customers. Consequently, affecting the overall business performance of the establishment.

Baum (2002) highlights the notion of flexible job rotation within hotel departments, predominantly within the small hotel operations as a means of meeting business demands. On the face of it, this may appear a way to enhance the workers' skills but given the nature of work in these hotel operations, this represents the need for workers to multi-task (Baum, 2002). As such, substituting workers numerically as a means of having several tasks performed with minimal staff numbers, regardless of the workers' skills perpetuates the inadequate application of their skills. Anderson and Ruhs (2010) cite labour and skills shortages as the primary reasons employers provide for relying on migrant labour as opposed to domestic labour. Local workers are perceived to eschew jobs that occupy the low end of the skills spectrum given the apparent poor image of these jobs. Thus, it leads to a disproportionate occupancy of low paid and temporary forms of employment by migrant workers (Lucas and Mansfield, 2010).

However, despite the labour shortage challenge employers face, those involved in customer-facing service activities such as in hotels, may not be keen on employing some groups of workers: older male job-seekers, the long-term unemployed and others considered unsuitable for the job, given the demands of aesthetic labour (Lindsay, 2005, Warhurst and Nickson, 2007) where workers are required to look and sound in a certain manner. This suggests that these groups of workers are deemed as an 'unsuitable' workforce but are likely to secure employment elsewhere. As such, unlike local workers who have alternative choices within

the labour markets, migrant workers may not have substitute jobs despite their high levels of qualifications and professional work experience. Therefore, despite the level of the migrant workers' cultural capital, the typical employment practice adopted by employers is an indication of their priority over workers' aesthetic appeal over their skill and relevant experience. Nickson, Warhurst and Dutton (2005) attribute this kind of employment practice to employers' priority of attitude over relevant experience. This implies a likelihood of migrant workers being overlooked, for particular roles in work-places such as customer service roles despite the level of their cultural capital, given that they may not sound 'right' due to their foreign accents. Taking into account such employers' perceptions, there may be a tendency of migrant workers' to display a tolerance of the apparent low image and precarious conditions within workplaces in the host economy. This is contrary to the hospitality-work view upheld in the countries from which the migrant workers originate as being acceptable and of favourable conditions.

3.2.3 CAREER DEVELOPMENT

In view of migrant workers' career development, it is consistent with Baum's (1995) and Baum et al's. (1997) observation that the UK hotel sector in terms of career choice seems to lack the glamorous and vibrant image of that in other European countries. The most likely reason for this negativity according to Duncan, Scott and Baum (2013), is the perpetuation of Western context stereotypes of hotel employment that have led to the (mis)conception of a homogenous unskilled hospitality workforce. In addition, the negative perception has further led to hotel graduate underemployment. However, there is disparity in the non-western contexts particularly with developing countries where a hotel career is popular due to high status linked with international tourism.

An emerging trend within service occupations is the casualization of jobs within the sector that has arisen from economic deregulation (Castles, 2011). This tendency builds on the sector's tradition of relying upon marginalized groups of workers such as women, students and migrant workers (Baum and Devine, 2007) who due to varied reasons including, family commitments such as childcare and immigration status take casual and more flexible employment in order to strike a balance in their work and home life. Thus, despite the sector's poor image, it is seen to benefit some individuals as it provides an employment opportunity regardless of skills and education qualification. This suggests that the sector is predominantly considered as an entry point to the labour market with poorly defined career paths (Alberti, 2014). However, there is a considerable number of individuals for whom the hospitality industry is their chosen career, thus showing high levels of contentment and job satisfaction (Mkono, 2010). For this reason, Ituma and Simpson (2007) advise that it is necessary that these workers demonstrate self-perceived attitudes, values, needs and talents that are expected to develop over time in order to guide their career choices. Nonetheless, in the context of UK hotel sector this can be challenging particularly that the cultural outlook of a hotel career appears unfavourable.

McGuire, Polla and Heidl (2017) identify the hospitality sector as one that has a fast-paced changeable nature thus, suggesting a likelihood of an improved perception of the hotel industry as an employer. Increased numbers of migration, particularly in a European context, have resulted in a voluminous EU workforce in some sectors characterised by hard-to fill jobs, such as experienced in hospitality. An explanation for the significant presence of migrant workers in the sector could be due to the workers having fewer options for alternative employment (McIntosh and Harris, 2012). Yet according to Baum (2015), hotel career progression is marked significantly by considerable job movement within an

organisation or amongst many organisations. Further, Mooney, Harris and Ryan (2016) highlight that individuals realise their career goals if there is a high degree of vocational mobility although, quite dependent on local context, for instance, some countries adopt a traditional organisation career progression approach where workers are promoted internally, whilst in others, career progression is marked by frequent moves between separate organisations. Generally, this suggests the need for mobility either geographically or career wise in order to achieve career advancement.

Surprisingly, a study by Mooney et al. (2016) reveals that some workers have a satisfactory long hotel career which does not necessarily translate to career progression. There are workers who have held hotel entry-level positions satisfactorily. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that such workers remained in such positions given that they maintained respect and autonomy, occupational variety and sound working relationships with both management and work colleagues.

3.3 MIGRANT LABOUR IN UK HOTEL SECTOR

3.3.1 MIGRANT VERSUS DOMESTIC LABOUR

Clark, Hatton and Williamson (2002) argue that freer mobility naturally has a strong positive effect on the flows of low-skill migrants. In contrast there is an over presentation of migrant workers in low level entry positions given the demand for these workers engendered by employers' perception of the workers' good work ethic (Anderson 2010). However, the perceived unglamorous nature of hotel work in advanced economies causes a reluctance by local workers to take low-status jobs. This creates a shortage of labour in the sector with an additional challenge that these are high levels of hard-to-fill vacancies in, for example, the

hospitality sector. At the same time, migrants are known to be willing to accept low-waged jobs and unfavourable employment conditions in a host society because in the context of their countries of origin, these are considered as favourable conditions and an employment opportunity that would offer higher wages.

Moreover, employers favour migrant labour for a variety of reasons such as a means to a source of cheap labour (Turner, 2010) and for the attractive work ethic (Anderson, 2010). This school of thought views low- skilled sectors of the economy to be migrant dominated and assumes the workers' low level of skill, poor language skills and desperation to obtain any job. A study by McCollum and Findlay (2015) identifies the hospitality sector as one of the lowest paying sectors, offering some of the worst conditions of employment among migrant workers (Berg and Farberblum 2017). Yet, Lucas and Mansfield (2010) contend that employers' preference for migrant over domestic labour is nothing less than discrimination against local workers. However, Ciupijus (2011) notes that a supply of willing and hardworking cohort of workers in conjunction with a high employer demand of such labour creates a mutual benefit, to the worker and employer. Whilst some of these studies acknowledge that migrant workers may possess at least tertiary level qualifications and yet have 'unskilled' jobs, it is also necessary to examine the work experiences of migrant workers who do not merely find themselves in low-paying jobs but purposely seek employment in the sector as a career move.

A body of migration literature suggest that a large number of A8 migrants have come to work in the UK since the expansion of the European Union in May 2004, thereby, representing a principal source of migrant labour to the country (McCollum 2013; McCollum and Findlay 2015). According to Piore (1979), the predominance of migrant

labour in specific sectors reflects a spectrum of jobs that have specific characteristics distinguishable from each other by indicators such as pay and prospects for career progression. This inevitably segments jobs in the labour market producing segments relating to specific characteristics, for example, labour market segments identifiable with migrants or non-migrants.

In view of migrant workers obtaining employment in host country, social networks play a significant role. Although, McCollum and Findlay (2015) argue that the dependence of social networks may contribute to migrants being clustered within particular jobs or sectors, migrant networks are useful to new members in settling in new countries. Irimiás and Michalkó (2016) argue that repositioning and adapting oneself in a foreign country is challenging. This suggests that, coping strategies are vital for a smooth transitioning from country of origin to the destination country. As such, migrant networks become a useful tool that provides practical information on where to find employment. Work-place relationships are also a valuable tool to migrants as they have the ability to foster social integration through improvement of migrants' cultural competences. As observed in Baum and Devine's (2007) study, proficiency in the host language is necessary because workers are increasingly becoming cosmopolitan and multilingual. Thus, being proficient in the host language does not only support social assimilation but also their economic integration.

3.3.2 IMMIGRATION LAW AND POLICY

Castles (2000b) observes international migration as a fundamental phenomenon that has a primary role in social transformation and development in all regions of the world. He further argues that due to the unprecedented increase in numbers of migrants, governments have been faced with challenges of controlling migration. This is particularly the case for the UK,

given that the country has an open economy and its strong labour market acts as a magnet for those who seek a better lifestyle for themselves and their families (Dench, 2006). As such, legislation to limit immigration is in place as a safeguarding mechanism to protect against illegal migrants and ensure entry to high calibre migrants who add value to the economy. However, this is not consistent with the immigration policies that seem to be constantly changing and favouring only certain types of migrants. MacDonald and Cholewinski (2007) highlight that with respect to migrant workers from non-EU countries, the government appears to include only exceptionally talented and highly skilled workers, investors and entrepreneurs seeking to live and work in the UK. Migration patterns are likely to change over time due to various factors, such as political inclinations, economic conditions and social economic changes.

This echoes Castle's (2000b) argument that governments strive to encourage certain types of migrants and discourage others. In this regard, McDowell et al. (2009) report that the British government's points system introduced in April 2008, is to manage migration flows, for example during the Labour government in 1997-2010, migration was encouraged at all skills levels in the UK, whereas the current UK government has a clear policy commitment to reduce immigration and at the same time explicitly attract migrants who fit the description of being the 'best and brightest' (Cerna, 2011). As such an immigration system as this is likely to exacerbate non- EU migrants' mobility in the country. In light of this, given the recent on-going debate on Brexit and its aftermath, it is important that governments reconsider their immigration policies so as to maintain an inclusive workforce that encompass different qualities and abilities.

A legal framework to control inward migration in Britain was formed almost 100 years ago in introducing The Aliens Order of 1920 (Gainer 1973; Bevan 1986; Kay and Miles 1992). It is a procedure to control entry into Britain to persons seeking employment. Nonetheless, it is important to note that different immigration regulations apply to EU and non-EU migrant workers. For instance the free movement as it applies to workers within EU whereas, non-EU migrants are faced by stringent immigration rules. Owing to a fast paced expanding hospitality industry, countries in the West alongside the perceived poor image of the hotel sector, skills shortages have become a challenge that the industry has to contend with.

Given the ability of industrialised economies to attract migrant labour, governments put in place initiatives such as the UK's work permit scheme that attracts migrant workers to fill in the skills gap in the hotel sector. The regular UK work permit programme, currently referred to as Tier 2 (General) was introduced in the early 2000's during Labour government in 1997-2010. It was established to attract non-EU workers to live and work in the UK. To be an eligible work permit holder individuals must pass a skill-based screening and a points-based assessment and have had an employment offer at a National Vocational Qualification level 3 position or above with either a degree or HND level educational qualification relevant to the position on offer or have no degree and 3 years of relevant experience.

Following stringent tightening of immigration measures in 2008, it was replaced by the point-based immigration system. Another work permit programme, the Sector Based Scheme (SBS) was introduced in May 2003 to address skills shortages in the economy. However, Clarke and Salt (2003) note that this programme was aimed at unskilled labour (18-30 year olds) and limited the individuals to only 12 months at a time of stay in the UK. The programme covered the food manufacturing and hospitality industries. This is consistent with

the general view that the hotel sector occupies the low skills echelons. However, these programmes have since been closed and as highlighted by (Cerna, 2011), the existing legal immigration framework controls immigration by attracting and inviting only a certain cohort of migrant workers who are deemed to have a suitable level of skills.

Regardless of their levels of expertise in the hotel sector, Kenyan migrant workers recruited, particularly to the Channel Island of Jersey, used the SBS as their channel to the UK. Following the influx of Eastern European nationals in the UK after the accession of new EU member states in May 2004, the SBS was phased out to non-EU nationals by the end of 2006 but extended to Romanian and Bulgarians as they became new members to the EU on 1st January 2007 and only covers the food manufacturing industry (Clarke and Salt, 2003; Migration Watch UK 2005).

However, it is worth noting that the enlargement of the EU in May 2004, resulted in an influx of migrant workers, particularly Eastern Europeans, with migrants from Poland dominating (Baum, 2010, Janta and Ladkin, 2009) in the UK. The period also coincides with the arrival of Kenyan hotel migrant workers' in the UK. Within this period, the UK hospitality sector experienced an expansion of migrant employment. Janta and Ladkin (2009) suggest improvement of English skills and relative higher wages are some of the features in the sector that attract migrant workers. Even though employers may also actively seek migrant workers given the perception of the workers' good work ethic that is viewed to be superior to that of local workers (Anderson et al., 2006, Matthews and Ruhs, 2007), this might also have been applicable to the particular group of migrant workers in Janta's and Ladkin's (2009) study. Thus, also argued that consideration of migrant workers over local workers may be perceived

a form of direct and indirect discrimination in recruitment practices where employers prefer certain cohort of workers (migrants) over others (local workers) (Lucas and Mansfield, 2010).

Nonetheless, given the stringent control measures put in place in the introduction of the new UK points-based immigration system in 2008 (McDowell et al., 2009), migrant workers subject to immigration controls continued to experience employment challenges, some of these related to migrants' careers. Unsurprisingly, the new system effectively discouraged new non-EU migrants from entering the UK given the stringent measures that were put in place. These have been revised over time but have been based primarily on an appropriate level of salary. Previously under the category of Tier 3 (low-skilled) salary earning for eligible applicants was circa £18,000 per annum. The low-skilled migration route has since been closed. Therefore, unless the migration channel is re-introduced, such skilled hotel migrant workers similar to the previous cohort have no access to the UK labour market. Tier 3 has since been replaced by Tier 2 (General) whereby applicants' expected salary is stated at a minimum of £21,600 per annum or the 'appropriate rate' for the job offered (Home Office, 2016), (a variable amount). Such an entry requirement defines the eligibility for jobs that occupy the middle to higher end of the skills spectrum and eliminates potential applicants occupying the lower end.

Furthermore, the main work permit system was intended to attract skilled migrants to the UK and to that effect, it enabled many other Kenyan hotel migrant workers to seek and take up work in the UK hotel sector. According to Migration Watch UK (2005), between 2000 and 2002 the hospitality, hotels, catering and other services ranked amongst the top ten main occupational groups of those granted work permits. These work permits were granted for a period of 5 years leading to permanent residency eligibility. Given that workers were

required to be qualified at either degree or HND level and/or have experience at NVQ level 3 or above confirms that migrant workers allowed into the country must have been skilled at the trade regardless of the level of jobs they were to occupy (Clarke and Salt, 2003). Ruhs (2005) argues that the UK labour migration policies operate on a framework that focuses on the consequences to the community and pays little attention, if any, to the rights of the immigrants. This implies that of importance and relevance is migrants' contribution to the host country whereas the well-being of migrant workers is often overlooked. In instances where migrant workers are denied a family reunification opportunity, being the facilitation of family members (spouses, children, parents) to join the primary migrant in the host country (Papademetriou et al., 2009) , this could be perceived as a breach of the workers' human rights.

3.4 KENYA AS A SOURCE OF LABOUR FORCE FOR THE UK HOTEL SECTOR

Besides conflict, poverty and inequality as reasons that compel people to migrate, the search for better economic opportunities abroad is an important factor for the majority of international migrants to move from their country to another. Adepaju (2000) cites the rapid growth of population and the labour force in Africa combined with stagnant economic growth rates as leading to increased poverty and unemployment. Consequently, this has resulted in increased migration to Western countries. The number of global migrants continues to grow rapidly having reached 258 million in 2017 (United Nations Economic & Social Affairs, 2017). Despite the high numbers of global migrant workers, the stock of temporary foreign workers is relatively small to the size of a destination country's labour. However, the presence of foreign workers in the host country is significant in terms of their contribution economically and even culturally as they enrich already existing values in the host country.

According to the Office for National Statistics (2017), there are an estimated 133,000 Kenyans resident in the UK.

3.4.1 HISTORICAL OUTBOUND MIGRATION FROM KENYA TO THE UNITED KINGDOM

Okoth (2003) notes that during the period before Kenya gained independence from Britain many Kenyan scholars travelled to UK for further education. The automatic recognition of the value of British qualifications was highly sought in Kenya. Upon attainment of the qualifications the scholars returned home to become the elites in the struggle for the country's independence. Further, Okoth asserts that education was emphasized as the path to the country's development. Thus, it is evident that further consequences of the imperial and post-colonial connections resulted in Kenyans choosing Britain as a preferred work destination. Over the years, this was possible for Kenyans willing and with disposable income that would support their migration to the UK to do so.

Migration to the UK is largely underpinned by legacies of colonialism (Hansen, 2007). As such, immigration legislation enacted by the UK government through various channels for example work permit schemes, are specifically designed to attract migrant labour from other sovereign nations to serve the UK economy. The 2011 Migration and Remittances report (Migration and Remittances Factbook, 2011) identifies United Kingdom as the top destination for Kenyan emigrants followed by the United Republic of Tanzania and the United States (Canuto and Ratha, 2011). This is consistent with Okoth's (2003) view that links migration from Kenya to Britain to the historical ties between the two countries.

One of their main economic reasons of migrating overseas is the potential to earn a higher income, as posited by the economic theory of migration by Borjas (1989) and Gross and Schmitt (2012). Similarly, within the realms of labour economics, Borjas (2013) argues that workers are constantly searching for higher wages and on the other hand, firms continually search for relatively cheaper labour. This is not only demonstrated within geographical boundaries but across borders. This is true of the Kenyan professional hotel workers who migrated to the UK to work in the country's hotel sector.

According to a collective report between 2005-2013 by Centre of Migration, Policy and Society, (COMPAS), migration in the UK continues to be a top agenda item on the political discourse in the UK Government. Furthermore, in recent political times, migration restrictions have been put in place (British Hospitality Association 2017; Castles,2010) such as a cap on non-EU economic migrants, as a further attempt to safeguard national borders. The United Kingdom is no exception. Castles (2010) advocates for a borderless world arguing that global migration should not be viewed with negativity but as a normal aspect of social life that embraces equality in mankind and shows respect for human rights. His argument is consistent with Salt and Millar's (2006) observation that prior to the EU expansion, non-EU migrants had relatively easy access to the UK labour market. However, globalisation has generated contradictory dynamics in migration of capital and labour, where labour migration is confronted regulatory restrictions, labour market rigidities, inequalities and exclusion (Rodriguez and Mearns, 2012, Rodriguez and Scurry, 2014), thus migrants are often presented with stringent eligibility criteria for entering destination countries.

The scope of this research is limited to the professionally trained Kenyan hotel workers who obtained UK work permits to work in UK hotels. Thus, the focus is on their career

experiences, from Kenya to the UK and their encounters in the UK, from a professional perspective, provides an opportunity to gain a deeper understanding of the migrants' career experiences through the stories told by the migrants themselves.

3.4.2 HOTEL TRAINING IN KENYA

In the African continent, Eastern Africa is a popular tourist destination and particularly, Kenya (Dieke, 1991; Okello 2014).The tourism industry contributes about 10% to the country's Gross Domestic Product (Republic of Kenya, 2012), as such it is a key pillar of the national economy. However, the country faces the challenge of high unemployment yet, according to a report by World Bank (2016), there are more than 10 million new jobseekers in East Africa, annually. The supply of skilled workers is inadequate to sustain the industry. The Oxford Dictionary of English (2010) defines a skilled worker as one who has enough ability, experience and knowledge in order to perform a job well.

More than two decades ago, the Kenyan government expanded employment within the hospitality and tourism industry by providing higher level management skills programmes in the universities besides the training that was provided in the predominant hotel training institution (Sindiga, 1994). Moreover, Paraskevopoulou, Markova, Williams and Shaw (2012) argue that the traditional approach of following a career path where individuals start at the bottom and work their way up to the top is being replaced by a different approach of formalising training, for example, rapid expansion in diploma, graduate and postgraduate level courses in tourism and hospitality. Thus, it is important that such a sector develops and enhances its human resources capacity in order to maintain the industry. This, suggests adequate training institutions to equip workers with relevant skills for the industry. In this case, the Kenyan hotel workers are classified as skilled as they underwent hotel training in

one of East Africa's reputable hotel school in Nairobi, Kenya Utalii College⁴ (KUC) established with the mandate to train specialized high and middle-level personnel for the hospitality and tourism sector (Mayaka and Prasad, 2012).

The hospitality and tourism industry in Kenya makes a significant contribution to the gross domestic product (Okello 2014). The industry also has an ability to attract high levels of foreign currency that contribute towards the country's economic development. Therefore, the existence and active contribution of the premium hotel training school, alongside other educational providers for the industry in meeting industry's skills demands, is an indication of the vibrancy of hospitality careers in an African context. Thus, in Bourdeau's term, equipping them with a high level of institutionalized cultural capital for the industry, either with skills in management or operational skills.

The specific training obtained determines the appropriate department within which an individual is to work. 'It is notable that KUC took on an early lead in tourism education in a way that has made a significant contribution to the industry'(Mayaka and Akama, 2014: p.242), providing a good model for tourism education in developing countries (Blanton, 1992). The college has remained East Africa's premium hotel school since its establishment in 1975. A critical role performed by the hotel training institution is not only the ability to equip the workers with cultural capital, but also constituting external institutional links. In the recent past, this social connection has provided the graduates an opportunity to migrate abroad. Bauder (2005) regards social connectivity as the ability to access scarce resources through belonging to a social network and/or institution. Thus, by tapping directly into their

⁴Kenya Utalii College, a prestigious hospitality and tourism training school in Kenya serving the African continent. Established in 1975 under the Hotels and Restaurant Act, Cap.494, Laws of Kenya. Rigorous vocational training alongside industry experience is provided thus producing a skilled workforce for the industry- locally and internationally

alma mater, the migrant workers benefit by obtaining employment in the UK through the UK based hotel recruiting agents who have institutional links with the training college.

The rigorous hotel training that graduates of the hotel training school acquire, results in the workers obtaining employment in high-end hotels in Africa and particularly in Kenya. The country boasts a thriving hospitality and tourism sector of which it significantly depends on for its economic development. Therefore, given the importance of such an industry, strong emphasis is placed on equipping the workforce with appropriate skills. As such, the hotel training school was established with the aid of the Swiss government to offer a broad range of hospitality and tourism courses (Mayaka and Akama, 2007).

3.4.3 OPPORTUNITY TO WORK IN THE UK

‘Work opportunities (and the lack of them) supply the pull and push for mass migrations across continents’ (Jordan and Brown, 2007p. 261). In the hospitality context, the sector is regarded as being labour intensive and casual in nature therefore acting as a magnet for immigrant labour (Davis, 1993 p. 47). This is augmented by De Haan (1999) who argues that labour mobility is not only central but also of high significance in livelihoods especially those from developing countries that are characterized by weak economies for whom poverty and human deprivation has led to the deterioration of their well-being (Adepoju, 2000). In a similar vein Pillai (2012) acknowledges the significance of labour mobility in the competitive model of the labour market, because it enables workers to move to the most attractive jobs. However, these authors fail to take account of structural factors for example, stringent visa requirements that may restrict the mobility of migrant workers resulting in denying them the opportunity to progress in their careers. Furthermore, whilst mobility may be a necessary tool to develop an individuals’ career, other aspects of their lives may also be affected. Botterill

(2014) critiques labour mobility for eroding family bonds. The implication of stringent immigration laws may result in depriving a migrating member of family the opportunity to be accompanied by their families in a foreign country. Therefore, this is likely to result in families being separated for a relatively long time. Cook et al. (2011) suggest that the opportunity to find work relatively easily within the UK hotel sector is a strong pull factor for hotel migrant workers. As such, individuals may be compelled to leave their families behind in order to obtain employment viewed by and large as an economic gain to the family.

The scale of migration is well documented, including non-EU economic migration. However, the scale of Kenyan hotel workers in the UK cannot be adequately accounted for due to scarcity of work permit statistics by country of origin from the Home Office. Amongst reasons of a widespread presence of foreign workers in the hospitality sector are for economic gains and the opportunity to learn and improve their English language skills (Janta and Ladkin, 2009). The latter fits a description of the non-English speaking foreign workers but excludes migrants proficient in the English language, such as the Kenyan hotel workers who presumably have attained a mastery of the coloniser's language (Michieka, 2005). As such, Kenyan migrant workers were attracted to the UK where the English language is primarily spoken, hence reducing the challenge posed by language barrier in a new environment.

Another characteristic of Kenyan hotel workers is their professional training and work experience obtained in their country. Therefore, suggesting that they sought to migrate to the UK for economic prospects and with an objective to further develop their hotel careers. Similarly, Adler and Adler (1999) acknowledge that individuals who migrate are impelled by various factors, including self-selection, inner drive and also the external demands of career

paths. Thus, in contrast to other cohorts of migrants whose mobility may be inspired by political frameworks that allow freedom of movement, the cohort of Kenyan hotel migrant workers had barriers to overcome in order to grow and develop their careers within the industry.

3.4.4 CHANNEL OF MIGRATION

Therefore, it becomes a motivating factor for the individuals to escape poverty and seek a better lifestyle by opting to migrate to other countries and take on any jobs that are available. However, migration for such workers with desirable cultural capital and the potential to demonstrate high levels of commitment, flexibility and availability of work is restrained by a variety of factors. For instance, they may be restrained by their financial ability to migrate and stringent visa requirements of prospective destination countries with which to comply. Hence, regardless of the attraction to and easy entry to hospitality jobs, individuals seek avenues that can lead to better lifestyles elsewhere. A majority of them embrace their social networks that have links and resources to enable them migrate abroad.

In characterising the Kenyan hotel migrant workers, their mobility to the UK was facilitated by drawing upon social networks tied to their training institution, migrant networks already in the UK and through the UK-based employment agencies. The agents mediated employment between the workers and employers. Furthermore, the employment agent's role extended beyond the ordinary role of linking given that they orchestrated much of the migration process. They ease both employer and worker's pressure in the work permit/visa application process. In addition, the agents may travel to migrant source countries to conduct mass recruitment, finally they assist migrants in the settling- in process. This may involve practical steps such as airport pick up to escorting migrant worker to the employer and maintaining a

close relationship with the worker. The aim is to help worker overcome challenges associated with settling into new environment, including work-related challenges. Agunias (2013) suggests that recruiting agencies should have the additional responsibility of advocating for migrant workers' rights for example, seeking alternative employment should such workers find themselves in working environments that are not inclusive. The UK- based recruiting agents in this context become 'new actors' as part of social networks who would be relied upon by migrants at different stages of their migration journey and career paths.

Literature suggests that migrant networks are a useful source of information for new arrivals in a destination, particularly, in relation to securing employment (Anderson, 2010, Boyd, 1989). Besides, providing employment related information, migrant networks are also valuable sources of information required by individuals settling into a new environment. This is true for migrant workers seeking to be signposted by members of their social networks to basic social amenities such as clinics, Government departments and banks that would provide services that would facilitate functioning of their day-day lives. In view of the recruitment agencies, they assume a role that includes sourcing employment, linking new migrants to other existing co-ethnic migrant networks where they may derive support, and also a mediating role is necessary between the State and the worker to facilitate the work documentation process. This echoes Dench's (2006) report that some hotels and catering employers had required to obtain work permits to recruit migrant workers employers entering relatively skilled jobs. This is a reflection of the State's requirement of the Kenyan hotel migrant workers.

3.5 CONCLUSION

Chapter 3 aims at providing a contextual understanding of the Kenyan hotel migrant workers who established their hotel career in their home country, in a hotel training institution perceived to be the continent's exemplary provider of hospitality and tourism industry skills. Taking on the opportunity to migrate abroad, the workers migrate to the UK to further develop their hotel career. An insight in the structure of the UK hospitality labour market and key concerns the industry faces are also provided. The hospitality sector in the UK is a large employer with an estimated 4.5 million workers employed in 2014 (British hospitality Association, 2017). Whilst there is a significant number of major hotel chains present in the UK, small family run hotels dominate the hotel sector.

One of the major theme presented was employers' reliance on migrant labour given the disinterest of domestic workers in the sector. It is important to give insight into the migrant labour issue which is of main concern in both academic discourse and public debates and is of significance to this research. The nature of the industry involves unsocial working hours, undefined career paths and the perception of work reserved for the disadvantaged groups in the society such as students, women and migrants. These characteristics contribute to the industry's apparent poor image particularly with respect to the local workers compelling employers to rely on other willing cohorts of workers such as migrants. Further, structural factors that influence the workers' career experiences are discussed. Whilst literature has focused on EU workers as standing in the recruitment gap, this research introduces skilled Kenyan migrant labourers who seek to enhance their hotel career in the UK hotel sector.

The research objectives laid in the beginning of the thesis and the key issues emerging following a review of literature on migration and the UK hospitality sector facilitated in

shaping the research questions. These are explored in the empirical fieldwork addressed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODS AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

The focus of this chapter is to outline the research methodology applied in this study. Firstly, the chapter begins by outlining the philosophical approach it adopts and then follows by outlining the implications of this research philosophy on the study. The research questions will be explained from a methodological perspective leading to the consideration of the research design for the thesis. In conclusion the chapter examines the field work and data analysis techniques applied for the study.

4.1 METHODOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE AND IMPLICATIONS

This section outlines the research methodology employed in the study. Firstly, it explains the methodological perspective according to the interpretivist philosophy, which the thesis adopts, and therefore most appropriately fits the research methodology applied in the thesis.

4.1.1 METHODOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

The foundations of interpretivist philosophy reside in a researcher aiming to understand the meanings and perception of the world, held by the individuals being studied (Goldkuhl, 2012). Interpretivists assume that meanings are created by human beings as they engage in the world they live in and interpret (Crotty, 1998) and this is based on the individual's social and historical perspectives. An individual's understanding of their world is believed to be socially constructed as a result of interactions with, and relationships formed between members within society. According to Morgan and Smircich (1980), subjectivists view reality as a condition of the human mind which, through its consciousness and creative

nature, gives meaning to its surroundings. Given the autonomous characteristic of the human mind, it creates knowledge that is personal and experiential hence, inevitably nuanced or prejudiced (Elliott and Lukes, 2008). Thus, reality is determined by people rather than by objective and external factors and, as such, a researcher's primary task is to appreciate the meanings that people place upon their experiences. Similarly, in research on occupational careers conducted by Bosley, Arnold and Cohen (2009), the authors viewed career to have been given meaning by the participants as one that was contingent on a series of experiences and on the individuals who influence the direction of occupational careers that individuals take. Career is seen as a social practice, constituted by actors themselves in and through their relationships with others and as they move through time and space.

On the extreme paradigm spectrum, the positivist takes a very different position. A positivist research paradigm has often been widely presented, given its 'objective' stance which supports the view that valid knowledge can only be obtained through experiment and observation and the analysis of tangible phenomenon is used to form laws that can be generalised (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000), thereby representing and conceptualizing the 'real' world. As such, positivist research mainly involves testing, verifying and/ or falsifying objective reality and explanations to indicate causality. Therefore, according to Holbrook and O'shaughnessy (1988), positivism argues for the need of social sciences to adapt orthodox ways to the rules and principles of the natural sciences. In view of this, positivists base their assumptions of discovering the truth on the independent existence of the social and physical phenomena. This exposes a mind-set of 'objects' including people and by extension researchers isolated from their contexts and consequently expected to behave in a logical and rational manner. However, whilst positivist research may provide compelling conclusions based on its fundamental relationship between variables to identify causal

explanations and fundamental laws that explain regularities in human social behaviour (Remenyi and Williams, 1998), it may be difficult to implement this in the social sciences. Critics of the positivist approach refute the objectivity claim given the influence of people's beliefs, values and prejudices over their worldview. Within the opposing paradigm of interpretivism, the assumptions and emphasis of real world phenomena and events occurring are as a result of subjective thoughts, actions and interactions of people who inhabit the world. Hence, interpretivists advocate for this approach given that it concerns itself with an understanding of the social world whereby the emphasis rests imperatively on human actors as essentially responsible for creating meaning (Schwandt, 1994).

In light of this, with an aim to explore and to understand how migrant workers make sense of their career experiences abroad, this study adopted an ontological and epistemological stance that knowledge is created through the process of interpretation of perceptions, experiences and consequent action (Goldkuhl, 2012). On this basis, the interpretivist epistemology bases its stance on seeking to understand a situation from the perspective of participants in the situation and seek to explore their meanings rather than discover the truths. As the way to achieve this, Van Maanen (1988) calls upon researchers to have an interactive and cooperative relationship with the participants. The knowledge of migrants' career experiences was reconstructed by interpreting how Kenyan hotel migrant workers in the UK hotel sector enact their reality of lived experiences abroad and give them meaning. This knowledge was generated by both the researcher and migrants socially constructing the meaning of the migrants' lived experiences. The interaction process took the form of conversations through modified life history interviews. The focus is on the migrants' experiences and opinion rather than those of the researcher, as is characteristic of an interpretive research.

4.1.2 METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

The interpretivist ontology holds that there is no single external reality and that direct access to it is non-existent (Carson, Gilmore, Perry and Gronhaug, 2001). Instead, it endorses the existence of multiple realities which an interpretivist researcher seeks to understand. Hence, the researcher-participant relationship is viewed as mostly interactive and cooperative (Ozanne and Hudson, 1989) therefore, encouraging the study of a small number of cases. Consequently, this methodological perspective is criticized for its inability to allow for generalizations given the small samples that do not apply to the whole population (Lincoln and Guba (1985). Moreover, multiple realities are continuously evolving thus, no inquiry is able to grasp one definite objective reality (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988). Therefore, issues faced by the Kenyan hoteliers may not be generalized to other Kenyan migrants in the UK or to other migrant populations in the UK. Nonetheless, other scholars have argued that the detail and effort involved in interpretive inquiry allows researchers to gain insight into particular events as well as a range of perspectives that may not have come to light without that scrutiny (Macdonald, Kirk, Metzler, Nilges, Schempp and Wright, 2002). Therefore, in spite of the challenge of the lack of generalizability from an interpretive study, lessons from the experiences of migrant workers abroad can still be learnt and applied to other migrant populations residing in a host society.

Taking heed of Denscombe's (2014) advice, to present through the eyes of others, migrants' experiences were at the core of the study rather than abstract systems. In addition, to counter perceptions that migrants' lived experiences are mere everyday occurrences and might be treated as inferior to 'scientific' research, qualitative research provides the individuals' stories with status and importance. This, in turn, warrants research that is conducted by granting a higher status to the voices and everyday reasoning of ordinary individuals (Denscombe,

2014). This is in contrast to a positivist approach that upholds universal laws and law-like generalities, thereby testing theories and hypothesis in order to falsify or verify. Interpretivists embrace multiple realities that are constructed and shaped by the perspectives of different individuals. This does not imply individual realities are to be created, instead reality is recognized and can be shared between groups of people, organizations, cultures or societies. Therefore, this implies that there are multiple realities and it is the researcher's crucial role in an interpretivist study to make meaningful sense of those individual realities. Thus, the researcher generates meaning from the data collected whilst recognizing that their own cultural and historical experiences shape their interpretation.

This is achieved through the researcher's own reflexivity (see section on validity) and positions themselves to acknowledge how their own background influences their interpretation of the participants 'lifeworld's'. In addition, participants in the study also derive meaning of the situation they are involved in by giving accounts of their experiences embedded in the phenomenon. It is expected that qualitative researchers go beyond the process of enquiry by seeking to grasp a more extensive understanding of the phenomenon under study. This is achieved by 'identifying the motives, dynamic uses of shared meanings, individual meanings, and interactions between shared meanings and individual meanings' (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988 p. 511).

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

As stated in the introduction, the research design adopted in this research focuses on understanding and interpretation of social action which is influenced primarily by the conception of social reality acknowledged by Weber's concept of *verstehen* (to seek to understand) (Bryman and Bell, 2003). This is positioned in the paradigm of an interpretivist.

This is further expanded in the next sections that explain the research technique employed in collecting and analyzing data. Issues of validity are also addressed.

To stand in the gap of hospitality research that has been dominated by positivist epistemologies (Henning, Levy and Ritchie, 2005) debate proposing alternative methodologies is reignited Lugosi, Lynch and Morrison (2009). For example, Batnitzky, McDowell and Dyer (2008) study on Indian middle-class global mobility in London's hotel industry employed a qualitative approach from which the findings indicate that, with clear research objectives interview discussions bring forth data that is likely to tie in with theoretical debates surrounding the study. According to Creswell (2009), the use of a theoretical perspective is crucial as it helps in moving discussion about designing the research from types of questions to be asked to how data will be collected and consequently analysed in the end providing an action or strategy for the study.

Thus upon reflection on suggestions by Marshan-Piekkari and Welch (2004) relating to suitable research techniques, a qualitative method was chosen for this research as it allowed for the exploration of everyday life (Fontana and Frey, 2003). Furthermore, Crotty (1998) suggests that qualitative research employs methods of study that seek to isolate individual phenomena and in so doing, traces its unique development. In this view, the study's research problem focuses on uncovering migrants' daily experiences in the host country and upon return to their country of origin. Therefore, a qualitative method aimed at providing elaborate details of the people's lived experiences is considered. Other authors have supported qualitative methods as the most suitable to study human behaviour and are seen to be useful methods because they can lead to hypothesis building and explanations of phenomena (Ghauri and Grønhaug, 2005).

From an interpretivist lens, the goal of research is to rely vitally on participants' views of their situation being studied. Therefore, taking heed of Creswell's (2009) suggestion, open-ended questioning becomes a useful technique of interviewing to gather subjective meanings of individuals' lives which are created and negotiated socially and historically.

4.4 THE METHODS, DATA, SAMPLE, COLLECTION TOOLS

This section takes into account the rationale for adopting the Life history technique. It introduces the technique and further discusses its adaptation resulting in a modified life history approach as a key strategy of the empirical work. Lastly, an account of the sampling strategy is given including a discussion of Skype interviews that were conducted alongside the face to face interviews.

Creswell (2009) views data collection as a series of interrelated activities that are aimed at gathering information in order to answer research questions. Thus, to illuminate Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe's (2002) advice who advocate for an approach that a) allows interaction with and in an inseparable manner, and b) embeds a process of communication between the researcher and researched, interviews were considered a reasonable method to employ. This was in order to produce knowledge that would be effective in understanding the migrants' experiences (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004). This also followed on Bryman's (2012) suggestion that the interview is probably the most commonly utilized data collection method in a qualitative study. As such, understanding the lived experiences of skilled Kenyan hotel workers in the UK hotel industry presents itself as an unstructured research problem for this study.

Thus, in an effort to bring insight to the problem, modified life history interviews were deemed most suitable to gain in depth information and also necessary to capture retrospective accounts of the migrants. The technique attempts to locate individuals in their overall life experience as well as their broader socio-historical backgrounds within which they live. Therefore, adopting life history interviews was rationalised a suitable technique for Kenyan hotel migrant workers in retelling their career experiences in Kenya and the UK. The method encourages the participants to take into account social and political contexts that impact on their career development and work experiences in both countries and not merely focus on a fragmented aspect of an individual's life (Armstrong, 1987). Life history research concerns peoples' subjective and personal meanings and experiences (Germeten, 2007) through its ability to 'faithfully recover richly nuanced detail of the respondents' (Weinberg, 2002 p. 75). As such, it gives the researcher an opportunity to capture the individuals inner experiences, their interpretation and definition of the world around (Faraday and Plummer, 1979). Thus, following on Weinberg's suggestion on life history to uncover how institutional arrangements are reproduced, the technique was adapted with the view of casting light upon the influences of the immigration legal system and the hotel sector on the trained hotel labour migrants.

Furthermore, adopting a life history approach was important for the research, given that the method assigns significance and value to the person's own story or interpretations that individuals place on their own experiences. In view of the importance of individuals rich accounts, an explanation for their own behaviour, enables the participants to justify their behaviour or the decisions they took (Miles and Crush, 1993). In understanding the career experiences of the migrants and how they perceived migration, invokes explanation of behaviour by seeing them from a migrant's point of view, through their stories.

Additionally, the life history approach has a clear-cut emphasis on the point of view of the migrants' life (career) and a clear commitment to the processual life in showing how events unfold and interrelate in people's lives. Besides, Goodson (1980) further suggests that the technique allows us to see individuals in relation to their history of time and how they are influenced by the various religious, social, psychological and economic currents present in this world. It permits us to view the intersection of an individual's life with the history of their society, thereby enabling us to understand better their choices, contingencies and options given to the individual. In response to Riessman (1993) and Germeten (2007) who raise the concern of some groups of people in the society such as women, indigenous people and persons classified as mentally handicapped, having not been able or permitted to tell their life stories to society, the research provides a platform for migrants to tell their stories to the world. Echoing Riessman's (1993) advocacy to 'empower' a disadvantaged group of members in the society by recording their opinions and life experiences. 'Each piece added to a mosaic adds a little to our understanding of the total picture' (Weinberg, 2002 p.80), thus individual stories of the migrants contribute in the understanding of the labour migrants' lived and career experiences abroad.

4.4.1 MODIFIED LIFE-HISTORY APPROACH

In other forms of interviewing such as the use of semi-structured interviews, although there are chances of a high degree of subjectivity, partial structuring of the interviews may condense the knowledge being shared by the participant. For example, in this study, adopting semi-structured interviews may prompt the participants to focus on structural factors that shape their migrant experiences whereas a life history approach allows for inclusion of wider social relations. Other techniques such as surveys, capture a wider population in numerical terms but fail to get to the heart of the participants' experiences because the techniques

disable the researcher in watching or listening to the participants, yet these are considered essential means to acquire knowledge from participants. According to Felstead, Fuller, Unwin, Ashton, Butler and Lee (2005), such knowledge can be captured by techniques that adopt a case study or narrative approach which have the ability to listen, watch and learn from the participants. This study aims to listen and consequently tell of migrants' stories to a world that remains distant from them hence, a technique to listen to the participants' stories whilst getting deeper into understanding the meaning of their stories was adopted. A life history approach was applied, albeit in its modified form. Nonetheless, research techniques such as, face to face unstructured interviews allow the researcher to probe the interviewee deeper in order to obtain further information., as such probing and/or interjecting was also to be considered where it was deemed necessary.

Life histories provide the overall picture of an individual. A life history being a selected sample of an individual's experiences and practically viewed as a direct representation of the participant's life (Frank, 1979) was adopted. This is because the reader infers about the whole person from the parts revealed in the document. However, the approach was modified here as the focus of the study is drawn on a particular stage of the participants' career life as opposed to their entire life history. Therefore, it was considered rational that rather than participants' entire life history being captured, parameters were set to begin from the commencement of their vocational education and end at their present working situation. In spite of the focus on career lives, it was inevitable that some of the participants would refer to their childhood experiences as being important in determining their career paths. Furthermore, use of life history is strongly advocated due to its ability to communicate and persuade about an unfamiliar reality hence, imparting another life (Germeten, 2007). In light of this, adopting a life history approach, albeit with modification given the boundaries of their career life,

renders it the most suitable approach to capture their lived experiences-based on wider social-economic factors with a focus on the migrant's career experiences.

Within life history interviews, the researcher takes a 'silent' position ensuring minimal interruptions in order to let participants narrate their story, usually lasting about 2 to 2 ½ hours. In this study, however, given its modified nature whereby the interviews did not focus on the entire lives but a specific phase of their lives (commencement of career), thus a shorter period was typical, which lasted approximately 1 ½ to 2 hours. There were occasions when interventions were necessary, for example when a participant was required to give an account of their own immigration experience, he attempted to give a narrative of his friend's unfortunate immigration experience. In such an occurrence, it was deemed necessary to help steer the participant back to providing his own account.

Modified life history interviews were appropriate to create a space for communication where participants narrated their story, whilst the researcher remained 'silent', interjecting where necessary. The narratives of the Kenyan hotel migrant workers help to give a deeper voice to their lived experiences that help in understanding the meaning they give to their experience in the UK as voluntary economic migrants pursuing a hotel profession and demonstrating a willingness to encounter a career in a foreign country. This approach was particularly useful in getting further inside the 'lived lives' of the migrant hotel workers. In life histories, the interviewee narrates their story whilst the researcher assumes a dormant role of attentive listening whilst jotting down cue-phrases from the topics that emerge (Fontana and Frey, 2003). As such, the modified life history interviews were conducted in a similar manner, whereby the researcher initiated the interviews by prompting the interviewee with a single question and offering them a platform for an uninterrupted open narrative. There were three

main sections for interviews conducted with returnees: pre- migration, in- country and post migration experiences. There was an overlap of the sections with the interviews conducted with UK-based participants but given that the ‘post-migration’ section referred to their settled immigration status thus, this was still UK-based experience.

The interviews were conducted in English. To begin the interviews, an explanation of the interview process was offered, clarifying that the focus was within the timeframe from the participants’ college life to their present occupation circumstance. It was also conveyed to the participants that the researcher planned to remain silent during the interview, although guidance through the interview would be provided, where necessary. Furthermore, permission to jot down notes during the interview was sought from the participants explaining that these would be useful to the researcher. Given the nature of the researcher as an insider of the cohort of participants, it was also considered important to highlight that in instances where the researcher and participant might have had previous interactions in their career life, it was necessary that they still narrate the story without palpable assumptions that the researcher would recognize or recall that part of the story.

Consequently, participants were asked to begin with the phase after completion of secondary education and the decision to start their hotel career, how it all happened. Following on from the explanation given prior to the interview commencing, the researcher intended fewer interjections. Where these were necessary, Fontana and Frey (2003) advise researchers to use key phrases to encourage the interviewee to move closer in their memory to sense the moment, or space in which the event happened. For instance, it was usual for some participants to generally skew towards narrating migration encounters of members of their migration network that would mask their own encounters. At this juncture it was necessary to

interject and influence participants to narrate their individual experiences, unless it was a general contrast remark. It is important to highlight that the researcher did not have specific prompts intended to be used to probe participants. The expectation was that although all stories revolved around the participants' hotel career journey, from its inception to the current state, which at the time was during the interviews, each participant would have a unique story to narrate. Moreover, it is important to bring to attention, that interjection was considered necessary when a participant might have veered off the topic. For example, when a participant (Returnee, 5) justified his reason for dropping out of university in his 2nd year and joining Kenya Utalii college, as based on his predicament of studying for a degree in a public university in Kenya in the late 90's, which was going to take longer than necessary. This is based on the numerous student strikes that took place which resulted in students being given considerable time off campus extending their degree completion period. The participant veered off topic and started to narrate the political instigations to the student strikes. The participant might have considered political factors as an important part of their story. However, the researcher deemed this part of the story to be unfit for purpose and considered it necessary to interject to bring the participant back on track and remain relevant, on their career narrative by stating 'please, carry on with your story on undertaking a food production course at Utalii College.'

Another important note to highlight is that it was intended for the researcher to remain passive for most part of the interviews. However, as it may be expected, a researcher can seek clarity from participants where statements made by interviewees were unclear. Therefore, probing participants, to clarify any unclear statements was considered necessary. The researcher took notes during the interview having informed the participants prior to the interviews commencing. As such, to maintain the passive role dictated by the life history

interview approach, the researcher remained silent whilst taking notes and when it was appropriate to interject, the researcher used probes to seek clarity of the message. For instance, where a participant (Stayer, 8) had narrated and stated that, 'I always felt frustrated at work when people took my work for granted, yet I had been to Utalii College'. In order to get closer to the meaning of such a statement the researcher probed the participant further by asking 'in what ways were made to feel that you were being taken for granted and by whom? Overall, during the interviews, the probes that the researcher used made reference to the 'why', 'what', 'who' and 'how' questions and other times, nonverbal probes were used, for example, nodding as a gesture to encourage a participant to continue narrating their story.

Whilst it had been planned that all the interviews were to be conducted on a face-face basis, at the period the interviews were conducted, it was evident that Kenyan hoteliers in the UK were geographically dispersed. Firstly, this presented the challenge of travelling to meet different participants in different cities and towns in the UK. Secondly, given the working arrangements of a majority of the Kenyan families characterised by alternating shift work patterns, some participants were reluctant to accept a face-face interview, which would result in them giving up their time for an interview. Instead, a majority considered a telephone interview as an alternative. However, given the aim of the study, to understand migrants meaning of their career experiences, a longer conversation was anticipated thus, telephone interviewing was not considered suitable. Skype interviews were considered a more suitable alternative given that it was an approach that participants were more willing to undertake. This provided evidence of participants' willingness to own their story and share with a researcher, although not face-to-face, but engage in a video Skype call. Perhaps, also they considered that in case there were chances of cancelling an interview due to any unforeseen

circumstance there would have been lesser inconveniences caused to both the interviewer and themselves.

Altogether, thirty-two interviews were conducted, consisting of ten, face-to-face and six Skype interviews conducted with participants that were still living and working in the UK at the time fieldwork took place. The remaining sixteen face-to-face interviews were conducted with participants who had returned to Kenya after a period of living and working in the UK. Interviews excerpts have been referred to by the use of the labels: *Returnee* (1 through to 16), indicating the workers that returned to Kenya or *Stayer* (1 through to 16), representing the workers that had remained in the UK to live and work.

4.4.2 SKYPE INTERVIEWS

The advancement of technology and application of innovation has made it possible for researchers to steer away from the traditional methods of face to face interviews to more innovative methods. One such communication platform is Skype whereby communication over distance is made easier and convenient (Sullivan, 2012). Hooley, Wellens and Marriott (2011) acknowledge that Skype interviews have reduced the problems that are encountered by exclusive use of face to face interviews by giving access to respondents who might otherwise be unavailable. In this study for example, the geographical dispersion of the participants posed a challenge due to limits on mobility for the researcher. Thus, it emerged that Skype interviews were most suited, particularly with participants that were still living and working in the UK. They offered more flexibility in terms of participants' availability and for convenience. In addition, encroaching onto personal space was avoided whilst ensuring a neutral space for both parties was maintained during the interviews (Hanna, 2012).

However, a limitation of Skype interviews that this study acknowledges, in contrast to face to face interviews, is that sharing of physical space was limited. Face to face interviews make it possible to pick on nonverbal cues. This in turn helps a researcher to know when to probe further for information. Whereas in the Skype interviews conducted, nonverbal cues such as a pause in sentences were at times mistaken for signal problems which may have resulted in important information being missed out. Additionally, in contrast to Sturges and Hanrahan (2004) conclusion that there were no noticeable differences between responses given in their face to face and Skype interviews in terms of quantity, nature and depth of responses, in this study there were some notable differences in the two interview techniques applied.

The face to face ran for a bit longer than the Skype interviews. However, this could be attributed to a contextual difference, given that interviews conducted with stayers did not incorporate the return element resulted to being slightly shorter whilst with the returnees, their return experience was an additional section of the interviews thus, being lengthier. Only face to face interviews were conducted with the returnees whereas a combination of face to face and Skype interviews were conducted with the migrants that have remained in the UK. Owing to the lifestyle in the UK, the interviews were conducted in the evenings where it was often the case that one parent was about to leave to go to work whilst the other remained to look after their young children. So often, parents had shift work patterns due to childcare arrangements and this may have been disruptive to the interviews. However, in Kenya, where childcare is not a major challenge as there are affordable arrangements, participants who were parents were able to avail themselves for the interviews.

4.4.3 SAMPLING STRATEGY

This study aims at being a conduit of informing migrant workers' lived experiences to an outside world and at the same time provide a deeper understanding of the career experiences of a cohort of trained hotel migrant workers in the UK hotel industry. Their experiences revolve around institutional factors, thus, rather than a quantitative analysis of their circumstance, this study focuses more on building a convincing rich and complex analysis through the study of this group of workers. Hence, given the nature of this particular study in focusing on a specific and targeted group of people, even though from a small population, it was still necessary to decide the form of sampling that should be used. It was required that the participants were selected from a population of Kenyan trained hotel migrant workers in the UK hotel sector and those that have subsequently returned to Kenya.

In this regard, fixing the criterion for selecting the participants and stemming widely from literature and closely drawn from the research question, the eligibility criteria required individuals to meet the following: participants must be Kenyan, Alumni of K.U.C, have had migrated to work in the UK's hotel sector and either returned to Kenya or remained to work and live in the UK, accordingly, have been holders of UK Work permit. It was considered necessary to include the cohort of returned workers, not to compare accounts of stayers against returners but for a more holistic representation of the migrants' career development shaped by the migration process. As explained in Chapter 2, the UK work permit scheme was administered in the early 2000's thereby, profiling the Kenyan hoteliers as a relatively older cohort of the industry's workforce given that a majority were over the age of 27 at entry point in contrast to the typical younger workforce associated with the hospitality industry in the UK. Moreover, at the time of the interviews, participants of the study that stayed in the UK

had worked and either later switched employers or were still employed in hotel establishments in the UK.

In order to achieve balance and to maximize on the potential richness of the data, the migrants included males and females and as such, gender balance was sought at the point of selection of the participants. Furthermore, an equal number of participants of those still living in the UK and those that had subsequently returned to Kenya were selected. Hence, sixteen participants in each category were selected to ensure symmetry and add to the reliability of the study. However, a balanced selection of 8 participants of each gender was achieved only with the cohort of stayers. The group of returnees consisted of 10 female and 6 male hotel workers. Participants' age ranged from 31-62. Appendices D and E profile the research participants (returnees and stayers, respectively). Nevertheless, in both the categories of returners and stayers a majority were aged 36-40 years. From the sample of Kenyan hotel workers who have remained in the UK a majority are in 46-50 age bracket whereas a majority of the returnees were in the 31-40 age bracket. Therefore a criterion based approach that involved a homogenous sample was adopted to enable a detailed exploration and understanding of the research questions and subjects under study (Lewis and Ritchie, 2003).

According to Boeije (2009), where the phenomena is known to exist in the sample, a purposive sampling strategy is suitable. Furthermore, following Bryman's (2012) suggestion, an a priori sample of skilled Kenyan hotel workers as a unique case befits the purposive sampling strategy, given the attempt to understand the application of their cultural capital in their career experiences in the UK. Therefore, paying attention to Boeije's (2009) counsel, a snowballing sampling technique was adopted to recruit participants. Within this technique, a few members of the group to be studied are identified. The identification of the interviewees

was initially based on the researcher's personal contacts, stemming from an industry background and by extension, professional relationships in the industry, linking the researcher to participants. At each stage identified members were requested to recommend other participants (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). It was expected that each of the worker sub-category would identify members within their own subgroup, for example, returnees would identify returnees and the stayers would identify only the stayers, given the expected existing networks that members could identify with. Interestingly, workers in both sub-categories drew upon the initial migrant network that had been in existence, such that both the returnees and stayers identified each other out with their sub-groups, demonstrating that despite their return to Kenya and apparent disconnection with their UK social ties upon leaving the UK, the workers maintained connections regardless of whether they were in the UK or had returned to Kenya.

Following recruitment of the participants, modified life history interviews were conducted in two stages. To begin with, the interviews were conducted with returnee participants i.e. those that had returned to Kenya after a period of working and living in the UK, followed by interviews with the Kenyan hotel migrant workers that were still living and working in the UK. It was considered necessary to follow this order so that the returnees would help refine the research problem and adjust successive interviews to be conducted in the second stage with those that were still living and working in the UK. In contrast to quantitative research that is characterized by large samples, typical qualitative research aims at elucidating specific and rich information (Bryman, 2012, Creswell, 2009) that is obtainable from relatively smaller samples. With regards to the sample size, Lincoln and Guba (1985p. 234), argue that 'as the sampling and concurrent analysis of data unfolds new information progressively became scarcer' such that within the first stage of the interviews conducted with the

returnees, data saturation was achieved at the 16th interview. While termination of sampling may have been provided beyond the 16 interviews conducted with the first cohort it was considered necessary to provide a symmetrical account of the migrants' experiences in the UK. Thus, progressing onto the second stage of interviews with participants that were still living and working in the UK, an identical sample size was obtained, achieving a total of 32 interviews. From the extreme positive research paradigm, analysed data generates new knowledge that is used to form laws that are generalised from the sample to the population it is from or to other populations, warranting large samples (Cohen et al., 2000). In contrast, in adopting an interpretivist stance the research aimed at gaining a deep understanding of career experiences of skilled Kenyan hotel migrant workers in the UK thus, meriting a relatively smaller sample size, typical of qualitative research (Creswell, 2009, Bryman, 2012).

Oakley (1981) observes that the more the interviewer and participants share common characteristics such as gender and race, and previous experience the more likely the interviewer is to get closer to a truthful account from the participant. As the researcher shares similar characteristics with the participants, this qualifies him/her as an insider of the study. Thus, based on the 'insiderness' of the researcher acquired through membership of K.U.C alumni and informal networks of Kenyans living and working in UK, negotiating and gaining access to the participants was unproblematic. Furthermore, it was considered that participants would disclose 'authentic' information on the assumption of the existing familiarity between the researcher and participants and that this would strike a degree of trust immediately, arguably eliciting more truthful accounts. However, a practical limitation was reaching participants due to geographical dispersion, structural and financial constraints. Furthermore, factors beyond researchers' control can render drawing sampling frames problematic. In this study, migrant worker statistical data such as, a.) Home Office records of Kenyan migrant

workers in the UK by sector, and b.) records of returned Kenyans by the Kenyan government were inadequately provided. Thus, to overcome this sampling challenge, given the researcher's shared similarity with the participants, she was able to draw on her personal contacts of compatriots working in the hotel industry in the UK and likewise some of the returned Kenyans. See appendix D and E for a summary of the participants' demographics.

4.5 FIELDWORK AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.5.1 FIELDWORK UNDERTAKEN

This section provides information relating to the fieldwork undertaken in the research. It explains the analytical techniques that were used to analyse the data. The elements of validity and reliability are also discussed after which ethical considerations are reflected upon

The interviews took place in phases between August 2014 and July 2015. It was in no particular order that the decision to interview those that had subsequently returned to Kenya was reached. Nevertheless, it was deemed appropriate that this order is followed a) to refine the research problem and tweak interview schedule where necessary, and b) for pragmatic reasons to commence data collection with the returnees and finish off with the participants still in the UK where the writing up of the thesis would be take place. Nonetheless, for the period of data collection in Kenya, three face to face interviews with participants in the UK were conducted during a brief visit to the UK. This was considered particularly beneficial as it was an opportunity to step away from the ongoing interviews with returnees and understand if there were any topics of discussion that were being left out so as to include them in the subsequent interviews in both sets.

However, before the main study was carried, a pre-test was considered necessary in order to help arrive at research questions that would steer the study towards a clearer direction. Furthermore, the use of a pre-test not only enabled the researcher to get acquainted in conducting modified life history interviews but also was beneficial in shaping the research technique. This was achieved by finding it necessary to send an email containing information that was useful to the participants to help them think about their stories. The pre-test encompassed returned migrants to Kenya who had lived and worked in the UK hotel industry. Incorporating returned hotel migrants was considered useful than conducting a pre-test with the migrants that were still living and working in the UK given that the former had gained in-country experience prior to their return to Kenya. This ensured the inclusion of the necessary migrants' experience that was considered important and was under observation in the study.

The interviews lasted about an hour and a half to two hours. Prior to the interviews being conducted, emails were sent out to participants explaining what was expected of them at the interview. Information specifying how long the interviews were to take and the structure of the interview was provided. In as much as the interview is expected to be a conversation between the interviewer and interviewee, the researcher took the position of a passive interviewer (described in the sample interview transcript, appendix F). This paved the way for the participant to recollect and tell their stories with minimal interruption from interviewer who only interjected to guide the flow of the story where participants struggled with a smooth flow. Some interviewing techniques adopted in qualitative research such as, semi-structured interviews may require the participant to present information only which they consider useful to the interviewer and may ignore information which they may consider trivial or distasteful, yet of importance and interest to the interviewer. In view of this, the life

history approach is not only more devoted to uncovering even the nuanced details of the participant but is faithful in rendering and honestly giving the participants' experiences and interpretation of the world they live in. As such, the interviewer endeavoured to get close as possible to participants' honesty by probing them further about events that required clarification. Nonetheless, establishing trust between the researcher and participants was also considered necessary in order to obtain truthful stories of the migrant workers.

Life history interviews require that the interviewer takes a 'back seat' and actively listens to the interviewees narrate their stories with minimal or no interruption. Nonetheless, in adopting a modified life history technique for the study, there were instances where it was necessary for the interviewer to interject in order to gather further information from the participants, resulting in slightly shorter interviews in contrast to those where interjection was unnecessary. It would be expected that researcher interjections would result in longer interviews however, in the interviews, the more the interjections the shorter the interview period. This demonstrated the introverted nature of some participants in spite of the richness of their stories.

Whilst it had been proposed to conduct face to face interviews for the entire study, it later became clear that an alternative technique was necessary for the interviews conducted in the UK. Faced with mobility constraints in the UK, it was considered that Skype interviews be conducted in place of the face to face interviews. These were conducted in the evenings taking into account participants' busy schedules such as work and other commitments during the day. A similar step by step procedure as the face to face interviews was followed, including note taking. In addition the depth and length of the Skype interviews also dictated that it was essential to record them. Recording was done using Skype recording software.

This was done in the format of mp3 and later transferred to the voice recorder for ease of transcribing.

At the end of the interviews, there was a question asking the participants to provide their opinions about the interview given the rare daily life's expectations to sit back for up to 2 hours to talk about their past life experiences (see appendix F) for a sample of a full transcribed interview. A majority confirmed they had not been in such circumstance to talk about their migration experience in one sitting, recounting their career experiences. Nevertheless, it was an opportunity to reflect on their lived experiences as migrants, appreciating the journey until the present. Gillham (2005) cautions that interviewers should maintain a professional approach and avoid the temptation to adopt a therapeutic approach to interviews. Nonetheless, similar to Ochieng's (2010) ethnographic research, the researcher experienced a shift in the nature of the researcher-participant relationships which progressed from being artificial to meaningful over time and through this shift an element of attachment with participants emerged. Whilst this study did not adopt an ethnographic technique, given the researcher's 'insider' nature, it also was challenging to adapt an approach where the interviewer was expected to remain as detached from the interviewees as possible. Therefore, whilst the interviews conducted were not aimed at being of a healing nature, participants labelled them as being 'therapeutic' and 'conscious-raising', hence empowering them emotionally.

4.5.2 DATA ANALYSIS

In the analysis of the data from an interpretivist lens, the participants and researcher construct the data and work together to produce meaning. In that, the participant interprets and assigns meaning to his/her experience and recounts the experience to the researcher. This forms the

basis for the researcher, who is also influenced by particular cultural and social forces to construct the experience as recounted by the participant (Laverty, 2003).

Okely (2002) argues that, unlike positivists who control conditions to carry out their experiments, qualitative data leads the researcher in an unpredictable and uncontrolled direction. Thus, during and after fieldwork, themes not only gradually emerge from the data itself (Bulmer, 1979, Strauss, 1987, Maxwell, 2012), but also from personal experiences of the researcher. In this study, overcoming the researcher's previous migrant experience that inevitably would contribute to research bias was difficult. However, note taking during interviews was a vital exercise as a means of questioning and reflecting upon researcher's bias. Nevertheless, the researcher drew upon their 'insider' role based on an a priori approach and own lived experiences as a migrant worker in the UK hotel industry in extracting some of the themes. Additionally, as suggested by Bryman (2012), the use of theory-related concepts including terms used in skilled migration literature, facilitated in theme identification for the set of data collected from participants of this study. Furthermore, the research questions also guided the identification of the primary themes from which sub -themes emerged.

The aim of the analysis is to make explicit the migrants' perceived meaning of their hotel career experiences in the UK. During both the face to face and Skype interviews notes were taken and it was equally essential to have the interviews digitally recorded with consent from participants. Creswell (2009) suggests that the analysis of qualitative data is done concurrently with gathering data and making interpretations, in order to become familiar with participants' words. Thus, immediately after the interviews were conducted, data was transcribed using a standard format and analysed using Nvivo to produce interview transcripts. The thirty-two modified life-history interviews conducted resulted in a large-

sized amount of data consisting on average, ten pages each of transcribed interview. Listening and reading the audio recordings and interview transcripts, respectively was done in order to familiarize the researcher with the data. At this stage, it was also considered necessary, to use the Nvivo software to make note of key paragraphs and sentences, including those that were forming a repetitive pattern as they implied emergence of particular themes.

The process of making sense of the interview transcripts and the researcher's field work notes by reading and re-reading is a function of data analysis described by Creswell (2009) as coding. Therefore, in order to achieve the study's aim of making sensible meaning of the migrants' hotel career experiences in the UK it was necessary to sort the vast amount of data. This was achieved by placing similar data together, originating from participants' stories. To achieve this, sentences and paragraphs were fragmented into smaller chunks of data referred to as codes. Whilst fragmenting the data into shorter sentences made it look different from what had been previously recorded on the transcript, it is important to break data into manageable sizes as a means to connect data from various participants of a study so as to generate and build concrete ideas (Morse and Richards, 2002) that bring out meaningfulness of the data. Codes were generally developed in a chronological manner, given the migration timelines of the participants. These were in three main categories: a) pre migration, which focused on the initial stage and development of their hotel careers whilst in the country of origin, b) lived experience in host country and, c) post migration, for those that returned, to Kenya after a period of working and living in the UK.

According to Bazeley (2013), codes are used to label passages of data based on the researcher's understanding of passage. As such, it was considered useful to alternate between the researcher's *a priori* knowledge based on personal experience on migration and the

existing labour migration literature that the study had depended on, to identify and select themes.

Initial codes used referred to descriptive events that were used to categorize migrants' experiences in the chronological order of pre-migration, in-country experiences and post-migration). Using the Nvivo software, codes are referred to as nodes. Within the first category under pre- migration phase, examples of nodes used: post-secondary education, desire to join hotel training school, hotel training, professionalism in the Kenyan context, desire to migrate abroad and preparation undertaken to migrate. In the second phase which captured migrant's in-country experiences, examples include, but not limited to: Kenyan workers perspectives on Kenyan versus UK hotel sector, role of UK hotel industry in shaping worker's career, skills advancement and professional development, assimilation of workers within work-places, expectation versus reality of hotel career as experienced in host country, exposure to life in the UK and UK migration law impact on migrants' lives. Finally, on decision to remain in host or return to home country, the nodes included: Reasons for return, reasons to remain, preparations to leave the UK and settle in home country and outcome of exposure to a western lifestyle.

Initially, the codes produced were numerous, therefore, it was considered necessary to refine them to form sub-codes that would produce the most salient theme. In a similar vein, Bazeley (2013) acknowledges that the first level of coding focuses on coding through the data provided by participants, whilst second-level coding is focused on the already coded data where patterns of associations are identified and are then placed together. For instance, the nodes produced for the in-country category i.e shaping worker's career, skills advancement and professional development, assimilation of workers within work-places were refined to

generate the theme of the UK hospitality industry impacting on migrant worker's experiences' .

Adopting Boeije's (2009) and Colaizzi's (1978) qualitative data analysis strategy, meanings of significant sentences on the interview transcripts were formulated which resulted in hidden meanings being uncovered. For example, one participant narrated 'having been trained at Utalii College (renowned hotel school) and being given an attendant job was not very nice'. Here, the participant considered that having undergone specialized hotel training and obtained work experience qualifying for supervisory or managerial position yet occupied a low entry position demonstrated an element of underemployment. Each transcription was read several times to grasp the general perceptions of migrant's lived experiences. Thereafter, the transcripts were read over again, systematically searching for what each migrant conceived of their career progression in the UK and, in this manner, a cluster of themes were produced. This was done by analysing the meaning of their statements in relation to the context of the surrounding statements and transcript as a whole. By extension of Spencer, Ritchie, Ormston, O'Connor and Barnard (2003) suggestion to use the framework approach as a matrix to order and synthesize data into subthemes and eventually into main themes, the Nvivo software proved useful in the identification of the themes. It is during the coding process performed by software that emerging and relevant themes were identified.

To follow the procedures of research process and remain ethical, names of the participants were anonymized on the interview transcripts. A list of provisional themes was made using the computer software Nvivo, which also allowed for sub-themes to be created. According to Okely (2002), the researcher aims for the total context, therefore it was considered logical to classify emergent themes around the workers' migration journey in a chronological order.

The modified life history interviews flowed conveniently in three broad topics, migrant's pre-migration, migration and post- migration journey and as such, theme identification was also categorized in the three areas. Within these broad classifications of migrants' lived experiences, the main themes around which their narratives were created revolved around career progression and structural factors either inhibiting from or propelling them towards their personal objectives of an enhanced lifestyle abroad. In several occurrences there was an overlap of themes for example 'cross-border mobility' was also relevant to 'mobility restriction'. As such, the overlap was then combined to form a theme of regulatory constraints.

Okely (2002 p.25) notes that 'people's beliefs, values and actions are not necessarily revealed by head counting. Instead, these crucial revelations are much more likely to emerge from chance incidents, extended comments and both informal and ceremonial gatherings'. This suggests that information found in field notes was useful as acted as a practical guide in identifying some of the themes.

Finally, Colaizzi (1978) suggests that findings are taken back to the participants as a means to check and/or add any information that the researcher might have omitted. As such, a findings report was sent to the study participants and the members were asked to provide comments relevant to the researcher's interpretation of the data collected and analysed. This process has been described by many scholars as member verification as a means to validate findings of the study. It is discussed later in this chapter in the section on validity. Furthermore, an interesting gesture by one participant was where she provided the researcher with her diary that had recorded her experiences in the UK. It was a practice that she had

engaged in since childhood and it demonstrated that her narrative was not to corroborate the researcher's perceptions but one that provided authenticity to her story.

4.5.3 ISSUES OF CREDIBILITY, VALIDITY, RELIABILITY AND GENERALISABILITY

Creswell (2009) considers 'validation' in qualitative research an attempt to assess the 'accuracy of the findings, as best described by the researcher and the participants.

4.5.3.a CREDIBILITY

Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest a prolonged engagement with the participants in order to orient to their situation, minimize distortions and also to build their trust. As an 'insider' within the study, the technique to achieve credibility of the study results was unproblematic given the closed-distance between the experiences of the researcher and the participants. Taking into account the status of the researcher as an alumnus of the hotel training institution, not only was negotiating access to the participants easily attainable but also earning the trust of the participants was seen to be less challenging. The participants considered the researcher as someone that fits into their network, given the similarity of the migration journey undertaken by both the researcher and the participants. Lincoln and Guba (1985) advice qualitative researchers against studying participants whom they know little or nothing regarding their cultures. Instead, researchers should immerse themselves in the cultures of the participants to familiarize themselves with general issues. Nevertheless, the researcher did not have to invest time to learn the culture of the Kenyan hoteliers in the UK as she has a hotel professional background in spite of having switched career to embark on an academic career in the UK and as such, was an accepted member of the group.

As part of the study, participants were required to provide narratives of their immigration experiences in the UK. Such information is regarded as sensitive as it is likely to reveal the immigration status of individuals. This, in turn, could generate fear that the revelation of their immigration status to the authorities could lead to deportation in the case of illegal status. As a result, participants may have been apprehensive not only to provide such information but also to be interviewed. None of the participants approached declined the request to take part in the interviews and it can be safely assumed that their immigration status at the point of interviewing was legal. The migration network of the Kenyan hoteliers which the researcher belonged to, served as a platform of both accessibility to the participants and one to facilitate trust.

4.5.3.b VALIDITY

A qualitative inquiry advocates that a researcher checks for the accuracy of the findings (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, Butler-Kisber, 2010, Bryman, 2012). Creswell (2009) deems validation of findings in qualitative research to be an essential aspect as it attempts to assess the accuracy of the findings. Thus, driven by the objective of an interpretivist aim to gain full understanding of a phenomenon through gaining full access to the knowledge and meaning of the phenomenon, validity of the study is crucial (Collis and Hussey, 2013). Hence, to emphasize on the rigour of the study it was considered important to validate the findings. Researchers' efforts to ensure validity take different shapes according to techniques employed to collect data from participants. However, Ryan and Bernard (2003) caution that there is not an ultimate means to ascertain validity of the themes produced from the data in qualitative data. Nonetheless, Creswell (2009) proposes adoption of one or more of his eight strategies to check accuracy of research findings: triangulation, member check, conveying findings using rich and thick descriptors of settings and themes, clarifying researcher biases

(reflexivity), presentation of negative case analysis, spending a prolonged time in the field, use of peer review and use of an external auditor. Therefore, in seeking trustworthiness of the research and to create reader confidence in the accuracy of the findings, the member check strategy was employed. It involved presenting the participants with refined themes that had emerged to allow for their comments and determine if they considered the themes accurate.

In addition, taking Creswell's (2009) suggestion, researcher bias was clarified as expressed in the final section of this chapter. A personal reflection of the researcher is incorporated in order to provide an open and honest narrative aimed at demonstrating how the findings are shaped by the researcher's professional background. For instance, the process of theme identification for the data collected was based on the researcher's a priori experience as a professional hotel migrant worker. The drive of qualitative research calls upon the researcher's involvement to be one that has intense interaction with the participants. It is therefore likely that researchers of this nature come across research that involves studying one's own organization or close friends or even family members adding on to the challenges of the researcher (Glesne and Peshkin, 1992). Similarly, the nature of this research required that the researcher interviewed alumni members from the same hotel training institution from which she had graduated. Whilst this might be considered advantageous as it provides easier access to the participants it may often lead to researcher bias. Bearing this in mind, researcher reflexivity was adhered to by maintaining a research journal which is an explicit evaluation of the self (Shaw, 2010) in order to perpetually account for assumptions and bias that may influence the study.

Reflexive journals enable the researcher to make their experiences, thoughts and feelings visible to the reader and also help the researcher effect necessary changes within the research

design. Researcher feelings and thoughts which were shared with PhD colleagues provided an awareness of some of the unconscious pre-judgements that were brought to the study. This had a positive impact when analysing and interpreting the data that had been collected given that it brought balance to the research. However, taking on Lincoln and Guba's (1985) and Patton's (1990) recommendation participants of this study were given the opportunity to examine and comment on the themes identified by the researcher that attempted to achieve the study's aim of developing a deeper understanding of trained hotel migrant workers lived experiences in the UK. In view of this, applying themes that are recognised by the people being studied demonstrates the researcher's confidence in representing valid accounts of the Kenyan hotel migrant workers career experiences in the UK.

4.5.3.c RELIABILITY

Unlike a positivist study whereby repetition of the research may be expected to produce similar results in the previous study if certain procedures are followed, interpretivists believe that the activities of the researcher influence the study. Therefore, as Collis and Hussey (2013) observe, the effort to replicate a study is difficult and as Butler-Kisber (2010) argues, even less desirable as it undermines the assumptions of a qualitative study. However, with a focus to ensure authenticity of the findings, there is a need to establish protocols and procedures in conducting qualitative work. As such, the researcher took note of Yin's (2003) suggestions to provide a detailed account of procedures and document them. In light of this, transcripts were checked for obvious mistakes made during transcriptions as this could easily alter meanings of the word or sentence. Memos on the codes were also kept to help remind definition of codes.

4.5.3.d GENERALISABILITY

The assumption of an objective truth is upheld in a positivist research, where there are large samples and procedures followed, resulting in confirmations or rejections of hypothesis thus providing the possibility to generalize the results of the study. Furthermore, as Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue, generalizing would coerce researchers to view their studies only through one paradigm thus entrapping them to meet a set of stringent criteria. Consequently, in contrast to the positivist approach, a qualitative study that adopts an interpretivist approach (and given the relatively smaller samples) rules out the possibility of generalizing the findings of a study to a population. This is because it rests its claim on knowledge that is local and situated, hence generalizing only to the sample population as is the aim of the study. This study seeks to understand the career experiences of migrants through their own perceived knowledge and makes theoretical inferences from the data (Bryman, 2012). Therefore, this accommodates the possibility of multiple realities (Scotland 2012) and further provides a wider benefit of permitting lessons to be learned from the experiences of those included in the study (Rose, 1991)

4.5.4. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Scholars differ over what is considered ethical or unethical. However, it is imperative that social science researchers are aware of the ethical issues involved and that they have a responsibility to their participants (Bryman, 2012). Also of importance is that the principles of research ethics are also linked to a range of legislation, for example in the UK, the Data Protection Act (Gillham, 2005). Furthermore, ethical considerations traditionally have revolved around informed consent, right to privacy and protection from harm, (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

The research problem identified addresses migrants hotel career challenges away from their home country and aimed at developing a clearer and deeper understanding of their lived experiences abroad. As such, as advised by Creswell (2009), the problem was carefully considered so that it guarded the participants from disempowerment or marginalization. This echoes, Lugosi's (2009) caution that as with ethnographic research, researchers ought to be sensitised on the power relations that may exist between them and the participants whilst not falling in the trap of misrepresentation of issues pertinent to particular individuals or groups. Instead, it was aimed at giving a 'voice' to the migrants' career experiences to a world that remains distant to them. In view of this, to remain ethical in conducting the research, the participants were made fully aware, without deception, of the study's aim.

During the initial contact made with participants over telephone following referrals by colleagues in the industry, information regarding the study's aim was provided verbally. Thereafter, sufficient documented information was provided to the participants electronically via email, prior to the interviews. Ethical considerations are also necessary at the data collection stage. Hence, it was considered crucial to make it clear to participants that participation in the interviews was voluntary along with seeking their consent prior to interviews being conducted. Moreover, Creswell (2009), provides participants with an awareness of their data protection rights. As such, a form of words was provided which entailed a clear summary of the research aims, contact details of the researcher and academic supervisor and description of the intended use of the data. Furthermore, necessary measures were taken to protect the anonymity of the participants and their work places by use of pseudonyms.

As a measure to ensure confidentiality of the interviews contents safe keeping of the participants' data, access to electronic and hard copies of the interview transcripts and field notes was limited only to the researcher. In consideration of disposal of electronic data and hard copies of the consent records and interview transcripts, five years is considered an appropriate period to store the data after which it will be destroyed. Given the emic nature of the researcher, the participants were helpful and did not expect compensation. They considered offering their availability to be interviewed as a means to assist 'one of their own', an industry colleague in achieving her academic goals, which effectively brought insight to their experiences as migrant workers.

4.6 PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

4.6.1 PERSONAL NARRATIVE AS A UK HOTEL MIGRANT WORKER

In this section I will give an account of my own migration journey as a professional hotelier and, as a consequence, reflect on my emic or insider status within the research process. According to Lumsden and Winter (2014), reflexivity should be conceived as an active process and not merely the personal quality of the researcher. Therefore, interpreting and representing the social worlds of the participants becomes important by giving an honest interpretation of the research and challenges faced. Whilst it important to acknowledge and document a personal narrative, Ezzy (2002) warns that inclusion of personal experiences problematizes the claim of objectivity in research. However, qualitative research advocates for transparency given the possibility of producing biased information and the unintentional inclusion of researcher's own perceptions in weaving the stories of the participants. A personal narrative helps to achieve the study's credibility and also links it to the development of interest towards the research (Holliday, 2007). The narrative is also particularly useful for

qualitative researchers in creating awareness of the importance of reflexivity with an attempt to disentangle themselves from the complexities of their presence within the research. Moreover, bringing my existing experiential knowledge as a professional hotelier and migrant worker was beneficial as it enabled me to make sense of the Kenyan hotel migrant workers' career experiences and gain a deeper understanding to make cultural specific interpretation so as to produce deep and authentic findings (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009).

My assumption was that the professional Kenyan hotel workers in the UK, including those that had subsequently returned, were willing and prepared to talk to me given that building a trustworthy relationship was less challenging. Having gone through a similar migration journey as the participants and backed by a similar professional background as my counterparts, it interested me to enquire their encounters and in more general terms, lived experiences in the UK as migrant workers. Could their encounters in the UK corroborate my personal experiences as a hotel migrant worker in the UK?

I had a story to tell, but I would rather have heard the stories of my counterparts first, not so much to corroborate my story but stand in a position to give a voice to migrants' career experiences abroad to a world that remains distant to them. Thus, gaining some trust from my fellow Kenyan hoteliers was necessary to get them sharing their stories. In such stories, unstructured interviewing was considered suitable so that they could narrate their story just as they remember. However, my intention was to capture the story of their career journeys, thus limiting their story to the commencement of their career which was assumed to be after their secondary education. I made the assumption that participants would narrate their story as it is or was as opposed to what they thought I wanted to hear. Overall, by sharing their personal

accounts of migration to the UK, to live and work in hotels, contributes to knowledge by giving insight to migrant hotel workers' career experiences in the UK.

Thus, given that the researcher possessed a similar professional background and migration journey as the interviewees, my lived experiences in the UK as a migrant and for the period spent in Kenya during the field work stage highlights that there will be incidences of similarities as the participants.

4.6.2 PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND IN KENYA

Similar to all the respondents who are Kenyan nationals by birth and who took part in this research, a career in the hospitality sector was considered important in its own right. There has been a growing significance of the hospitality and tourism sector in Kenya's economy as it currently sits as the third largest GDP contributor after agriculture and manufacturing and occupies a similar position in earning foreign exchange for the country after tea and horticulture (Okello, 2014).

The hospitality and tourism sector has remained important to Kenya's economy since independence. Before competition from the agricultural and manufacturing sector, the hospitality and tourism industry has been the mainstay of the country's economy. In the mid 1970's together with the Swiss government, a hotel school, K.U.C was established. It was set up to offer specialized training for the industry's workforce both nationally and within the African continent.

My passion for the industry began during my childhood as my siblings and I were exposed to domestic tourism. The smartly uniformed staff in hotels and national parks, greasy French

fries (chips), fun ambience around hotels, décor, exciting game drives just to mention but a few are some of the factors that I believe shaped and determined my passion for the hospitality sector. Through primary and secondary school education, I had above average performance in the home science subject that entailed cookery and the running of a home-a model for running a hotel. Towards the end of secondary education, there was clarity that a career in the hospitality and tourism industry is what I was to embrace. However, unlike some of the participants in this study who started out in universities with non-hospitality and tourism related degree courses and gave up those courses for specialised training at KUC, I was enrolled immediately for the four-year hotel management course at the prestigious hotel school.

The hotel management course consisted of 3 industry placements, 3 months at the beginning of the first year, followed by 6 months in the second half of second and fourth year. The initial 3 months were the toughest because I undertook placement even before learning theory in a class setting. However, the initial 3 months of industry placement were a determinant whether a hospitality career was worth pursuing given that the placement entailed starting from the bottom of the rank with all the ‘dirty’ roles, such as potato peeling and getting sent to the food stores to fetch raw foods. I was attached to the 5-star *Hotel Intercontinental*, Nairobi. Daily tasks included washing pots and pans, mis-en place for the cooks, and getting used to the kitchen terminology and actually familiarizing myself with the raw foods repertoire in the storage area.

I did not give up, instead was still passionate to pursue the exciting hotel management course. The second year placement was at a supervisory level at the 5-star beach resort, *Voyager Beach Resort*. Yet again, this placement did not disappoint me, instead fuelled the passion to

pursue a hotel career. In the final year, I was awarded the Glenridding best student award. The award consisted of a two-year training opportunity at the 3- star *Best Western Glenridding Hotel* in Penrith in the English Lake District, a return ticket sponsored by *Kenya Airways* and a two-night stay at the 5-star *Windsor Golf Hotel and Country Club*. The news of the award came just after I had secured employment as a lodge manager at the 5-star *Mara Intrepids Camp*, part of the Heritage hotels. Having achieved a good academic record into my fourth year, I was headhunted by the *Mara Intrepid Camp*, It was an exciting role for me given that I had targeted the Heritage hotels to work for during my placement at the *Voyager Beach Resort* in my second year of the hotel management course. I had identified them as an organization which would have enabled me grow in my hotel career, starting out in management roles within their lodge units and then moving around the rest of their units, within East Africa. However, I had now been presented with a difficult decision of whether to take up employment in Kenya and remain closer to my family or migrate to UK for a couple of years and gain some international work experience.

After much deliberation, I chose to move to the UK. In contrast to the research participants, I was not required to raise any funds. With a work permit already in place, UK visa fees paid for by KUC, sponsored flight ticket, guaranteed accommodation by the UK employer, mine was only to obtain a passport and pack a few personal effects. The personal lack of a required commitment of any migration costs gave an incentive to migrate abroad. Furthermore, this was a delightful financial relief to my family who then encouraged me to migrate for my own benefit and did not view it as a potential benefit to them. Additionally, because there were some of the KUC alumni who had already migrated to the UK to live and work in hospitality, the opportunity to travel abroad was not taken lightly, I was confident that industry colleagues would form a support network in a foreign country. Therefore, as a single lady, in

my early twenties and passive in seeking opportunity to migrate, eventually I turned down the employment opportunity at the camp to take up the training opportunity abroad.

4.6.3 MIRRORING PARTICIPANTS' CAREER EXPERIENCES

The training and work experience in the UK was somewhat different to Kenya. Here, it was more hands on, the power distance was low such that the hotel owners and their pet dog sat with the staff for staff meals, mainly during breakfast in contrast to the Kenyan setting where distinct meals served at different eateries. Management staff on duty had an allowance to have their meals on duty in the hotel restaurant after hotel guests had had their meals whereas subordinate staff was required to have their staff meals at the staff canteen.

There was a degree of variance on the work place procedures, service standards in contrasting between UK and Kenya to the extent I considered the theories learnt in class were not applicable in the hotel. Following the 4 –year hotel training and 5- star hotel work experience in Kenya, my impression was that my skills in the UK were being underutilized given that I worked as a front line staff member at the reception and restaurant and at times even as a room attendant, all the while yearning for more challenging tasks. However I was on a restricted visa, and could not switch employer. So at the end of the two year training contract, I was armed with capital; economic and cultural to transfer back to Kenya. A few weeks after getting back to Kenya and through social networking, I secured employment as a management trainee at the 5- star *Sarova Stanley* hotel. At the job interview, the employers paid little attention to the size or even class of hotel I had worked in whilst in the UK, instead the focus was on 'how did they do it in the UK? And what can you show us?' Thus, being exposed to a western lifestyle gave me an upper hand in the job search.

Five months later, I was looking for better work prospects and felt that I would couple the UK work experience with a recognised UK qualification and I enrolled for a Postgraduate degree in Human Resource Management for the Tourism and Hospitality Industry at the University of Strathclyde's Scottish Hotel School (SHS), in 2005. SHS had previously partnered with KUC and had put in place arrangements that favoured KUC hotel graduates. For example, the 4 year-Diploma graduates could enrol for a master degree at SHS. My return to the UK a second time round was relatively easier as it was no longer a new environment and I had established social ties. In terms of familiarity with the culture, it was less strenuous, but financially challenging as an international student with expenses to be met, above all the high tuition fees to clear. On top of all, I was engaged to be married upon graduation from university.

The determination to complete the degree was further enhanced by UK immigration policy at the time that enticed fresh graduates from Scottish universities as a mechanism to enrich the labour market by attracting skilled graduates. Thus, following on the attainment of the degree, I got to practise as an HR generalist, in a maternity cover position at the 5- star *Gleneagles Hotel* in Auchterarder. I was on the Fresh Talent in Scotland scheme. In regards to the work experience, it was all different because I possessed a UK educational qualification and had previous UK work experience. Towards the completion of the maternity cover, there was an employment opportunity within the HR department, but the immigration laws and policies were becoming stringent at the time requiring skilled migrants seeking working visas to be salaried at a certain threshold. My employer was not able to meet this threshold. By this time I was already married to my Kenyan husband and I was able to apply for a leave to remain visa as his dependent.

4.6.4 LOOKING BACK PRIOR TO MIGRATION

Juxtaposed to the active role the participants had in seeking an opportunity to migrate abroad to seek a better lifestyle, mine was relatively passive. However, in the UK, I did not let opportunities go by, I took on the many opportunities that came my way.

A few of the participants were single whereas a majority of them were already married prior to migration. Nevertheless, the lived experiences and the outcomes have been similar. Of the ones that were single prior to migration, getting married to Kenyans was the norm, with the exception of one who wedded a Scots man. This was attributed to cultural differences. When couples started their families and children were born challenges concerning childcare were apparent. Both pragmatic and financial challenges of childcare to us as migrants with no recourse to public funds, was a strain to the family budget that often saw my husband and I take on second jobs to supplement the income. My mother travelled from Kenya on two different occasions to help with caring for her young grandsons whilst I resumed full-time employment. However my mother's help with childcare could only be a short-term arrangement because she had her own home in Kenya to run and had to return.

4.6.5 MIGRATION CHANNEL

Two main Kenyan based hotel recruiting agents partnered with British recruiting agents and it was primarily through these two agencies that the Kenyan hoteliers found their way to the UK hotel sector as labour migrants.

In spite of our varied migration channels, it was unlikely that our lived experiences in the UK as migrants were divergent. Perhaps our professional experiences varied because after my

initial hotel training and work-experience programme, I joined Strathclyde University and only got one opportunity to work in 5-star luxury hotel as non-line staff for 9 months as maternity cover. Therefore, this becomes the departing point of my work experience in the UK but I still lay emphasis on the fact that I am still a migrant who has had hotel work experience in the UK which makes me an insider of this study.

Factors mentioned by the participants which have led to occupational changes are as a result of immigration restrictions to have their family members join them due to the unmet financial criteria set by Home Office, attributed by the poor wages in the hotel industry. Some of the female migrant workers considered their work experience a double challenge given the hardships they encountered as working mothers and the requirements to work long and /or split shifts, leaving them with inadequate time for family commitments. Therefore, switching occupations was considered a solution to provide a reasonable time between work and family commitments, and also an opportunity to earn higher wages.

4.6.6 A KNOWLEDGE GUEST TO AN ASPIRING KNOWLEDGE HOST

Having accumulated cultural capital in the hotel industry both in the UK and Kenya for several years, coupled with a constant reminder to embark on an academic career, I considered that time was ripe for a career in academia and moved to West George College in Glasgow. Here, I discovered that whilst I may have the opportunity to teach hospitality and tourism subjects, a further education institution in the private sector was not the most direct avenue available for me. Nonetheless, I still considered it an opportunity to introduce myself to academia and learn lessons which I could draw on later on. As a private institution offering further education qualifications, the courses delivered to the students required accreditation, if at all they were to be recognised in the industry and more so to give leverage to the

students in the labour market. The hospitality and tourism course accrediting body had a western concept yet the college had an Asian target student market and as such, all the students were Asian. Another challenge for both the students and myself as their tutor was the language barrier given our foreign accents. A foreign country, foreign education concept, foreign language and being a private college, the students were closely monitored by the UK Home Office on matters of class attendance. On one occasion whilst I was teaching, Home Office officials paid an impromptu call to the college causing havoc for fear of deportation.

The *KUC alumni in UK* is an established social network that made way for social gatherings held in various cities around the UK. The parties were, in a small degree one way of becoming transnational migrants to share experiences (family life circumstances, career prospects, visa restrictions), enjoy Kenyan food, music and language with Kenyan comrades. The stories that were shared in the gatherings became a starting point for my inspiration to tell an outside world which remains distant to migrants' experiences. A book, perhaps? Nevertheless, there had to be a moment to propel my inspiration.

The unannounced visit by the UK Home Office to the college became the departing point and it became clear to me the need to investigate the lived experiences of hotel migrant workers given that I am one. Moreover, having experienced both the industry and education sector, from a UK hospitality industry lens, was too great an inspiration to suppress. In doing this, the research aims at development of a deeper understanding of skilled hotel workers' career experiences. Therefore, as a University of Strathclyde alumna, with good memories of ever supporting lecturers in the SHS, I submitted my PhD proposal to the Human Resources management department and both Professors Tom Baum and Dennis Nickson were willing to have me on board and supervise my work.

4.6.7 THE PHD JOURNEY

Whilst every stage in the PhD journey presents its trials, the challenge of accessing participants during the field work stage cannot be ignored. Fortunately, I was not denied access given that I was an insider of the social network. The interviews were also an opportunity to meet with industry colleagues over a social setting. However, there were still nuanced challenges of arranging and honouring scheduled interviews. As much as the participants were willing to take part in the interviews, especially those still living and working in the UK, the issue of childcare always propped up from the participants. The research is at an individual level therefore, intrinsically the interviews were conducted out with work places and that would be during their days off. Childcare was not a challenge with the returnees.

The primary challenge faced was attributed by an aspect of Kenyan culture. Unlike in the UK where public places, including restaurants are a lot quieter, it was difficult to get a quiet public place in Kenya. I was faced with people speaking loudly, cars hooting, and loud music playing in the public places. Thankfully, taking heed of advice by Phd colleagues in the department I had invested in a good voice recorder that had a background noise reducing feature. The participants showed enthusiasm in participating in the interviews as they considered me as one of them, one who had journeyed the UK life as a migrant just as they had.

One Kenyan chef living and working in Oban who had travelled to Glasgow for the interview stated:

“For me I have come from far purposely to come talk with you...as I mentioned earlier, we chefs don’t quit, the key thing is to see the next generation of chefs excel. The immigration are fighting that... we can’t bring new young chefs. We don’t want to kill the industry and

that's why I would like this thing to continue and I can see it's a good cause you have taken. I am really looking forward to this and I need to see the end of it. I can see the tunnel there, so that's why I consider this very important and special. So we need to create a good atmosphere for our children and this is our umbrella. Don't take it lightly. It is not for us, we are doing it for them."

The chef works in a seafood restaurant in Oban and on his day off he suggested that he would drive to Glasgow because he considered significance in the work I was doing. His lived experiences in the UK have had a bearing on his life and in future he hopes to see a) that younger chefs are able to take up employment in the industry and b.) the Home Office takes on a different stance from stringent restriction to attract talented skilled hotel migrants workers regardless of their nationalities in order preserve the hospitality sector.

During the data collection stage in Kenya, I also had an opportunity to visit my alma mater whereby I not only met with my lecturers 11 years later but also my PhD supervisor during his trip to KUC as an external examiner. They were proud of my work so far and encouraged me to complete my PhD and that I should consider returning to contribute to my alma mater and enrich the country.

In conclusion, having a similar professional background and migration journey with the participants, I acknowledge a degree of presumption bias in my interpretation of my findings but having exercised reflexivity through the process, allows me to recognise unintentional bias.

4.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has outlined the research methodology adopted. It outlines the research design by firstly explaining the interpretivist research paradigm applied in the study and consequently the main methodological implications are outlined. An interpretivist approach was adopted as it provides the researcher a platform to co-construct knowledge with the study's participants, given that knowledge from an interpretivist lens is produced or created through human experiences. In order to explore the socially-constructed concept of migrant career experiences and access this knowledge, from an interpretivist's stance. Hence, it was necessary that the researcher drew closer to the participants so that together they can make meaning out of their lived experiences abroad.

Thus, interviews were conducted. The main reason of using modified life history approach is that it is well suited in getting further inside the lived life of individuals. Thus, to understand the migrant hotel workers' lived experiences abroad this approach was deemed appropriate. Further, the chapter discusses the rest of the research design in terms of what the researcher did and how the research was conducted with regards to participants' selection and research techniques applied including data analysis technique. Within the chapter, steps undertaken to ensure that the study met the requirements for validity and reliability are also addressed. Beyond the issues of influencing a rigorous study, a personal reflection section is included which narrates and consequently highlights the researcher's emic status and in acknowledging degree of bias, exercises reflexivity that recognises unintentional bias.

CHAPTER 5: ACCUMULATING CULTURAL CAPITAL FOR A HOTEL CAREER

The chapter is organized to correspond to the conceptual resources and is arranged in two sections: firstly, it attempts to report the empirical findings on the theme of Kenyan hotel migrant workers (Kenyan HMW's) building their hotel career, viewed as the phase of accumulating cultural capital while in their home country, Kenya. This equips them for their migration to UK and is considered to prepare them for a hotel career abroad. The subsequent section provides an analysis of migrant career journeys by focusing on factors influencing individuals towards a hotel career in Kenya, and the decision to migrate to the UK to continue that career. The significance of accumulating cultural capital and how it impacts on migrants' careers is discussed.

5.1 FINDINGS

5.1.1 INFLUENCE TOWARDS A HOTEL CAREER

A range of internal and external factors are responsible for influencing an individual's career choice. There was an indication of family members having a profound impact on the choice of career for the participants in this research. Many participants claimed family members bore a great impact on their hospitality career choice. The potential of succeeding in a hotel career was identified by older relatives for the younger family members as they considered a hotel career to be a better option for their relatives than other non-hotel options:

I joined [KUC] by accident not by choice.... my passion was to join an agricultural training institute... so when Utalii came along... I found a cutting of a newspaper advert from KUC placed on the table by my dad and a note 'check those courses and apply!' I did exactly that (Stayer 1).

In the Kenyan context, students complete secondary education between the age of 17 and 18 to join further or higher education a year or two later. Usually, there is a one-year gap after secondary school education completion and prior to admission in further or higher education institutions. Therefore, in order to discourage irresponsible behaviour amongst the young adults after completion of secondary school, parents often send their late-teen children to undertake short-term courses whilst they await admission, primarily in public universities. K.U.C offered hotel training courses that varied from one, two and four years in duration. The shorter courses were considered by some as a temporary arrangement as they awaited their university places:

I finished school in 1993 and passed my national examination and got a place at the University of Nairobi but I could not enrol immediately as it is the system in Kenya. I had to wait until 1995...it was a long time, I did not know what I wanted to do, I was idle ... getting into trouble. I saw the advertisement for KUC in the newspapers and it sounded like something interesting so I decided to apply, furthermore it was a 2 year course. I thought as am waiting to go to university, to do this short course in between (Returnee 2).

Other nuanced factors that played a critical role in determining and setting up an individual's career path are an individual's cultural setting and background. For instance, the Kenyan coastal region is endowed with numerous hotels and resorts that are, therefore, likely to entice individuals to seek employment opportunities within these hotel establishments. Furthermore Kenya's economy significantly depends on the tourism sector and inherently expected that there is much attention directed towards the industry, 'when I joined [KUC] ...it was solely [because] I was born and grew up at the Coastal region, so having grown up around tourist attractions was my motivation to study hotel management (Returnee 2).

Interestingly, the initial drive to a hospitality career for some individuals was inadvertent while for others, it served as an escape plan from other careers that did not appear as vibrant as one in the hotel industry:

I never thought of being a hotelier, I was still a teenager. I did it out of rebellion. I had been called to the university to do a BSc. in Education and I didn't want to be a teacher'... but when during placements, I could sign for bills and other kind of things [entertainment] that really gave me an interest in the field (Returnee 3).

A majority of the participants did not consider enrolling into a hotel school for a hospitality course as a first choice. Usually, it was considered as a means to pass time prior to settling for a 'major' career option or as they awaited admission in university. Thus, failure to get enrolled into a first choice university programme led to the option of a hospitality course at KUC:

From earlier on in life, I always wanted to be a doctor. That was my first career choice. I thought I had done well to get into a medical school... I missed by 2[points]...if my parents were wealthy and could afford to take me to a private university to study medicine, I would have gone. But unfortunately, resources were very limited. We stayed and I saw an advert on the paper for [KUC] and I thought I will [apply]...I was successful (Stayer 2).

Others considered testing out a hospitality course whilst they awaited places at the universities and when their offers eventually came by, they declined and opted to continue pursuing the hospitality course and did not make the change. Similarly, it was not unusual for some that had already begun their degree programmes at the university to have to pull out of their courses to pursue a hotel career by way of enrolling at the hotel school. Interestingly, courses that were offered and later declined in favour of the hospitality course offered at

(KUC) ranged from agricultural courses in polytechnic to Bachelor's degrees in Anthropology, Zoology, Water and Environmental Engineering, and Education:

I was initially at Kenyatta University studying Botany...I love travelling...so any course that would have got me out of [university] would have been good enough. I was not really looking for a career, I just wanted to travel. So one year into [university] and we were sent out for 9 months, that's during the public university riots that happen. I ...applied to join the hotel school (Returnee 4).

Overall, the findings reveal that, for the majority of the participants, a hotel career was considered either as second choice, or as a trial. In addition, as opposed to a personal choice to pursue a hotel career for a majority, the choice of a hotel career was as a result of direct influence by family members. However there are particular cases that present passion for the industry which was neither influenced by family members nor from surrounding environment but solely as a personal first choice. To the extent of defying social norms whereby there is social stigma attached to a career in the hotel industry, particularly with respect to women:

Especially folks from the villages ... understood that working in hotels meant sleeping around with the hotel guests. That is one challenge my dad had when I joined [KUC]...But I had promised myself that I would go back to the village and prove them [wrong] (Stayer 4).

5.1.2 RIGOROUS HOTEL TRAINING IN KENYA

Given the college's acclaimed high standard of hotel training, the graduates appear to have a sense of achievement particularly as regards their honed hotel professional skills. A majority of the graduates were in their late 30's at the time the interviews took place, signifying that they were in their early 20's when they commenced hotel training. However, besides the

younger adults joining the hotel training institution even mature adults were attracted towards a hotel career as in the case of the participant who was in his late 50's at the time of the interview and demonstrated a similar zeal for a hotel career as his younger colleagues to the extent of changing his career from public service to a hotel chef despite having risen in the ranks in his former career:

After completing school, I later became a Civil Servant for about 5 years, getting to the level of Divisional Officer ...then I thought I better have a profession instead of just climbing up the civil ladder, so I resigned from Civil Service just about going to the level of District Officer and joined Utalii College in 1976. I trained as a chef (Returnee 12).

Even though in practise, they formed part of the labour force within the low- skilled sector in the UK, the Kenyan hotel workers demonstrate relevant qualifications and work experience that are arguably required to run even higher quality branded hotels. A majority of the participants considered the hotel training received at KUC to have been rigorous and second to none, according to the prestige awarded to the institution as the premium hotel training school for the hospitality and tourism industry across the continent. 'I was exposed to ...all the best training materials that I could imagine at that time, [KUC] an envy of many even today' (Returnee 5). Furthermore, the training the students received from the college was apparent in their work places as observed and evaluated by the direct recipients (hotel guests) of the service delivered by the workers who exhibit the level and standards of training received:

I found it to be very easy to work in the hospitality industry... the guests responded better to me than to my colleagues [non-K.U.C trained], so whenever there was an employee of the month kind of thing, I would always win it ... I would respond, 'That is normal... It's the training that I received (Returnee 1).

Industry employers also played a key role in the prestige awarded to KUC. The competitive nature of recruitment campaigns that took place in the run up to KUC graduation ceremonies demonstrates the industry's demand for a skilled workforce produced by the hotel training institution. The employers, a majority of whom were KUC alumni, were aware of the value and quality of the college's graduates. This was demonstrated by the number of job offers that were made to students prior to graduation whilst others received their job offers on the day of graduation:

I graduated on a Thursday with 3 job offers. I wanted to still learn a lot more. So I chose to go to Utalii hotel, because I would still go to the adjacent college where I trained and maybe access all these information in the library and some other practices (Returnee 5).

Furthermore, given the prestige awarded to KUC as a premium hotel training institution, it appeared that the graduates received wider and better recognition at their workplaces in contrast to employees who had undergone training in less prestigious hotel training institutions. 'The treatment [superior] at work that we got was completely different from the treatment non KUC graduates would get, even the exposure [work] they gave us was way above the rest' (Returnee 1). The UK based employment agencies had set graduation from KUC as an eligibility criteria for workers desiring hotel jobs in the UK. In addition, the recruitment interviews took place at the college as it was used as the contact base for both the agencies and the alumni seeking to migrate abroad. 'I met one of the recruitment officers...we sat down in her office at Utalii College and she really encouraged me' (Stayer 8)

There is evidence of great enthusiasm from the Kenyan workers for a career in the hospitality and tourism industry right from the initial stages of career development. The graduates were

absorbed into the labour market immediately after completion of their courses. ‘I opted for KUC ‘cos there was no trouble getting a job cos they used to organize to get jobs for the graduates’ (Stayer 5)

Unlike other further education institutions that did not boast of the prestige that KUC was accorded as a hotel training school for the African region, the participants reveal that the courses offered were robust. For instance the Diploma in Hotel management was a four year training course, an equivalent of a degree course, however characterised by two six-month long industry placements in high quality hotel establishments:

One of the first things, they took us for the 3 - month Industrial Familiarization Programme...to be sure that we are in the right industry and not think that hospitality industry was glamorous, a lot of people don't realize what it takes to make that 5-star experience, it is a lot of hard work. So they did not want people to be disillusioned thinking it's just a glamorous job, rubbing shoulders with presidents and billionaires (Returnee 1).

Besides the fresh graduates obtaining employment from supervisory level, the skills of students on industry placements were also valued and recognised. The training and placements programmes designed for the students in the industry were in supervisory roles. ‘Most of them [workers} were older than me...I was supervising people who were my dad's age despite me being a student’ (Stayer 4).

5.1.3 HOTEL EMPLOYMENT IN KENYA

As a result of the robust and rigorous hotel training received, graduates developed a positive approach to working in the hotel industry. In the Kenyan context, hospitality and tourism education partnered with the industry in the development of specialised skills and deployment

of the workers. Consequently, a majority of the hotel school trainees obtained employment in high branded luxury hotels either upon completion of their industry placement and before graduation or on the actual day of graduation. The industry was eager to absorb graduates into the labour market immediately and this was well received by the fresh graduates who were expectant in carving out a career in the hotel profession. The coincidence of employer and employee seeking the best opportunity from each other is a revealing of the Kenyan hotel worker's positive attitude towards a hotel career. It is also an indication of graduates' inclination towards a hotel career generally which was not country specific:

When I graduated from Utalii, the hotels [employers] used to come to college to pick the students they want, luckily enough Intercontinental was among them ...Serena was doing very well then but I did not think of going to Serena because I did not see any opportunity it wasn't an international hotel... Intercontinental was an eye opener for me because, one, the chefs and the executive chefs were all expatriates, two the training we were getting from intercontinental as a chain was very good ...the same training as all other intercontinental worldwide (Returnee 7).

Economically, a majority of the workers considered salaries to have been adequate given that there was the additional service charge in the remuneration package. Individuals who obtained middle level management positions also had perks including but not limited to housing, transport and entertainment allowances as part of their remuneration:

Then, it [salary] was sufficient, because Serena [hotel] was one of the best paying 5- star hotels, it was better than intercontinental... the package was not very good, but it was sufficient, the staff welfare was perfect. They provided the best of meals, transport, the service charge was good and there was a medical cover. I remember I broke my leg and they [employer] really took care of me because I broke my leg at work, so at least I can say the working conditions were good. They fitted the moment (Returnee 9).

The appreciation of remuneration may be deemed subjective as others considered their wages inadequate. However given the early stage of their hotel career, the workers took greater consideration in building up their work experience than the accumulation of higher wages. They considered the career they had invested in by way of undertaking training as the route towards reaping the benefits of their hotel career sooner. 'I got employment at the group of A. hotels... we were just paid peanuts but I didn't mind because I needed the experience and that was just opening my way to come to the UK' (Stayer 6).

Opportunities to develop one's career within the hotel industry were many and varied. Given the country's focus on the hospitality and tourism industry as a major Gross Domestic Product contributor, many of the operations are 5- star chain hotels and resorts, spread across the country and some across the continent. As such, prospects for hotel workers' career growth and development are not confined within the country, but further afield. Furthermore given the popularity of KUC as a premium hotel training institution, even overseas based recruiters joined in to attract the specialised skilled workforce:

ABC was a recruitment company in the UK... Kenya was obviously a place of choice for them and they contacted KUC...having been so good in class, I was amongst the people recommended to them. So they started looking for me, they got to know where I was working at the time and got hold of me (Returnee 5).

5.1.4 EMPLOYING CULTURAL CAPITAL TO FACILITATE MIGRATION TO UK

Owing to the relatively strong economies that Europe and particularly the UK have had in the past, alongside migrant workers' perception of a better life abroad, attracting migrant labour was often achieved with ease. Furthermore, the UK was considered an easy choice of a country to migrate to due to assumptions of earning relatively higher wages:

The expectation was that I would work as an expatriate, earn good money than what I was earning in Kenya ... when we used to have chefs coming to work in Africa, they worked as expatriates and their wages were totally different{more} from the locals (Stayer 8).

Besides the economic push and pull factors influencing the workers to migrate to the UK there were other motivating factors that were a key aspect of their decision to migrate such as the hotelier network and possession of language skills, 'the supervisor was a Portuguese and she didn't [speak] English well. We [Kenyans] knew most of the things that she didn't even know or understand. It was disappointing' (Stayer 11). Whilst economic factors and the potential for a less challenging integration in society appear as primary motives for the professionals to work abroad, a few others considered the potential for adventure as key in their migration decision:

For me the UK sounded very exciting, a new world, a new place, lots of things that I do not know, lots of ways of life that I do not know and I was looking forward to going out there, experiencing life there, learning new things, getting to know new people, new friends, new everything. I did not have family or any relatives there and being young, I did not have any family myself, I was single, young, I think 22 years, so it was quite an exciting moment at the same time, I had this feeling of not knowing what will happen really out there (Returnee 5).

The evidence points towards social networks not only as support systems for the migrants in a foreign country but as an essential influence towards migration. For instance, there were several of the workers who did not actively seek to migrate to the UK but given the ‘migration wave’ to the UK that swept over their peers, their migration quest was heightened:

An employment agency started recruiting people [hoteliers] from Kenya to the UK in 2000. There was a mass exodus. So everybody was going... I was sceptical ...I stayed behind. Then in 2002 J. told me, it is actually not too bad. I sat an interview with employment agency and they said they would get me everything: a job, a plane ticket. ‘This sounds too good. I thought ‘I phoned [somebody] who had gone before me. She told me ... they actually will get you a place to go to and they do not charge you anything, there is no hidden charge. So I resigned (Returnee 6)

5.2 DISCUSSION

5.2.1 INSPIRATIONS OF A HOTEL CAREER

Significant findings reveal differences in consideration of the choice of an hotel career in developed and developing nations. In the former, the career is speculated to lack vibrancy whereas in the latter context, the hotel industry appeals to many individuals including potential university students. Some participants confirmed their preference for an hotel school training to pursuing a degree course at university. As such, juxtaposing an hotel career against other careers, appears to have been favoured given the perception that it provided a higher quality lifestyle. In addition, from a cultural perspective, it is the norm for older family members to influence the decisions of younger members of the family in different aspects of life such as career decisions. Given such cultural standings alongside the favourable image of the hotel industry, career decisions were considered part and parcel of family responsibility. Nevertheless, the appeal of an hotel career is demonstrable by young and mature adults alike. However, the influence on hotel career decisions were not only from older to younger family

members, in one instance, a mature adult renounced his public service career and joined the college to pursue a hotel career.

Some of the participants grew up in areas such as coastal towns that are characterised by a rich touristic culture, surrounded by beach hotels and resorts, curio shops and a range of tourist practises, thereby exposing them to the hotel industry even though from a tourist's perspective. This kind of setting immediately provides an individual with an exposure to the hospitality and tourism industry and they are likely to be inclined towards a career in the industry. The keen desire for a hotel career in the Kenyan context from both younger and older adults is purported to be as a result of both internal and external factors.

For occupations such as chef, individuals demonstrate passion whereby they have skills, and interest which, when progressed and given the opportunity, can develop into a professional career. Similarly, external factors are also accountable for individuals' choices to pursue a hotel career. However, it is essential to understand that neither internal nor external factors can be considered independent of each other. A complex mix of both internal and external factors influence individuals' career choice. For example, the passion to pursue a hotel career is compounded by the perceived image of the industry. However, while other external factors have varying degrees of influence, an individual's family members have a considerable impact on career choice. In the same vein, the hotel industry over the years, particularly in the West, has suffered a poor image and is thus an unpopular career for many local workers. However, this is not so much so in the Kenyan context given the country's considerable dependence on the industry for economic functionality thus considerable effort is placed towards effective training of a quality workforce for the industry.

5.2.2 ACCUMULATING CULTURAL CAPITAL IN THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

The involvement and liaison of key industry stakeholders in the training structure of KUC is a likely determinant of the vibrancy that the hotel industry is accorded within Kenya. In considering the role the industry plays in the economy, and as a response to indigenize and intensify local employment in the sector, the government set up a training institution aimed at producing a quality workforce for the industry. As such, the hotel training school pioneer, K.U.C was established in 1973 (Sindiga, 1994) and is considered as the leading hotel training institution in the African region. The critical role performed by the hotel training institution is not only the ability to equip workers with cultural capital, but also constitutes a social connection. The evidence illustrates that the workers relied upon the social connectivity of their alma matter to obtain employment abroad as echoed by Bauder (2005) who regards social connectivity as the ability to access scarce resources through belonging to a social network and/or institution. Furthermore, the degree of social connectivity possessed by the Kenyan hoteliers is one that does not only benefit them within the local labour market but also across international labour markets. It is therefore logical that employers rely on the training institution to supply trained graduates for the industry.

Conversely the training institution expects the industry to offer quality work experience to the students as part of their training. This eventually produces a well-rounded workforce that possesses the necessary skills, knowledge and experience for the industry. Additionally, the courses offered at the college are considered to be stimulating and interesting hence likely to yield an enthusiasm for the industry. In a similar vein, it is likely that the robust hotel training that students receive at the hotel school contribute to employers' demand for the graduates. Similarly, in the UK, the hospitality and tourism industry has been recognised as one of the

fastest growing industries (British Hospitality Association, 2013), however transforming it to an appealing career path is still challenging (B.B.C. News, 2017). Nevertheless, as a starting point there is the requirement to involve the state and key industry players in addressing the shortage of skills by introducing specialised training for the industry's workforce. Irrespective of the longstanding poor image the industry faces in the West, through a close engagement of hospitality and tourism stakeholders there are likely to be numerous benefits to be reaped; an example is, the collaborative efforts of relevant industry stakeholders, are likely to enhance the employment image of industry resulting in possible long-term employment solutions.

One of the major social-economic challenges faced in developing countries is employment. Therefore, where unemployment is rife and presented with a hotel training institution characterised by a high possibility of the immediate absorption of college graduates into the labour market, it is in itself an appealing factor towards a hotel career. Akin to the notion of awareness of the labour market, Baum (1995) suggests that it is imperative that workers understand the system of the labour market to enable them to make informed decisions pertaining to their educational and training choices, selection of employment and employer, career promotion, mobility between employers and also geographical mobility. In corroborating the argument, the evidence presented by the participants suggests that while they are aware of their career choices, either as personal choices or influence from family and friends, initial choices made are confined within immediate family boundaries. An individual's career is viewed through the lens of a local labour market, where career and/or geographical mobility are an outcome of an individual's accumulated capital.

The college still upholds the reputation as a leading hospitality and tourism training provider locally, given its mandate to train high and middle-level personnel for the tourism sector

(Mayaka and Prasad, 2012). The evidence of the premium workers the institution produces is observable in the case of participants of this study. The Kenyan hotel workers recruited across borders by international employment agencies to work in the UK are all KUC graduates suggesting that they are characterised by a high level of human capital. The workers capability is illustrated by the pattern of the graduates' entry position from supervisory and rapidly rising through the ranks to departmental, unit lodge managers and deputy hotel managers. However in spite of their level of skills and experience obtained locally in 5- star hotel establishments they form part of the labour force within the low-skilled industry in the UK.

5.2.3 EMPLOYING CULTURAL CAPITAL TO FACILITATE MIGRATION TO UK

Perceptions of economic opportunities, social networks (colleagues and friends through work relationships) played a major role in the decision making of the Kenyan hoteliers who migrated to Britain through regularised routes.

The various routes available to the Kenyan migrants at the time, was predominantly the economic route of the UK work permit scheme. The route was temporary but after a period of 5 years may have led to settlement. It was designed primarily to address recruitment of people outside the EU with medium and high skill levels, and to fill specific 'shortage occupations'. According to the Immigration Act 1971, the issue of work permits is restricted to those coming to take up a specific job. Home Office reports indicate that work permits were issued to those coming to work as chefs although other occupations such as front office managers, housekeeping managers were also issued with work permits. However, in reference to the work permit channel employment agents facilitated migration by sourcing

employment for the hotel migrant workers. Narratives reveal the recruitment criteria they had to meet included being alumni of K.U.C with more than 3 years of industry experience.

Alongside the primary regular work permit route was the Sector Based Scheme (SBS visa) that was aimed at providing short-term casual labour to employers. In respect of the Kenyans who used the SBS channel to work in the UK, a majority worked in the Channel Island of Jersey. The migrants were contracted for a 9- month period (see appendix B) between the spring and summer months as businesses remained closed over autumn and winter, opening in April of every year.

Basing the workers motivations on cultural dynamics, the expectation that they would have to contend with fewer integration challenges such as language were primary motives of their migration. Given the similarity in the spoken language between the UK and Kenya stemming from colonial ties, unlike other migrants who may face a language barrier in the UK, the Kenyan HMW's were in possession of the necessary language skills. According to (Dustmann, 2003), one major factor that contributes to a positive economic assimilation and social integration of migrants in the host community is proficiency in the host country language. Thus, the Kenyan HMW's considered themselves well equipped to overcome language barriers and successfully integrate in the society.

The narratives provide evidence that push and pull migration factors with a leaning towards economic elements as a key backdrop in the drive towards the Kenyan hotel workers migration to the UK. The expectations of earning higher wages explains, in part, the willingness of migrants to leave behind their families and give up managerial and supervisory positions to settle for lesser positions in the host country in exchange for relatively higher

wages. Furthermore, from an economic perspective, push factors that influence decision to migrate from employment-scarce countries are often linked with barriers to workforce retention. Such factors include, high unemployment rates, limited career development opportunities and low wages. However, contrary to expectations, pull factors such as, prospects of a relatively higher income and an opportunity to apply their cultural capital in international labour markets emerge as the key determinants of the Kenyan HMWs outward migration to UK, so much so that social networks played an important role in the workers' migration journey. Firstly, the hotel training institution is identified as the social connection through which the alumni obtained their cultural capital to enable them to work abroad. Secondly, the institution is used as a base to source skilled hotel workers as well as one which the workers use as their point of contact to obtain employment abroad.

Moreover, the UK-based employment agencies whose role is to assemble workers, and recruit for the UK labour market also had a crucial role in facilitating the workers' migration process. The agencies make a significant impact in the workers' migration journey by simplifying the process. The findings indicate that the workers' initial financial burden is eased given that the agencies arrange to meet the costs of the air tickets, which are then repayable over a set period of time. Additionally, the agencies liaised with the employers to provide the migrant workers with live-in accommodation. However, even though prior arrangements were in place for the workers to allow for an easier transition and integration in the host country, they cannot evade the actual life experiences to be dealt with upon their arrival in the UK, as no preparations would be adequate to cope with the uncertainties of living in a foreign country.

Literature on recruitment practices predominantly in hotels, concur on the generally accepted practice to be simplistic, informal and reactive in nature recruitment (Kelliher and Johnson,

1987, Croney, 1988). However, this is likely to benefit a Western setting primarily due to a) the levels of disinterest in hotel occupation, thus likely to discourage formal recruitment practices and b) prevalence of small family run hotels in the UK whose operations budget is likely to be restrictive. Irrespective of the size of the hotel establishment, a workforce, regardless of its scope must be in place to undertake work. As such, recruitment and selection practices must also be in place in order to attract employees.

However, as described above by Kelliher and Johnson (1987), within the hotel sector, the approach adapted to attract workers may be based on informal arrangements particularly for smaller hotels. Moreover, adopting formal recruitment practices maybe necessary in circumstances where employers seek to employ certain categories of workers, for example skilled migrant workers. In the smaller hotel firms, Lockyer and Scholarios (2004) conclude that the responsibility for recruitment and selection is usually placed on the general manager or the hotel proprietor. Given the measures to effectively reduce recruitment costs, there is evidence that some hotel managers adapt the use of external labour suppliers such as employment agencies (Lai and Baum, 2005), as is in the case of the Kenyan HMW's. The findings reveal that workers relied upon employment agencies in order to facilitate migration. Thus, despite the worker's high level of cultural capital (language, education, qualifications, and work experience) considered to have the potential to yield positive labour market outcomes. These networks are a channel through which the workers access the labour market and more so for foreign workers who attempt to navigate an external labour market.

Thus, in spite of connections that the Kenyan HMW's may have had with migrants who were already in UK, with an additional source of useful information, the presence of an employment agency was crucial to facilitate migration. Similarly, Boyd (1989) signifies a shift from the traditional economic pull factor to family, friendship and community based

networks due to an increased awareness of micro and macro determinants of migration. Therefore, the findings support arguments of migrant networks as important sources of information that connect new arrivals with employment opportunities in the host country. Furthermore, it is argued that the means by which migrants obtain employment is primarily through migrant networks (Waldinger, 2005) either as connections between migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and the host countries. The more employed contracts a new immigrant has, the more likely they are to learn about a new job opening and get introduced to the employer (Anderson and Ruhs, 2012). Moreover, Batnitzky and McDowell (2013) argue that through migrant networks, new arrivals tend to work in industries that are already dominated by members of their ethnic groups. This notion, however, is reflective of migrants who can enjoy the freedom of movement in the host country as dictated by the Directive 2004/38/EC (Groenendijk, 2004) and as such, is inadequate to reflect Kenyan HMWs, taking into account institutional factors that exclude non- EU migrants from the free movement directive.

Cederberg (2015) suggests that migrants can mobilise different resources such as money, education and social networks for a better quality of life. As discussed in the section above, the Kenyan hotel workers are characterised as holding a high level of transferable cultural capital to the UK hotel sector. The UK-based hotel employment agents bearing social connections in Kenya with alumni of K.U.C, source employment opportunities for the workers in the UK, conduct recruitment exercises and liaise with the employers to obtain legal documentation for the workers. Thus, the critical role performed by the hotel training institution is not only the ability to equip the workers with cultural capital, but also constitutes the social connection that ensured successful recruitment of the hotel workers whilst still in Kenya for jobs in the UK hotel sector. Social networks are considered important in helping migrants obtain work through existing social networks. For example in the work of

Ryan et al. (2007), the Polish migrants in London assisted their comrades in securing employment by referring them to employers or passing useful job- related information that resulted in employment. In contrast, despite the existence of the Kenyan migrant network, the functioning pivotal role of an intermediary, the employment agency, is necessary to link the skilled workers with potential employers and facilitate navigation of the migration process.

Putnam (2007) cautions that crucial features within social organizations such as social networks, are the norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. It would therefore be expected that the Kenyan hoteliers extended some degree of trust to a) the hotel training institution to equip them with cultural capital necessary for the local labour market and subsequently international job market and b) the employment agencies who would facilitate the migration process to enable the workers to successfully pursue their hotel career abroad. However, given such social connections from which workers derive employment, the pursuit of higher wages cannot be ignored. Yet economic factors may not be considered the primary motivating factor to migrate abroad, but obtaining an anchor for their career was significant. Undeniably, the narratives produce evidence of an economic motivation to migrate to the UK. The workers presumed that their work experience and specialised hotel skills were essential qualities for their labour mobility to the UK.

Therefore, the presumption that their skills were in great demand thus envisaged a remuneration package suitable for expatriates. It is therefore indicative that the workers considered a comparable arrangement to base expectations of their labour market performance to that of the expatriate remuneration package awarded to foreign expatriates in Kenya. However, indications are unilateral in nature given that the workers were placed in the lower end of the skills spectrum in lower than expected hotel firms. Thus, in contrast to

Putnam's (2007) argument where trust is necessary for mutual benefit, the findings suggest that the migration decision made by the workers were based on inadequate information provided to them. Although industry employers were not included in the research, the narratives indicate that hotel employers valued the industriousness provided by the cohort of Kenyan HMWs. This highlights a major problem with the application of the classical economic theory akin to the rational choice theory and in the context of migration decisions, which regards prospective migrants as highly rational social actors (Haug, 2008). It is believed that they gather detailed information about the host country prior to making decisions to migrate based on consideration of prospective gains. Yet it is clear from the narratives that quick migrating decisions were made.

The agents played a significant part in the workers' migration journey taking on the role of conducting the recruitment exercise on behalf of the hotel employers. Their role, though, appears imbalanced. Whereas employers successfully obtained a skilled hotel migrant workforce that was willing to take on employment, in contrast the workers consider themselves as being mismatched given the type of hotel establishments they were placed in - small owner-managed hotels. It is assumed that the smaller hotels will have smaller operating budgets consequently impacting on the hotels operations in general. Such limited working budgets restricts organizational practises such as staff training and development that are geared towards employees' career development. Furthermore, the workers considered working in the small- sized hotels a downgrading of their occupational status. In their country, these workers held supervisory and managerial positions whereas in the host country, they are placed as front- line staff. Given such a work environment, the workers considered ways to mitigate such working conditions as a necessary step.

However, the stringent immigration policies in place overlooked the challenges of the workers' career development, compelling them to maintain employment which they considered unfavourable. Thus, institutional factors such as the state's immigration policies are significant factors that determine migrant's geographical and career mobility. As such, the functionality of migrant networks encompasses limitations such as mobility restrictions endorsed by the state or exacerbated by the networks themselves. Nevertheless, as Massey (1990) suggests, once networks have been established they may continue to function even if the legislative framework of employment and immigration changes. Certainly, existing migrant ties cannot be overlooked as sources that connect migrants to employment and where feasible, with suitable employers. As implied by the cohort of Kenyan workers, social networks (work place social relationships), fuelled by the perceptions of economic opportunities, are some of the factors that influenced the workers' decision to migrate to the UK.

Thus, it is evident that economic conditions on their own are not sufficient drivers of movement, other key factors such as joining family, social network in receiving countries independently account for and are necessary for labour migration to occur.

5.2.4 POSITIONING MIGRANT'S CULTURAL CAPITAL IN THE UK HOTEL SECTOR

Employment opportunities in the low-waged sectors are predominantly reserved for disadvantaged groups in the society, such as migrants. Furthermore, the migrant workforce are considered to provide a constant flow of unskilled labour in the hospitality sector (Janta et al., 2011). There are tendencies for such claims to group migrants in one skills set and ignore the level of their human capital like in the case of the Kenyan hotel migrant workers. So

therefore, whilst the cohort of workers might have partaken in being part of a solution for the country's labour market, particularly with respect to the hotel sector, they disqualify the claim of providing an unskilled labour force. This is because these workers are deemed to possess a high level of institutionalised cultural capital for the UK hotel industry alongside their high levels of commitment, flexibility and availability of work. The recruitment campaigns conducted by hotel firms during graduation ceremonies at KUC are an indicator of the standard of cultural capital possessed by the workers. Besides, the international recruitment exercise by the UK-based employment agencies in Kenya is a pointer of the recognition of the workers' expertise.

Other migrant groups in the UK such as those from the A8 countries who work within the hospitality industry are reported to be well educated (McDowell et al., 2009) yet still, identified as having low entry points in the labour market, owing to an apparent lack of relevant skills and work experience necessary for the hotel sector. However, in contrast to the level of cultural capital possessed by the A8 migrants who have freedom of movement within the European Union borders, the Kenyan HMWs purported to be skilled hoteliers but are faced with structural challenges; restricted movement by the state and unrecognized skills in the labour market. Yet, their labour market entry regulation dictates that they are employed at supervisory level and above. This is an indication that even the state identifies and recognizes them as skilled workers even though at the same time their qualifications and skills are invalidated. However, despite the immigration policy recognizing the workers' potential contribution to the country thereby facilitating their labour mobility, the findings reveal that job titles awarded to the Kenyan hotel workers during work permit and visa processing are often a means to obtain immigration documentation but are not a true reflection of the migrant workers' actual employment positions (see appendix C), in relation to the profile of stayer 2 as represented on appendix E). The findings point towards a mismatch of the

workers' cultural capital and their employment. The migrants were positioned to work in owner-managed hotels where operating budgets are likely to be restrictive given the small size of the establishments. Therefore, their job roles are seen to be at the lowest rank similar to the A8 migrants, who for a majority, are often lacking in language skills unlike the Kenyan migrant workers who boast proficiency in the host language.

There is validity in the claims that often migrant workers' abilities are either taken for granted or devalued by employers in the host country (Baum, 1995). Nonetheless, the type of establishments (owner-managed hotels) has a significant implication for the lack of return on the migrant's human capital investment. Supposing the workers had been positioned to work in higher classified hotels such as 4 or 5- star hotels and resorts, which are characterised by more defined Human Resources (HR) departments. It is likely that there would be more defined structured HR practises such as training and development thus an enhanced utilization of the migrants' skills and work experience. In more general terms, drawing on the discrepancy between migrants' qualifications and the tasks assigned, it appears there is a price that migrants are expected to pay having been equipped with capital that develops their careers yet depriving the society (origin countries) that empowered them.

In the same vein, linking individual hotel career choices with the industry's expectation, one of the biggest challenges faced by employers in the hospitality and tourism industry is attraction and retention of its workforce's capital, mainly in settings where a hotel career lacks vibrancy. Unsurprisingly, therefore the industry is often considered a means of transferring human capital from the sector to other occupations in the labour market (Janta et al., 2011). Generally, the industry is used as a means to convert the workers' capital to an occupation that is socially constructed as befitting individuals, disparate from the hotel

industry. This resonates with a western context particularly in the UK where the industry is reported to lack vibrancy (Baum, 1995) due to long and unsociable hours, low pay, servitude atmosphere that impact on both local and migrant workers. Consequently, creating both a labour shortage and effectively a skills gap which inevitably appears to be filled predominantly by the vulnerable groups in society including students, females and migrants. However, a workforce with a vibrant hotel career background as in the case of the Kenyan hotel migrant workers is likely to find a misfit in their employment engagement in a context where a hotel career is less desirable.

However, it should therefore be expected that migrant workers, particularly with respect to those in possession of the institutionalised capital desirable for the industry, disapprove such claims against the hotel industry. Furthermore, in comparison to developing countries, which are characterised by weaker economies, developed countries boast stronger economies which provide an economic incentive to migrant workers. It follows the argument by scholars of migrant labour, who suggest that migrant workers are often preferred over locals because they are perceived as hardworking, reliable thus portraying an appropriate work ethos (Lucas and Mansfield, 2008; Janta et.al 2011).

The current immigration policies in Britain require employers filing requests for non-EU Workers' work permits to demonstrate that neither local nor EU workers can fill the vacancies. The challenge of finding adequate workers for the labour - intensive sector is often left to the employers who are aware that locals are less attracted to work in the sector due to the image the industry has gained. Therefore, it is envisaged that the arrival of Kenyan migrants who are a) professional hoteliers with a primary purpose to work in the UK hotel industry and b) in possession of supplementary skills as described by Janta and Ladkin (2009), hold essential cultural capital and are of much value to the UK hotel industry.

Consequently, this addresses one of a myriad human resource management issues of the industry, of staff retention, resulting in the reduction of staff turnover tendencies.

Migrant workers, particularly with respect to the cohort of Kenyan hotel migrant workers, have challenged the notion of the poor image of the hotel industry. The determination to succeed in the hotel profession is evident in their attempt and effort to migrate to the UK to work within the hotel sector. Given such determination, and owing to their perceived accumulated high level of institutionalised cultural capital for the UK hotel industry their interaction at work places with local workers, is certain to provide motivation at work. Despite their mobility efforts there were limitations in their migration journey. Workers' UK visas at the time had conditions that restricted them to one employer at each given time. Nevertheless, the implication of their migration decision might be expected to reduce labour turnover, at least up to the end of their UK visa validity period.

5.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter set out to consider the calibre of the Kenyan hotel workers stemming from the quality of specialised hotel training they receive from a premier hotel training institution, established to equip a workforce for the country's and continent's hospitality and tourism industry. The hotel training institution, K.U.C, plays an essential function in shaping the workers hotel career. Firstly, by equipping the workers with cultural capital necessary for their professional development. Secondly, providing the workers with a platform that facilitates their migration from Kenya to UK. The incentive to follow a hotel career path for a majority of these workers develops as a result of complex combination of internal and external factors, ranging from an influence from the family structure to the country's

significant dependence on the tourism industry. Push (low wages) and pull (propensity to earn higher wages) factors that attract the workers to migrate abroad, coupled with a passion for a hotel career, inspires the workers to seek further career opportunities abroad. However, evidence indicates that these workers' career aspirations are somewhat realised.

The following chapter discusses the socioeconomic experiences the Kenyan HMWs encountered in the UK, in the backdrop of immigration law and the structure of the UK hotel sector.

CHAPTER 6: BOUNDARYLESS CAREER CONCEPT: MIGRANTS’ HOTEL CAREER EXPERIENCE

This chapter, follows the migrants’ arrival in the host country where they are prepared to progress in their hotel career. However, the migrant workers’ career expectations are unmet given the implications of the institutional factors on the workers. The first section focuses on the key findings of the research by presenting the workers’ underutilized skills and precarious work conditions, which amount to their vulnerability in the host country. It is then followed by a presentation of the primary factors concerned with the regulatory framework of the host country’s Immigration law as it affects the migrants. Following on in the next section, is an exposition of emergent themes being: the implications of the structural existence of the country’s hotel sector and the Immigration regulation on migrant workers’ socioeconomic experiences and the impact on their hotel career.

6.1 FINDINGS

Although not naively suggesting that there is a lack of professional native hotel workers in the UK, the idea of migrant workers who purposely chose to migrate to work in the UK hotel sector with aspirations to enhance their hotel career is worth considering. However this will not be before addressing the lived experiences of such a unique cohort of workers possessing hotel skill specialization. It is proposed to apply the boundaryless career concept to inform the career experience of the Kenyan hotel migrant workers, thereby illustrating how the organisation of the UK’s hotel sector and UK immigration legislation facilitated the employability of these workers in the UK and the impact that these structural factors had upon the workers’ hotel careers.

6.1.1 UNDERUTILISED AND OVERSTRETCHED SKILLS

From the migrants' narratives, taking into account the level of hotel training that they received, it is evident that they anticipated employment within high quality and luxurious hotel establishments or at least, similar to the Kenyan hotel establishments with which they were familiar and which they considered provided the opportunity to accumulate experience of professional hotel operating standards. Furthermore, upon graduating from their hotel training institution, K.U.C, the graduates obtained employment in large hotel firms, commensurate to their qualifications, 'I had worked in the big hotels with chains across the world, for example Intercontinental N. and Crowne Plaza Hotel N.' (Stayer 2). However, in the UK, the standards of the hotels these migrant workers were placed to work in, were lower than they expected. They were faced with a different employment setting in contrast to what they had encountered in Kenya, 'I was used to 5-star standards but [here] they were small businesses, family- owned, most of them' (Stayer 8). As a result, the findings indicate that at an individual level and within the working environment, the workers often felt uncomfortable to perform certain tasks in a particular manner that they considered professionally unsuitable, 'Sometimes I had to find myself performing a task in a manner I understood was wrong and compromising my training and my professionalism... just to make the boss happy' (Stayer 2).

In Kenya, some of the workers had held top to middle level managerial positions in contrast to the UK, where they occupied non-managerial positions. For example, in the Kenyan hotel work setting, the chefs commanded their own brigade whereas in the UK they were faced with the challenge of carrying out all kitchen related job tasks: from kitchen porter to cooking and occasionally they were expected to run the kitchen department in the absence of the head chef, who in most cases was a local:

Here, I was not doing the duties of a head chef, I could even clean the floor as compared to Serena hotel [Nairobi] where I had a brigade of stewards who had their supervisor and mine [as a head chef] was busy to control food cost (Returnee 11).

The workers reported challenges of work frustrations mainly with reference to the application of their skills where they considered the effort they had put during their hotel training was being unrecognised and unrewarded.

The Standard Occupational Classification system 2010 (SOC2010) is necessary tool designed to provide career information to labour market entrants, assist employment agencies match and also support the government in developing labour market policies. As such, jobs are categorized in terms of the level and content of skill. According to the classification by the UK Standard Occupational Classification structure (SOC2010), there is an overlap of the classification of the Kenyan hotel migrant workers across the various defined occupations. This is, perhaps, an indication that the workers' skills were often misplaced. Hence, whilst migrant workers may conform to the normalcy of working in low-waged sector, in the context of the Kenyan hotel migrant workers, it is evident that these workers were frequently underemployed given their level of skill. In Kenya, they had occupied management and supervisory positions following their professional training and work experience whereas in the UK, positions occupied were within the elementary administration and service occupations of the SOC 2010.

I really wasn't interested in the industry anymore, in the UK because it was quite challenging and frustrating to work with people who hadn't been trained... they think that they know something but they don't, and because you know how it's supposed to be done, if you try and correct them they [argue] because they have been trained by somebody else who was in that job doing the wrong thing and now they think they are doing the right thing, so it was frustrating,

and I thought, just forget it, I will just leave the industry alone, I think I can work somewhere else (Returnee 1).

Unrecognised qualifications as outlined above by virtue of the employment positions the workers were assigned, contributed to the workers' career frustrations. Yet still, employers appear to apply double standards in valuing the workers' credentials, given periods when the hotel migrant workers' were expected to train their colleagues:

As the person who is trained you ended up training [others] even if there was not an extra pay for this ... however the standards were very basic actually it was more like a mom and pop-kind of operation, not like the high kind of standards I was used to back at home... where you would follow it by the book (Returnee 1).

In addition, juxtaposed with other migrant groups of workers who had lesser language skills and because this particular cohort of the Kenyan hotel workers whose language skills were relatively higher, employers preferred them in certain sections of the business:

I thought I would be assigned housekeeping duties where interaction with guests is less. But it was a pleasant surprise that I found myself that I was one of the people there with strong English skills. So I was assigned job roles at the reception (Stayer 2).

6.1.2 SOCIO ECONOMIC EXPERIENCES OF VULNERABLE WORKERS

The unmet expectations of working in hotels of high calibre contributed to the career frustration experienced by the migrant workers. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, prior to their migration abroad, the Kenyan hotel workers appear to have failed to collect adequate information from their social connections regarding intended migration to pursue a hotel career abroad. Therefore, it can be expected that alongside the employment

agents who may not have provided all the necessary information to the potential migrants, the migrants themselves were also responsible for the employment dilemma they faced:

I did not quite know that it was going to be a very small hotel. I would still have taken it, although I had worked in big hotels, because I really wanted to go out there [UK] but they did not specify. I knew it was going to be a hotel but I did not know what type of hotel...At the time they [employment agents] neither provided an indication of hotel's location nor its size, all I was interested in was whether it was in the UK and when I would leave Kenya (Stayer 4).

In some instances, particularly during peak season, the workers exceeded their contracted hours, yet in spite of the extra hours worked during those peak business periods, these were not taken into account and they received no extra wages, neither did they get time off in lieu:

On work permit, you are not free...you have to be there as it is a contract...You have to work all hours and some hours are unpaid [whereas as an agency worker] every single hour you are paid... On work permit, at times we got only one day off, sometimes working all through the week. They [employer] knows you can work 48 hours, they don't pay you [for overtime] (Stayer 16)

The nature of the job itself could also have been dispiriting especially where the workers' qualifications were considered useful to the benefit of the employer. 'This young man from Spain could not speak English and made it difficult for me as I trained him, I had to use sign language yet he was working in the restaurant' (Returnee 1).

The Kenyan hotel migrant workers' qualifications and previous work experience might have been overlooked by employers given that they occupied positions not commensurate with their qualifications. However, the findings reveal that, even though it was not in the workers' domain to train work colleagues, they still were expected to engage in training colleagues

who were gauged to have had limited language skills and inadequate hotel work experience. 'As a trained and professional hotel worker, we ended up training other migrants even if there was not an extra pay for this' (Returnee 1). It is possible that the workers tolerated work place exploitation given the necessity to maintain good relations with the employer for they were dependant on their employer's goodwill to sponsor their work permit and visa:

I was on a work permit...after 2 years I would need the hotel to renew my contract and continue employing me...in which case I would need an agent to [renew] my work permit.. What happens if I refuse to listen to him [employer] ... we will fall out and that stopped me in my tracks ...and immediately just did as he was saying (Stayer 1).

Despite Kenyan hotel migrant workers' possessing qualifications and professional work experience, in most times these workers often were faced with the challenge of employers failing to recognize their qualifications and work experience. However, this appears to have been at the convenience of employers, given that whilst their qualifications were unrecognised, to a certain degree there were elements of their cultural capital, for example their adept use of the host country language that were valued by the employers. There were expectations that these professional migrant workers would train other hotel migrant workers. The latter cohort of migrant workers, were particularly from the Accession member states of the European Union, a majority of whom lacked proficiency in the host-country language:

I did the job [in housekeeping department) for a few months and a post came up in the restaurant. We had polish and Portuguese people who did not speak good English. The managers took advantage of those who could communicate and that is why the restaurant manager came and asked me if I wanted to work in the restaurant. I accepted, because I knew I would get plenty of tips in the restaurant (Stayer 10).

As with any major event in an individual's life, it appears sensible to exercise careful planning. The career move was a major event in the life time of the migrant workers. Therefore, faced by career challenges in the host country, simply giving up employment to return to Kenya, was an unlikely option. This would have been considered a failed migration, thus it was more appropriate to remain and endure the circumstance than return despite the challenge:

Working with a young girl who had just completed high school with no formal training and just did what she thought should be done at the reception... was very frustrating but I kept telling myself I was doing all these because of my family, otherwise I would not be doing it. And of course I had made massive commitments, so I often felt caught up between a hard place and a rock. I could not go back and tell family 'I'm sorry I could not handle it.' So, I had to endure the frustrations (Stayer 9).

However in a rare instance the worker reacted to the exploitation by tendering his resignation, 'Somebody told me to go wash toilets [as duty assignment] and I told him off then I resigned and found a job in Japan via the internet as a chef ...best decision in my life (Returnee 11).

6.1.3 THE HOTEL INDUSTRY IN THE UK IMPACTING ON THE WORKERS' EXPERIENCES

Despite the Kenyan HMWs level of cultural capital, the findings reveal different rationales of migrants working in the smaller hotel firms as opposed to the bigger hotel establishments, which would have matched their expertise. Firstly, due to the structural characteristics of the hotel sector in the UK whereby smaller firms occupy the largest share of the market in terms of unit number, it was more likely that these migrant workers were placed in the small, family- run hotels than the large hotels and secondly, employment agencies who processed recruitment and migration of the Kenyan HMWs appear to have had employment links with

owners of smaller hotel firms. As a result, the operations of these type of hotel firms were distinctly different to what the workers were used to and expected to find. With regards to professionalism, the workers often considered their qualifications and work experienced misplaced, 'There is no point of you walking in [workplace kitchen] and you are the only one who understands what you are talking about, the rest do not and are not ready to learn. It is frustrating' (Returnee 7). However, most of the workers appear to have endured the working conditions:

I was also conscious that my children would have a better chance in life than I had, so, my wife and I had to decide ... in the Kenyan industry [hotel] you do not get paid a lot of money. So, it is a decision that I made purely because of my children, to give them a better start in life (Stayer 9).

It also emerged that exploitation at work places was not only limited to workers being subjected to additional unpaid hours of labour but also extended to a lack of support for further professional development. This was in contrast to their professional experience in Kenya where professional development was paramount, workers had been exposed to a variety of training opportunities:

I worked as a junior cook for 1 year...promoted to Chef de Partie where I worked for another 1 year and promoted to junior sous chef in Serena fine dining in the M. restaurant. After 2 years, I was promoted to senior sous chef. There was a cookery competition [local and international category]...I won a training place at the Egypt Ramses Hilton for one month to just get exposure. When I returned from Egypt, I was promoted to head chef. Again, I participated in a cookery competition and also scooped first position and was offered training exposure in the Victoria falls Hotel in Zimbabwe (Returnee 11).

However, in the UK, in terms of their professional development aimed at enhancing their skills, the workers experienced a training gap in their career given that they were subjected to no further training and development opportunities. Yet, they were expected to train their work colleagues from whom they encountered resistance, 'I was compelled to forget all my professionalism and come down to the level where I did not have to do things by the book because nobody cared' (Returnee 1). The migrant workers considered the lack of training opportunities a major factor that contributed to a neglect of their professionalism:

Sometimes, I do worry thinking what would happened if I go back to Kenya, will I fit in the industry? I feel that I took a step backwards since I last come here. I became complacent... There are things that I do here and I would get away with, but I would not dare try that in the previous hotels I had worked in, in Kenya, it is like breaking the hotel practice code (Stayer 2)

Despite the employment agencies role in facilitating the workers' migration from Kenya to the UK, to some extent, the workers also considered their migration journey through the channel facilitated by the agencies as a form of exploitation. It appears there was a quick turnaround to obtain employment for the pool of Kenyan HMWs. In turn, the workers also seemed so eager to work abroad that they neglected gathering adequate information that might have been useful to them to prepare them mentally and financially for life abroad:

When coming here [UK] I thought I might need a financial manager...The recruitment agencies supplied us with inaccurate information. When they came to Kenya, they would quote the wages in Kenyan shillings. They did not warn us of the usual overheads. Had they provided this sort of information, and an estimate of the wages and overheads...That would have helped us in making informed choices based on more accurate information (Stayer 7).

Then, the wave of workers moving abroad caused excitement to the workers to the extent of being naïve and rendering them incapable of gathering and processing useful information upon which to make key decision in an important stage in their life, such as migration:

The excitement had set in and there was pressure from the recruiting agent to be quick in the processing of the documentation [passport]. I was given 3 days to prepare and leave [Kenya]. I did not even resign. They phoned and told me that they needed me urgently. I had to provide untruthful excuses to my employer and tell him that I needed to get home quickly. I even left my personal belongings behind (Stayer 7).

The long unsociable hours are a feature that characterises the hotel sector and given the migrants precarious work conditions, such as, the regulations of the work permit, resulted in the workers being denied a balanced work-life structure, ‘I now only work over weekdays and I have weekends off. This was not possible when I worked at the hotel ...I could not spend much time with my young daughter’ (Stayer 3).

6.1.4 REGULATORY CONSTRAINTS: UK IMMIGRATION LAW IMPACTING ON THE WORKERS’ EXPERIENCES

As with any sojourner, accommodation arrangements are often an essential aspect in their journeys. With regards to the Kenyan HMWs, the accommodation was a criterion to be met in order to qualify for a UK work Visa:

In the Live-in accommodation, I didn’t have to pay much for any bills ... because we used to be fed at work, no bills. But the minute my husband joined me, we had to move out from the Live-in accommodation and get our own place, then the bills started streaming in... pay a rent deposit, house rent, council tax, gas, electricity and water bills (Returner 8).

It emerges that the migrant workers who had families in Kenya anticipated they would join them in the UK, instead they had to encounter immigration strife whereby they were faced with strict immigration laws that restricted family reunification, despite the workers' legal right to stay in the UK. As discussed above, not only was the accommodation arrangement a requirement for the migrating parent but also at the stage where the children and spouses were permitted to migrate to join their family member in the UK:

I don't understand why they [Home Office] would provide me a work permit, as a family man and make it extremely difficult to bring my family over... So, at first they would not give them [children and wife] a visa because I did not have a house to accommodate them in. I decided that after the five years when I get the indefinite leave to remain, my wife would join me and work for one year while we looked for a house so that we could bring our children over (Stayer 9)

However, despite families having endured five years of separation (period equivalent to migrant workers' meeting permanent residency eligibility in the UK) and eventually meeting the housing criteria as required by the immigration law, it still appeared that family reunification for the labour migrants was difficult:

We had to leave the children by themselves in Kenya and even then after getting a house, we tried to get a visa for our kids and they [Home Office] refused... I made an attempt 3 times to apply for their visa, till I had to go to a migration tribunal. They totally disregarded I had a family. I went through financial challenges as I went from debt to debt trying to go through all those things [immigration procedures] (Stayer 9)

Following the change of immigration status from restricted migrant workers to unrestricted immigrants in the UK, some workers have opted to leave the hotel industry and switch to a different occupation, 'after getting my papers [acquired citizenship] that was the end of my

hotel life and I joined Social Care as a carer' (Stayer 6). However, it is observed that the majority of the chefs did not switch their profession, instead the occupation move was from hotel to a different sector or as an agency chef, 'I have decided to seek greener pastures and try out new experiences to improve my life. I have now joined the NHS in L. I am still working in the kitchen [chef]' (Stayer 3)

The immigration law is seen to project hostility to the migrant workers given that work permits were issued only to the migrating worker and discounted their onus as parents and/or spouses requiring them to leave behind their spouses and children in the home country:

The reason why I left Jersey is because I became pregnant and I worked in that restaurant for 8 months and nobody [recognised]... I knew I was not allowed to work if I was pregnant, so I thought the best thing was not to say to anyone and remain silent and earn my wages (Stayer 10)

Furthermore, the migrant hotel workers in the Channel Island of Jersey encountered further immigration constraints given that the work-permits issued were based on the hotel business seasonal patterns. As such the workers could only work for nine months in a year and were expected to return to their country until recalled in the following hotel business season. This had a financial impact on the workers given that they remained unemployed until the start of the next hotel business season. 'I worked for one season which constituted 9 months, then had to go home [return to Kenya] after the business season for a 3-month break' (Stayer, 10).

6.2 DISCUSSION

As identified by Hall (1996), career self-management is a function of the 'boundaryless' careers whereby career actors are responsible for steering and navigating their career and inevitably the outcome. However Crites (1976) cautions that people do not have full control of their desired career outcome as social structures are likely to impact on an individual's career goals. As part of managing their hotel careers, Kenyan trained hotel workers migrated to the UK to pursue their hotel careers. Having gone through the UK visa and work permit application process, the workers were permitted into the country to live and work. Ascertaining the hotel workers' level of professionalism was a task not only performed by the recruitment agent but also by the immigration officers. In the UK the visa and work permit interview process workers would often be required to include some form of screening. This was to authenticate the workers personal and career identity.

Both the hotel training school and hotel sector in Kenya provided a springboard for the workers by equipping them with relevant industry skills and quality professional experience. By contrast, the sector in the UK absorbed the workers into the labour market but at the same time facilitated the stagnation of their specialised hotel skills. The migrant workers were placed to work at much lower positions and lower type and size of hotels than their qualifications would position them. It is therefore clear that, both institutions, the UK immigration legislation and the hotel industry facilitated the geographical mobility of the workers, from South to North. On the contrary, the structure of the hotel industry and the immigration legislation presented career boundaries for the workers given that the progression of their hotel careers had been impeded.

6.2.1 MIGRANT WORKERS' UNDERUTILISED SKILLS

The structure of the hotel industry in UK is one characterized by a significant presence of small-medium sized hotel establishments, with particular reference to owner-managed hotels where the migrants were placed to work. Furthermore, Baum (1995) and Batnitzky and McDowell (2013) report that marginalised members of society such as women, students, ethnic minorities and migrants are a common workforce in the hotel. The reasons for their predominance in the sector include: the informal recruitment practises in the industry, such as, the use of word-of-mouth recommendation which lead certain groups of individuals to work in an industry already dominated by individuals with similar characteristics. For example, female workers with other family commitments, such as caring for young children and other relatives influence their availability to take up full time employment. Similarly, students in full time studies usually require part-time employment for their financial upkeep and ethnic minority workers, for lack of alternative jobs are considered to dominate the hotel sector.

Moreover, the aforementioned groups are favoured by casual employment where hours of work are not fixed, which would appear suitable to their working pattern as dictated by their lifestyle. For example, it appears that students and women might require flexible working hours to accommodate their studies and family commitments respectively. However, commonly, they are in demand due to a perceived willingness to accept lower wages but perhaps uniquely to the migrant groups it is the apparent work ethic that makes them attractive to employers. Therefore, this corroborates the view of objective careers by Zikic et al. (2010) which is one considered by the host society, causing demand in certain groups of workers. This has inevitably led to a clash between the sector's objective hotel career and the Kenyan migrant workers' subjective hotel career.

Empirical findings of this research reveal an element of the worker's foreign credentials being undervalued within the host country. Whilst at their time of entry, migrants' cultural capital is often recognised and acknowledged by virtue of their work abroad being authorised by relevant the relevant authority. In spite of this, it is often common that their foreign credentials are unrecognised in the host country resulting in the workers being denied the right to utilize their cultural capital (Siar, 2013). Non-recognition of migrants' cultural capital is described as a process of deskilling the workers (Siar, 2013) which from a human rights stance echoes Bauder's (2003) argument as a form of migrants' brain abuse. Overall, when workers are employed in positions that are not commensurate with their level of cultural capital, the end result is often that the workers are underemployed (Pearson et al., 2012).

The Kenyan HMWs highlighted their uniqueness in the labour market due to the observed professionalism and willingness to pursue a hotel career despite the negative image of the industry. The participants emphasised their high level of the workers' cultural capital obtained abroad from the hotel school in Kenya coupled with professional work experience accumulated from high end hotel establishments. Despite the worker's professionalism and enthusiasm for their hotel careers, their skills were overlooked. The work permit issued were primarily for supervisory levels but in practise the actual role entailed neither supervisory nor managerial roles, instead they were positioned as front-line staff. This demonstrated discounting of the workers' foreign cultural capital whereby they were positioned in ranks below their qualifications and skills. However, surprisingly, it was normal practice for employers to apply double standards to the migrant workers at their work places. On one hand the workers were assigned front-line staff job roles on the other, given their level of professionalism they were required to train other work colleagues who had been easily absorbed in the hotel industry despite a lack of both hotel professional and language skills.

This presented challenges to the workers given the degree of resistance from the untrained workers. This could be attributed to the other workers' negative assumption that a) hotel jobs did not require any training, b) Kenyan hotel workers did not hold any supervisory or managerial jobs to merit being on-job trainers, and c) a lack of consideration for a hotel career. The workers considered it unfair treatment given that their career capital was primarily being used as and when it suited the employers. At this point, they considered their hotel career to be deteriorating to the extent that they were considering an alternative career that would be more fulfilling. As such, unlike other areas of the labour market where locals may feel threatened by the presence of migrant workers who may be considered as competitors for hotel jobs, intended for the locals, it was not so in the hotel industry. Nevertheless, the hotel migrants were faced with a frustrating work environment given that they were required to work with untrained work colleagues who were unwilling to be trained for the job.

As expected, given their ethnicity that is different from the locals the migrant workers anticipated a projection of hostility towards them. Furthermore, given the low perception of the host society towards a hotel career, their identity as hoteliers is likely to have painted them as low-skilled workers. Their identity arguably presented more chances of hostility projected towards the cohort of workers. Yet still, in spite of their career frustrations, the workers still considered themselves professional and were in no doubt of their acquired skills and knowledge of hotel work.

One unanticipated finding was the lack of widespread discrimination in work places given that the workers are members of an ethnic minority group. This suggests that the workers' cultural capital, although they considered it invisible to the employers, cushioned them to a

certain degree, against some form of work-place discrimination. Furthermore, their level of skill and willingness to work in a sector shunned by local workers corroborates Bourdieu's (1986) argument that individuals will depend upon their cultural capital to navigate the labour market barriers they encounter in a foreign country. In addition, due to the typical perceived competitiveness within the labour market between locals and migrant workers especially within the secondary segment, there was a degree of un-competitiveness for hotel employment opportunities, hence easing work-place discrimination.

The findings further support the idea that given local workers' perception of unappealing hotel career opportunities, they considered themselves unthreatened by the domineering presence of migrant workers with a zeal for a hotel career in UK. Although institutional factors, such as, the labour market impeded migrant workers' hotel career progress by segmenting them into a secondary labour market and encountering underemployment, other structural factors such as size of hotel establishments were significant in constraining the migrants' careers. Thus, under the influences prevailing in the objective careers that may shape an individual's career outcome, it is important to examine how the migrants responded to objective career constraints. However, the obstacles surrounding migrants' optimal use of their skills was beyond their control, given the umbrella approach of; migrant workers in low-skilled sector- used by the institutions to interpret and value the migrant's professional abilities (King, 2004).

6.2.2 SOCIOECONOMIC EXPERIENCES OF VULNERABLE MIGRANT WORKERS

A study by Rowley and Purcell (2001) indicates that hospitality employers value enthusiasm, commitment, stamina, and responsibility over previous experience and technical skills. These are attributes migrant workers are likely to showcase in an effort to secure employer's goodwill which is necessary for continued immigration sponsorship. As reported by Anderson (2010), temporary migrant workers subject to migration controls often find that their right to remain in the UK is heavily dependent on their employers, therefore presenting a platform of precariousness. Wu et al. (2010) cautions that labour exploitation is not limited to undocumented, smuggled or trafficked people, but can also extend to legal migrant workers. For instance, should the employer cease the worker's sponsorship resulting from a loss of the goodwill, the worker's employment and legal immigration status is placed at risk with a likely outcome of deportation. Yet, given the crucial turning point in the migrants' lives of migrating, they are compelled to prove it worthwhile to themselves and families left behind. As such, the HMWs considered the need to be compliant with employer's demands in order to protect the relationship with their employer. Hence, employers regard the workers' compliance as power to dictate to the workers without fear of challenge. This echoes Lucas and Mansfield (2010b) who suggest 'that a good attitude is a lack of willingness to challenge management prerogative and this influences prospective employers' preference for migrant staff'.

Following on such views, Anderson and Ruhs (2012) seek to ascertain whether the demand for migrant labour depends on what the employers want, in terms of employees' skills and competencies or what the employers think they can get (cheap labour, employees who know little about their working rights). Accordingly, from an employee's perspective, the

participants' narratives attempt to shed some light on the precarious employment conditions they encounter. The following discussion is indicative of the migrant's work experiences.

It is widely acknowledged that in the host countries, migrants experience devaluation and non-recognition of their educational qualifications and skills gained in their home country (Kofman et al., 2005, Williams, 2006). Therefore, presenting a process of exclusion from high segments of labour markets (Bauder, 2005). As such, their remuneration rights to decent pay might have been a matter ignored by employers. However, to some degree their cultural capital was validated when they often had the responsibility to train their less competent colleagues as part of their roles. Therefore, although the workers might have considered, to some extent, to be valued at their place of work despite the low wages, the assignment to train colleagues is an indication of work exploitation given the unrecognized qualifications and unvalued work experience yet expectations to mentor less competent work colleagues and unlikely financial rewards commensurate with assigned job roles and responsibilities. It is also important to note that this study does not engage with the viewpoints of hotel employers in respect of employing migrant workers. However, given the widely accepted notion of high staff turnover in the sector, it is clear that the non- EU workers lowered the employee turnover rate at the time due to their time-bound work permits.

In order to comply with immigration law, it would have been necessary for employers to sponsor migrant workers on salary scales agreeable to migrant labour employment. The expectations of earning higher wages explains, in part, the willingness of migrants to leave behind their families and give up managerial and supervisory positions to settle for lesser position in the host country in exchange for relatively higher wages. However, such circumstances whereby workers were underemployed are suggestive that the terms and conditions of the work permit were being dishonoured. Retrospectively, a majority of the

workers claim that the stated salary on their work permits is not commensurate with the supervisory job titles stated.

Therefore, this impacts on the workers' financial requirements as there is a possibility that their wages are proportionate to front-line staff and not the job tasks they actually performed. An element of worker's exploitation is observable in such working conditions where workers were recruited and the specified salaries (wages) dishonoured. As informed in wider migration literature, motivations for human migration are numerous but a primary reason is for economic gain in order to maximize income by moving from low-wage to high-wage economies (Gross and Schmitt, 2012, Borjas, 1989). This is consistent with the push and pull and the Harris-Todaro migration frameworks (Harris and Todaro, 1970) that assume people migrate as there is potential to maximise their income in a different country due to a lack of opportunity to earn a higher income in their own country.

Similarly, Zikic et al. (2010) draw attention to contemporary careers increasingly shifting from the traditional objective viewpoint, whereby society defines career success as the hierarchical achievement with a likelihood of prestige in contrast to a subjective career perspective denoting an individual steering their career whereby there is a potential to span beyond any single employer or country. As such, given the unfavourable economic conditions in their country and the likelihood to earn a higher income, the Kenyan workers considered working abroad as a possible channel for career progress resulting in improved lifestyles. As in the case of migrant workers, they self-manage their careers by migrating from their country to another seeking opportunities to improve their career. Thus, Kenyan hotel professionals chose to pursue their career in the UK with a perception of an improved lifestyle for their families.

Employment agencies were in place to facilitate the migration of the workers from Kenya to the UK using correct immigration documentation. An example of the necessary immigration documentation that the workers required prior to their move were the work permit and visa issued by the Home Office. In order that documents were prepared and issued, a job offer needed to be in place. The employment agencies were actively involved in sourcing employment for the workers thus connecting workers to employers. The documentation contained necessary information as a confirmation to both the worker and employer of their obligations. The work permit stated the workers job role and expected salary/wages.

As discussed above, expected earnings form a primary basis for economic migration as it presents inspirations for an enhanced lifestyle thus an important aspect of the workers' decision to migrate. Yet on arrival, the workers are presented with job roles and salaries that not only are below their expectations but also appear to be a breach of their work permit conditions. This is consistent with the observation by Myers and Pringle (2005) that these careers are unpredictable and risky given that individuals have no control of the complexities spanning across social structures and beyond national boundaries. Thus, drawing on the discrepancy between migrants' qualifications and the work they perform, it suggests that whilst migration is considered necessary for varied reasons, primarily to enhance lifestyles, the loss of some personal attachments is inescapable, for example, loss of career, giving up old social circles and starting new one and to some extremes enduring homesickness, all of which is challenging. Thus, there are career consequences that the career actors have to contend with. As discussed in the section above the migrants considered their skills were not being put to optimal use given the inability to apply them accordingly at their work places. Therefore, it is observed that there was a degree of labour exploitation given that specified terms and work conditions offered prior to their migration are later not honoured.

In such working conditions, dictated by both structural and institutional factors, the workers are compelled to take on secondary employment to supplement their income. Immigration law dictated that non-EU workers work for the single work permit-sponsoring employer. Therefore, secondary employment of such workers was an illegal practise but given the informal approaches to recruitment associated with hotels as noted by Kelliher and Johnson (1987) the practise appears to have been ignored. However, as a result of multiple employment opportunities, the workers were able to make quicker accumulation of their savings than was usually the case in the plan of new arrivals. Migrant workers, particularly with respect to those that occupy the low echelons in the labour market, have been perceived to be hardworking. This is rationalized by the low wages they are exposed to and are willing to accept given the expectation to support families left behind in their original countries. Consequently, secondary employers also got to reap the benefits of the working ethos of migrant workers.

Whilst Canzler et al. (2008) describe the movement of people to be one that is perceived to be good as it liberates individuals within society, Castles (2000) and Turner (2007) caution that human migration has been considered with some negativity, particularly with respect towards certain groups: low-skilled migrant workers and asylum seekers. As such, it is expected that within the host societies there would be prevalent cases of increased hostility projected by the host community towards ethnic minorities. However, hostility emerges as a selective issue within the participants of this study as it appears that racism was not prevalent in this cohort of Kenyan HMWs. It would seem that their proficiency in the host language (English), professionalism in the trade (having trained in a premium hotel school) and subsequent purposive migration to work in the hotel sector in the UK resulted in being a preferential group of workers to other comparative groups within the low-waged sector.

However, language skills in employment are not only necessary to equip the worker with the ability to communicate with colleagues and comprehend the nature of one's job, but also important that the worker understands vital elements related to the work such as, health and safety and terms and conditions of the employment contract among others. This echoes, the findings of Thompson, Newsome and Commander (2012) which indicate that whilst migrant labour provided flexibility in hiring a workforce that was readily available and willing to perform work as required within the food processing industry, often the language barrier raised concern particularly to the employer. One of human resource managers' strategies to retain its workers is through incorporation of employees' training and development programmes. However, if language creates a barrier in communication, employee training may not be effectively conducted which could lead to a poor staff retention (Clark and Drinkwater, 2008). Thus, it is vital that migrant workers possess the host-country language skills taking into account that proficiency in the host country's main language is a key determinant of earnings and employment. Accordingly, the Kenyan migrant workers were equipped to penetrate the labour market without difficulty in respect to language ability.

6.2.3 HOTEL INDUSTRY IN THE UK IMPACTING ON WORKERS' EXPERIENCES

Baum (2010) suggests that migration could be one solution to overcoming the labour shortage in the developed economies yet, despite the high-labour intensity of work within the hotel sector, minimization of labour costs is a key priority in the recruitment practises of the industry (Matthews and Ruhs 2007). One such practise is outsourcing recruitment to employment agencies. In light of this, hotel employers embrace recruitment undertaken on their behalf by the employment agencies given that, it is a sector that employers often find difficult in which to fill vacancies. In this case, the agencies recruited skilled hotel workers

with the passion to develop and progress their hotel careers. In self-managing their careers, the workers apply their cultural capital in the host country and back in their country of origin, particularly for those that return home.

The degree of each form of the capital applied is not quantifiable. However, the components of each element of capital are evidenced. The training received at the hotel school to the income they earned according to Bourdieu (1986), is convertible. In view of this, the workers were equipped with skills and professional knowledge that enabled them to acquire employment in the UK through their institutionalised social network of K.U.C, which served as a point of contact for the UK based employment agencies. Portes and Rumbaut (2006) emphasize that ties of kinship, friendship and community connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas are a convenient channel through which new arrivals find employment in the host country. However, it is essential to distinguish the uniqueness of the Kenyan HMWs recruitment into the UK hotel sector. Whilst conceding to the argument by MacKenzie and Forde (2009) that migrant workers often find themselves in lower paid jobs, such as, in hospitality for which they are overqualified, it is necessary to note that the Kenyan hotel workers are a unique cohort of migrant workers given their hotel specialised skills and proficient language skills.

Similar to the traditional views of migrant workers in low-skilled employment using migrant networks to secure employment, the Kenyan HMWs employ workers utilize employment agencies to increase their opportunity to migrate to the UK. Therefore, the employment agencies had a crucial role in shaping the HMWs career experience. Firstly, they facilitated migration of the workers by conducting recruitment of the workers and processing the necessary documentation. Secondly, given the unbalanced share in unit numbers of small

versus large hotel establishments in the UK, the agents role in facilitating the positioning of the workers in the smaller family- run hotels as opposed to the high- standard hotels that are likely to match the workers' skill profile cannot be ignored. Nevertheless, the recruitment agencies obtained employment for the workers in UK hotels, mostly in 3 star owner-managed hotels with whom they had a network.

Seemingly, there were mutual benefits between migrant workers and employers from the services of the employment agencies given the pairing of both groups. However, it is evident that hotel owners derived the full benefits of the employment agencies, because workers sourced were trained and skilled. In addition, as opposed to agency workers being sourced for a specific role, for example, the housekeeping department or the kitchen, both the agency and employer focused on country-specific workers. The Kenyan hotel migrant workers were perceived to possess the appropriate skills sought after by the hotel employers, given the nature of training they underwent in a reputable hotel training institution (Sindiga, 1994), irrespective of the ineffective match between the workers with suitable employers. Individual concepts of mismatch relate to the degree to which workers in firms possess skill or education levels that are above, below or poorly connected to those required within their current job Cedefop, 2010 (European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training).

Consequently, regardless of their specialised hotel skills, these skilled migrant hotel workers were faced with similar employment conditions as faced by other migrant workers, for example their skills, work experience and education credentials were disregarded and often they found themselves working not only in the lower ranks of the hotel establishments but in the small owner-managed independent hotels whereas their expectation was to work in managerial positions in the larger hotel establishments, as previously experienced in their

country. Nevertheless, it may be difficult to determine if the workers were formally recruited as skilled migrant workers, given that their work permits indicated the level of their skills. In contrast to other migrant workers who often end up in low skilled jobs despite their level of qualifications by happenstance, the cohort of Kenyan hotel workers purposely migrated from their country in order to work in the UK hotel sector as low skills operatives despite the fact that there is a high demand for skilled workers in the hospitality and tourism industry in Kenya. As a result, the workers consider their hotel career constrained given the mismatch of their qualifications to the employment obtained. It is anticipated that their careers might have progressed fairly quickly in the larger hotel establishments, where levels of operating standards are presumably high and training opportunities adequate. Despite the employment agencies' facilitating the workers' geographical mobility, from Kenya to UK, to a lesser extent also within the UK, the ultimate benefit appears to have been to the agencies and with little benefit to the HMW who consider the facilitation exercise as a form of exploitation. In addition, on a national scale the contribution of the Kenyan HMWs to the hotel industry may be invisible but the presented evidence from the migrants' narratives signifies the level of cultural capital intended for UK's hotel sector.

In spite of the frustrating work conditions that the migrants were experiencing in their work places, they appear to have ignored the workplace challenges by focusing on the privileged lifestyle that was to benefit their families. Overall, their unmet career expectations left them dispirited to work in the hotel industry but enthusiastic enough to hold on to living and working in the UK for the benefit of an improved lifestyle for themselves and their families. On the other hand, the industry, especially the smaller establishments reaped benefits of having an inexpensive, trained and skilled workforce.

From a human resource perspective, the existence of a robust learning and development framework incorporated in staff well-being is crucial, with the possibility of staff retention. The hotel employers eventually turned to the skilled migrant workers to train their work colleagues who had little to no relevant training of the hotel industry. Arguably, during the phase of skilled hotel migration to the UK, the hotel industry benefited significantly with minimal training costs incurred from a skilled workforce that readily accepted low wages. The 2000-2008 UK work permit tenure created an inflow of non-EU migrants in the UK. Juxtaposed against the Central Eastern European national and the industry itself, this cohort of Kenyan hotel workers endowed the UK hotel industry with both functional and numerical flexibility (Atkinson, 1984) given their level of professionalism, including proficient language skills and their ready availability to provide labour for the industry.

The measure of the migrant workers' cultural capital is defined by the structural characteristic of the labour market in the host society. As such, the size of the hotel establishments dictates their style of operation which differs from the large hotel chains which are likely to have standard operating procedures across their hotel units. Due to the establishments' characteristics in terms of their size and organisation, it would be expected that they are represented by limited resources for human resources development such as that for employees. Therefore, the lack of training opportunities experienced by the Kenyan HMWs, respondents consider this to be a major factor that contributed to a neglect of their professionalism that, in turn, limited their career progression. This is a structural factor that is not only likely to be experienced by migrants but local workers alike. In light of this, both female and male migrant workers encountered a punctuating phase in their hotel career as they did not experience any career growth, instead they remained in the same junior position they entered, until visa restrictions no longer applied to them.

6.2.4 REGULATORY CONSTRAINTS: UK IMMIGRATION LAW IMPACTING ON THE WORKERS' EXPERIENCES

There are various forms of influences on individuals' careers. These could generally be categorised under economic, social and political influences. As such, each category impacts upon individuals differently. For instance, institutional barriers such as immigration policies associated with migrant workers' control of their geographical and/or career mobility produces a level of temporariness and precarious working conditions (Anderson, 2010). This has a significant bearing on the migrants' working experiences, eventually hindering progression of their careers. Furthermore, other structural factors for example industry- or sector-driven can potentially influence their working lives and by extension their career outcomes. In terms of the sector's workforce, the marginalised, especially in a Western context, the young people, students, women, ethnic minority and migrants within the secondary labour market have been relied upon (Baum, 1995, Baum et al., 2007a). Characterised by low wages, irregular working hours and suitability for the marginalised workforce defines it to be less of a career path. Therefore, such profiling of the labour market alongside unfavourable features of the sector produces a) signals suggesting that particular groups of individuals in the society are prone to be disadvantaged in the labour market, and b) a high rate of staff turnover particularly with respect to front-line staff positions .

A major cause for the turnover are the apparent poor working conditions in the sector that compel workers to leave their employers for better employment opportunities. For instance, the unsociable and long working hours are a feature that characterises the hotel sector. Thus, given migrants' precarious work conditions particularly with respect to immigration regulations resulted in the workers being denied a balanced work-life structure. However, in their participation within the labour market, local workers have been able to exercise freedom

of movement as they are without any immigration restrictions. This also includes workers from EU, who given the enabling mobility factor are able to exercise freedom of movement.

Similarly, Cook et al. (2011) identify that workers with English language abilities are not only able to negotiate better terms and conditions of employment with the host employers but also have the ability to obtain employment that closely reflect skills and experience acquired in their home prior to migrating. However, these workers appear to be those without mobility restrictions instead can exercise freedom of movement across borders. In contrast, a report by (I.O.M, 2010a) revealed that the legal migration of Kenyans to low-waged sectors in advanced economies is usually restricted. Such that the workers are regularly faced with rigid immigration controls that restrain their mobility to better employment opportunities even when faced with unfavourable working conditions. They are compelled to endure the poor working conditions for fear of losing employer's goodwill that would negatively impact on their continued right to live and work in the UK. Migration research by Conroy and Brennan (2003), has evidenced migrant workers' documentations, such as, passports being held by employers to prevent the workers from leaving the organisations, mainly in respect to low-skilled employment. Whilst such incidences do not emerge from the narratives of the Kenyan HMWs, there is evidence that their geographical mobility and/or career growth is inhibited institutionally, by the immigration policy.

The dependence on employer's goodwill often resulting in work exploitation is probably to have been considered a short term strategy given the prospect of switching their immigration status. At the time, conditions of their work permit dictated that the workers could obtain permanent residency following 5 years of continuous legal stay in the UK. Consequently they obtained freedom of movement and their geographical or career mobility was no longer

restricted. As such, following the waiver of visa and work permit restrictions, it is expected that the non- EU workers upon gaining permanent residency, would seek employment in the larger hotel establishments where presumably their qualifications and work experience would be recognised. However, characteristics of hotel work that attribute to the perceived negative image of the industry such as long working hours and irregular shift patterns are some of the working conditions that workers, including migrant workers have endured. Other negative factors associated with the hotel industry such as low wages and rigid work shift patterns unfavourable to families with school-age children influence the workers to seek employment opportunities in other sectors that fill the personal career gap created by hotel employment. In one instance, it is striking to observe a couple who both worked in the same industry having similar reflections of their hotel career having stagnated.

In light of such working conditions, a change of immigration status from migrant workers (characterised by restrictions on their working visas, such as authorisation of change of employer/work given a possibility to change employers) to unrestricted immigrants has resulted in individuals switching their hotel occupations to other sectors, such as, care and transport. Okay-Somerville and Scholarios (2014) argue that when individuals face barriers in their career progression, there is a likelihood of a lateral boundary-crossing where individuals move in a different job within the same sector having accumulated skills and experience to obtain better employment. To some extent, this fits some of the Kenyan HMWs- experience given that they considered having an unprogressive hotel career and prompting them to change their occupations, arguably better employment. Furthermore a commonality in these sectors is the ability and the ease with which the workers are able to transfer skills across sectors. However, the findings reveal that whilst other workers might have switched their

occupations the chefs have maintained their occupation albeit, in different working environments such as in hospitals and others running small- scale catering businesses.

6.2.5 THE IMPLICATION OF IMMIGRATION LAW ON THE MIGRANT WORKERS' CAREERS, AND FAMILY LIVES

The notion of career is viewed not only from a work-place perspective, but also other social aspects that define it. The stage in an individual's family circumstances has a crucial function in determining their stage of their career. Migrant workers are faced with the need to negotiate challenges arising from arriving and having to adjust in a foreign country. The majority of the participants at the point of migration included young families with pre-schoolers or young school-going children. At the time, although the UK immigration law would permit married couples to migrate to the country, the law neglected to accommodate the couples' children. As such, family arrangements called for one parent to migrate with and the other left behind to look after the children until the point where the migrating parent obtained citizenship rights.

As discussed in the previous section, this usually occurred after a period of 5- years of continuous legal stay in the UK, a period that is sufficiently long to affect family members attributable to separation. Castles (2010) argues in favour of a borderless world and explains that global migration should not be viewed with negativity but as a normal aspect of social life that embraces equality in mankind and shows respect for human rights. However, in the case of the Kenyan HMWs, it emerges from their narratives that despite the migrating parent acquiring citizenship rights in the end, and meeting other necessary immigration requirements to be eligible for family reunification (spouse and children), it was often challenging. International labour affects the rights of individuals (Ruhs, 2005) in various ways, such as,

restricted mobility within the country and non- family reunification with family members left behind in their home countries. This, paradoxically, places the state as a contravener of human rights where families are separated by immigration law. Notably, there is a direct impact of migration on migrant workers themselves and their families. Migrant workers have to cope with the challenge of physical separation leading to constraints on family units.

The current study found that despite resultant migrant family reunification, the strain for economic survival continues given the struggle with immigration authority to have their families join them in the UK was considered a costly experience that might have placed families in difficult financial circumstances, such as debts. To be eligible for family reunification, the workers were required to find suitable accommodation (Live-out type) prior to their family members being allowed into the country. Furthermore, with additional family members, there is a likelihood of a need for a larger budget than previously when the budget catered for one individual. In addition, echoing Dyer et al's. (2010) observation, the meagre wages earned by temporary migrants who undertake low-paid work, renders it even more difficult to afford to have their families join them. Initially, when the workers first arrived in the UK, they had Live-in type of accommodation arranged by their employers and even though there were monies deducted by employer to pay for the accommodation, it was less demanding on the workers given that they did not have to encounter the inconvenience of finding accommodation in a new country.

Nevertheless, provision of live-in accommodation is an avenue that employers find that they have control over the migrant workers. Firstly, as migrant workers in a low-waged economy, their work-balance structure is compromised when they take on extra shift as a strategy to maximize income. Secondly, as argued by Lucas and Mansfield (2010a) given the convenient

reach of live-in employees there is the propensity to exploit them in covering for work colleagues' absenteeism even during rest periods.

From a family and particularly gender perspective, female migrant workers with young children have even greater challenges. The unfavourable hotel shift work patterns and low wages in conjunction with visa restrictions that render migrant workers ineligible for any kind of government's financial assistance (the welfare system) for example, childcare costs, resulted to households adjusting to work arrangements that led to an imbalanced work-life structure. For instance in households with young children, it is considered necessary that parents interchange work shift patterns between themselves so that when one parent is away at work, the other is available to look after the children. This results in families spending less quality time together given that their focus was working unceasingly in order to afford their upkeep abroad and for their families in Kenya.

The narratives of the participants reveal that from a family perspective, the stringent immigration laws and policies had negative implications for households, resulting in a) family separation and b) complex family reunification cases which exhibit not only economic trauma, but a likelihood of mental trauma to various households and particularly with respect to the young children separated from their parents and had to be looked after by other family members. In such instances of family separations, there is the possibility that parents and children become strangers and when reunited, re-establishing the parent-child relationship may be difficult given the absence recorded in the individuals' lives.

As discussed above, institutional factors fostered a degree of un-wellbeing of the migrant workers, influenced by the career frustration they encountered, coupled with the involuntary

family separation dictated by the immigration law. Firstly, their career expectations are unmet and prospects of a better family lifestyle are either delayed or also are unmet. In their migration journey, decisions to migrate abroad are reached based on economic projections. Fleeing from economic deprivation in their home countries, Datta (2012) is of the opinion that migrants only find themselves having to negotiate another hurdle in the UK's labour market that is characterised by a growth of the 'working poor' because of perceived poor wages, yet faced with a higher cost of living. This is echoed by May et al. (2008) whose study reveal the growing low-wage economy in the UK, dominated by migrant workers. Furthermore, the workers do not have the opportunity to move about to suitable jobs because they are held 'hostage' in employment perceived to be in the low-wage sector, until the end of their work permit regime.

6.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter explored the range of the Kenyan hotel migrant workers lived experiences in the UK under a backdrop of the boundaryless career concept. It examines their work experience in the UK hotel sector highlighting non-recognition of their cultural capital resulting in underemployment. Yet, given the vibrancy of the hotel industry in Kenya facilitated by the dependence of the country's economy on tourism, a hotel career is considerably valued as a significant career similar to the great importance awarded to other careers in the country. As such, with an enriched cultural capital the workers had considerable raised hotel career expectations in the UK.

It is evidenced that the workers had previous professional experience as managers and/or supervisors in large high end hotels. However, there is a mismatch of the workers' cultural capital and their employment, given that they are positioned to work in small owner-managed

hotels as opposed to larger hotels which are more likely to have a closer match to their previous work experience in Kenya. The size of the hotel firms, is perceived to attribute to the shortcomings of the workers' career accomplishments. In view of migrant workers' cultural capital, employers often overlooked the workers' qualifications and previous work experience, mainly in terms of employment ranking, thus, having an impact on the expected wages. Moreover, geographical and career immobility of the hotel migrant workers are attributable to the UK immigration policy given the stringent measures compelling workers to remain in employment that was deemed unfavourable for their career progression.

A common theme throughout the chapter is the underemployment of migrant workers. The workers inevitably traded in their professionalism and prospects of career progress for a better lifestyle for their children, particularly in terms of better education and health care access. Following the workers qualifying period for permanent residency in the UK, there was a tendency for decisions to be made by migrant workers to switch their hotel occupations to other sectors. It is interesting to note the skill transferability element to the sectors that substituted the hotel sector. An example from the evidence provided are the health and social care and transport sectors. Furthermore, other crucial choices being made were either to remain in the UK or return to Kenya. The decision to stay or return is discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 7: MOTIVATION TO REMAIN IN THE HOST COUNTRY OR RETURN TO COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

This chapter represents the outcome of the Kenyan hotel migrant workers' lived experiences in the UK and the impetus to remain in the host country or return to their country of origin. It follows preceding sections that have presented the influence of institutional factors on the migrants' cultural capital, thus, bearing an effect on their hotel career. In the narratives, the Kenyan HMWs position themselves for and against staying in the UK and a subsequent return to Kenya.

7.1 FINDINGS

7.1.1 FAMILY CIRCUMSTANCE IN HOME COUNTRY

Following the strenuous lives led by some of the workers who had young children left in the care of other family members in Kenya or those who had been separated from their spouses and children, they considered returning to their families as worthwhile:

I searched my soul and I thought, am away, these are small kids [aged,4,1] and I was asking myself, will these kids one day understand when they hear I had left them at this age, will they understand I was doing it for them? It was difficult...but I just told my husband that I was not returning to the UK. Enough was enough (Returnee 13).

In contrast, hotel migrant workers who had eventually been successful in meeting immigration requirements to have their spouses and children join them over in the UK, considered it important to remain in the UK. A majority of the workers consider education and the health care access as an important attribute to desire to remain in the UK. They contrast these socioeconomic factors to the access (lack of) it in Kenya:

Here there are many advantages probably even uncountable. Back home, people are educated yet jobless. As long as you are hardworking you could always get a job and you can afford the life you want to live. When our kids joined us here, we encouraged them to study as far as they want because we do not need to buy books, education is free, all we buy is school uniform. There are so many opportunities for kids to explore. Kids are encouraged to excel in whatever they are good at, not in Kenya (Stayer 10).

However, given the migrants' strong African ties, a majority of these workers inspire to return to their home country regardless of the economic aspirations in the host country. At the time of the interviews, some of the participants were parents to young children of primary school age and others of teenagers. In both cases these parents considered that the stage in their life-cycle was at present dictated by the needs of their children. Individuals who might have decided to return to their home country yet already had settled immigration status in the UK, it was considered important that their children obtained education in the UK prior to returning. Accessing education and healthcare in the UK was perceived of great significance in the families, thus domineering initial career goals. However, even for these families, the aspirations to return to Kenya was an important element:

I work very hard, cos I know I need a soft landing at back home. And I'm not going to retire here. I need to retain that connection with my relatives in Kenya, this business of searching for more money, will soon come to an end. *Familia ndio vitu sio pesa (Family is wealth not money)*. (Stayer, 15)

Personal circumstances surrounding an individual in the host country are also factors that can form a critical part in deciding whether the individual remains in the country or returns to their home country. Often when the individual is faced by a difficult situation yet surrounded

by unfamiliar people with strong family bonds existing in the home country, it is likely that the individual moves closer to where family members are:

When I came back for my brother's wedding, at that time I was also having issues with my Scottish ex-wife. It actually gave us the reason to part ways and I decided to stay [in Kenya]. By then I had filed for divorce. I went round visiting my relatives and I discovered how much I had missed. I missed my youngest brother's birth. When I came back he was a grown man, in high school. I had no bond with him. He knew me as a voice on the phone (Returnee 14).

In contrast to individuals who consider moving closer to family members for support when faced with difficult circumstances, others take into account the immediate support that surrounds them, irrespective of whether the support stems from family or non-family members:

I look at the people who live closer to me as more of my family than the people who live away from me. At my workplace in Halifax, I am the only Kenyan. When my dad passed on, I did not want to bother my neighbours with the news of his death, but when they found out, they took offence as I did not share with them the sad news. So I felt this is really my family (Stayer 4).

Yet still, in one rare occurrence given the migrant's hotel career exposure as a chef in the UK and the state of his immediate family in Kenya where it was considered that he could express his UK experience in running his father's hotel. The decision to return to Kenya was influenced by his family pressure to return to Kenya:

His dad, (my father-in-law) had bought a hotel here [Kenya] and he asked his son to come and run it. We had to return amidst my protests because I remember asking him, 'Why are we going back to Kenya and it seems like we are comfortable in the UK?' He was working, I was working, and we were happy (Returnee 15).

In a singled out case, a female Kenyan hotel worker got married to a British male who worked and lived in Scotland and it is likely that having married a British national, facilitated her decision to remain in the UK, 'I have a Scottish family....My husband is Scottish and I chose to remain ' (Stayer 2).

7.1.2 EXPOSURE TO A WESTERN LIFESTYLE

Interestingly, despite the various hardships surrounding, emotional (separation from family), financial (insufficient wages in a high-living- standards economy) and career (unfulfilled professional expectations) the workers encountered, there was a sense of a career trade-off. A majority of the workers took into account their hotel career that had not succeeded as planned therefore, eventually embracing the opportunity to live and work in a western-industrialised country from which lessons of cultural integration were drawn:

I am brave enough to leave my country to come and work abroad. And even if I have not succeeded in my hotel career yet, as I now work in Social Care, I still have hope that I can still prosper and go back to my hotel career and be what I want. I can still achieve my dream, I am not one who easily gives up. I really appreciate that I did housekeeping. Socially, I have been able to embrace the different culture and established social circles with local friends which has helped in giving me more confidence and courage in myself as I am an introvert. Now, I know I can go anywhere, I am brave, I can become what I want (Stayer 11).

The work experience abroad and exposure to an international lifestyle added value to their existing knowledge of hotel work and provided them with an edge over the competition in the local labour market. As such, while the workers might have considered their hotel careers to have regressed, hotel employers in Kenya valued the returned workers international work experience:

The experience I had gathered in the UK ... made it very easy for me to get in a good job because [employers] respected the work experienced that one had from abroad. So I came back home and I started working for a big hotel group here in Kenya (Returnee 1).

Amongst the hotel migrant workers who chose to remain in the UK, whether influenced by personal circumstances or driven by other external factors, a unique outcome of one of the stayers was to start up her own restaurant business in the UK. She narrated that the inspiration to start up her restaurant business in the UK was influenced by the holistic view of her career experience in Kenya and the UK:

From my training in Utalii [K.U.C] to the hardships of odd hours and odd jobs like being a kitchen porter here in the UK I have managed to set up my business. I also have immigrants who work for me, we have work policies that endeavour to treat all our employees equally (Stayer 12)

The narratives reveal that all the returned workers acknowledge that international exposure contributed towards the widening of their life perspective. To echo the claim, instead of seeking employment in Kenya, a few of the returned workers took on entrepreneurial engagements within the hospitality and tourism sector:

While I was in the UK I also learnt about other things still related to hotels ...eco-tourism and it opened my eyes and vision and I started with another Englishman, a company which was to get visitors from UK to come to Kenya...I then started thinking of coming back to Kenya. I had quite a number of properties which I could turn into lodges. I knew this would have been extremely difficult but look, it is what I am actually currently working on here (Returnee 12).

Consequentially, taking into account the international exposure they had acquired and presumably accumulated cash savings to facilitate return to their home country, the workers considered themselves ready to return in order to prepare and establish their personal lives in their home country:

My visa was still valid...but I was ready to come back home. I had missed the life here and I knew at that point I am also getting into another quarter of my life. I went to the UK when I was young. So I had to settle down, focus on my grown up life, So I wanted to [settle] for a life that is stable for me and the family I would get and raise and there was no turning back. So I came back home, settled down, built myself a home and started a new business [outside catering & a hotel school] I did not want to go back into employment, I went back to university, finished my degree [Hospitality Management] ... it was a way of me settling back home. I cannot regret, it has been a wonderful run (Returnee 5).

Some participants also considered staying in the UK a better outcome for their families in consideration for better access to amenities for example, education and health care in the UK in contrast to Kenya. They considered it important that whilst their hotel career abroad was unsatisfactory, a better lifestyle for their families was a satisfactory trade off.

The way they do their education here is good, the funding when they go to university unlike back at home it difficult to get the grants, even when someone has performed well and they cannot join university. But here, the system is supportive. All children are given the opportunity to learn until wherever they want to reach...the health system is also good. If you are sick, you will be attended to. Back at home, if you think of good hospitals you must think of money, which is not affordable to many (Stayer 11).

7.1.3 UNFULFILLED PROFESSIONAL HOTEL MIGRANT WORKERS' CAREER EXPECTATIONS

The workers took on the opportunity to migrate to the UK where they assumed career progress alongside a higher income given the prospects of working in a developed country. However, it emerges that the return on investment on cultural capital was consistently low given the apparent lack of progressive nature of the migrants' hotel career. They considered themselves to have invested heavily in their hotel career and expected a relatively high return on investment in terms of career advancement. The entry level jobs for a majority of the workers whilst in Kenya, was at supervisory or assistant management positions, yet despite their professional background, it emerges that their expectations of hotel employment in the host country were not met, given the low-level entry positions presented to them. Besides, upon arrival in the UK they realised a relatively higher income was being countered by prevailing high living costs, thus frustrating their career expectations:

I returned [to Kenya] because the working conditions were not good, the pay was not very good, the hotel owner was not co-operative, made me work long hours and did not pay me for that (Returnee 11).

Whereas a majority of the migrant workers may have longed to return to their home country, following many years of separation with family members, alongside unaccomplished career goals, still, a few might have had come into terms with their career experiences abroad and accepted it as it was. However, other factors such as accumulated adequate cash savings may have compelled their return:

I questioned and asked [reflected], I only have a car, I got all this money... and loving my comfortable life then, but life was beckoning on me to start thinking about investing at home. I came back, joined the hotel industry to begin with and then moved into academia following

completion of my Phd. Studies. Ever since my return, I have been purchasing pieces of land in Nairobi and Embu (Returnee 3).

The fulfilment of career goals is a subjective matter, thus, to some workers they might have considered their hotel career abroad a failed plan, whereas others might have considered that in order to mark progress in theirs, it was necessary to meet certain conditions. For example, the participant who considered that migrating abroad was paramount in his hotel career as the exposure would enrich his occupation as a chef. Nonetheless, after spending a period of time in the UK, he considered returning to his home country in order to fully accomplish his career goals. This also demonstrates that migrating abroad had inspired the returning migrants appreciating and embracing the resources in their country and could possibly have a good lifestyle there:

What is in the UK that is different from Kenya? Nothing! They have all that we have in Kenya but actually, I think we might have more. They do brilliant cuisine, there is heavy investment on celebrity chefs to set up their own restaurants. So, told myself I will go back to Kenya, put myself into good use and make money. Open the same thing [restaurant]. I will work harder, give value back to Kenya, create employment because my experience in UK as a Kenyan is not helping Kenya in any way... cheffing is not like running. Instead, get someone else and n teach them to do the same thing and can stand proud (Returnee 7).

When migrant workers interpret success in accomplishing their goals following migrating abroad, often the decision to return to their country of origin may be reached at ease. However, in the context of the Kenyan hotel migrant workers still living and working in the UK, they intend to return to their country of origin although, not until sometime in the future. ‘Will I go back to Kenya? Yes, I will, that is my dream to return home. I was made in Kenya, I die in Kenya’ (Stayer 15). There is a likelihood that their return to Kenya could be marked

by when their children have grown up and are responsible to fend for themselves. This follows the postulation of earning relatively higher wages in advanced economies in contrast to less wages likely to be earned in developing countries. In circumstances where returning individuals do not meet these expectations, it returning to one's country of origin may be considered uninspiring:

I was actually going for 2 years. The years passed by fast, and I did not have anything [savings]. I kept sending money back home, and I was left with almost nothing. Everybody returning from the West, was returning with a lot of money and here I am, planning to return with nothing, I would have been just a laughing stock (Stayer 7).

7.1.4 STRINGENT IMMIGRATION LAW

Many advanced economies have adopted stringent measures to control the number of migrants. Jackson (1986) notes that following on from the Commonwealth Immigrants Act passed in Britain in 1962 citizens of Commonwealth countries were faced with restricting immigration controls, with admission limited to migrants with specific skills. Thus, the paradox of the UK immigration rests at its authority to grant permission to hotel workers to live and work in the UK, yet at the phase of seeking to renew or extend their UK visas, the workers who already had been in the country legally working, were faced with refusals by the authority and compelled to return to their country or origin:

Coincidentally, at the end of my 5 years working visa period I went on maternity leave. I had already moved out of the staff accommodation into a rented property when my baby was born...I applied for Indefinite Leave to Remain [permanent residency] and they refused on grounds of not having earned enough ...so I appealed the decision. During the appeal process I could not even leave the country to attend funeral [dad's] in Kenya. I was devastated...

eventually the Home Office returned my documents still with a refusal and I had to exit the country (Returnee 16)

While some of the hotel migrant workers faced difficulty and eventually resulting in refusal in their application for UK permanent residency, as is the case described above, the application process was unproblematic for others. This was upon the migrant workers meeting the residency eligibility criteria that consisted of legal and authorised work in the UK for a continuous 5 –year period:

I count myself lucky as I did not have immigration issues [challenges]. We [as a married couple] applied for our indefinite leave to remain and it was granted same day and after that we had to wait for a year for us to make a decision whether we wanted to be citizens or not (Stayer 6)

In light of the economic theory of migration which informs that individuals migrate to countries where there are prospects to earn a higher income, there is the family aspect akin to the notion of a better lifestyle. The wellness and well-being of family members left behind is entwined in the pursuit of a higher income, irrespective of geographical position of the employment, ‘The other reason why I left is because I got a better offer in Japan where I could take my whole family’ (Returnee 11).

The narratives reveal that stringent immigration law led to involuntary circulatory migration, whereby workers moved frequently between the home and host countries, induced by fluctuating business volume in the hotel sector within the Channel Islands particularly in Jersey:

I must have worked there for 2 years, but it was seasonal, so I would work for 9 months, go back to Kenya for 3 months and come back for another season of 9 months (Stayer 11). The season runs from March to early December and break from mid-December to March. That was a 9-month period (Returnee 9).

In addition, workers had involuntarily left behind their children, although as it reflected in the narratives, it appears that this was a short-term plan to endure the family unit separation. So that once the workers obtained permanent residency it was assumed to be an easier route for family reunification. However, the workers were subjected to tougher family choices for instance where one female Kenyan HMW fell pregnant and given the immigration restrictions on dependants in the country, she had to choose to leave her husband (who had obtained a work permit to work as a chef) and return to Kenya for her maternity, ‘Actually, the work permit had specified, ‘not allowed to bring dependents’... That meant that you cannot get pregnant. That is why when I got pregnant I had to go back home [Kenya]’ (Stayer 10).

7.2 DISCUSSION

7.2.1 MIGRANT WORKERS’ DECISION TO REMAIN IN THE UK

When migrant workers perceive a failure in accomplishing personal migration goals, such as, career achievement and /or the ability to accumulate adequate cash savings, this could trigger the anxiety to return home. Thus, a decision to return to country of origin is not without its constraints and could be difficult to make. Moreover, the society may place undue pressure on a returning migrant rendering the process of returning to one’s country of origin a daunting task, especially if one perceives they have little or nothing to show to the society for the time they have been away. This may stem from the expectations that individuals may

have of themselves as migrant workers abroad as well as expectations from the society. This usually arises from the assumption that when individuals migrate from poor to rich countries, there is a likelihood that these individuals will lead a better lifestyle.

In view of the cases of the hotel migrant workers who chose to remain in the UK, it was assumed that they had acquired permanent residency after completion of their five-year legal working period in the UK, as was the case for non- EU economic migrant workers. Primary reasons given for their choice to remain in the UK may be categorised into economic and emotional factors. This echoes Sabates-Wheeler (2009) who categorises reasons for migrants returning to their home country as economic and non- economic whilst acknowledging that the decision to return is a complex one.

Furthermore, it is important to note the difficulty in separating the two categories taking into account that meeting economic objectives is a likely projection towards emotional satisfaction. The prospects for the workers' socioeconomic well-being such as better health and education access for their families, given the effort (emotional and financial) made towards migration is a likely incentive for the individuals to remain in the host country. This is mainly true especially with the cohort of the skilled hotel migrant workers who considered regression in their occupation. The workers perceived a career trade-off for an enhanced lifestyle in the west an apparent outcome of their unfulfilled hotel career. Consequently, some of the migrant workers considered their hotel occupation an entry point into the UK labour market and upon obtaining residency opted to switch their occupation to ones which would closely meet their financial goals. In light of this, given the removal of immigration restrictions, which had previously impeded their migration intentions, the workers considered

that they had the opportunity to further accumulate cultural and economic capital, as were their initial objectives.

Nevertheless, this echoes Anderson's (2010) view that the young people have a greater propensity to migrate, conforms the pattern observed with the cohort of the Kenyan hotel migrant workers. The point at which individuals decide whether to return to Kenya or remain in the UK, are mainly institutional or personal led. As with the returners, their decision to return to their home country was influenced by personal circumstances or compelled by authorities to leave the UK. Likewise, for the workers who chose to legally remain in the UK, the decision stems from an institutional perspective, firstly by obtaining permission from the relevant authorities (Office) whilst also driven by personal circumstances. For instance, in the specific case of one migrant worker marrying a British national, it was likely that she chose to remain with her husband in the UK.

According to Chappell and Glennie (2010) and Yang (2009), individuals choose to return to their country of origin once they have met their objectives so that they do not risk staying longer in the host country. However, the narratives of the Kenyan hotel workers who chose to remain and were still in the UK at the time of the interviews, reveal that their goals had been unfulfilled and they were anxious about returning to Kenya for the shame of regressing in their hotel career. Subsequently, their economic objectives had not been met and it would have been discreditable to return with nothing to show for their absence from their families.

7.2.2 MIGRANT WORKERS' UTILISING THEIR CULTURAL CAPITAL UPON RETURN TO THEIR COUNTRY

It is not surprising that Dustmann and Weiss (2007) acknowledge that despite a persistently more favourable economic situation in the host country, often decisions made to return to the home country are common. There are attributes that become a determining factor of how long the migrants are willing to stay in the host country before returning to their country. This, may range from personal circumstances, such as, marital challenges, maternity or paternity leave, death in the family, through to having sole responsibility as a carer in the family amongst other sensitive matters that may have an important defining role in determining an individual's mobility. However, family circumstances surrounding some of the hotel workers were a key concern for the individuals to decide whether they were to return to Kenya or remain in the UK.

From an economic perspective people choose to migrate given the prospects of higher wages in the host country. Thus, in regards to return migration and from an economic standpoint, when the benefits of staying abroad are lower than the cost, an individual decides to return (Dustmann and Weiss, 2007). However, it also emerges from the participants' narratives, that institutional factors such as the immigration policies also have an influence on migrant's decision to return to their home county. Similarly, from the perspective of workers such as the Kenyan HMWs with a specialised skill to offer, it is safe to propose unfulfilled hotel career as an additional encouragement for return migration.

Within the cohort of professional Kenyan hotel workers who have lived and worked in the UK there are some that returned to Kenya. Reasons for their return are not consistent with Yang's (2009) claim of target earning. Their return was not stimulated by accumulated

savings instead other personal factors ranging from the need to start up or join family to stringent immigration rules to dissatisfaction with career progress in the UK were among reasons for return migration. Therefore, suggesting that migrants' earnings do not always determine migrants' return to their home country, hence not a particularly essential relationship between migrants' earnings and return migration. Furthermore, return migration literature suggests that returnees are likely to become entrepreneurs upon return to their country. The cohort of Kenyan hotel workers, given their profession and the motivation to migrate to the UK based on career progression, upon return they continue with their career in the hospitality sector. The workers are regarded to have an essential input into the work due to the added cultural capital accumulated abroad.

When individuals are compelled by law to exit the country and refuse to do so, they automatically do not have permission to remain in the host country and are therefore categorised as illegal immigrants. It may be argued that such individuals may not possess cultural capital to transfer back to their home country therefore decide on remaining in the country illegally. The cohort of Kenyan HMWs whose permission to further remain in the UK was denied, demonstrate the capability to transfer cultural capital obtained after a period of time spent abroad back to their home country. It is important to note that cultural capital does not necessarily include further educational qualifications of which the workers did not obtain but the wholesomeness of their lived experience abroad is considered a characteristic that enables them to assimilate easily in their original society

Nonetheless, Howard (1974) and Szkudlarek (2010) argue that returners are also likely to encounter difficulties in adjusting back to a life in their country of origin. High self expectations of those returning and demands from society may confront returners with a

‘culture shock in their own country. Szkudlarek (2010) notes that often the returnees expect smooth transition back into their culture only to face adjustment challenges. Further, Szkudlarek notes that returnees underestimate their adjusted worldviews which were impacted upon by experiences in a foreign country. Sussman (2000) highlights that the returnees are unaware of the impact of their experiences abroad on their social interactions at home. It is upon return that they realise the difference between the values, behaviour and general outlook of life of people in their home environment and them.

Szkudlarek (2010) notes that it is often challenging to the returnees to integrate back into their society. The first few months or years of returning are viewed as the most challenging. The narratives reveal that migrants’ social circles in the home country over a period of time changed during the time spent in the host country. The social circles that had previously existed prior to the workers migrating had been broken down. For example, upon return a majority of the returnees realised that some of their close friends who were single at the time they migrated had now been married, had young families and had fitted into newer social circles. Others revealed that they had to make friends with their old friends all over again, a daunting task whereby they considered themselves as ‘outsiders’ in their previous social circles.

It is important that the blame for broken social circles is not laid upon the individuals who do not migrate and certainly not to the migrants, given the persistence in their effort to maintain the circles. At the time, verbal communication particularly, through telephone, was the primary channel used to maintain close relationships with friends and colleagues who did not migrate. Migrants perceive that their effort to maintain working and close relationships with those left behind to have been insufficient given that the existing social bonds were broken.

However, as emerges from the study, it is important to note that those left behind did not willingly break the social circles, instead it was perceived that maintaining social circles was more feasible when members were physically present. Although it could be argued that by adopting to technology for example, through social media, maintaining close circles with friends at home might have been possible, at the time, social media had not been fully adopted.

International exposure also acts as a magnet in drawing back migrant workers to their home country where they are sought after by employers. The experience of working abroad is considered to have added value to their cultural capital. So, whilst the workers might have considered their careers having taken a downward slope and a loss of their career, on the contrary their exposure abroad earned them high regard with the Kenyan employers that they were a highly sought after workforce

Besides the monetary aspects which had been a motivating factor for migrating from Kenya, other crucial elements of an individual's personal and career growth were considered necessary but were absent. Therefore, even though the workers received their financial rewards for the roles they had undertaken, a personal and career reward was also expected but had not been obtained. It is interesting to note that, whilst the UK immigration authorities granted necessary documentation to the workers permitting them to live and work in the UK, on the other hand, the authorities denied the workers permission to remain in the country, despite their economic contribution in the country. The workers considered their failed permanent residency requests as unfair treatment given their specialised skill contribution to the industry. Also, incomprehensible to the migrant workers compelled to return was that they had been granted the initial permission to live and work in the UK, yet subsequent

request to continue employment was denied to some yet some of their colleagues' applications were approved.

The Home Office presented the workers with difficult situations during the permanent residence application, given that the workers considered their stay to have been legal and had met the criteria for permanent residency. In such compelling circumstances, the workers had to return to Kenya. Presumably their economic and/or career pursuit shortened. It would be assumed that the individuals whose decision to return was compelled by immigration law faced double victimisation. Firstly, they had experienced career frustrations as is the case with a majority of the participants. Secondly, some of the workers had to leave the country involuntarily at a phase they considered would transition them to a permanent resident status. To a majority of the workers, they considered permanent residency as a trade-off of their hotel career for a better lifestyle abroad.

As discussed in the previous chapter, rare incidences of discrimination were experienced by the workers. Even in social groupings and away from work environments, the migrant workers were privileged to consider themselves included within society.

7.2.3 RETURN MIGRATION AND PREPAREDNESS

The narratives of the returnees indicate that Kenyan HMWs were prepared to return home but only to a certain degree, as still there was a concern of reintegrating back into their own society after years of absence. From the findings, only one participant's return was not ready and in no way prepared to leave the UK.

It is evident that there are contrasting determinants of outward and inbound migration. In the former, economic factors are a key attraction to individuals, but for individuals returning to their country of origin, key motivations are personal/-led. This is not surprising, as informed by the push and pull model, that people tend to move from capital-scarce and labour abundant countries to destinations that contrast their origin countries in economic terms. However, in other cases, particularly with respect to return migration, besides personal factors, structural influences are classified under key determinants of return migration. For example, in the case of the Kenyan HMW, stringent immigration law and policies were unfavourable to some of the workers who desired to continue living and working in the UK but were compelled to return to Kenya.

Interesting to note, is that institutional influences such as, immigration law restricted workers from having dependants in the country and in some instances led to the workers returning to their home country, unwillingly and unprepared. In one extreme case, a female hotel migrant worker became pregnant and was required to leave the host country to return to her home country leaving behind her spouse who also was a migrant worker. Whilst this may be an isolated case where the worker had to return to her home country for maternity, it is clear the different dimensions encountered by families leading to separation of family members and critically, for the young children who depend solely on their parents. On one hand, it denies children a presence of their parents which should be an important element in a child's growth and development, and on the other, migrant workers assign their parental responsibility to other people leading to 'transnational parenting' where parents leave behind their children in the care of other family members while they migrate to other countries for work (Smith, Wainwright, Buckingham and Marandet, 2011).

Furthermore, in such instances, female HMW's suffer an extended and deeper involuntary family separation. Firstly, compelled to leave their spouse in the host country in order to return to her home country for her maternity and following the birth of her child, she is further compelled to leave the child in the care of extended family members and return to work in the host country. In both cases arguably, the female worker is not prepared to leave close family members behind but compelled by socio-economic circumstances to partake in family separation.

In respect to cultural capital, this research builds upon Williams and Balaz's (2005) argument by demonstrating that the cultural capital possessed by the returnees is well regarded in their home country. The returnees draw on their symbolic capital (prestige obtained from the exposure to life abroad) that gives them an edge over competition to enable them re-integrate into their original society, particularly the labour market whereby they are regarded highly having worked abroad. And as such, regardless of their perceived negative career experiences during their working life abroad, they still are highly regarded within their original society.

Thus, from a career perspective the returners stand an added advantage because their international experience is sought after by employers. The returnee hotel workers demonstrate a considerable valuable perspective in addressing national development challenges (Central Bank of Kenya, 2008). This not only includes absorption in the labour market as employees but also there is evidence of successful entrepreneurship. Therefore, whilst the labour migrants' skills and work experience are considered to have been underutilised in the UK, their hotel career is stretched to its full potential upon their return to Kenya. As such, a trade-off of their professionalism and life in the UK seems to eventually be compensated for.

Akin to symbolic capital is cultural capital, which migrants do not only unpack whilst in the host country (Erel, 2010), but create new forms of the capital using resources brought with them and others they develop in the host country. Given the notion that migrants are usually unable to optimize their cultural capital in the host countries, they continue to create and accumulate new forms of capital which become useful upon returning to their home countries. In retrospect, the returnees value their life experiences in the UK as they are considered to have been equipped them to handle challenging encounters and enrich their life experiences. For example, overcoming unfamiliar stressors of life such as a change of climate and integrating into a new work place and a new society in general. On occasions where they would have had to question their own values, identities and assumptions about numerous aspects of life that they normally would have taken for granted whilst in familiar surroundings, a new experience is likely to have transformed them to a desirable calibre of skilled workforce to employers.

7.2.4 ADAPTABILITY AND EMPLOYABILITY

Borjas (2013) argues for unsuccessful migration as a primary cause for return migration. However, he fails to address the notion of failed migration as being individual-led or institutional led by shifting the blame to the migrants. From the narratives, it is clear that there may be other reasons that cause migrants to return to their home country, triggered by socio-economic or political factors. Thus, according to Borjas (2013), individuals acknowledge their (mis)conceptions on migration and attempt to correct their perceptions by returning to their home country. However, the narratives of the skilled Kenyan HMWs point to a self-righteous decision to migrate and extends the blame of failed migration to structural influences.

Despite every effort to conform to the UK immigration law and their attempt to renew their work visa or application for permanent residency (Indefinite Leave to Remain), their applications were rejected and as such were forced to return to their home country, involuntary. Therefore, this would not be classed as a self-inflicted miscalculation, but, what is evident from the narratives is that the workers who returned to their country of origin involuntarily after a period of working abroad, believe that failure to migrate would have been an error. Given that on their return they are considered as high calibre hotel workers due to the international exposure obtained from working abroad. This resulted in the returnees acquiring a higher social status and a bargaining power for better employment with higher wages. However, due to the high rate of unemployment in their home country, many were reluctant to return irrespective of the experiences they had had in the UK.

Interestingly, as acknowledged by Battistella (2004) a change of occupation often characterises some individuals who return to their country. This possibly would be individuals who migrated for random employment abroad. However, given the Kenyan HMWs purposeful migration to the UK to enhance their hotel career, of the migrant workers that returned, they all upheld their hotel occupations. This demonstrates that irrespective of international exposure, countries where unemployment is rife, returning workers are still likely to suffer the harsh conditions of their country's economy. Therefore, suggesting factors leading to their return migration of some individuals, probably the unskilled workers are often intricate and unlikely to be self-willed.

Szkudlarek (2010) notes that often upon return from abroad, reintegrating in ones' original society is often a difficult task, because not always are the returners viewed as 'heroes' back in their land (Osland, 1995). The first few months or years of returning are viewed as the

most challenging. In most times there is the pressure from the society to prove the lifestyle one led abroad was 'heroic' by transforming the individual to fit into a higher social class. The narratives reveal that migrants' social circles in home country over a period of time changed during the time spent in the host country. The social circles that had previously existed prior to the workers migrating had been broken down. For example, upon return they found out that some of their close friends who were single at the time they migrated had now been married and had young families and had fitted into newer social circles. Others revealed that they had to make friends with their old friends all over again, a daunting task whereby they considered themselves as 'outsiders' in their previous social circles. It is important that the blame for broken social circles is not laid upon the individuals who do not migrate and certainly not to the migrants given their persistence in their effort to maintain the circles. At the time, verbal communication specifically, through telephone, was the primary channel used to maintain close relationships with friends and colleagues who did not migrate.

Migrants perceive that their effort to maintain working and close relationships with those left behind to have been insufficient given that the existing social bonds were broken. However, as it emerges from the study, it is important to note that those left behind did not willingly break the social circles, instead it was assumed that maintaining social circles was more feasible when members were physically present. Although, it could be argued that by adopting to technology for example, through social media, maintaining close circles with friends at home might have been possible, at the time, social media had not been fully adopted.

Dustmann and Weiss (2007) acknowledge that when return on human capital investment in the host country is higher at home, that provides prospects for return migration. In the case of

Kenyan HMWs the desired human capital acquired is likely to be in terms of the exposure to a different and an assumable relatively better economic lifestyle relational to the propensity to earn a comparatively higher income. However, in terms of skill development or advancement, the return on investment was considered higher in the home country. This echoes Bourdieu's (1984) recognition that academic credentials are valued objectively and subjectively in the totality of the social uses that can be made of it. For example, notable with the Kenyan HMWs, their qualifications are highly valued given the socially constructed status of a hotel career in developing counties. On the contrary, as is predominantly in the Western context, a hotel career receives a lowly socially constructed status, whereby it is considered to occupy the lower echelons on the skills spectrum. This exposes migrant workers with a professional hotel background to the effects of devaluation of the academic qualifications and misrecognition of their career (Bourdieu, 1984).

As such, he further argues that the value of the hotel training qualifications (cultural capital) reside within the social fields where there is mutual recognition. It is therefore expected that the Kenyan HMWs' career would be more successful in their home country where qualifications are recognisable and a hotel career favourably regarded. Bourdieu's argument is useful in rationalising the hotel migrant workers' career experience in both developing and advanced economies contexts which appear to uphold contrasting views of the workers' hotel career. By drawing on Bourdieu's notion of migrant workers' unrecognised cultural capital in the host country, it is expected that the workers unsuccessful career triggers their decision to return to their home country.

However, an interesting finding is that the returnees' hotel career experience in the UK does not influence their decision to return to their home country. Instead other socio-economic

factors influence their decision to return home. This finding was unexpected and suggests that whilst migrant workers' cultural capital may be unrecognised in the host country, the new environment creates scope to a) repress and replace the original cultural capital adaptable to new environment, and b) acquire new specific cultural capital that is transferable to a different setting and more directly to their home country. Further suggesting that workers adapt and adjust in different environments by use of cultural capital. The general opinion of the returned workers is that they considered to have had a positive impact at their work place in the UK which is attributed to, by their cultural capital acquired in Kenya. Similarly, the cultural capital, in terms of lifestyle exposure acquired in the UK is also considered to have contributed to their active participation in the Kenyan labour market given that they were highly sought after by employers.

Whilst it is beyond the scope of this research to consider whether there are instances of the returners who might have re-migrated to the UK after settling back in Kenya. It is assumed that individuals are likely to benefit from cross border mobility in instances where, after their return to their country of origin after a period of living and working in the UK (decision that might have been considered as final), circumstances may arise compelling re-migration. A likely first choice of destination could be the UK where immigration restrictions no longer apply, if the individuals obtained dual citizenship rights.

7.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter sought to explore factors influencing hotel migrant workers' decision to return to their home country or remain in the host country. It expresses the return decision as resulting in transferring newly acquired cultural capital from the host country back to country

or origin. This is despite the apparent underutilised original cultural capital brought in by the migrant workers from their home country into the UK. On the contrary, after a period of living and working in the UK, some workers make the decision to remain in the host country. The themes that emerge in the decision to remain in the host country or return to country of origin stem from the influence of institutional or personal factors.

In respect to institutional factors, they represent the host country's immigration control as a paradox. This is taking into account its capacity to allow migrant workers to live and work in the country, legally, and yet, deny some of the workers the right to remain in the country. Refusals of work authorisation in the country occurred during periods when migrant workers submitted applications for extension of their existing visa/work permits. With reference to personal factors, these may be categorised under economic or non-economic factors (Sabates-Wheeler, 2009). Migrant workers may chose to remain in the country to further accumulate economic or cultural forms of capital. From a non-economic perspective, family circumstance may influence the workers decision to remain or return.

The findings contribute to the argument that irrespective of migrant workers failure to accomplish their career objectives, some still choose to remain in the host country and forego their original aspirations and pursue new aspirations. As with the returners, they are highly valued in their home country, given the international experience they have been exposed to over time. This becomes a valuable tool that provides them an edge over competition in the local labour market.

CHAPTER 8: INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUSION

Overall, this research has reviewed and analysed migrant workers' lived experiences and in particular the career experiences of Kenyan hotel migrant workers in the UK hotel sector. Throughout the research, a chronological approach in examining the career trajectory of skilled hotel labour migrants is undertaken. In the literature review section, three conceptual resources are employed as key components that attempt to unravel the mysteries surrounding south to north migrant labour, and particularly in the context of perceived low-medium skilled migrant workers migrate with intentions to advance their hotel careers in the UK. The first concept considered is cultural capital in examining workers' accumulation of cultural capital towards building a hotel career whilst in their home country. The push and pull migration model explanation is the second concept considered, with a particular reference to economic factors, mainly prospects for higher wages that influence individuals to migrate from their country of origin to another for an enhanced lifestyle. The third concept employed is the boundaryless career notion that attempts to show that career actors (economic migrants) cross geographical boundaries with career development and progression intentions. Consequentially, an investigation of migrants' lived experiences in the UK is undertaken and finally, factors that influence migrants' decision to remain in the host country or return to the country of origin are considered.

The chapter focuses on providing the implications of the findings of the research and insights of the research and the contribution to academic literature and concludes by suggesting future areas of research.

8.1 REVIEWING THE RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS

The main objective of this study was to provide a clear and deep understanding of hotel migrant workers' lived and career experiences. It was intended that the migrants' stories based on their conception of their migration and its impact on their hotel career advancement, would contribute to shining new light on the experiences migrants encounter in shaping their careers, from their home country to a foreign country.

As informed by theories of migration, one of the main reasons of labour migration are prospects for a higher income. Within the realms of labour economics, workers are constantly searching for higher wages whilst employers continually search for relatively cheaper workers (Borjas, 2013). This is not only demonstrated within geographical boundaries but across borders. In light of this employer versus employee interaction, immigration in the UK has been a top agenda in the political table in the UK government. Following the European Union expansion in May 2004, the UK is considered to have experienced an influx of migrants from the eight-member accession (A8) countries (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia) given their EU membership. Similarly, during the 1997-2010 Labour government in the UK, immigration policies were tolerant to non-EU migrants. The period between early 2000's and 2008 favoured the professionally trained Kenyan hotel workers who obtained UK work permits allowing them to work in UK hotels as observed in the study. This migration route has since been closed and no longer applicable to global south migrants desiring to migrate to the West. This is likely to have resulted in an increased number of immigrants from non-EU countries, alongside migrants from the accession A8 countries.

Developed nations have undergone perpetual growth in their hospitality and tourism industries and at the same time continued to experience labour shortages. Many countries in the West have heavily relied on developing nations as a source of skilled labour. This, they have achieved by demonstrating an ability to attract foreign labour with an offer of higher wages assumed to counter the lack of employment opportunities within their countries. As such, these provide for push and pull factors that influence an individual's decision to migrate. Individuals may aspire to migrate abroad where they perceive that they are likely to lead a better lifestyle than they would in their home countries, for example, by enhancing their careers in developed economies, they anticipate a possibility to earn a higher income and improve their social status. However, they are faced with measures that restrict their mobility, resulting in unfulfilled career development. Nevertheless, their availability is of importance for the fast growing economies of these countries and particularly with respect to low-waged economies from which they originate (Anderson and Ruhs, 2012).

Baum (2006) cites the meaningful role of migrants as customary suppliers of the much needed labour to a sector that is usually unpopular with many local workers, due to the precarious work associated with the sector: unfavourable wages, long working hours, unsociable hours, a lack of career progression, minimum levels of paid holidays, job insecurity, poor health and safety standards, lack of written information and contracts of employment (Lindsay, 2005; Wright and Pollert, 2006). As such, employers have taken advantage of the vulnerable groups of workers: ethnic minority workers, students and women (Batnitzky and McDowell 2013), who have little choice but to accept work in the prevailing precarious conditions. The various other vulnerable groups in the society available for work are beyond the scope of this research, where the focus is on migrant workers with a particular focus on the professionally trained Kenyan hotel migrant workers who obtained UK work

permits allowing them to engage their skill within the country's hotel sector. Thus, the study identifies a gap and moves beyond the quantification of migrants in terms of entry number and their economic impact to provide a closer look of their career experiences in the host country. Therefore, in examining migrants' journey from Kenya to the UK and their encounters within the host country, and eventually the return to their home country for some of the workers, provides the reader an opportunity to gain a deeper understanding of the migrants' career experiences. This is achieved through the stories told by the migrant workers themselves which also guide the course of the thesis whilst aiming at meeting the research objectives of the study which were:

- To explore the lived and career experiences of hotel migrant workers, their aspirations and impacts on their career paths
- To propose ways to conceptualise hotel career experiences of skilled migrants in the context of structural influences
- To analyse key determinants of hotel workers' decisions to remain in the host country or to return to their home country

The theories proposed to guide the research in conceptualizing the migrants' hotel career experiences in the UK include: the Push and Pull model, Cultural capital theory, and the Boundaryless career concept. According to Borjas (1989), the motivation for individuals to migrate is the aspiration to maximize their income by moving from low-wage to high-wage economies. Individuals are attracted to more opportunities for employment with a likelihood of higher wages. Whilst it is necessary that individuals equip themselves with cultural capital for satisfactory labour market outcomes, migrant workers face challenges of penetrating host

labour markets. At this point, social networks become useful in provision of necessary information regarding employment and means to navigate the host labour market.

Attention is paid to the hotel training school, KUC, which is viewed not only as an institution that equips a workforce with necessary skills but also as a social network on which the workers depended upon, to obtain employment abroad. Additionally, the crucial role of the employment agent is considered, given their mandate to position workers in hotel establishments pertinent to their skills. However, according to Becker (2009), it is the migrants' cultural capital (accent, behaviour, language, skills, and educational qualifications) that determine the outcome of their labour market performance in the host country. A key facet of the conceptual contribution of the study is that other external influences have a major influence on the outcome of the migrants' hotel career abroad. In this study, this is particularly true in reference to the employment intermediary, the type, nature and size of hotel establishments that they are positioned to work in, and the immigration law that regulates migrants' employment. These factors have a role to play in shaping migrants' career experiences. Sullivan and Arthur (2006) refer to the skilled migrant workers as career actors who cross geographical boundaries with intentions of career development and progression. However, they encounter structural factors that may impede their career goals. Following the findings from the field work undertaken, reviewing the research questions which stem from the literature is useful. Thus, the research questions are:

- To what extent do the macro factors considered as boundaries, constrain or enable migrants' skill development and career advancement?
- How does the hotel- trained labour migrants' cultural capital influence their lived and career experiences in the host country?

- To what extent do migrants' socio-economic and socio-cultural experiences determine their decision to remain in the host country or return to their country of origin?

As such, the best way to answer these research questions was considered to analytically use the three concepts applied in this research and described in detail in chapter 2. The first research question considered exploring the macro factors considered as boundaries that either constrain or enable the migrant workers' skills development and career advancement. These included examining institutional factors and their regulatory frameworks, such as the UK immigration policies and their impact on economic migrants in realizing their potential within the hotel industry. Furthermore, it was also reasonable to consider how employment in the predominant small to medium-sized hotel establishments (a characteristic of the hotel sector in the UK) impacted on the career development of the skilled migrant hotel workers. As such, it is reasonable to assume that structural factors such as, labour market segmentation, institutional regulations, organizational policies and structure play an essential role in shaping individuals' careers.

The degree to which these structural factors may impact the career outcome of migrant workers is the first research question that this study attempts to answer. In the context of the UK labour market, whilst considered as an open economy with a strong labour market (Dench, 2006), the hotel sector is described to have weak labour market characteristics such as low pay, a high rate of staff turnover and a predominance of migrant workers (McDowell et al., 2009, Wills et al., 2010). These function as a deterrent to the local workers to seek employment opportunity in the sector, yet, act as a magnet for migrant workers seeking work opportunities abroad with a goal to enhance their lifestyle. However, in spite of the workers' educational qualifications, professional skills and numbers in which they flock, Rodriguez

and Mearns (2012) argue that these workers face precarious conditions given the arduous working conditions present at their work places.

The impacts of precarious employment conditions do not only manifest themselves within workplaces but may also extend beyond work boundaries. This echoes Batnitzky and McDowell's (2013) observation that work-place exploitation can have a further impact on migrant workers' integration within the host society. For example, given the inflexibility of immigration regulations, work-permit sponsored hotel migrant workers were denied the right to have their family members with them. In most cases, this brought about a lack of work-life integration whereby the workers might have preferred to work long hours rather than go home, given that they had no family to go back to at the end of their work shift. In this respect, given the inability to strike a work-life balance, it might be construed that the workers' hotel career maybe in progress, when in reality, the workers have become complacent in the precarious circumstances (Rodríguez, 2007).

Therefore, structural factors in the host country are central in shaping migrants' career. In the context of the Kenyan hotel migrant workers in the UK hotel sector, they were subjected to precarious employment influenced by immigration regulation characterised by a rigidity and a lack of choice between employers. This was in addition to typical hotel sector work-place exploitation characteristics such as, non-recognition of qualifications and previous work experience, low-pay, and underemployment, all contributing towards generating a pattern of geographical and career immobility. However, an important aspect that is worth considering is the extent to which structural factors (if any) contribute towards shaping economic migrants' career, particularly in respect to those that work in precarious sectors of the labour market in the host country.

The second research question sought to determine how the hotel trained labour migrants' cultural capital influence their lived and career experiences in the UK. The widespread presence of small, owner-managed hotel businesses in the UK cannot be ignored. Statistics by the British Hospitality Association (2013) confirms the predominance of these small, owner-managed hospitality and tourism businesses. This is corroborated by Morrison (2000) who acknowledges that around 80% of the hotel sector is dominated by the family businesses while the larger hotel enterprises take the remaining share of 20% of the hotel business. As the 4th largest employer in the UK, it is likely that there is a significant demand for workers to sustain the functioning of the industry which contributes to the country's economy.

Therefore, in seeking to address the question in relation to the influence of migrants' cultural capital on their lived experiences, literature attempts to explain that individuals will reach to their social networks in order to generate benefits, such as, provide information that will lead to obtaining employment, facilitating labour migration or even for social integration. Firstly the Kenyan hotel migrant workers possessed cultural capital in the form of qualifications, professional hotel work experience and host country language skills all of which were acquired in their country of origin. The workers sought to utilize their cultural capital abroad by obtaining employment pertinent to their qualifications.

However, structural factors such as, legislative framework and labour market access presented challenges to the workers. For instance, the geographical distance between home and host country presents the challenge of accessing job opportunities available to potential workers who are present in the country. Therefore, the workers sought to engage their social networks (hotel training institution and employment agents) with the aim of accessing a distant labour market. The UK-based employment agents also depended on their ties with the

hotel training institution in Kenya to obtain suitable workers for their hotel business contacts. Moreover, Gans (1962) suggests the need for individuals to rely on social ties, given that moving to a new country can be socially isolating. Thus, to stimulate effective integration within the host community, migrant workers considered themselves to be well supported by the employment agents who took on additional responsibility to facilitate integration of the workers in their local surroundings. One of the themes to emerge from the analysis of the findings was the crucial role the UK-based employment agents played in facilitating mobility of the skilled hotel migrant workers. From seeking employment opportunities for the workers and matching them with employers in the UK and supporting the workers' applications for work authorisation by the UK Home Office, to the offer of auxiliary services (travel and accommodation arrangements). All of which would have been extremely challenging for the workers to organise by themselves.

Taking into account the structural characteristic of the hotel sector in the UK, where the greater share of about 80% rests with the small, owner managed hotel enterprises (Morrison 2000) it is probable that the migrant hotel workers would be positioned to work in these hotels. Scholars of hospitality and tourism entrepreneurship draw attention to distinctive motivations of entrepreneurs investing in these businesses: Di Domenico (2003) identifies striking a distinctive work-private leisure balance, whereas Lashley and Rowson (2010) trace the incentive to a desire to be one's own boss and Morrison et al. (2001) point to switching from a stressful urban corporate employment lifestyle. These entrepreneurship motivations appear to reject traditional business operations views of maximising profit, instead, advocate for emotional motivations rather than financial goals. Thus, these views may explain that a likely clash between business owners whose intentions are not for profit maximization,

instead of personal non-monetary business motivation and potential employees (hotel career actors) whose focus is to advance their hotel careers.

Furthermore, small, owner-managed hotel businesses may have budget restrictions that inhibit employee empowerment practices such as training geared to their career advancement. In spite of migrants' level of cultural capital employment agents positioned them in the small, family-run hotel businesses portray a lack of career progression in their chosen hotel career. The empirical findings reveal a pattern of migrant workers' qualifications and previous work experience obtained in their country of origin, being unrecognised by employers and resulting in the workers being underemployed. This has an impact on the migrant workers' social well-being given that they considered themselves to have lost their social status.

Dustmann and Fabbri (2003) argue that one major factor that contributes to the successful economic assimilation and social integration of migrants in the host community is proficiency in the host country language. Individuals who are equipped with the host language skill can navigate the challenges of being in a foreign country without much difficulty. However, where language skills are lacking, often the migrants may encounter incidents of social exclusions, opting to remain distant within clusters of migrant ethnic groups. In respect to the Kenyan hotel migrant workers' adept use of the host language, they did not encounter communication barriers within the host country, as is common with other cohorts of migrants who may have limited use of the host language. Therefore, social integration encountered by the cohort of these hotel migrant workers was rendered relatively unproblematic. However, challenges of economic integration still remained persistent in spite of their language skill.

The network of other Kenyan migrant workers in the country was considered to be useful to new Kenyan arrivals in the UK. This echoes Ryan's (2007) suggestion that it is equally important not to overlook the role of migrant sources of support in combating loneliness and isolation if migrant workers' are to be made to feel valued and welcomed. Thus, taking Ryan's (2007) suggestion into account, Kenyan hotel migrant workers depended on their migrant network formed by counterparts who had been in the host country prior to their arrival. The clusters of other Kenyan hotel migrant workers who had previously migrated welcomed their counterparts as new migrants and provided them with support in adjusting and integrating in a new environment.

Lastly, the final research question attempted to determine the extent of migrants' socioeconomic experiences in influencing their decision to remain in the host country or return to their country of origin. While there may be a myriad of reasons to explain why individuals move from their country of origin to another, the most common motivation is assigned to the economic need to liberate oneself from poverty in order to lead a better lifestyle, for themselves and their family members. Additionally, the cohort of the Kenyan hotel migrant workers were driven to the UK with an objective of advancing their hotel careers in the UK. Nevertheless, the presence of structural factors which these hotel migrant workers encountered hindered the workers' career progression which influenced decisions either to return to their home country or remain in the host country. The structural factors which include the typical structure of the UK hotel sector that constitutes a predominance of small, owner-managed hotels in which the workers were positioned to work, and stringent immigration laws all together had an impact on the career trajectory of these hotel migrant workers.

Besides, the sector is one that is associated with de-skilling of workers (Baum and Weinz, 2010; Janta and Ladkin 2009; Lindsay and McQuiad, 2004; McDowell 2009; Talwar, 2002) and as such, impeded the careers of these hotel professionals. Therefore, faced with these factors which are country, industry and institutional specific, some of the hotel migrant workers, considered return migration a suitable option for them. Their expectations were based on the cultural capital they had accumulated whilst in the UK, presuming its appropriateness to advance their hotel career in their country of origin. Thus, they made decisions to return to their home country. Whereas, structural factors might have been considered a key component in the decision making process to remain in the UK or return to Kenya, other workers considered personal motivations to be equally important in influencing the decision on the choice of country in which an individual desired for settling in purposes.

Similarly, institutional factors such as immigration policies also have an influence on migrants' decision following a period of living and working to remain in the host country. As such, where migrant workers obtain permanent residence status, immigration restrictions no longer apply. Consequently, such workers can exercise both geographical and career mobility within the host country. These workers purposed to migrate to the UK to enhance their hotel career and from which they could lead better lifestyles in contrast to the ones they had previously in their home country.

Based on the empirical evidence projected by the workers that returned to their country of origin, there are a variety of reasons that influence workers to remain. It is tempting to accept that, of hotel migrant workers that remain in host country, their career objectives were achieved. However, the paradox of the stayers is that whilst their hotel career did not progress as they had intended, it may be considered surprising that these workers still chose to remain

in the country despite the barriers encountered in achieving their career goal. There is an element of career trade-off for a western lifestyle pertinent to the workers that choose to remain. Despite an unfulfilled hotel career abroad, the workers envisage an enhanced lifestyle which may include, access to better health care, education and other socioeconomic experiences for themselves and families within the UK and an enhanced financial support for the extended family in their country of origin. Therefore, a choice to remain in the host country or return to the country of origin is dependent on factors that are either institutionally driven or emanating from personal motivations.

This research has attempted to answer the three research questions revolving around the career trajectory of skilled hotel migrant workers in the UK hotel sector as discussed above by applying useful conceptual resources a) migrants' cultural capital b) boundaryless career concept c) the Push and Pull model. As such, it contributes by an exploration of low-skilled migrants' lived experiences with a particular focus on their career experiences. Therefore, it was imperative that factors which determine migrants' lived experiences are considered in order to develop a deep understanding of the meaning of their lived experiences abroad.

8.2 POSITIONING KENYAN HOTEL MIGRANT WORKERS' JOURNEY AGAINST THE LITERATURE

The findings of this study are broadly in line with those of researchers such as Adepoju (2000), who acknowledge the rapid growth of population and labour force in Africa combined with stagnant economic growth rates that result in the increased global south to north migration. For a majority of the migrant workers, mobility is considered central and essential in the livelihoods of those escaping harsh and uninhabitable socio-economic conditions in their home countries to seek an enhanced socio-economic lifestyle elsewhere.

Countries in the West have the economic advantage to attract workers from other developing countries (Jordan and Brown, 2007), where they may often be considered economically disadvantaged.

In addition, given the presence of global economic inequality, the possibility of vulnerability to unemployment is acknowledged to be more rife in developing countries than it is in advanced economies (Zezeza, 2002). In the context of the Kenyan migrant hotel workers in the UK, these workers were required to meet a pre-entry requirement of employment status (previous and current). This was to demonstrate their ability to be economically active and that this had been the case in their country of origin, and the intention was to continue being economically active in the UK. However, other than verbal statements claiming intention to be economically active, it might have been challenging for the workers to provide evidence of such a purpose. The mobility of this cohort of migrant workers was governed by an immigration regulatory framework, and through the Home Office, their work permits were processed. In view of the immigration restrictions, these are portrayed as geographical controls that manage and control the numbers and quality of immigrants, yet from a career management perspective, whilst it may have been useful in protecting the workers from starting employment at the lowest ranked bottom end, it restricted the workers' anticipated hotel career progress in the host country.

Literature has portrayed that jobs within the low-waged economy are often reserved for migrants, given that they are willing to take up any jobs, for any wages, usually low pay (Alberti, 2014; Anderson and Ruhs 2010). This is irrespective of their qualifications obtained from their countries of origin, which even though may be high caliber qualifications, the employment opportunities offered start from the lowest ranked bottom end. The Kenyan hotel

migrant workers within the hotel sector possess cultural capital (education, language, professional experience and qualifications) and even though they form part of the labour force within the low- skilled industry, often their entry point in the labour market is to an extent at a higher level than other foreign workers who are faced with certain labour market barriers such as inadequate language skills.

8.2.1 CULTURAL CAPITAL INFLUENCING MIGRANT HOTEL WORKERS' HOTEL CAREER

An example of individuals investing in their cultural capital, is when they take advantage of better employment opportunities that have the capacity to reward them economically and emotionally. According to Bourdieu (1984), capital is a social relation, a resource that provides its holders with power and an advantageous positioning in the field. One form of capital identified by Bourdieu that this study draws upon, is cultural capital, expressed as a representative of an individual's cultural resources that exists in three forms, embodied⁵, objectified⁶ and institutionalised⁷.

There is consistency of the research findings with Erel's (2010) acknowledgement that migrants actively create dynamics to validate their cultural resources which result in new forms of distinction. These are used for occupational mobility or to culturally and politically represent the community. Prior to migrating, the Kenyan hotel workers had undergone rigorous specialised training from a hotel school that equipped them with skills for the hospitality and tourism industry, locally and internationally. In order to mobilize their cultural

⁵Disposition of an individual's mind and body

⁶Cultural capital represented in cultural goods such as, pictures, books, and artefacts

⁷Recognized in the form of educational qualifications

capital, the workers capitalised on their personal contacts either at work or through the alumni network of KUC to migrate to the UK to live and work in the hotel industry. In the host country, they joined colleagues who had already migrated to the UK and were living and working in the hotel sector. This network linked potential migrants with the UK- based hotel employment agents. The recruitment agents established human resourcing links with the hotel training institution in Kenya, creating its own recruitment base.

Following on a successful recruitment of the first cohort of migrants to the Channel Island of Jersey, a Kenyan migrant network was established. This resulted in relatively undemanding consequent recruitment procedures to other parts of the UK, given an already established migrant network. This echoes Garip's (2008) suggestion that social networks become useful in respect to facilitating an individual's mobility as they provide useful information that is necessary to the individual's settling and integrating in new society. This is supported by the evidence from the empirical fieldwork conducted, demonstrating the support that new migrants receive from their fellow countrymen in the host country. As such, individuals may draw upon their social networks in order to acquire certain benefits. For example, workers may access employment opportunities abroad through a variety of social networks available to them that would facilitate the process of relocation.

Furthermore, the stakeholders involved: industry employers, migrant workers, employment agents and the government had demonstrated the practicability of mobility and employment of the workers. Therefore, the evidence presented in existing literature on migrant workers' networks provides insight into their importance, of being a source of vital information necessary for migrants that facilitates their integration within the host society. Nevertheless, the findings demonstrate that migrant networks are also beneficial to the employer as there is

evidence of skilled workers willing to undertake jobs that are often unpopular with the available local workforce. Therefore, in view of a substitute workforce, the skilled migrant workers are considered to plug the labour shortage gap in the hotel industry, although other than the chance of economic prospects being met, the workers' career ambitions may not be fully realized. At the same time, to some extent, the findings are at odds with the significance of migrant networks. For instance, different scholars argue that push and pull factors are prominent in the initial stages of the migration journey, but these become less critical in the later stages as social networks take on greater importance (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino and Taylor, 1993, Waldinger and Lichter, 2003). This varies depending on the type of migrants and their channel of migration. In the case of EU migrants in the UK, given their free movement across the European Union borders, obtaining employment prior to arrival in the host country was not considered necessary. However, in the context of the Kenyan hotel migrant workers, it was necessary that they had a job offer and that the UK employer sponsored their work permit in order for the workers to obtain entry clearance in the UK. Therefore, the importance of social networks in-country as a support mechanism for new migrants is less critical. Instead, their cultural capital takes on greater importance from the initial stages of their migration journey to during their stay and also upon return to their country of origin.

Thus, by focusing on Kenyan hotel migrant workers' career experiences, the study contributes to the debate on migrants' utilization of their cultural capital. With reference to the Kenyan hoteliers in the UK, it is indicative that functional cultural capital is defined within the boundaries of the host country either prior to or post migration given that structural factors inhibit their deployment of cultural capital to enhance their career prospects in a foreign country. Nonetheless, it is in the host country whereby the workers were faced with

relatively unattractive hotel career enhancement options. However, despite the effort put towards their geographical mobility and adaptability, the presence of structural factors hindered their career mobility. Their employment in the UK was no longer a career progression opportunity but a job though which they could earn a living abroad, whilst still anticipating an enhanced lifestyle for their families in the long term.

8.2.2 BOUNDARYLESS CAREER THEORY: CAREER CONSTRAINER, ENABLER AND/OR PUNCTUATOR

The findings are broadly in line with Schultz (1961) who acknowledges that one channel through which individuals invest in their cultural capital is by taking advantage of better employment. This is exemplified by the Kenyan hotel workers' ability to overlook geographical boundaries and migrate to the UK, motivated by expectations of higher income. However, heeding a caution by Erel (2010), cultural practices acquire different meanings and validations depending on the local, national and transitional contexts. Therefore, the migrant workers' level of knowledge and skills they transferred to the UK were in most cases undermined. The evidence presented in the findings suggest that this is as a result of the standard of hotels (small owner-managed) they worked in, and in particular due to the nature of the sector. It is one that has been perceived with a poor image as an employer due to factors such as: low pay, a majority of the workers with low levels of qualifications, a high proportion of low skilled jobs, long working hours mainly those worked outside normal business hours (Baum, 2006; Baum, 2015; Deery and Shaw, 1999; Richardson, 2008).

Furthermore, according to Janta et al. (2011) the migrant workforce is considered to provide a constant flow of unskilled labour in the hospitality sector, termed by Borjas (2001, p.70) as 'greasing the wheels of the UK labour market'. Besides, within the hotel sector, migrants

have often been considered a preferred workforce over local workers due to their good work ethic. Thus, the hotel industry in the UK can be considered to have benefited from migrant labour and specifically, a high level of institutionalized cultural capital. This was possessed by the trained Kenyan hoteliers who demonstrated high levels of commitment, flexibility and availability of work.

Within the regulatory frameworks of the immigration policies, the hotel migrant workers' hotel career is considered to have regressed. This is as a result of the stringent measures of the immigration law that restricted workers to a single employer regardless of working conditions they encountered. Thus, in application of a boundaryless career's perspective, the hotel migrant workers' hotel career in the UK, is considered to have been punctuated and as a result, suffered consequent negative impact on their career progress. However, career progress is marked within the workers who returned to their country of origin.

In some instances, the findings run counter to the widely expressed view that migrant workers experience devaluation and non-recognition of their educational qualifications and skills gained in their home country (Bauder, 2003, Merefield, Raghuram and Kofman, 2005) hence, leading to labour market exclusions. Consequently, the findings are consistent with previous research where migrant workers are habitually positioned to work within the lower ranks of the hotel establishments. For example, a study on workers from Poland revealed the stereotyping and labelling of hotel migrant workers as workers suitable to work behind the scenes in hotel settings due to the lack of language skills (Anderson et al., 2006, Matthews and Ruhs, 2007). The Kenyan trained hotel workers are typical of Lucas and Mansfield's (2010) 'high quality workers for low-waged job' description, given their credentials and level of professionalism acquired in their home country. The contrasting hotel setting the workers

faced, exposes them to an element of underemployment in the host country as they had obtained a high level of specialized hotel training alongside working conditions in luxury 4 and 5 star hotels where standards of operation are expected to be relatively superior in contrast to those in the small family run hotels. Evidence is further produced indicating the unfulfilled aspirations of the hotel migrant workers. This is demonstrated in the workers' assignment to front-line positions instead of occupying managerial positions within the establishments as they previously had undertaken in Kenya, thereby subjecting the workers to an underutilization of their cultural capital. However, a majority of the participants' narratives corroborated the unofficial recognition of their hotel professionalism by the employers (hotel owners and work colleagues) so that on several occasions, they were expected to train their work colleagues. Therefore, this suggests a validation of the migrant workers' credentials, given the employer's expectation that the workers train other work colleagues, mainly those with inadequate language skills. However, the narratives reveal that extra jobs tasks assigned to them were not included in the workers' remuneration packages.

In interactive service work such as in the hotel sector, an individual's skill is critical in the revenue-generating function of the business. Baum (2002) describes skill within the hospitality sector to be one that is socially constructed to a level of being devalued, often positioned on the lower end of the skills spectrum. Traditionally, hospitality work is classified as unskilled, semi-skilled, skilled, supervisory and management. Riley (1996) observed that more workers occupy the operative and semi-skilled positions whilst the supervisory and managerial positions which require relatively higher skill are occupied by fewer individuals. Riley's classification is useful in confirming the predominance of low skills in the sector which other scholars have established as resulting in demand for migrant labour (Anderson and Ruhs, 2010).

This study on Kenyan migrants in the UK's hotel sector reveals that a majority of the Kenyans have worked in the industry for the period in line with their UK work permit and visa restrictions and upon gaining permanent residence, have moved from the sector to work in various other sectors. Health and social care and the transport sector are the predominant sectors to which the migrant workers have switched. The permanent residency also is considered an avenue that fosters cross-border mobility given the removal of mobility restrictions across boundaries, at least between the UK and Kenya. Cross-border mobility serves as an important aspect in labour migration because individuals have the flexibility to live and work in the countries to which they have legal access.

A careful observation of these sectors reveals a transferability of the workers' hotel skills particularly with respect to the soft skills such as those required to deliver customer care. Nonetheless, a change of occupation is more commonly observable with respect to the hotel migrant workers who have remained in the UK, whilst the returnees reveal a tendency to remain within the hotel profession. In gendering the Kenyan hotel migrant workers, a majority of the workers that have remained in the hotel sector in the UK are males. This could be because the sectors which absorb the hoteliers to non-hotel roles are viewed through a domestic lens and therefore, appear to be more suited to female workers. Ultimately, the UK hotel sector appears to only provide employment opportunities for the skilled migrant workers as opposed to meeting their career prospects, given the observed trend that employment opportunities were made available as a means to meet labour demand.

8.2.3 CULTURAL CAPITAL: REMAINING IN THE UK OR RETURNING TO KENYA

The fundamental assumption behind cultural capital is that individuals possess skills, knowledge and work experience that empowers their employability. However, obstacles such as labour market or immigration regulation may present workers with difficulties in realizing their career objectives despite being skilled and knowledgeable (Williams, 2009).

Wood (1992) maintains the stereotypical low skill model that has been universally adopted to profile skills in the hospitality sector. However, this an inadequate description of hospitality work in tandem with profiling workers and is challenged by Baum (2006) who argues, that in the context of developing countries a career in hospitality is considered vibrant. Further, Anderson and Ruhs (2012) and Ruhs (2005) assert the disinterest in working in the hospitality sector by local workers of countries in the West. In broader terms, a polarized skills perception in the hospitality sector in developing and advanced economies may contribute to workers inadequate utilization of their cultural capital. This is particularly so when workers move from countries where a hotel career is highly regarded to a destination where a career path in such sectors is considered to be of lesser status. However, more specifically institutional factors such as the immigration law and type and size of hotel establishments they worked in are likely to have impeded the workers from attaining their career goals. In the workers' pursuit to achieve their hotel career goals, they encountered underutilization of their skills, given the level of skills they possessed and the positions they occupied which were at a lower rank than they were competent to perform.

Consequently, career challenges faced by the migrant workers yielded an alternative driving force for the migrants producing a shift in their personal career goals. The pursuit was no

longer career orientated, instead the focus was on the eligibility for permanent residency in the UK. The workers resorted to persevering with precarious work-place conditions alongside economic challenges in their host country. Upon acquiring permanent residency, a majority of the workers switched their hotel occupations to occupations in the health and social care, and transport sectors. From the workers' narratives, reasons given for the occupation change include, unfavourable working hours especially for female workers with young children. This was considered to be difficult given the struggle to cope with childcare arrangements. Collectively, the narratives outline a financial and social constraint in coping with childcare arrangements. The workers considered it costly to afford formal childcare and further, an absence of family support in provision for childcare attribute to the workers' challenges. Additionally, a lack of career progression that led to a downgrade of their social status contributed to the need for an occupational switch. However, common for both male and female migrant workers is being subjected to precarious working conditions; as contracted workers they were remunerated on a monthly basis, but a majority reported inadequate wages. This stems from employers' exploitation of the workers whereby they were required to work long hours without compensation of any extra working hours.

The exposure to a western lifestyle plugs the gap especially so for the workers that return to their home country as they are considered valuable workers. Yet, workers who remain in the host country continue to encounter career hardships, attributable to the industry's low-image perception, compelling them to switch occupations. Nevertheless, their exposure to the lifestyle abroad cannot be disregarded as it enriches them by adding value to their personalities. Whilst in the host country, the workers unwillingly accepted the lack of recognition of their qualifications and work experience thereby, carrying on working in lower ranks in the hotels. As a result, shifting these workers' initial career ambitions to more family

orientated goals. However, it is important to note that the personal outcome of their migration and a return on their cultural capital investment was achieved either when they returned to Kenya or upon acquiring British citizenship. Without immigration restrictions the workers had the flexibility to change employer and occupation of their choice. Thus, by exploring the experiences of Kenyan HMW's in the UK hotel industry, the study highlights the weak characteristics of the hospitality industry that strips off the professionalism of migrant workers by conforming to the universal stereotype of the industry. In so doing, it challenges the western context that profiles hospitality work as low-skilled.

Additionally, whilst the migrant workers' skills might have been overlooked, the returnees were accorded a warm welcome upon return. The workers were sought after by local employers based on their valuable international exposure. A majority of the workers who remained in the UK, consider their hotel career not to have been optimized. Irrespective of the career outcome of the stayers, the workers maintained employability, even though not necessarily within the hotel sector. Eventually, the stayers obtain citizenship which grants them access to an enhanced lifestyle such as better education for their children, improved health care access for themselves and their families amongst other benefits.

8.2.4 RETURN MIGRATION OF HOTEL MIGRANT WORKERS

Borjas (2013) argues that there are two main reasons that cause migrant to return to their origin country. Firstly, the realization that migration was an inaccurate decision and erroneous undertaking. Secondly, individuals consider migration a stepping stone to realize career objectives after which return to country of origin is considered necessary. However, empirical evidence of the professional hotel worker also factor in a third reason for migration, that is, involuntary return. In respect to the Kenyan hotel migrant workers, at the point of

extending their permission to live and work in the UK, a few were denied documentation that allowed their legal stay. This was surprising to the workers themselves, given that the immigration authority had granted their initial request to live and work in the UK. As such, workers had a level of certainty that their extension to live and work in the UK would be authorized. However, evidence points to an intolerant return immigration process for the workers given the unexpected denial of their entitlement to live and work in the country. Of those who returned involuntarily, they consider the high level of unemployment in their home country a major deterrent to return, thus creating a reluctance to return.

According to Bourdieu (1986), various forms of capital may be evaluated differently depending on various locations. In the case of Kenyan hotel migrant workers, their education qualification and work experience were recognized in Kenya but not accorded the same level of recognition in the host country. However, upon return to their home country, it is notable that employers are no longer interested at the workers' education qualification, as was the case when they sought employment in Kenya prior to their migration abroad. Instead, the workers' drew on their cultural capital (particularly their newly acquired western attitudes stemming from life exposure in the West) that enabled them penetrate back into the labour market. The exposure to life in the UK is considered of greater value to the employers in the home country and earns the workers employment opportunities although they consider themselves to have undergone a level of 'deskillization' whilst abroad.

Interestingly, Bauder (2005) notes the exchange between one location and another against every form of capital that migrants may hold. In respect to the Kenyan hotel migrant workers it is demonstrated in the way work experience and qualifications are valued in the worker's home country before migration. On arrival in the UK, migrants' credentials appear less

valued. Upon return to Kenya, it would be expected that any form of additional educational qualifications is a form of capital that the workers would boast to showcase to the industry but in place of these credentials which they did not get the opportunity to obtain, the workers' exposure to life abroad is of value to their employers. Generally, there is a sense of achievement with the returned migrants who consider to have made a positive impact to the industry in the host country. Whilst there were general sentiments of career dissatisfaction by the Kenyan hoteliers, the workers consider to have contributed towards a positive image of the industry through their determination to work in an industry that the locals have often shown little interest in. The impact of their industry contribution is further transferred to their home country as they bring along their international exposure and unrivaled work experience to enhance the industry in their home country.

Bourdieu's (1986) posits that individuals act in the context of evaluations and expectations by the various forms of capital being valued and given meaning (Kelly and Lusic, 2006). For example, Blazz and William's (2003) study found that Slovakian students who had returned from the UK felt that it was more important to have an enhanced social and personal competence than have formal qualifications and professional skills. This would suggest personal goals are different at various stages of the life cycle. In the case of students in the study by Blazz and Williams (2003), who are assumed to be in the young adult stage, social and personal competences were regarded important, whilst in the case of the returning Kenyan hoteliers who would have been past young adult stage, career goals were considered more important than social competences.

8.2.5 HOTEL MIGRANT WORKERS' CHOICE TO REMAIN IN THE UK

Given the importance of migration, whereby individuals are motivated to migrate to places with plentiful employment opportunities and prospects to earn higher wages, it is not surprising that migrants will choose to remain in the host country. Migrants' objectives are to maximize their time in the labour market in order to capitalize on earnings they aimed at achieving (Dustmann, 1999). However, a major problem with this kind of view particularly in relation to a specific cohort of migrant workers such as, the trained Kenyan hoteliers in the UK low-waged hotel sector, is the inequitable financial reward. The lack of recognition of the migrant workers' skills and qualifications not only frustrates their personal career progression, but also positions them for lesser wages.

However, despite the frustrations encountered in the host country, there are a variety of reasons that lower migrants' return probability. For example, Dustmann (1999) argues that the country of origin to some extent determines the length of period the workers intend to stay in the host country. In the context of the Kenyan hotel workers, their country of origin is one that is characterized by high unemployment rates (World Bank 2010). Therefore, in light of returning to their country or origin, there is a less likely chance that these workers would be willing to leave prospects of employment that are within their reach and return to a possibility of unemployment.

Bolognani (2007) and Waldorf (1995) maintain that return migration constraints may be generated from either the host or country of origin, thus discouraging migrants from returning to their home country. As with the Kenyan hoteliers in the UK, encountered work authorization refusals by the Immigration authority compelling them to return to their home country. The paradox of such an immigration policy is that migrant workers are denied a right

to extend their stay to work in the UK following their continuous 5-year legal stay when initially they had permission granted. Furthermore, this was applicable to a selected few hotel migrant workers and not to all.

Cook et al. (2011) and Dustmann (2003) point to other exogenous factors that influence migrants to remain in the host country to be based on the migrants' experiences in the labour market of the host country. Therefore, suggesting that if migrant workers consider their labour market performance in the host country to be beneficial to them, then there is a likelihood that they will remain to maximize on their economic opportunity. However, dependent on the workers' labour market shortcomings in the host country, they may choose to leave and return to their home country. Nonetheless, if the labour market conditions in the host country are unfavourable, such as long-term unemployment and/or underemployment, the choice to return may be suitable if favourable conditions in the country of origin are present. This corresponds to the push and pull model for migration where push factors represent unfavourable conditions and the pull factors signify favourable circumstances (Dzvimbo 2003) that influence the decision to return to one's home country. As such, Cook et al. (2011) suggest that to maximize on potential migration benefits, migrant workers are likely to remain for longer periods in the host country. Consequently, such workers become eligible for permanent residency which may also signify a drastic shift in their migration objectives.

Alongside external factors which may be institutionally- driven in shaping migrant workers' decision to return to their country of origin, there also exist personal influences. In a singled-out case a female migrant worker decided to remain in the UK after marrying a British national. To ascertain whether such a married couple could therefore decide to migrate to

Kenya which would be considered return migration for the female worker is beyond the scope of this paper. However, as posited by the push and pull model, individuals migrate from labour-abundant to labour-scarce countries where there are prospects to earn relatively higher wages. In which case, if push factors are still present in Kenya, return migration may not be considered to be favourable.

Whereas the presence of push and pull factors influence migrant workers decision to remain in the host or return to home country, the boundaryless career concept has an essential function in shaping the worker's decision to staying in or leaving the host country. As such, given the labour market performance of the Kenyan hotel migrant workers in the UK hotel sector, a majority of the workers considered their hotel career to have regressed, consequently fueling the anxiety to return home and have nothing to show for their career absence in Kenya. In light of this, it may be considered by some workers that returning to their country of origin will generate societal judgements of a failed migration, thus bringing embarrassment to the individual.

To overcome such social constructions of failed migration some individuals may be inclined to remain in the host country and trade-off such emotions of failure with prospects for an enhanced lifestyle for themselves and family members. Individuals consider that whilst their initial migration objectives were not achieved, staying on in the host country will produce meaningful migration outcomes. In the context of the Kenyan hotel workers, firstly, they aimed at obtaining permanent residence in the UK. Secondly, given the removal of immigration restrictions choices were made to switch their occupations. Finally, having acquired citizenship rights, the workers consider a successful trade-off for their hotel career with an enhanced lifestyle for their families. For instance, access to a better education system

and health care for their children in contrast to what would be available if they opted for return migration.

8.3 STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The scale of migration to the UK is well documented, particularly EU migration. However, this research has focused primarily on a population that is underrepresented and on a national scale remains invisible on two grounds: a) the number of immigrants – in contrast to other African countries, for example Nigeria that ranks amongst the top 10 source countries for migrants into Britain. Unfortunately, the lack of comprehensive data has made it difficult to determine the numbers of Kenyans living and working in the UK. Nevertheless, according to the Office for National Statistics (2017), it is estimated that Kenyans living in the UK are about 133,000. However, the population is not categorized into types of employment by individuals, and b) a focus on highly-skilled migrants’ phenomenon - a vast majority of migration literature has paid attention to highly skilled migrants but there is a significant underrepresentation of medium and low- skilled migrants. Thus, the scale of Kenyan hotel workers in the UK cannot be adequately accounted for due to the lack of work permit statistics by country of origin by the UK Home Office.

To address inadequate government statistics, the study draws upon Office of National Statistics 2017 which is the main source of aggregate labour market data (see appendix A). Whilst the census provides limited information taking account only-England and Wales and is not a true representation of ethnic minorities’ economic activity in the UK, it reflects employment of migrant workers in at least the most cosmopolitan region of the UK. The statistics indicate a lower employment engagement of ethnic minorities in contrast to the majority ethnic group. Given such statistics, persistent under privileging of migrant workers

within the labour market is a means by which unemployment rates of the ethnic minorities are likely to remain higher than other categories of workers.

Given the debate on levels of skills whereby various professions are characterized by workers who may be termed to be high, medium or low skilled, it was particularly difficult to place the Kenyan hotel migrant workers on the skills spectrum in the UK context. This is consistent with the consensus reached by labour scholars that the definition of skill, given the controversy due to its subjectivity and relativity (Baum, 2002) should reflect task complexity and worker autonomy (Spenner, 1983, Vallas, 1990), the amount of training required for a job and an individual's formal qualifications (Bradley, Erickson, Stephenson and Williams, 2000) if any. Furthermore, Baum (2002) acknowledges that within the hospitality industry, particularly with respect to front-line workers, skill is seen to be socially constructed to a level of being devalued (Baum, 2002), hence classified in the lower end of the skills spectrum. Traditionally, hospitality work is classified as unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled. Therefore, the justification of the Kenyan HMW's as skilled and professional workers is not without its difficulty. Notwithstanding the kind of training they have undergone: 4-year course that equates to a degree course which defines a high skilled worker. In terms of complexity of the tasks they were assigned, the workers considered their skills were not being engaged wholly resulting in an element of underemployment.

In respect to the nature of the hotel sector in the UK where it is characterized by a larger ownership of the small-medium sized hotel establishments, the participants of the study were mainly found to work in smaller, lower quality-standard hotels. Yet as profiled, the workers are all graduates of a hotel school in Kenya, having gone through specialized hotel training and acquired work experience in the branded and high-end luxury hotels in Kenya. As such,

it was expected that participants would have been working in the high-end, branded and graded hotels, whereby the lived experience narrative might have been different. Nevertheless, this highlights the challenge of individuals occupying work positions not commensurate with their skills and qualifications.

As suggested by Butler-Kisber (2010) including a varied cohort of participants in order to obtain different perspectives of the phenomenon under study is necessary. This is for the reason that there is a possibility of obtaining a wider knowledge from the different groups of participants. Moreover, obtaining a balanced outlook of the worker's output from an employers' perspective allows the study to triangulate findings with various other groups of individuals whose perspectives might have been useful to the study. For example, employers' views will corroborate the migrants' narratives particularly on their skills, qualification and work experience. Additionally, collecting information from the recruitment agencies would be useful to corroborate the migrant's stories particularly from individuals who assessed the workers' qualifications and work experience to determine whether they are qualified for the labour market abroad before channeling them through to the UK. Thus, interviewing other key stakeholders in the hotel sector such as employers or the hotel employment recruiting agents would have provided a variety of perspectives for this study.

However, given that the study focused on individuals who had undergone specialized hotel training and obtained professional work experience in graded, and branded luxury hotels in a country whose economic mainstay is tourism, from a skill's perspective it is deemed reliable to make conclusions such as the ones provided. In spite of this, it was beyond the scope of the research to include other significant stakeholders of the industry, such as employers and the recruitment agencies. Consequently, it would be considered necessary for further studies

seeking to understand different dynamics of migrant workers' experiences within different contexts to incorporate various cohorts of industry stakeholders. This is in order to obtain a balanced view of the workers' experiences in different contexts.

Holding an insider's position in the research assisted in establishing a rapport with the participants making it relatively less challenging as they considered me as one who was able to understand and identify with their context. Besides, given that participants were members of our Alma mater, K.U.C, I was familiar with some of the participants and as such, gaining access to the study population during fieldwork was unproblematic. However, there are possibilities that the emic nature of the researcher is likely to have caused bias in the study. Nonetheless, in order to seek trustworthiness of the research and create reader confidence in the accuracy of the findings the strategy, Creswell's (2009) suggestion of a member check was adopted. This involved presenting participants with refined themes that emerge to allow for their comments and determine if they considered the themes accurate. In addition, it was necessary to adhere to researcher reflexivity though maintaining a research journal in order to provide an open and honest research process narrative and by so doing account for researcher assumptions and bias (Shaw 2010).

Bryman (2012) argues that the purpose of the findings of qualitative research is to generalize to theory rather than to populations and the emphasis is contextual understanding. Therefore, generalizing the findings of the study to other populations was not intended. Nonetheless, given the detail and effort input in an interpretive study as this, despite the relatively small sample, there is great insight obtained that would not otherwise come to light without such scrutiny, therefore providing an opportunity for lessons to be learnt that could be applicable and transferrable to populations. Furthermore, as criticized by Yanow (2006), an interpretivist

approach is insufficiently rigorous as it rejects stepwise strictness of the methods adopted. However, it is expected that to make sense of individuals' meanings of their surroundings, both the researcher and participant interact in order to create meaning. This effectively becomes 'messy' as researcher goes back and forth in an effort to understand a phenomenon. Whilst analyzing data, sometimes themes and subthemes that were similar emerged making progress of data analysis challenging. This was overcome by reading the interview transcripts severally and through member checks to verify the research findings.

8.4 PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS FOR DIVERSE STAKEHOLDERS IN THE HOTEL SECTOR

8.4.1 EMPLOYERS IN THE HOTEL SECTOR

In order to balance labour supply and demand in the hospitality sector scholars have suggested various approaches such as raising the retirement age, increasing female labour participation and encouraging internal movement of indigenous workers (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci and Pellegrino, 1999). However, these approaches are not without their challenges, for example, Warhurst and Nickson (2007) argue that given the aesthetic demands of the hotel industry the workforces' physical appearance should be seen to appeal to the clientele. In addition, the nature of some tasks in hotels is seen to be physically demanding which may question the physical ability of some workers such as those in the retirement bracket to perform the required tasks. Participation of female workers in full time employment in the hotel sector may also be contested, given their traditional role in the family as carers whereby a part-time work pattern may be more suitable. Therefore, in light of the alternative approaches suggested by Massey et al. (2009), some sectors still seem to remain dependent on migrant labour for their functioning. Thus, being dependant on a skilled

migrant workforce that appreciates employment in the sector is likely to be beneficial to the employer, the workers and other relevant stakeholders, including the host country. In the labour market, the workers are often faced with obstacles in seeking employment and, when employment is secured, it is often in lesser capacities than their credentials may warrant. This results in underemployment of the workers which, in turn, is likely to cause an effect of under production within the sector. As such, understanding the various motives of different cohorts of migrant workers would be a first step for employers to motivate their workers that likely results in realization of career goals. Tapping into migrant workers cultural capital does not suggest exploitation. Instead employers, through the support of the local government are to tap and invest in enhancing workers' cultural capital if a business productivity and a thriving economy is to be achieved.

Labour migration in the UK hotel sector augments the important function conducted by the sector in terms of employment; numerically and by extension as a driver of work place diversity. It should be recognised that both local and international workers possess different qualifications and skills hence contribute to the pool of talents available for the industry. Nevertheless, migrant workers are considered by some to take jobs intended for native workers, yet, the former bring about different working culture that is likely to contribute to the host's working ethos. For instance, skilled migrant workers may bring with them a working culture that may alter the long-articulated poor image and the disregard of career paths in the sector thereby enhancing the image of hospitality which, in turn may become more attractive to local talent. Many of the participants in this study have not only been beneficial to the sector but also to the wider society where their integration has led them to showcase their talent. A notable example is of the 45 -year old male participant who, within his community took on the role of being a football coach for his local team in England.

Phillimore and Goodson (2008) acknowledge that political influence, industry employers and media perception of foreign workers hamper the social assimilation of migrant labourers. This is, in particular, within occupations that occupy the low echelons of the skills spectrum and more so within sectors that are traditionally populated by migrant labour such as hospitality, construction and health. The study's findings reveal poor social connections of the workers within the society given that their social integration had to give way to their economic performance that dominated their working lifestyles. Beyond the long working hours that characterizes the nature of hotel work, migrant workers were often subjected to even longer working hours given the terms and conditions of their employment. As work permit holders, the workers considered it necessary to maintain good relations with the employers in order to have their work permits renewed and avoid jeopardizing their immigration status. In light of this, it emerges that the workers were often exploited especially in terms of the longer than usual hours they were expected to work which could have an impact on the workers' well-being.

Notably, this study reveals that from both a political and employer stance, migrant labour is attractive given its ability to significantly, albeit temporarily reduces the sector's challenge of labour shortage. Therefore, the government and industry employers approve skilled migrant labour which facilitates workers' mobility from their home country. However, this may be difficult to achieve particularly for employers relying on non-EU workers, whose geographical and career mobility is influenced by restrictions of immigration law and policies. On arrival in host country, the workers are not allowed to freely change employers, usually for a 5- year period. Coincidentally, the end of this period is the interval that qualifies them to change their immigration status from a time-restricted to a permanent residency, eventually obtaining citizenship rights. Such workers, who may have struggled throughout

their hotel career, are very likely to switch from their hotel occupation to another, resulting to the host industry's loss of qualified and skilled workers. According to the same line of thought, the hotel sector in Kenya is likely to also have undergone a loss of a skilled workforce when workers migrate abroad but eventually benefit from the workers who return to their home country after a period of living and working abroad.

Consequently, the industry is likely to continue experiencing labour shortages. Therefore, in recognizing and valuing migrant workers' qualifications, a long term effect of improving the sector is likely to be achieved. The envisaged positives changes include: challenging worker-profiling stereotypes in the industry thus improved image of the sector making it to be attractive to both local and migrant workers, and harmonizing educational programmes so that qualifications offered are deemed beneficial towards a career in hospitality. This ultimately, effectively reduces the employee turnover challenge. In addition, recognizing the workers credentials may also be a step towards achieving cultural integration where the host communities accept the workers and view them as a cultural benefit to their society as opposed to being complacent with the claim that migrants take over the locals' jobs.

Thus, this study offers some evidence of the value of a change in work place employment practices that encourage fairness within a workforce, regardless of the workers' country of origin. On the face of it, this would suggest that while worker's immigration status is an important factor in selecting a suitable worker, it should not be further abused by subjecting the worker to precarious work. Moreover, this research brings forth fresh prominence in the argument for employers need to recognize migrants' qualifications and skills in order to tap into their skills. Furthermore, it would be useful for employers to reflect on incorporating a range of career development opportunities for migrant and native workers alike. As a result, it

increases the plausibility that employers accelerate productivity that feeds into profitable hotel businesses, thus, thriving economies. Undertaking such an approach is likely to ensure engagement with workers' cultural capital, a necessary conduit to promote career advancement resulting in improvement of individuals' lives. In the same line of thought, the hotel sector in Kenya is likely to benefit from the workers who return to their home country after a period of living and working abroad.

8.4.2 EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

The practice of recruiting new workers is costly and therefore, business enterprises put in place measures to effectively reduce unnecessary costs to ensure higher profits. One strategy adapted by hotels to reduce their costs and as a recruitment problem solving, is the use of external labour suppliers (employment agencies) (Lai and Baum, 2005). A closer scrutiny of the agencies recruitment patterns with respect to migrant workers brings to light their intention to benefit by recruiting a workforce that is qualified for the job. By so doing, employers benefit from engaging a skilled workforce. Recruitment agencies conduct an important function in the migrant's journey from country of origin to host country. Agencies facilitate the move by arranging and securing employment besides other necessary migration and travel documentation which otherwise migrants may find difficult to obtain. However, although migrant workers are willing to migrate to a foreign country where they envisage better prospects for their hotel careers, employment frameworks may hamper their career progress, creating a social status gap for the individuals, particularly back home.

Nonetheless, empirical evidence reveals that employment agencies frequently disregard migrant workers' foreign qualifications through their failure to match the workers with

employers that have the potential to advance the migrant workers' hotel careers. As a result, the workers' career experiences are significantly influenced by the hospitality employment agencies that are responsible for placing the workers in the smaller hotel firms. Due to the nature of such establishments in terms of their size, ownership and operations, they are unlikely to have appropriate support and development resources for these workers which negatively impacts on their career progression. In the same vein, hotel employers have in the past years been considered to contribute directly contribute to the unfair treatment of foreign workers by allocating them jobs that are not commensurate with their qualifications and skills. This, in turn, may subject migrant workers to career frustrations owing to the workplace conditions that surround them.

Thus, the study is supportive of the argument for a change in the employment framework of migrant workers, in that agencies should relate and match the workers educational qualifications and professional experience with industry employers that can meet the career objectives of the migrant workers. This is not to imply that hotel school graduates from abroad should be expected to work in only luxury hotels. However, the agencies could stimulate awareness of the working conditions to be expected by the migrant workers prior to their move.

It would be encouraging to see that hotel employment agencies collaborate with industry employers to embrace migrant workers qualifications, work experience and their professional skills and assist them in obtaining employment in establishments that match their credentials. Nonetheless, given the UK's hotel sector composition whereby small-medium hotel establishments constitute a significant share of the industry, it is inevitable that a majority of the migrant hotel workers would be absorbed by the larger, branded and graded hotels that have a reduced presence in the economy. Therefore, the smaller hotel owners with a larger

share should be prepared to embrace the workers' credentials and help them in advancing their career, through further training or establishing a framework that recognizes and values the workers' qualifications and skills.

8.4.3 MIGRANT WORKFORCE

The analysis has provocative implications for the interpretation of studies that analyse the lack of optimal utilisation of workers' skills. This results in underemployment of migrant workers, which stands as an impediment to their career progression. Most studies suggest factors leading to underemployment are often related to non-recognition of foreign credentials in the western host countries. However, it is crucial to recognize that connection to professional networks could lead migrant workers to employment opportunities that are commensurate with their qualifications. Similarly, institutional factors also bear a significant role in limiting migrants' cultural capital in the host country.

A contrasting career progression pattern is observed between the stayers and returnees. A majority of the workers experienced career growth in their country of origin prior to migrating abroad to acquire international work experience. Yet, whilst in the UK, they considered their profession to have faltered given the lack of progression. Only upon return to their country of origin that their hotel careers seem to be pick up from where they had left prior to migrating abroad. Ironically, it is the experience and exposure acquired abroad that is valuable in the home country that helps in progressing their career. Lived experiences abroad build on the workers' personal attributes which add to their advantage when they return to their country of origin given that they bring along international exposure that exhibits incomparable lived experiences with their counterparts in Kenya. This suggests an acquired fresh attitude in the workers' perspective and world view from the exposure of living and

working abroad. Despite their self- perceived loss of skill outlook, upon return to their country of origin, the fresh viewpoint attributed by living and working abroad, presents them with a bargaining power in the local labour market.

This is in contrast to Kudat's (1982) observation that among Turkish women who returned home after a period of working in Germany, their gains from employment experience are seen to last temporarily, only whilst abroad. Upon returning to Turkey where their status as working women changes, the experience terminates and can no longer be exercised. Interestingly, the Turkish women newly formed attitudes as subjective attributes obtained in objective conditions in a different environment, become irrelevant in their home country. Thus, expectations of both the employers in the UK and in Kenya become the platform on which the migrants' hotel profession advances or retreats. The findings of this research questions the assumption of migrants' ability to convert their cultural capital in the host countries in order to position themselves accordingly in their careers.

Taking into consideration the time spent to accumulate an individual's cultural capital, it is reasonable to expect that the workers will make extensive use of it. Following on the attainment of educational qualifications and work experience, the transition into the labour market which individuals will be familiar with and have a good understanding of, may not be as difficult as for individuals who lack the necessary cultural capital. This echoes Baum's (1995) suggestion that it is important that employees understand the system of the labour market, in order to make appropriate career decisions. Accordingly, as a local worker, being cognizant of structural factors and systems in one's own country may be less demanding but identifying these in a foreign country poses a challenge. For instance, the cohort of Kenyan hotel migrant workers, are likely to have considered the vibrancy of the hospitality and

tourism industry in their country as a leverage to choose and pursue a hotel career. Nevertheless, navigating through a foreign labour market presented challenges such as the evidence presented in this research suggesting the workers' downward career mobility.

8.4.4 IMMIGRATION REGULATORY FRAMEWORK

It is acknowledged that the state legislates immigration policy and regulates the terms and conditions under which migrant workers live, work and reproduce (Cohen, 1987). The law, however, may also be viewed to have contributed to the non-progress of the workers' hotel career. The workers were required to remain in a single employment until the end of the validity of the work permit that had been sponsored by a specific employer. Therefore, whether the workers were faced with difficulties at their work places, caution was exercised not to raise the work place challenges with the employer, for fear of their contract being terminated or not be renewed. Evidence is provided where workers had changed employers but only because the change had been initiated and premeditated by the employment agent. So where workers might have been faced with certain work place challenges, these were ignored and not taken up with employer or recruiting agent.

This was acceptable to the workers as their lives priorities had changed. Their hotel career was no longer the main driver, instead a majority of the workers' preference had shifted to obtaining citizenship as a trade-off for their hotel career and a possible means to an end; seek benefits brought about by permanent residency in a country abroad. For example, better access to a good education and to health care for their children. In moving forward, it is important to recognize that whilst there are general needs for migrant workers, the needs for the Kenyan hotel migrant workers were different. Their migration journey is predetermined, given that they their employment was already organized and as such, were not entering the

labour market as employment seekers. The workers, purposely migrate to the UK to work in an industry they are likely to be passionate about yet unknown to them one that is viewed to have poorly defined career paths, at least locally. Furthermore, whilst progress was made within the legal framework to allow migrant workers to obtain citizenship following a legal period of living and working in the UK, the programme neglects to take into account how migrants' credentials are observed and valued effectively marginalizing their hotel career.

8.4.5 FAMILIES OF HOTEL MIGRANT WORKERS

The decision to migrate is made less challenging dependent on an individual's personal circumstances, for example, young and single individuals may find migrating from one country to another exciting given their lesser family obligations in contrast to the older and married individuals. Similarly, a couple with younger children might find it relatively easier to migrate than a couple with school-age children as there are no complications involving obtaining school places for their children in a foreign country. Spouses' careers are also considered as obstacles in the decision to migrate. For example, there is a concern of destabilizing a stable career for a temporary move abroad. However, even where there is an agreement that one individual migrates and the other is left behind to maintain care responsibilities for the children, there were narratives of marriage breakdowns as a result of individuals living across borders and away from their families. A participant who had left young children behind with her husband whilst she migrated to the UK considered returning to Kenya to save her marriage and to be physically present to uphold the caring duty for her children. Whilst some parents endured parenting across borders, the challenges of such long-distance family intimacies were exacerbated by stringent immigration laws that did not favour family reunification, at least for the first five years of an individual's life abroad; the

qualifying period to obtain permanent residency, that would entitle them for family reunification.

It emerges that the immigration law had a significant impact on the migrants, given its crucial role in the workers geographical mobility. Workers that had immediate family members left behind in Kenya encountered more challenging experience with the immigration law than the younger and single workers who did not have any family responsibilities. Hotel work permits were issued on an individual applicant basis and not as a joint -family application. Therefore, the working spouse would leave his/her dependents behind for a period and make family visits during their entitled holiday from work period. In cases where a couple with children were both hoteliers, individual hotel work permits applications were made and the difficulty lay in leaving their young children behind with relatives. Participants who qualified for the family reunification narrated the financial and emotional constraint faced during the visa application process.

Immigration policies are by themselves barriers that confined the workers to lower-paid, precarious and unsatisfying hotel occupations. With the findings of this study in mind the government's lead department for immigration, the Home Office may reflect upon the human rights of migrant workers. Individual workers issued with work permits ought to be allowed to have their dependents join them in the UK. The lack of family reunification accelerated by migration policies has often resulted to family breakdowns as a result of the working spouse unable to meet financial demands either of families left behind in home country and /or the financial constraints in the host country. Notably, in the migrant workers' pursuit of a higher income for an improved lifestyle often narratives revealed cases of unrepairable broken parent-child bond resulting from long-term separation.

The concern of the family- left- behind in an individual's home country also raises the challenge of the working spouse's work-life integration. Kofodimos (1993 p. xiii) defines work-life integration as

‘A satisfying, healthy and productive life that includes work, play and love; that integrates a range of life activities with attention to self and to personal and spiritual development; and that expresses a person's unique wishes, interests and values. It contrast with the imbalance of a life dominated by work, focussed on satisfying external requirements at the expenses of inner development, and in conflict with a person's true desire’

The lack of an individual's work life balance/integration is more often as a result of complex interactions between personal and family, and organizations and social factors (Jones, Burke and Westman, 2006). Thus, in an effort to address the work-life imbalance/inadequate integration suggestions appear to focus on the individual and work organizations. The findings of the study extend the dependability of incorporating work-life integration from employers through work-place environments and as a personal accountability to a function tasked beyond work places such as the government. Given its mandate to provide safe frontiers and control numbers of foreign workers it is considered necessary that pragmatic immigration policies are to be empathetic of workers' family circumstances. On the face of it, this would suggest overcoming the rigidity on family reunification particularly with respect to migrant workers who for a majority appear to withstand the long working hours as is considered common practise in the hotel sector. The study offers evidence for the long hours-pattern of working by hotel migrant workers given that they their families are away back in their home country. This provides a commitment and the willingness to endure the long working hours in order to increase the potential for more earnings and consequently accumulate savings. When the financial goals were reached, the

next practical steps were remittances to home country to cater for the family-left- behind needs.

From a gender perspective, it is observed that a majority of the female hotel migrant workers were required to strike a balance between their lives within domestic and work-place environments. Regardless of immigration status, it is likely that other female workers may face a similar challenge. Therefore, this is not unique to migrant workers. However, with respect to this cohort of workers other limiting factors merit their domestic and family caring responsibility to be beyond the norm. Firstly, an inapplicable extended maternity leave (applicable to other female workers without UK work permit/visa restrictions) beyond the nine months of ordinary maternity leave. Therefore, it was necessary for the female workers to return to work immediately after the qualifying period of maternity pay. Consequently, with young children at home to look after, child-care responsibilities were absolutely necessary. Given the shift work patterns and long operating hours of the hotel industry, the workers were faced with childcare challenges. This became the turning point for many of the female workers with young children to look after, as a hotel occupation was no longer favourable.

Secondly, in contrast to native female workers or non-work permit/visa female workers who are likely to have family support with child-care obligations or where unavailable have access to government support, the cohort of female migrant workers face restrictions. Immigration policies deny them family or government support in their domestic caring responsibilities. Given such challenges a majority of the female hotel migrant workers changed their occupations to suit their new roles as working mothers. Nevertheless, change in occupation occurred only after the workers' immigration status had changed from visa nationals to UK

permanent residents. Thus, the study offers suggestive evidence of delayed parenthood on families given the need to wait to obtain permanent residency to reduce the impact of domestic caring responsibilities on visa nationals (migrant workers). As such, adoption of less stringent immigration policies that facilitate unification of migrant workers and their long-distant families is important.

8.5 CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

This study was designed to plug gaps and build on debate over skilled migrant workers' career experiences. Since the expansion of the EU borders in 2004, labour migration research has primarily focussed on EU labour migrants. Further, other global south-north labour migration research conducted has focused primarily on high-skilled migrant workers profiling the 'brain-drain' phenomenon. This study injects fresh and useful insights from an African context, of a cohort of migrant workers placed at the lower end of the skills spectrum. It builds on the extant work on labour migration by incorporating African labour migrants, perceived to be low-skilled; yet are in possession of cultural capital that enables them to work abroad but they face stumbling blocks in their hotel career progression. The cohort of workers are skilled hotel migrant workers, perceived to be low-skilled, yet purposed to migrate to the UK with intentions to progress their hotel career.

This research draws on the push and pull framework of human migration that postulate economic motivation as the primary reason for migration (Boon and Ahenkan, 2012). The framework generalizes that individuals escape unfavourable living conditions in their countries to seek favourable conditions in another, as a means of enhancing their lifestyle. However, while taking into account the push and pull factors that may motivate an individual

to migrate, structural factors present in the host country or other intrinsic factors cannot be ignored as these determine whether human mobility is facilitated or hindered. Thus, this research critiques economic theory given that it speaks of, and to the global south to north movement of individuals seeking higher wages in order to improve their living standards, but fails to address the structural influences of global north to south migration, such as illustrated in the case of hotel migrant workers returning to their home country, Kenya after a period of living and working in the UK.

Return migration scholars identify a range of varied motivations for migrant workers that compel them to return to their home countries. For instance, Chappell and Glennie (2010) identify that initial push factors in home countries improving or are no longer present, a sense of belonging to one's own home country and achievement of specific personal goals while in host country contribute to return migration. These reasons focus on the conditions in the country of origin whereas, Yang (2009) identifies economic conditions in the host country as consideration of whether migrant workers return to their home country or remain in the host country. Where there are improved economic conditions in the host country, migrant workers may decide to stay longer to take opportunity of the host country's thriving economy. On the contrary, where economic conditions in host country may not be favourable, migrant workers may choose to return to their country of origin. However, the empirical evidence of this research is an indication that original migration intentions of economic migrant workers may switch depending on the labour market experiences that the workers may encounter. Intentions to advance an individual's career may be surpassed by lifestyle needs. In the Kenyan context, migrant workers returned to their country of origin, due to a variety of reasons. For a majority of the returnees, personal, family and immigration circumstances compelled their return to home country and not necessarily because the

original favourable conditions in host country had become unfavourable or vice versa. However, unlike the outward migration that is driven by economic factors and sufficiently supported by the push and pull model, the influences of return (inward) migration are suggested to be non-economically driven. Therefore, the push and pull model may adequately explain the economic motivation for migration, but inadequately rationalizes return migration, whereby individuals choose or are compelled by non-economic factors to return to their country of origin after a period of living and working in a host country. Furthermore, it is not the shift of unfavourable conditions in the home country into favourable ones that motivate individuals to return to their country of origin, but other factors that may not be related to the original unfavourable and/or favourable conditions, present themselves and compel individuals to return to their home countries. Thus, it becomes necessary to establish that the push and pull model limits explanation of economic migration to one direction only i.e. from the initial outward bound journey (from home country to abroad) but does not extend to explain the inward journey (return to home country).

Moreover, the Kenyan hotel migrant workers, present an additional new factor in the push and pull model of migration being that of 'career advancement abroad'. This adds to the traditional push factors present in home country: economic crisis/insecurity, war and political instability that influence individuals to migrate to another country seeking enhanced living standards. Additionally, the results of this research present a new challenge for the existing push and pull migration model. The findings on the mobilization of the skilled hotel migrant workers' cultural capital are largely in line with the push and pull migration framework. Nevertheless, the evidence suggests that push and pull factors of migration need not necessarily be separately ascribed to either of the countries (country of origin or destination country). There may be factors of both push and pull existing within the one geographical

location, either within an individual's country of origin, or in the host country, all of which when considered, necessitate migration. Therefore, this suggests the inadequacy of push and pull factors in explaining migration as a distinct consideration of unfavourable conditions in one country causing individuals to migrate to another country that fosters favourable conditions. Hence, the empirical findings are an important extension of the Push and Pull migration model which suggest a dual consideration of the necessary factors that warrant migration, which may include other structural factors. In the case of the Kenyan hotel migrant workers, it was necessary that they were in possession of cultural capital to consider migration prior to engaging their social networks to facilitate their mobility.

The boundaryless career concept views career actors independent of their firm. It considers the actors separately but simultaneously with the firm and views individuals as being in charge of their careers (Arthur and Rousseau 2001). It is no longer firms that are viewed as effecting change in career actors but the individuals bring changes to the firms too. Moreover, according to Arthur and Rousseau (2001), there is a shift from traditional career actors to the boundaryless career actors who: are neither bound by employers nor geographical boundaries, reject existing career opportunities for personal and /or family reasons, view their boundaryless career with longevity regardless of any existing constraints, and whose external social networks have a key role in supporting their careers.

However, a gap is identified in Arthur and Rousseau's (2001) boundaryless career concept in this application to the cohort of skilled Kenyan hotel migrant workers. Empirical findings demonstrate a rigidity in the migrant hotel workers' careers dictated by the firm/employer. Even though workers could exercise geographical mobility from their country to another, they were bound by employers' terms and conditions, as well as the host country's

immigration framework that did not permit a change of employers. Taking into account such structural constraints, this results in forms of boundaries that immobilize the workers' careers with a possible outcome of a downward career mobility. Furthermore, these workers are a counter representation of Arthur and Rousseau's (2001) description of boundaryless career actors who reject career opportunities for personal and/or family reasons. This cohort purposed their migration as a means to advance their careers in a foreign country and to do so, they were willing to leave behind their families, although with the expectation of family reunification at a later period in their migration journey.

In view of the boundaryless career concept which assumes a.) a shift from traditional career actors who remain bound by employers and organizational hierarchical structures, to boundaryless career actors, who are neither bound by employer or organization and bear the responsibility for their career progress, and b.) individuals forfeit intentions for career advancement for the sake of personal and family reasons, the study provides a fresh insight. It suggests an expansion of Arthur and Rousseau's (2001) boundaryless career characteristics to accommodate other influences that may set boundaries and indeed personal and /or family circumstances that may be of lesser influence towards an individual's decision on career progression.

In order to improve an individual's labour market outcome, it is necessary that they are equipped with education qualifications, training, work experience and appropriately apply these set of knowledge, expertise and skills in their employment. However, migrant workers engaging in foreign labour markets commonly experience non- recognition of their credentials by employers. Bauder (2003) terms the non-recognition of migrant workers' cultural capital as a form of exploitation which he describes to be an abuse of an individual's

brain. As such, whilst the findings of this research are not likely to present fresh evidence in relation to the non-recognition of migrants' credentials, this study extends this argument that regardless of the amount or form of cultural capital migrants possess, other structural factors in the host country have the ability to undervalue migrants' cultural capital which is likely to disrupt their career progression and get in the way of their labour market performance in the host country.

However, whilst migrants' cultural capital may be devalued in the host country leading to employment of workers in positions that are not commensurate with their qualifications and skills, empirical evidence highlights the elevated status the workers gain upon return to their home country. Workers with the intention of continuing in employment, obtain an edge over competition in their country of origin and return to higher ranks than they originally held prior to migration. This is primarily due to being exposed to a western lifestyle that seems particularly valuable to employers in the global south. In the host country, migrants' cultural capital is considered to be the traditional: educational qualifications, skills, work experience and language. However, the findings of the study indicate an additional element to the cultural capital migrants possess having been abroad – exposure to the western lifestyle.

Overall, given the migrants' ethnicity being that of African descent, Kinship ties are a strong influence in the African society (Tiemoko, 2004). As such, despite the availability of economic prospects and the possibility of attaining career objectives in the host country, the study shows that of the Kenyan hoteliers that have returned, a majority of them are influenced to return due to their existing kinship ties. Interestingly, a majority of the study participants still living and working in the UK, aspire to return to Kenya. This is an indication of the strong kinship ties that domineer over personal economic and career prospects.

From a methodological perspective, this research injects an innovative qualitative technique within the field of hospitality studies to effectively produce a deep sense of meaning to the career experiences, of a cohort of workers who have long been silenced. Yet, are important in the functioning of a sector that significantly contributes to economic growth, globally. Furthermore, the data collection technique applied to the study, delivers an unexpected outcome to the participants during the interviews- therapeutic sessions.

8.6 FURTHER RESEARCH

As pointed out earlier, this study mainly focussed on exploring career experiences of Kenyan hotel migrant workers in the UK revealing that a majority of the hotel migrant workers faced career frustrations, given their intention to develop their career abroad only to encounter structural barriers that inhibited their hotel career development. The cohort that returned to Kenya managed to retain their hotel occupation because employers recognised the exposure they had acquired whilst abroad whereas those that remained in the UK, only a few have maintained their hotel career with the majority switching occupations.

Whilst this research undertook a unique approach by positioning migrants' cultural capital and career experiences in the centre of the discussion to analyse migrants' experiences in the hospitality sector from an individual stance rather than an organisational lens, the development of migrant's career progression as an organisational subject, must be considered in future research, given that individuals' career do not exist independent of organisational structures.

Though the study sets out to explore the hoteliers' career experiences abroad, the findings of the study revealed inadequate preparation for migration. The workers failed to obtain relevant information regarding expectations of life abroad, instead depended entirely on the information presented to them by the recruiting agents. Empirical evidence reveals that, information provided by the UK based employment agencies often lacked in transparency, only upon arrival in the host country, following personal and family commitments were the workers expectations unmet. Therefore, without further research into the role of employment agencies on labour migrants, it will be rather challenging to identify their significant intervening role on the career outcomes of the workers.

This research brought to light the tolerance of migrant workers in trading off their cultural capital for a lifestyle abroad, considered a channel to an enhanced lifestyle for their children. However, due to stringent immigration policies resulted in families being separated. Thus, there is need for further and specific research on the impact of the family separation on children left behind by migrating parents. Additionally, whilst some families were eventually reunited, they recounted of the financial difficulties and emotional trauma they encountered as they navigated the process of family reunification in the UK. Therefore, further research with a view to address the social- cultural and emotional effects of migration on both the individuals that have migrated and those left behind would be useful.

Future research might also profitably seek evidence of the career progression of the Kenyan hotel professionals who never migrated and instead remained in Kenya to pursue a hotel career. An avenue that might lead the investigation would be to determine whether those who remained will be at par with the returnees in terms of their career progression. In

addition, it would also be necessary to identify how the accumulated cultural capital enhances the lived experience of the returnees in the home country.

There is a dearth of research on skilled migrant workers who occupy the low wage economy and yet there is extensive research on highly-skilled labour migration associated with the brain-drain phenomenon. This research focused on skilled and professional hotel workers who are considered to be low-skilled in an attempt to shed some light on the experiences of such workers and inject fresh suggestions for future research on the brain-gain phenomenon.

Resentment from the host community is considered a possible outcome for outsiders. Whilst there were subtle incidences of racism revealed from the narratives, a majority of the workers recounted unexpected considerable levels of acceptance in the host societies. Undeniably, crises such as an economic downturn notwithstanding migration is expected to cause some stir in the society. The absence of evidence on resentment towards the Kenyan hotel workers by indigenous workers and the community in general is an indicator of tolerance towards skilled migrant workers. However, this may be attributed by the contrast of a disinterest for hospitality careers by indigenous workers, against the willingness of skilled and professional migrant workers who choose a hotel. As such, given the lead of tolerance towards the skilled hotel workers, it would be relevant to investigate further causal factors of the host society resentment towards foreign workers with a view of towards a sustainable effort to address and curb the culture of resentment

The chapter interprets the study whilst drawing conclusions on the career experiences of migrant workers in the UK hotel sector and at the same time pointing the way forward for labour migrants in the hotel sector. Suggestions are provided on improving employment agencies recruitment practices particularly in the recruitment of migrant workers. This is to

ensure that whilst employers benefit from the workers' specialized skills and professionalism, in return the workers are positioned to work in establishments that are likely to enhance their hotel careers. In turn, the hotel sector also stands a chance of reaping benefits from migrant labour given the workers' enthusiasm to work in the sector which is likely to contribute to improving the image of the industry. Consequently, this could influence even more local workers to pursue a hotel career thus creating the potential to curb the perpetuating industry challenge of high labour turnover which exacerbate the shortage of labour in the industry. The study acknowledges that the migration route used by non- EU migrant workers to the UK is no longer available. In light of this, it is still demonstrable that there are some of the workers who switched their hotel occupation to other non-hotel occupations. This was as result of career frustrations encountered by the migrant workers in the host country. It is envisaged that without the barriers of career progression the workers faced, they would have preferred to remain in the hotel sector to pursue their hotel career. This is similar to their Kenyan counterparts who maintained their hotel careers upon their return to Kenya.

Whilst acknowledging the significant role of the state in safe- keeping its borders, this study suggests a need for UK immigration policies to be as inclusive and welcoming as is possible. The UK work permit programme was flexible enough to allow hotel migrant workers to work in the country but failed to protect the workers' hotel career interests. Therefore, flexible work permits programme need be put in place to allow labour migrants the opportunity to further develop their hotel career for in doing so, benefits are extended to not only individuals but also to the country's hotel sector. It is therefore suggested that similar to the occupation-specific work permit programmes relevant to the shortage occupation list available for the country, for example chefs and nurses and in an effort to address the hospitality industry's labour shortage challenge, these should be extended to skilled hotel labour migrants such as

the trained Kenyan hotel migrant workers. Flexible work permit arrangements for non-EU migrant may be a panacea for an improved hospitality career paths in the UK.

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APPENDICES

A: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS- RETURNEES

Returnee	Gender	D.O.B	Age at departure from Kenya	Age at time of interview	Marital status at departure	Marital status at interview	Child (ren) at departure	Child (ren) at interview	First-time work permit to UK	Actual job role assigned	Occupation at the time of interview	factors influencing decision to return
R1	F	1981	23	34	Single	Single	no	no	Reception Supervisor	Receptionist	Training manager at 4*hotel	Denied extensio
R2	F	1980	29	35	Single	Married	no	no	Restaurant supervisor	Waitress	Manager of Tour company	Denied extensio
R3	M	1976	24	39	Single	Married	no	yes:2	Hotel Generalist	General assistant	Lecturer at Kenyatta university,Chairing the hospitality and tourism department	took up opportunity to train in US hotel industry
R4	F	1975	34	40	Single	Single	no	no	Accounts assistant	Accounts clerk	Auditor	Former employer offered a more senior position in Kenya, opted to return despite an offer of good job in UK with Holiday inn
R5	M	1975		40	Single	married	no	yes:1	Head Chef	Chef de Partie	Hotel entrepreneur	Spent a lengthy period in UK, considered it was time to return to Kenya
R6	F	1975	25	40	Married	Married	yes:2	yes:3	Receptionist	Receptionist	Information Technology Personal Assistant	Necessary to return to family (young children) in Kenya despite having her visa still left with a validity for an extra year in the UK
R7	M	1972	29	43	Single	Married	no	yes:3	Chef	Breakfast chef	Hotel entrepreneur	Spent a lengthy period in UK, considered it was time to return to Kenya
R8	F	1976	26	39	Single	Married	no	no	Chef de Partie	Cook	Chef -outside catering	Forced return, denied extension
R9	F	1980	23	35	Single	Married	no	yes:2	Restaurant supervisor	Waitress	Hotel sales manager	Fell pregnant just before leaving Kenya to return to Jersey for her seasonal contract, decided to remain in Kenya
R10	F	1984	25	31	Single	Single	no	yes:1	Reception Supervisor	Receptionist	Lecturer in a hotel school	Had a little baby in Kenya
R11	M	1963	39	52	Married	Married	yes:2	yes:2	Head Chef	Cook/Kitchen porter	Chef_catering	Career frustration
R12	M	1952	47	63	Married	Married	yes:2	yes:2	Chef de Partie	Cook	Hotel entrepreneur	Spent a lengthy period in UK, considered it was time to return to Kenya
R13	F	1972	29	43	Married	Married	yes:2	yes:4	Housekeeping and Laundry Assistant Manager	Room attendant	Hotel entrepreneur	Had two young babies, husband's turn to study abroad
R14	M	1973	27	42	Single	Divorced/Remarried	no	yes:1	Restaurant supervisor	Waiter	CEO/Entrepreneur	Had missed out on family events eg birthdays, tough time with Scottish wife
R15	F	1982	25	33	Married	Married	no	yes:1	Restaurant supervisor	Waiter	Entrepreneur/Housewife .Returned to the UK	Husband made decision to return to run family hotel business
R16	F	1982	23	33	Single	Married	no	yes:2	Restaurant supervisor	Waitress	Housewife (2 toddlers)	To join spouse in Kenya
						Females	10					
						Males	6					
						Total	16					

B: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS STAYERS

Stayer	Gender	D.O.B	Age (Kenya)	Age at time of interview	Marital status at departure	Marital status at interview	yes:2	yes:2	Assistant Housekeeper	Assistant Housekeeper	Occupation at time of interview	Work location at time of interview	Interview location worked in the UK	factors influencing decision to remain
S1	M	1960	45	54	Married	Married	yes:2	yes:2	Assistant Housekeeper	Assistant Housekeeper	Taxi operator	Blairgowrie	Perth, Blairgowrie	Content with hotel career, challenges of family reunification,compelled to switch occupation to enable meeting Home Office financial requirement to enable family reunification.
S2	F	1981	25	34	Single	Married	no	no	Management Trainee	Receptionist	Hotel manager in unclassified AA hotel	Motherwell Glasgow	Glenridding, Oban, London,Paisley	Content with hotel career, married to a Scots man
S3	F	1979	24	36	Single	Married	no	yes:1	Chef	Cook	Agency Chef - hospital	Leeds	Jersey, Leeds	Obtained permanent residency
S4	F	1969	32	46	Single	Single	no	no	Assistant Housekeeper	Housekeeping supervisor	Executive housekeeper	Halifax	Glenridding, Halifax	Content with hotel career, obtained permanent residency,
S5	M	1975	26	40	Married	Married	no	yes:1	Assistant manager	Receptionist	Restaurant manager	Penrith	Appleby, Glenridding	Obtained permanent residency,nothing to show for absence
S6	F	1980	23	34	Single	Married	no	yes:3	Assistant Housekeeper	Room attendant	Support worker	Milton Keynes	Windermere, London, Leeds	Obtained permanent residency,married, securing childrens' future in UK
S7	M	1977	26	38	Single	Married	no	yes:2	Food and Beverage supervisor	Barman	Restaurant Supervisor	Exeter	Jersey,Leeds	Obtained permanent residency,better lifestyle
S8	M	1975	28	40	Single	Married	no	yes:3	Chef de Partie	Cook	Support worker	Milton Keynes	Windermere, London, Leeds	Obtained permanent residency,married, securing childrens' future in UK
S9	M	1968	36	47	Married	Married	yes:2	yes:2	Reception shift leader	Reception shift leader	Reception Manager	Penrith	Glenridding	Obtained permanent residency,children joined parents in UK
S10	F	1973	29	42	Single	Married	yes:1	yes:2	Assistant Housekeeper	Waitress	Health care Assistant	Oban	Jersey, Inveraray	Obtained permanent residency,children joined parents in UK
S11	F	1977	25	38	Married	Married	yes:1	yes:2	Assistant Housekeeper	Room attendant	Care worker	Penrith	Jersey, Penrith	Obtained permanent residency,children joined parents in UK
S12	F	1967	37	48	Married	Married	yes:3	yes:3	Spousal visa	Room attendant	Restaurant entrepreneur	Glasgow	Glasgow	Obtained permanent residency, obtained degree in hospitality management, set up restaurant business in UK
S13	F	1979	24	36	Single	Married	no	yes:2	Chef de Partie-Pastry	Cook	Part time Chef/ Full time Occupational therapist student	Birmingham	Jersey	Obtained permanent residency,married, Access to better education for children
S14	M	1976	23	39	Single	Married	no	yes:2	Chef de Partie	Cook	Chef	Birmingham	Jersey, Leeds	Obtained permanent residency,children joined parents in UK
S15	M	1968	33	47	Married	Married	yes:1	yes:2	Chef de Partie	Cook	Restaurant chef	Oban	Jersey, Inveraray	Obtained permanent residency,children joined parents in UK
S16	M	1967	35	48	Married	Married	yes:2	yes:2	Chef de Partie	Cook	Agency Chef - hospital	Glasgow	South England, Birmingham, Newcastle, Berwick-upon-Tweed	Content with career as a chef thus no occupational change but practising chef in a different sector
											Female	8		
											Male	8		
											Total	16		

C: FULL INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT SAMPLE

Interview Transcript

Interview with Stayer 1 on 26th November 2014 at Blairgowrie, UK

Name: Stayer 1

Address: # Perth Street, Blairgowrie, #

D.O.B: 1960

Gender: Male

Occupation at time of interview: Taxi operator

Marital status: Married

No. of children 2

Date first entered UK: 01/December 2005

AN: Researcher, E: Stayer 1

AN: E. Thank you very much for your time and just as earlier on I had mentioned to you in the email I sent to you previously, I am requesting you to bring to mind and share events that have happened in your life as if you were telling a story. However I request that your story focuses from just after your secondary education, moving into further education until your present working life. My interest as a researcher is on migrants' lived experiences and my aim of listening to your story is to understand your lived experiences as migrant worker in the UK's hotel industry and this story is important because it will help in telling the migrants' stories to a world which remains distant from them. So my task is to listen attentively to your story, I will take a back seat however I will guide you through the interview where necessary by interjecting just to bring you back on track and in turn your task is to narrate the events that have happened in your life. So please provide as much details as you can remember and as possible. Where we might have shared a common interest somewhere along our lives so far as industry colleagues or friends or whichever manner, please disregard that aspect and kindly share with me all that you can remember. So as mentioned on the consent form, your story that you share with me today remains anonymous and confidential. So over to you E. Thank you

STAYER 1: Thank you, that's a quite a toll task cos you ask me to remember my life history right from my secondary school is rather but...I'll do my best and I hope it will be beneficial to you towards what you are doing. I take it you want me to start from how I joined Utalii college? Well, I think to the best of my knowledge you are bringing back memories... Utalii to me I joined I would say by accident not by choice cos when I left high school I did not proceed to form 5 and 6 though I wanted to but I was not admitted and I stayed out of school for about 1 and half years through which time I had a job here and there in an insurance company in Nairobi and while I was there my mind was absolutely not on Utalii college, my passion was to join an agricultural training institute in fact I did two interviews, one at the Embu agricultural institute, I had been told by a friend I'm admitted, we even bought the overalls and everything, I never went. I have done Egerton University (laughs) I really wanted to join agricultural so when it didn't happen I just continued working for the insurance company, pioneer general insurance in Nairobi. Then I was that time leaving with my dad in Nairobi and of course as a young man right from high school we were in very good terms with my dad, but definitely as a young man there were short comings dad was seeing I was not the model boy he would have wanted me to be for example I would come from work at the weekends and go out with my friends and to my dad who was very conservative that was wrong. I should have come and sit in the house so when an opportunity at Utalii came along, honestly I did not know, it was my dad who noticed advertisement from Kenya Utalii college and I was such a lively boy, don't get me wrong, I was very good with my dad, but apart from going out, that I did not even meet dad that weekend, so what dad did when I came back home Sunday, if I was not working, dad used to wake up and go to work and leave me in bed, so me I woke up and found a cutting of advert from Kenya Utalii college placed on the table by my dad and a note and check "those course if you are interested, apply". So I took the note and I knew nothing, absolutely nothing about Kenya Utalii college, apart from one guy who was my former schoolmate whom we knew had joined Utalii college and we knew he was working for air Egypt, that's all I knew about Utalii we never even knew what he trained for but we knew Amos went to Utalii college he works for air Egypt. So I looked at the paper I saw first a hotel management course and being the lively young man from school the thought of going back to school for 4 years, I automatically said "no", so because I had not planned to go into tourism, I did not choose a course based

on what the course is or what the course will give me, I was looking at what appeared to be shortest and easiest, I noticed the food and beverage sales and service course and after reading a little bit and realizing this is a waiters job the naïve boy from Kenya just imagined this is a waiter it is not a professionally trained waiter in tourism industry I just saw a waiter in a local hotel and decided although its one year I'm not going to do it, then I saw tourism travel and tour operator I got interested then something caught my eye, housekeeping and laundry. At that particular moment, you might not believe this, I did not know the true meaning of laundry, I had never heard the word laundry myself I did not know, I saw housekeeping, I did not understand what it involved but I knew it was something to do with buildings and it caught my eyes, little did I know, trust me if I knew what housekeeping involved I would never have gone for housekeeping ,cos I got a shock in Utalii when I was told that It is cleaning of rooms, making beds me I thought it was something else, like an office in a building so I looked at the course and took a foolscap and returned an application to Kenya Utalii college for housekeeping and laundry. After two weeks I received communication from Utalii application forms to fill. I filled the forms sent the forms back and I was called for an interview. I remember my interview very well, I'm an old man am not a young man because the interview fell on the day I was supposed to be going to do my driving test at the traffic headquarters which is neighbours the Utalii office in CBD and the interview was to be on the same day. I actually left the college interview and rushed to do my driving test, luckily I was admitted in both which was a shock because that time we were being told without knowing anybody in college you cannot join it cos I'm sure you know, (with these days but) that time Utalii was a gem in Africa, you could not just go to Utalii so we did not even expect me to go to Utalii without knowing anybody but it was meant to be mine. I got an admission that was in October 1982 and i went to my sweet class of housekeeping and laundry to get the shock when we were being introduced what housekeeping involved. To be honest, I almost left, when I heard but I was so excited at joining Utalii college and group of new people, friends i have met, the prestige of Utalii college and the name and the people who were hearing that i have joined Utalii college, there was so much interest that kept me in otherwise my interest was not there.

But as we started the lessons, somehow my maturity, remember i had been out of school for almost 2 years which means I was an year or two years older than most of my classmates and that maturity gave me something, i had a better understanding assume because when we did the first few tests, my name came up because i became the star of the class, just by luck and that developed my interest, if only to please the teachers to show the people i was something, that's what i think now, I never thought about it that way but i developed such a big interest because i performed well and that continued in fact I'm proud to say that time if there were these awards they give I think i would have scored everything cos i remember i still keep my student files cos I'm so proud, 3, 4, 5 tests i was getting 10. One I remember there was a big argument in class cos we would be told after reviewing the test, if you think there is a mistake tell the lecturer, and we would raise the hand, I don't see where I have failed and the lecturer said you cannot make 10, it a 9.8 and the whole class was like if he gets everything, give full marks. It was really exciting, my life was good. I trained for two years and based on my performance we were lucky.

Two weeks before graduation, P. drycleaners approached Utalii College, they wanted to employ 3 people as supervisors but they wanted to recruit direct, so they approached the college and the college appointed 6 people to go for the interview. we went to P. drycleaners for an interview and I was lucky,3 of us were taken one to go to the office care department, they had an office cleaning department the other one to go to the laundry section and I was taken to go to the dry cleaning section as a supervisor, so immediately after college before graduation I had a job which was very exciting to me I never stayed out for one day I never even went out for a week after graduation cos we were wondering when we were going to start. I started the job and well, I had a very eventful life in pearl drycleaners, you may think I'm praising myself but things kept falling in place accidently. Like 2nd week an item is damaged there, the customers' services manager had just come from UK, a lady, a white linen jacket on the 3rd day the manager took her for coffee ,a tea dropped it was brought in the dry cleaning section I was a trainee that time the foreman had never been told. Because when we went to P. drycleaners we were told we work first for about 3 or so months as ordinary workers and we were told not to tell anybody there so that we can grasp the job cos we were going as supervisors we were told we cannot be brought direct [appointed directly as supervisors] people will resist you. For 3 months we don't want anybody to know who you are it's a new employee. So I was just thrown in the production department so we worked. So when this jacket came, the foreman is the one who took it, of course he was an old man who had worked for P. drycleaners since he was a boy, he was never trained but he was the expert, he had been promoted through

the ranks, he got the jacket, put chemicals and within a minute the whole pocket turned yellow, and it's a white linen jacket, this lady has just been employed, she has come from UK and here she is, she shed tears and the jacket was kept there. It was such a big problem and then the general manager. I remember Mr C. he was a white man, called me to his office. Called actually the 3 of us, he said "you people how long have you been here?" We said "one month" He said, I brought you from Kenya Utalii college because you are professionals. Are you? Yes. You are in textiles? "Yes" "who is in dry cleaning? You!" who is in laundry? You! You office care guy can go back to work. We were kept there and given the jacket and were told he is taking nothing we have to clean that jacket. And this is the jacket which has been damaged, according to me and true it had been damaged, the laundry guy of course escaped because the jacket is for dry cleaning. That now brought a big issue in the laundry because the foreman who had not been informed of whom I am wanted to know how and why is this, honestly it brought me a lot of problems and thereafter because who is this? Why is he being called [summoned]? Of course we were given the jacket and I went and met the lady. I said I want to meet the owner and I told her what I know. If a stain gets onto the jacket and you use the wrong chemicals the stain becomes cooked and becomes permanent. There is now way to remove it. She was a newly employed customer services manager and she must have wondered what are these professionals be doing? Why employ them then they should be able to do it. So I explained to her and she took me and went to the factory manager's office and she told him listen, I don't want these kind of people here, I was scared. He is telling me this and you employed him as a professional and here he is telling me...i want my jacket cleaned or these are the wrong kind of people and she just walked out, rudely. I didn't () and she left the jacket there and went out. Then the factory manager asked me "what did you tell her?" I said, I just said a stain becomes permanent and he agreed with me because he is the manager and he knows these things. He told me we can't clean this jacket it cannot be cleaned. White Linen, sparkling white linen jacket and he told me we are not going to clean this jacket it cannot be cleaned and the jacket was left in the manager's office. After 3 days i was called to the customer relations manager's office, went to the office and we were still in our uniform, i went there and she apologised for the way she treated me and she told me now, i want to give you a challenge 'this is my best jacket, i just came from Europe what can you do to the jacket, that now opened my mind at least i had an opportunity to think, so i told her i don't know, this is what happens and she said, "no, you can think of something" and i told her, I'll think about it. What i did, i went to the Kenya Utalii College, straight to my lecturers, i went to see Mr M., the old man and told him what had happened and he told me the same, if they have already treated it the stain will not go. I said thank you, i went home. I remember for two days i was on my student files every night, i was staying with my family and were wondering why i was reading. And something caught my eye about types of stains, oxidising stains and oxidising stains removal agents and i read whilst most products will remove soiling matter, an oxidising bleach has no power to remove any soiling but what it does it provides oxygen which combines with the stain and discolours it, such that if you have..., you touch the fabric you feel it's hard but can't see the colour. Oxidising bleach combines with the colouring matter and neutralises the colour and becomes colourless and it became very interesting read again and again, the following morning i couldn't wait to wake up to go to the office, i went straight to that lady and told her, you see i have been reading and every book says no but i want to try something, I did not tell her what, but i explained to her about bleaches and also told her about oxidising bleach. She called the factory manager and asked him if they had those chemicals. He didn't, nobody had heard of them so i was told to look for it. Calls were made, the purchasing manager was called and asked to look for it. They called Div., a big company they were told we want an oxidising bleach, they brought it. I was called and asked if this is what i wanted. I said yes and i said I'm trying. I was told not to do any other job and deal with the jacket. I started dealing with the stain, as i was dealing with it, i was being ridiculed by everyone in the factory. Even the old men who were there, who had worked for over 20 years, experts everyone was laughing because what I'm i trying to show them, they were saying this jacket has been done here by everybody and it cannot come out. I don't want to be tribal but you know in Kenya we have tribalism. So they were saying this is a Kikuyu, the factory manager was a Kisii, the fore manager, Luo, assistant manager Luo, supervisors were Luo. It became something like I'm showing off, a lot of bad talk and the secretaries talked about the 3 of us and word came out that these are big people, the 3 of them, they started saying we were wondering why one week you worked in the receiving area the next week he is in the finishing because they were being told to push them in different sections even he was complaining, if this boy can work why don't you let him concentrate in one area. But you see there was an idea to learn the plant. Also i had an idea, i wanted to find out how i can apply an oxidising bleach, and my worry was whether the bleach and the water will damage the jacket because

that is another aspect. So i tested on a part of the jacket and i didn't see any signs of shrinkage although it's difficult to see. I have tried that again but it has never worked. I think it is God who did the jacket for me. I took some bleach, put in a bucket, used a steam gun to boil it, it became a bit hot, took the jacket with a hanger, did the side with a stain and i left it there for about 5 minutes, and people were saying, "young man, what are you doing" it was ridicule, everybody was laughing, i felt so embarrassed. But trust me, the time i lifted that jacket after 5 minutes, i'm telling you oxidising agents work, i lifted the jacket, i couldn't believe it, the stain was gone. I took it to the dry cleaning man to load it with the others and the lady came there found me working and asked if i'd done it. Told her let's wait. Believe it or not, the jacket became clean. That incident sent reports all over including Kenya Utalii College cos they knew what had happened. If you asked me why S. {Kenya Umali College principal} liked me, that's where it started. Everybody was excited and that's why Mr M. said they wanted me back at Kenya Umali College but then they said i was too young to teach. I stayed there for 2 years at Pearl drycleaners .Of course i got my job and i was made the reception supervisor. Of course there were many other incidents, clothes getting lost. Then within the second year, M. International Sports centre was constructed and they needed to hold the 4th African games and they were recruiting top staff. So i saw an advert for an assistant housekeeper, i decided to apply and i was lucky to get a job. They took mostly housekeepers who had trained from Kenya Polytechnic because they wanted caterers .That's what government employs. It employs housekeepers who are caterers. You know in Utalii if you are a caterer you don't do housekeeping, it's different. But i went there because of my strength [skills] in laundry cos they had a laundry there. So i went as an assistant housekeeper but because i had a background in laundry they knew i'd been in charge of laundry. So in 1986 i changed from P. Drycleaners to work for the ministry of culture and social services at the M. international sports centre. My first job was very different from what i'm used to because once we got employed, junior staff were already at the sports complex planting grass and doing ground work, the senior people had no business there so they took all of us to various government institutions to wait for the place to be ready. I remember the first day when i went i was asked to go back home and pack a bag and i was taken to camp with the Kenya Harambee Stars football team. There was nowhere to take me. i'm a government housekeeperlet them go with housekeeper and i went with them to centre for research and training, in Karen as i landed there i got the shock of my life because they had asked for somebody because the housekeeper who is the caterer, you know they employ from Kenya polytechnic, a caterer cum housekeeper.. Me i have never been to the kitchen anywhere. I went there and as soon as i landed was told by the principal it was a college, i was told the cateress has gone on holiday that's why you are here and you have come with Harambee stars. There were no students, they were on holiday, that's why the Harambee stars went for camp, but i had a group of the national soccer team and they told me am the caterer. I said i don't know, i was told no, our caterers is the housekeeper and she handles everything. I was left in the cold just with a team and a kitchen and staff and i have never seen a kitchen and of course i had no jobs in the rooms cos the room staff had cleaned the rooms and those are student hostel rooms there are no inspection like a hotel, i thought i was on holiday but here i am, the housekeeper took me around the first day and told me that i'm leaving tomorrow i'm not coming. This is the store, that's the stuff and that's it. It was a nightmare and i didn't know what to do. But with quick thinking, i looked at people there, there was one gentleman who later became my friend, he was a chef. So i talked to him, you know, I looked too young and because of my body size, i looked young and these are chefs at the college and i'm the boss. So he asked me, "Are you the boss? So what do we do boss? Not in a bad way but to me it was scaring. I didn't know what to say but in an effort to save face and to answer back the rude ones, i also talked and i told them" look i'm not here to do your job, you know your job, so you do your job". I went and called one man aside and i told him, "Look am not here to supervise you, I believe you know your job, the housekeeper does not supervise you, he told me "no". She just measures out food tell her how much rice i need per week, how much milk we need, she buys .i said good, if you see me in the kitchen don't say i'm supervising you but "do you have enough stuff?" "Yes" "do i have to do the menu for you?" "No". I told him "good can i see tomorrow menu for the next two days? The old man had already done the papers and i knew oh my God, this man has listened to me. You see, the trick was and I have always advised my student this way...you go to a place even when you know everything first ask these people what they know and show them that they are somebody because that telling that man that i'm not there to supervise him made him very proud that i'm recognising him, so he showed me, i didn't know. And i told him even if you see me here know i'm not supervising and i went out and he continued cooking. My first meal was dinner. That time the boys were playing football went to the office, did a few things, i would go to the kitchen around 6 they are cooking, i'd walk around, just

go there, see that one needs to go to the sink, i take it to the sink myself, you know doing odd jobs just as i pass, because I'm in a tie i would walk around, when the soup is ready, I would take a ladle and taste ,i would see how the chef does it and i did it without talking to anybody. Then came service time, i went to the restaurant area the waiters have set, that one is no big deal I used to see what people did in Utalii saw the first time, standing this way at a corner, as people ate felt so proud and scared. As a football team there was no table service it was a buffet, you line up, and take a plate and the chefs serve. so it was easy for me, but i would notice the water is finished, I'd get them a jug of water .They were my idols, they are the national soccer team and I'm a fan. Once the first meal was served i was a relieved person. I handled that centre for two weeks and there was no complaint and i kept telling my students this "by showing the staff that it is their job and they know and by not interfering" but everyday i would be given the menu for the next day and i would go to the store with the chef and i would tell them, measure them out. I never touched the stuff. I asked them who handles the store?, They said "mama" ,I'd say come on, let's go we are men wed go there and the old man, the top chef appeared to like me so we started getting a long and for two weeks i handled, That was my experience immediately after college. I worked here at the M. internationals sports centre for 3 years and while i was there it's when Utalii approached me, i didn't know they were still monitoring my progress. They wanted me specifically in the laundry, which was Mr M.'s passion, so in the process i was called, by. I remember Mr L., a person I had never dealt with .So when the call came and it was Mr L. wanting me to go and see him I did not understand, I went and saw him and he told me of course it's not me its L. Then he questioned me and he told me he has a job in a very big hotel and he thinks i could do it. He didn't tell me it was Utalii then they said they wanted an instructor but then it was decided by the board, I'm too young to go as an instructor to students, this one will just come to play around with students here and i was ruled out.

I continued working there until they called me again didn't apply, they called me. As a supervisor in the housekeeping department at the Utalii hotel. Being Utalii hotel, i accepted. I was accepted by Utalii in 1989. That's where my life started, the development according to me started simply out of interest. Thanking the Management class.MA-88 and MA-87 the ones who were in the 3rd year and 2nd year when i joined. Those are the ones that built me. They built me this way, I was a student at Utalii and management class was always in management even in our dealings they were always management so the moment i went in as s supervisor i knew these were Utalii students and having been a student myself knew students are sensitive and another thing, all my supervisors, all the lecturers were my lecturers when i was a student the other supervisors who were there when i was in there were T.G and H. had trained after me and got jobs there. I found G 6 months pregnant, H. i think she was 2 weeks before birth. So they needed somebody urgently and they are young. The first week, Mr M. was laughing at me cos every time he saw me, cos i tell you the first two weeks is like i was working 24 hrs i used to report in the morning and then at 12 and I'm told i have to go and have a break because i have to come back cos G. has called she cannot report. And there were only two supervisors in Utalii hotel worked so much the first two weeks. In the process in the evenings we had housekeeping students on practical .Those were no big deal because i had not business with students i was a supervisor and the lecturers handled students but of course on the floor i had to supervise what they are doing but I'm not training. The problem started in the evenings, the course lecturers did not work in the evenings in housekeeping there would be a supervisor left in charge and you have to do the room reports and i would have two or at least one management student on practical. And the way these people were doing even today sometimes a management student, to me, but most of them when i was there they just walk around. They visit the ones at the reception, the excitement for management students is at the restaurants because there they work. But the others, especially housekeeping, they just walk around there is nothing to do, you are not cleaning rooms, there are no room cleaners because you have only maybe two attendants for turn down service. But me i had a different idea, because i had been tired during the day and i want to do something and i don't want trouble i knew i was on probation i want to shine, i didn't want anything to do with management students and i knew they were trouble but not all of them were kind, something will come wondering what you are doing or what you are telling them, "is there no lecturer?" that was the issues, they would come and find no lecturers .they don't supervisor ,this is not a lecturer there is no lecturers, they would even at times complain in class that in the evening there is no need of going to housekeeping because there is no lecturer. In the front office or restaurant there would be a lecturer. So they never sat in housekeeping they would be in the corridors with their fellow students the students would leave at 8, they always left early, and leave one or two members of staff, and once the

students leave the management students who are supposed to go up to close down will go to the other departments and the supervisor had absolutely no authority, you could tell a management student anything not as a supervisor. Those were days when management was management. Because of that i didn't want anything to do with them. So what I would, i would go the floors and whoever came i would tell them to sit, at the lecturer's desk, in the office handle the phone .In the evenings the supervisor was the boss. I never sat there when they came, because i used to fear them, I did not want them to bring trouble, I did not want questions on probation.so when the management students came i would tell them to sit in the office and handle the phone, I'm going to check what was happening on the floor. But if there is an issues, please call me first before you handle any issue. And these guys were happy cos they had an office. The others also started coming from service at times and would come and sit .i would not want it but i was still new i wanted to observe before striking. so we continue working and in the process and whatever room reports were made instead of me sitting to compile i would go with one i would show him the room reports and ask them to bring it for me on the floor to sign it and take it to the reception .So i used them as messengers to keep them off me but in the process id did what was supposed to be done. The next thing i was called by head of management, O., he wanted to see who K. is. Because unknown to me the students started talking in class specifically J.L, she is from Rwanda another guy from Uganda, I'm forgetting his name, mature people who had come to train, they were talking and they said ,for the first time just by accident, they were getting training in housekeeping. Because they go to housekeeping, the lecturers don't bother with management ,you are attached to the housekeeping students supervisor on the floor and you go round with the floor supervisor, you make room reports and once you are finished with room reports its 8, you are free to go But there is somebody who has come there and he gives you have to work, you have to compile room report you have to receive the complains you have to make sure the pantries have been locked, before you and the students go. We are now working. Two groups said that and O. wanted to see K., who is this students are saying is giving them work? I was keeping them away from me but in the process those who wanted to train realised that i was giving them work to do. So before i knew talks were going around that i had made everyone else look as if they were not teaching you are the only one teaching management students. Within one year and this is a true story, in Utalii, i was promoted as an instructor in housekeeping operations. That brought issues with H. and G. because they had worked there before me and they were being by passed as supervisors. Supervisors never had a promotion to the academic department. Because what that means was that i had been pushed to the academic. That was my first step towards teaching. I never went to the university to teach i was just from a housekeeping class but it was decided rather than keep me as a supervisor, odd shifts in the evening, they want me there with the housekeeping students as an instructor. I was called by Mr L. again. He told me, look i will give you other stories later but you are a lecturer. He said "listen your job is very good, we have promoted you and tomorrow, Tuesday you are joining a class that started yesterday at the Kenya technical teachers college, be here by 8 by the time the college bus leaves" i was there and went to class with a few colleagues. The people i looked up to and respected. I went to KTTC for a course in instructor training, the course was 3 months long, graduated with my certificate and came back to college and found my name on the lecturers board. I couldn't believe it, it was a dream come true. After one year, i started getting frustrated because here i am, i was really working and you see as an instructor I'm running the hotel. The lecturer in charge now has somebody other than a supervisor. That time i was drinking, i was drinking with Z. a lot cos, she liked me. My job was good. She would call me in the evening, we would meet at Wonder, she would drive around, would drink, I would tell her I'm going to sleep am working tomorrow, she would say "I'm the boss". I would drink up to 2, go home. One time i remember i told my wife i can't sleep because I'm reporting at 7, I'm on duty at 7 and people will come and find I'm not there and there are check outs. I stayed up, took a shower and went there. She came and couldn't believe i reported. She was the lecturer- in -charge. She was so impressed when she came at 9 hurriedly after waking up .She told me how you are, just go home. But now in the process they advertised for an assistant lecturer in housekeeping and operations and to me i knew a chance now has come because i was an instructor, I wanted that title, lecturer .i applied and i was called and told very unceremoniously that I'm in the system they know me and the know when to move me so i shouldn't again apply for a job that has been advertised because when they advertise they knew i was capable and if they knew that they wouldn't have advertised. So they said don't again, i said "yes". Who comes for the interview, one of them was my classmate. She later went to Uganda, she beat me in that interview and she beat me in another one for Queen Elizabeth national park. She got the job and that really got me down. I went to Mrs L. and told her my feelings. Told her "this girl was my classmate not beating me in class, yet we applied and you people tell me

you know my capabilities and who do you bring, my classmate and i know everything about her. I just told her openly not official. Told her, we all know about J., we all know about the warnings you people gave her. You know me, you know our characters and yet you people tell me I'm not capable and you give her a job. I said I'm ok I'll work but i hope you people know how i feel, and she told all the other lecturers. All the other lecturers had taught me in housekeeping and laundry. You taught us. I told everybody who cared to listen .It went to Mr S., he heard all that i was saying. He didn't call me but i knew, I was told by Mr M. the head of laundry. He told me please don't talk too much, Mr S. has been told what you are saying. And i said, but its true Mr M., he said, "K. you know these things it's not us, its J.. J. was a relative of Mrs L., you didn't know. It's not us but Mr S. knows so you had better be careful" i was not ashamed because it is the reality. This was my classmate, now she has come, I'm an instructor mark timing here, slaving in the hotel, i never stand in front of class, i teach in practical but the excitement is standing in that class there. So i worked and within 6 months you know, word has gone round a fellow lecturer of mine was the executive housekeeper at the Safari park hotel, when her colleagues told her what was happening to me, everybody would have wanted to work with me and she needed an assistant and i knew she was a crude person. I applied and i was called for an interview, i went and agreed to go as an assistant housekeeper. Cos i was given double. That time Utalii was normally { } i was earning 6, and Safari park were ready to give me 13 thousand. Though i wanted to teach in Utalii, but i had to go. Actually the job came through one of the lecturers. I came to Utalii, you know i was an instructor which means i was not pegged by students because i have to run the hotel, I applied for my annual leave, 30 days and the holidays started the day i was supposed to start at Safari park hotel and i went on my holiday so that i first observe what was happening. The first week was excellent. 64 acres of land, 204 bedrooms assistant executive housekeeper, i was happy with entertainment allowance. It was a big job. After one week, I wrote my resignation letter to Utalii. They tried to call me but i was already working so i had no chance and i continued working. Utalii did not like it. But i never lasted i stayed for record one year, because as soon as i left....you know S. park has so many restaurants, at lunch time i was like a clock, because i knew the easiest way to land into problems in a hotel is through the public areas, people ignore them, you will find the general manager always in the restaurant in his suit running the reception if you want to make it take care of the public areas walk along that reception, notice the papers, toilets are the most important, cos you enter one minute another guest eats, chokes does not tell anybody rushes to the toilet throws up, walks out another guests walks in and finds it. So me i was like a clock, the 7 restaurants, if you were eating in any restaurant you would see me after every 10 minutes. Throughout the lunch hour, so whenever it was lunch hour or dinner, you wouldn't find me at the office, no other job, and toilets! Just walking around. You know there is somebody manning them then i would see and somebody would see me and follow me there. One lunch hour, La pizzieta restaurant, Mr S. was having lunch with Dr K., the owner of the hotel, and as i was passing i didn't notice it was Mr S. from the back sitting there, having their lunch, I'm not interested with the guests,...then i heard, "hey, hey, come here, do you know this man, then i looked, Mr S., he told Dr K., you stole my lecturer, no he is a very good manager. You know the pride, "when two big horses and other customers are looking", i went. Within two weeks, Mr M. called me, we want you here but in the laundry not in housekeeping, they let you go in housekeeping now I'm getting you. So Mr M. told me when they advertise come and talk to us so i looked at the papers there were adverts senior assistant lecturer laundry operations, i saw it, i went there first. I remember its O. who met me, they { } i said no i will not come as an assistant lecturer, i said "look, O. Left me at the Moi International sports centre, he is here, J.W, you employed her when i was here, me I'm not coming below them. I was told listen E., i will tell you something you don't know "if you knew the grades and titles of these ones who are teaching, some of them is even assistant lecturers, if we give you anything other than assistant lecturer, half of them will resign. You want me to show you the records? These people are all assistant lecturers how can i give you a lecturer, my friend, do you want to know my title myself? Look, M. wants you. Just come for the interview." So i went back and re applied. Because i wanted Utalii, just one year Safari park, i applied and i was called for an interview. The first time to teach proper because the interview was of course theory, the practical was a lesson and you know my first lesson ever at Utalii? It was introduction to textiles. That's what i was given in the interview letter. A 30 minute lesson. So we sat at the interview, they knew me, they said they will not ask me why i left Safari park, they know why i left, "are you willing to come back?" I said "yes, but I'm not willing to come as an assistant lecturer". They said "No, E. that will bring problems". We were interviewed and they offered me a job but they told me "we have no choice, take it or leave it but if we were you, we would take the job" Of course the job was about 500 or so lower in salary than what i had at Safari Park but then there were more chances and benefits and

in 1990 i re-joined Utalii but this time as a member of full academic team as an assistant lecturer in the laundry department. The rest you pretty know, i worked for Kenya Utalii College, in 1991 they sent me back to the KTTC for instructor training certificate part 2 ,remember i had done part 1 previously. I came back to college mark timing with frustrations of course because opportunities were coming taking likes of O to Germany, i was expecting to be in the group. A lady who was head of computer went to Germany. You know these Germany scholarships really waited for them but they never happened. But at least i was happy with my job. The best experiences being when we went out and met the hotel managers in refresher course management development seminars, get that experience, i must say i enjoyed my life at KUC ,the highlight was when i was in front of that class. I don't know why i had that passion of standing there and knowing these 30 heads are relying on me and they are taking what I'm saying as the bible truth and i will test them. It was extremely exciting and i was very lucky that i got along very well with the students somehow, i don't know how it happened but i loved the job and i taught there and in 1994 i still felt there was a short coming i needed higher qualifications because i knew Utalii is not the end but i couldn't go to the university for example and apply for a part time job because of my academic papers. The college knew what i would do, I had technical teachers college .but the paper work was not there, I tried to apply to the University of Nairobi but Utalii refused to sponsor me. It was going to take too long they were not willing to do that. So somebody advised me, O. cos he knew that i was struggling, he advised me to look for shorter course, i told him i don't want the shorter course because i have them, i have UC 2 years, KTTC twice, he told me "E. you have no choice, if you want to learn you can just do courses and wait for your chance for maybe training abroad" cos that was the only avenue. Then i decided to try Kenya Institute of Management and i went there just for a course just to keep myself busy in the evening and i enrolled for a higher national certificate in Business administration. I went there i did the course for one year, KUC paid for me, cos i applied for a grant. I finished the course and as soon as i finished there was an advanced certificate and i enrolled for it. And the moment i finished, Nairobi University admitted me automatically but there was a problem because the college was not willing to pay. So i was advised to drop the BSC. in Commerce because it was a 4 year course. I was told i was an employee and i was supposed to be productive. I was again advised to drop back into the diploma course and i did my diploma in business management at university of Nairobi and as soon as i finished, M. was coming to college, the principal was changed and the moment M. arrived he nominated me, Mrs M., E. K. and another 2 people as student counsellors. When i was called, i told him i feel short and they looked for a programme for me by the Kenya association of professional counsellors a programme from University of Durham. We were to do it there once you get your higher national certificate then you are going to start the programme there 6 month in Kenya,6 months at Durham, straight for Masters. In fact when i landed in Newcastle, i thought Durham is next door. I had said i would pay for myself. So i continued doing the Nairobi diploma went back and continued teaching, of course promotions were coming in grades as we went along and i did that until i got a letter from UK offering me a job (laughs) i don't know whether i have shortened it or...

AN: No, actually that is the next step, looking back over your life about the decision to migrate to the UK, what influenced the decision, how did it all happen?

STAYER 1: You know you have excited me, i have never remembered my life history. I'm remembering things i don't remember. When i was working at KUC, remember that's when they started recruiting for the European market and i told you when the group came to assess the college i was lucky to be nominated by the principal to be among the ones who take the European guys around the college and explain our curriculum. One of those people I took around and who attended my class was a recruitment agency here in the UK and that man somehow, i don't know whether it's from my class or what was left with an impression somehow because they started recruiting and i had absolutely no dealings with the UK. Of course a few students like A. were still communicating because we were still friends even in Kenya but i didn't have somebody i was pushing for a job. I told you i was extremely happy with my teaching job, i was proud of what i was doing and i loved it, part of it being, my job as far as i was concerned i was not in practical areas in charge of a department, mine was in charge of a class. So as soon as a class came and i was told that you are the course tutor for this year's housekeeping group, i would know i would handle the class for two years. Of course other lecturers are teaching but if you are the course tutor you are the one responsible even coordinating with other lecturers and after 2 years you would be happy to see your students graduate see them and their parents congratulating them and you know, "wow, i have achieved", and you wait for the next group. That was excitement to

me, i was happy to continue there. I had even stopped of dreaming of further training abroad had gone up to diploma level at University of Nairobi my passion was that i knew one day i would go back to University of Nairobi at my level. { } i started going to places like USIU not as a full lecturer in class but through the lecturers, short topics, say as guest speaker. I was doing hotel. I remember one time i handled 150 at the Norfolk and that was all the staff, customer care but in groups of 50 and that was like a seminar. They would sit there, not 2 days you would stand there and talk for 2 hours for each group. I also had very good working relationship with P. sports club, i became very close to their manager, that was like my permanent place for small jobs. Me and Mr M., the Aga Khan hospital i think all the laundry staff have gone through me then when the college started making money, the business development department started looking for jobs from institutions for Utalii to do and one of the biggest customer was the Nairobi hospital, every year we used to go for housekeeping and laundry training. Those were jobs that were exciting me because apart from teaching in Utalii all the tourism institutions within Kenya had started knowing us, national tourism competitions, being taken to Mt Kenya safari club to stay there for a week taken to examine people.

AN: E. How about your decision to come to the UK, what influenced the decision, How did it all happen?

STAYER1: In the UK, i never made that decision to come to the UK, i think my life...i wish the next accident will be a best one, because i told you i joined Utalii by accident, i would love to say i also came here, to me, it was () because i never looked for a job. The agent i had taken round got a job here and reasons known to him decided the right person to do the job, was me. So he talked to the hotel, unknown to me, he got a job offer letter for me from a hotel in Dumfries. That was the K. Hotel and Health club. He sent the letter to his office in Nairobi because he had opened a branch in Nairobi and this lady came looking for me to give me the letter. I remember when she brought i think i mentioned i was at Norfolk i was not in college, when she came looking, by the time i went back everyone was saying W. was here she is looking for you, when I looked for her she told me "that we have a job for you, N. I has told me to sign this letter and we return it to him so that they can process a work permit for you".(Laughs) i told her "my friend, are you joking, which letter i have not asked for any job?", so i refused because to me i used to say " when the deal is too good, think twice, how lucky can i be? I haven't asked anybody for a job and somebody is asking me to sign a letter, I'm seeing here, K. Hotel and Health Club, Dum....i was reading it "Dum-fries"(laughs) "this Dum...fries i don't know", actually even as i was leaving i was telling people I'm going to Dum,,,fries i never knew it was "Dumfries". So i told W., "i know you look for jobs but when did you tell me you were looking for a job, you never even asked me for my papers, nobody asked me for my certificates or anything", i just received...sign we return to UK, told her no way, no chance, what I'm i signing? So when she told N., unknown to me, N. was still in touch with Mr S. So N. called S. and told him i have refused, Mr S. called me, i know Mr S. respected me, i liked the bosses in Utalii they respected what i did actually despite the frustrations which are always there in employment and he asked me why i don't want a job in Europe? So i told him i would love it but i don't have it and he told me W. came and i said yes and he told me "common E., go and see the world ,we need you here, we want you here but go and see the world", and with the principal's blessings and knowing the job is genuine i immediately started and i signed the letter went back and within two weeks i had a work permit from the UK government in Kenya and i was being called to go and apply for a visa. That's how it happened just like a joke. I applied after 3 days i was called by, that time they were handling applications somewhere in Westlands i was called there and went there and i got my visa, the next day W.is calling me hurrying me, your plane is leaving you, on Wednesday, i never had time, I never even said bye, that was in 2005. So me i got a job here through somebody who had met me in KUC when i was doing my job, i came to know him here and December 2005 i landed at Newcastle airport and N. I met me there and took me to the K. hotel and i was {} in Dumfries.

AN: Just before moving to your arrival here. Can you describe how you went about your preparation to move to the UK, considering mental financial and even physical preparations, the accommodation arrangement and working conditions?

STAYER 1: It was hectic but mine was straight to come from there because like i told you, i never even filled a form to apply for a permit work, the work permit came to me, so all i did when it came it they called to tell me they had the work permit can i go and fill visa application form, so i went in their office in Nairobi, filled the forms and paid ,there was some money we were paying, which we later realised that's how W. lost her job, by the way, she was getting some money which N. never received. That's how they fell out. So i paid whatever was to be paid, so they sent me to the visa place i submitted my forms took biometrics and they told me to wait then i was called..., they used to tell us "you will be called for the interview, so you had better keep your phone on and if you don't come that's it". me i remember when i was called, i was refusing to answer because i was driving, i was called on Friday afternoon, i was at Mwea going home, you know if i don't have a lesson in the afternoon, if i had a morning lesson on a Friday and i had talked to my colleagues and M. knew i used to home every weekend, because i told i had taken my family home that time, so every Friday i used to go home and M. was good to me they would arrange for me if unless necessary, i would not have a lesson on Monday morning i would have my lesson at 2pm so i would leave Embu on Monday Morning going straight to class, on Fridays i would teach on the morning so at 2 I'm free so i would go home. So the phone rang when i was at Mwea, and i refused to answer then as i was passing something told me this could be the visa people, and i just pulled the car over, looking its a number i don't know, i answered i was told, "is that E. yeah, you are here on Tuesday for your interview". I went for the interview, it was no big deal because they had my papers and the interview was sort of trying to confirm if these papers were genuine, asking me about my inspirations whether i intended to come and live here and go back but i had all intentions of going back, my mind was I'm coming to Europe gain the necessary experience, get back home and show them how. After i got my visa, for me i would say it was easy because the agency here did everything. Once i got it i was told id be called and next time they called to be told i was going on Wednesday evening. The only problem was the notice was too short i was refusing, i was telling them, give me time to say bye to people, it was very hurriedly. Apparently they had waited for me because in the process of my refusing and preparing myself they had recruited 3 at the same time and they had 4 other Kenyans in Kid. Hotel.

The head housekeeper who is me and two restaurant supervisors and they had to come without me so by the time we finished mine, i was already late and they just wanted me. So i agreed to come, organised my family said bye and they called me they had an airline ticket, everything prepared mine was just to go to the airport, i came, landed at Newcastle and somebody comes straight calling me "E. " and i don't know him, i couldn't remember ever having seeing that white man ,i even tried remembering seeing him in my class. But he knew me because you see of course going in a foreign land you are () because you don't know where you are going and you don't know anybody and you have landed then as i was wondering what to do next, somebody said "ohh E." then i said whoever is calling me must know me. And he put me in his car and the first stop was at K. hotel and Health club, I went straight to the hotel because they had organised accommodation. On arrival at the hotel mine was easy because i found another 5 Kenyans, so to me i went home We started working, Dumfries had its own problems, every hotel, every employer even the ones we admire most have a slight problem with an employer its only them who knows, But Dumfries the initial days were good, But of course problems come because of staff resistance to change, that's how problems start and if the ones resisting change happen to be close to your bosses then you are in trouble, cos you will not say anything and in my opinion, things will even be discussed in informal settings in your absence so you have no chance cos if i came to tell you about, for example your husband somebody you know, you see every day even me as i tell you about him, you will just be looking at me politely listening , to be polite. So in Dumfries i had my fair share of problems but i did my job i believe the back of the staff in the department ,I'm lucky with that i think God helps me whenever i go to a place of work, i don't know why but i get along well with staff. I have never had problems with staff as such although you can never fail to get one or two but i know i always hit it off with staff though i had a person there who was too much against me but she later left she wanted to leave and the manager, a lady started saying at one point and i questioned, she said "G. left because of you! Because she couldn't stand you! Apparently, i didn't know at that time but once we started falling out with the boss at one instant and i told them I'm going i remember her saying I'm not good for the department even staff were leaving because of me, i said "you mean staff leaving because of me?" I don't remember seeing but G. left, i said G. did not leave, she said G. left because of you. I had my own problems and still my excitement because i did my job. Of course these problems are there at place of work, we would be naive to think every job is straight forward. Even what I'm doing now, i feel sometimes the boys misbehave but i had a good

run at Dumfries and i was there unfortunately not for long. I worked there for about 7 months because the same man who got me from KUC again came for me. And he told me we are going north and the first instant as usual i told him i don't think i should move, I'm not even allowed to and besides I'm just settling." Can you let me settle?" But he insisted .Then having come here although you are a student and are doing something , you have been in my shoes, you know very well that once you go to a new place of work especially in such a far off country you are always unsure of what will happen next and if i was more sure like now, you know like now i can make my own decisions without (involving) anybody and i will make a decision that i think is best for me but that time every decision i made had always a connection with the agent cos i was a new person here i was on a work permit, i knew after 2 years i would need either the hotel to renew my contract and continue employing me and in which case i would need an agent to apply for a work permit if i want to continue working here ,that factor will always pull you back as you try to make a decision, that's my opinion others could have a different one, but to me every decision i made regarding the job, had to have other factors pegged in, like one, the agent, two the government here, three, even the local community you will want to think about others but if it was back in Kenya, you make your decision and only your father and mother matter, the rest don't cross my compound, but here you are in a foreign land, will i get another job? Will the community accept me? if i left will i get another work permit so when N. told me he wants me to move to a place called Blairgowrie in North Scotland my first reaction was no, I'm 7 months here and i wanted to set a year or at least two because i had difficult situations running that department and I wanted to prove myself and as months went by i was getting stronger and stronger on my feet. So N. came just when i was feeling, now i have started then N. comes "we go" and my mind was "another hotel? Another start? I'm half way through now he wants me to start the problems again, that's what came in my mind and i said no, I want to succeed here. He insisted and i started thinking, "wait a minute, this man who got me a work permit, I'm half way through the work permit, next year i will need another one, what happens when i refuse to listen to him? Because we will fall out and that stopped me in my tracks and i stopped immediately to think about my current job and started thinking about renewing my visa/work permit

Anyway, the job was good, because it was a job i understood it was my area, number 2. I had taught that particular subject for a while i had taught a management class, waiters, front office ones a customer care subjects was teaching communication at times whenever there was an issue and mostly motivation and traveller behaviour especially traveller behaviour. I knew these things i knew it was the hotel industry, i would not say am an expert but i was reasonably informed about the tourism industry so the job was the right one for me. I had a lot of problems with staff resisting my presence don't forget I'm sorry to say this but i have to mention, it did not escape anybody's notice that here i am, i am black i have come to supervise in K., the head of the department was a lady about over 65 years maybe, M. and she never expected anybody above her and here they brought from nowhere and I've been put there and she has been told very clearly that I'm the boss, I found 3 supervisors M. being the head, the others younger girls ,K. was ok, she was tough but ok, hers was just do the job and it's like she has gone to school and she could understand that this is a job and we have to do. The other one was too much on M.'s side, i didn't mind cos she was an elderly lady, the people who grow on the job, But M. was outright hostile because i have gone to displace her, Because in the first place when i landed M. had to change her sitting position cos i had to take over the main housekeeping office and M. had no chance, again i told them within two weeks and i think i should have gone slow. When i realised that M. and the other senior supervisor were feeling affected too much by me spending time on that desk, and you know i had a lot of reading to do, i wanted to know their systems, i wanted to see the reports they make because definitely if you go to a new job, could be wrong, this is me, you check the systems that are in place and from the minute () i want to think of how i can make this system remain because you don't want to rock the boat but i want to change it so that it can work for me, so i want the same system but what do i put in so that it works for me or is it so perfect that i don't need to touch anything or is it so crowded that it mess me up but if i could chuck out this part this system would be the best. so you have a lot of reading to do not just working and writing, no, i want to read all their records, you know they thought i was crazy, how do you sit reading a room report and you want to scrutinize it? To me, that's how i do my job, let me know what's there because whoever put that record there designed it for a reason so i cannot dismiss it ,i want to understand it, see what it is, what does it do? Does it do the job? So the first week i had a lot... every file i want to check even staff rotas, i want to go through them for 10 min understanding what did this person think about doing this rota, then i would go to the reception records, rooming lists ,see what was the occupancy

on that day? Why did they decide this? Why were 3 people on holiday here? What happens here? I would even when I'm doing my rounds I would be remembering our last manager, when is the busy period, how is business looking cos I know I'm following. Now that appeared as though I just want to put legs up and sit and the other week M. started a group talking about they have seen housekeepers but this one just comes to sit he doesn't even work, in the second week it was so bad and I remember something that I was telling students also that you don't rock the boat but you also don't wait for three months before you tell them who you are otherwise when you do it, you will be changing, they know you, they knew you so show them who you are from day one so that they learn who you are but if I go there and I'm all smiles for three months then after three months tell them "I'll show you the true me I'll be wrong, I'll be kicked out because I was good have changed. It's even better to be bad and change .So by the second week and I hear people talking that way I called the 3 supervisors and told them "look, I have heard what you people are saying but I was interviewed for a job, got it, I know my job a, what I have to do and I don't have to explain to you ,If I was employed to come and sit and read all what you write that's what I'm going to do, so please do your job. The other thing I wanted to mention and why I called them, and that was a mistake I was too harsh because it was outright, oh May was outright, even my other Kenyan colleagues were asking me what is wrong with this lady, E. you have a problem, she doesn't want you she is telling everybody, she is so open about the new housekeeper. Even my colleagues in the Kitchen. It was embarrassing that's why I called them and told them that I did not expect to see anybody seated in this office, you sit in this office when you have something to do, you make your report ,it cannot take you more than 20 minutes, we are floor supervisors, we are meant to be out there not here. Ohh suppose we have inspected the rooms and we have finished. I said, "I want you to come and tell me you have finished work". If you think you have finished and have nothing to do on the floor you please come and tell me. It was bad but I soldiered on and eventually M. had to shut up cos she realised whether she does, she is not sitting in the meetings with the director every week. And nobody approaches, if whatever she tells the manager, I will be told but M. will not be called to be told what to do. But she realized. I left her there anyway, so what I'm trying to say, my experience at Dumfries was bad and part of the reason I came to realise J., I don't () people like J., the general manager did not give me a chance to do my job, she was still in charge. She had employed housekeepers, restaurant supervisors but she was still the supervisor, the housekeeper unlike being the general manager and doing what a manager does and you know every well one of the definitions of a manager is a person who does his job through others. Is a person who makes the best arrangement of men, money, materials and system to get the job done, not the person who is physically....but J. was there cos she would receive the room report, verbal of course from M. and it wasn't the best .I knew I had a problem, but I didn't expect it as a problem would do my job because she never blasted me because of M. but I knew she was M.'s support. And it was not very good and that to me was a big challenge and that's why I'm telling you by the 7 month when N. wanted me to move, I was feeling no, they have all kept quiet and J. or no J., M. or no M., the department is moving one and the 3 directors in the hotel the way they said hallo to me, the maintenance manager the way he is responding now after several months, they are different people they are taking me as a person and can recognise my contribution, you know, if you know what you are doing you definitely recognise when your boss recognises your contribution, if he doesn't you will know. So immediately I knew especially the financial director, and the maintenance manager knee those two people had clearly started showing that they are relying on me and they want my opinion on this and that because like Grahame, the Maintenance manager was in charge of the stores and they had a very good store system complete with cards and a store person and after 3 months this man discussed with me whether I would like to take over ordering of housekeeping materials, just order them and give them to John, they don't have to go to G. so to me I realised he is recognising there is something. A guy who was working in the laundry I've realised here, hotels here, if there is a person working in the laundry, the laundry person is like the person in the laundry nobody else touches the laundry, he was Polish, M., his girlfriend was a supervisor in housekeeping but she was good, Polish. These guys became friends, they had a lot of problems with M. who is local, so they appreciated me being there but of course I was extremely careful not to start creating friendship because if I did create them among staff, then I'm going wrong. My idea was make them, respect that person, whether you like E. or not, if he is your supervisor you must recognise him, you come to me, we can talk, come to me when you have a problem, but I couldn't make my own camp. However when one girl was leaving, I was extremely shocked because...anyway, the point is I had a tough time in Dumfries...It was not the best experience, it was very challenging but because my challenges were on staff control, I wanted to meet the challenge. However it was made more difficult

because, in my opinion, i could be wrong, the General manager appeared according to me, to take sides with older staff members whom she had known over the years, she was not willing to give me a hearing when the older staff said, she knew them...even me maybe i would behave the same, maybe there is a tendency of trusting the devil you know than the angel you don't know at all. So to her, when the staff said, that was that, whatever E. said....even as she questioned me, she would cool down after my explanation, but the approach she came with, is that its already done, the deal is done, we know is this and this. Anyway i had a very tough time

Definitely there were good things because the problems I'm talking about is a problem here and there in controlling the staff when the staff want clearly to be rude but cannot be rude officially because of the rules but you can clearly see they are leaving nothing to chance they can show you they don't care, what can you do? but they cannot () and there is nothing worse and my biggest problem like when you feel your immediate supervisor does not appear to be on your side 100%.Here It was different but there, there were. ..you can see, even as you act at the back of your mind you know the manager could overrule and embarrass you, something like that as opposed to where you work because you have been made in charge but you know its where my boss has given me a responsibility and it's me and he doesn't want to hear anything, it's what i tell him because he has given me a job, i do it, i don't do it, i go. But when you feel your boss has given you a job but still wants to control every step you do, then...so i had a good experience in that the staff themselves even when there are those...the bulk of the staff and especially, sorry to say, there was a big number of Polish migrants, especially those were very good. Because i provided a relief from.... well, i don't want to accuse people, but they looked at M. differently, they were almost accusing her of being ...well (laughs), against them specifically and the way she was behaving with another supervisor, cleaning public areas, her friend called J., the way they were behaving, you could be forgiven for accusing them for being racists. They were not (laughs) but the way they were behaving....So because of that any other staff who was () because my friend, the supervisor had talked directly against these other people, openly even in front of them, she never respected them, so because I went with a different approach at least I had a group of sympathisers. Although that was not what I intended my happiness would have been, a department not a fragmented department with M....right to the bottom there, that's how you run a department until everybody appreciates and admires you. Such that even if you know somebody is against you and you know you have department and you are one, my friend, do what you do best, that other person will shut up and come and apologise, it happens, it has happened to me here, so the department was fragmented because clearly the housekeeper I found there, did not like it that I went there and she would do anything to mess me up, including, in my opinion could be wrong, failure to do the duty properly especially in the health club, somebody was reporting at 7 and on two occasions, this person would fail to report and fail to do some areas. So mistakes would happen, guests would find mistakes in some areas and definitely I would be questioned

So what I'm saying is there were a lot of challenges but still when it came to being told I'm leaving i did not want but not because i wanted that kind of challenge and I also knew it was not allowed but I had to keep Mr N. happy for fear of him refusing to help me in renewing my next work permit. Besides i had just started getting on my feet among those challenges, because there were good aspects in the sense that the guests especially who came to the health club, the repeat clients, other departmental heads, the directors, one or two people there, there were a lot of recognition and appreciation and you could see. Plus the fact that i survived the first 4 months i felt proud of myself because the conditions were difficult, clearly i was not wanted there. But i survived.

I think I have talked much about work experiences and not even mentioned about another important element, *mshahara* (wages). There is nothing really to shout about. What I'm trying to say is, when we come from Kenya and we are told how much we will be earning, immediately we start doing mathematics and it sounds very good. But the moment you land here and get to know reality things change in one way, if i were to get this package even if it is just you give me GBP 100 and i send it straight to Kenya that money could do something but you see you are giving me the GBP 100 here and then i realise i have a phone bill to pay ,electricity the money they give us, this is my opinion ,at least what i have been given, honestly is not enough for me ,economically here cos life here is not cheap. Take for example, GBP 1000 and you are not living in a hotel how much will you pay for a house honestly? Talk of GBP 300.And this not living in the kind of house you would like to live, because ideally i would like to get a salary and lease myself a two- bedroomed house, but now with the kind of money we get, if you move out my friend you can only get a

one-bedroomed house if you are lucky. Because when you pay the GBP 300 out of the GBP 1000 and pay GBP 100 for electricity and gas, you realise your phone bill is GBP 100, you realise your money is not there already, so economically the money is not enough. However if that money is to be taken literally as it is and lands on a Kenyan table that's different. So economically, I cannot fail to say that the money helps in a very big way because we are able to do what we cannot normally do without that money. Nobody will have enough but when I look after I've experienced life here and realised, the kind of money they give us is peanuts. But when you come, you feel, wow, I have this but as you start living and you want something, you realise I don't have money! If I tell you the other day I booked a trip to Kenya hurriedly and I had to pay GBP 1,300, I have receipts here, how many people get a salary of GBP 1300. That's a trip back home. So economically the money is not enough. Investing at home, we would like to do it but I cannot say the ability to invest home is because that we have improved economically because of this money, I'm challenging that because of the amount of money they pay the professionally trained staff. If you compare what they earn here because later I came to know cos I was in management, I could enter the payroll, sometimes I was even doing the payroll, I learnt and I remember even other departments here had been given a new member of staff, I would put them in the payroll myself for the manager not my job, after I saw what others are earning, that's when I realised these people because we just come, they give us peanuts and we don't know because whatever you have been given is definitely better than what you have been earning down there. Plus the excitement of going to work in Europe and the thought and the excitement of what doors could open but once you come here my friend, the reality dawns on you, you can't open those doors, but being the Kenyans we are considering we struggle there with nothing and slowly you hear somebody buying a piece of land even for 10 years and he gets it, still there is an opportunity of doing something here with that money. But for us to do that we have to tie such a tight belt here and here you are useless. "Look at the shirts we put on!". These are the ones from charity shops, nobody will buy such from *Gikomba* [second hand market] in Kenya. Economically I would not say we are badly off, definitely we are a step better than when we were in Kenya but are way, way below the local people, I don't know about you but that's what I discovered.

I don't know whether its these people having worked for a very long time or what, but the kind of money they give us, when we are applying from there when we hear the money we have no basis to know whether it's the standard or what, its nothing to shout about, but its better. However, unlike my some of my Kenyan counterparts, personally what I had on paper is what was delivered but to be honest a new person coming here straight for a job, has very little in the head about that which has been promised because the money is already there its more you don't consider too much, if one has to sit with pen and paper and calculate the living expenses, you will refuse this money, personally because you want money for example, I want to work in Nairobi and I know when I get my salary at the end of the month, I do not struggle to save transport to go home and back. I will struggle knowing what will buy children? Will I buy clothes? but for buying things like () things to carry to the house as I'm going home and my *matatu* [public transport] fare I shouldn't even think about that at month end, that comes automatically you don't even budget for that but now when I'm here and I think of going to Kenya, I have to sit for two months of thinking of how to go! That's why I'm saying the money is not enough compared to where I have come from. The other thing is that, I don't know how to put, you know I'm talking from a personal level. This money is not enough at all, it's far too little when you see what we are earning, compared to who you are and where you have come from plus the responsibilities the employers heap on us and they do not recognise our value until the day you leave. That's when they realise there is a big gap. Until they put you side by side with somebody who is not an immigrant. I want to believe even in our area, if you have somebody who is working for you from far versus the local one, the local one feels at home but the other one will slave because one thing, he does not want to lose the job, number two, he came here because of problems and he has things to sort out there, he wants this money. For example, between me and you, you know me although you are doing an interview, we cannot escape the fact that you know and you also know I have some issue somewhere, do you think I can even sleep for a minute even if somebody told me to go for a holiday, right now, at the moment, I will refuse even a holiday. Much as I want it I will refuse it because I want this money, I want to do something, whereas if I'm just relaxed and there is nobody waiting there with an issue, ash, tomorrow I will even call, let me just rest today. Anyway, economically I believe we are better off because we have a steady income but talking about money being too much to enable us to do what we want to do actually is a bigger headache because we are expected to do things by whoever is out there whoever does not understand, yet we can't do those things, its only you who knows and the expectations are very

high, not even from others even from us ourselves, the expectations i had when i come here ,about what i will do, my friend, were never met, cos it came to dawn on me, this money was not there, i saw it on paper and i started building castles in the air, but once you get it, you realise the money is not there, part of it, you didn't know there is NHS, i don't what...then you realise where is my money? then you get it, then you realise you took a phone on contract, you have gas to pay then you realise, S.is having a baby and we need to go and see her, a train costs this much, and then you ask, no, wait a minute was to do this at home, i had told somebody to look for that piece of land to buy, where is the money, the money is not enough but I'm not saying in any way that it doesn't help us, but to me it's you have a job and the other one in Kenya has a job, simple. It's not that...I'm talking this way because i was expecting oh cos i got a job in Europe, i thought i had crossed the river to the other side, over to Europe, I'm struggling, up to now.

But anyways, from a personal point of view when you come here you feel that need to belong to your community, need to know how the other one is doing, the need to discuss with your brother or sister about what this manager did to you but my experience as months move on it dawns on you sometimes subconsciously, that my friend aside, you have a job to protect here and so you have no time now for friends, you really have to concentrate here and even working here and i don't want to talk like Jesus, I'm not...when he was asked who is your neighbour and then he gave an example of people who were walking and found a person injured by the road side, one passed ,the other one stopped and asked that person who is the neighbour there and he was told, "your neighbour is this one" what I'm saying is it dawns on us eventually that much as we want to be near the Kenyans, it will not, you must work! And ones that come i have the ability myself i don't know about others but i just lose myself there, i don't even remember you until maybe I'm now maybe relaxed and I'm not thinking about work i might remember" oh how is Linda doing? How is Alice? [Figuratively]But the initial week you even want to finish work and go and meet your fellow Kenyans, you want to meet the other Kenyans because you got a problem and want to ask him where he has seen that and what happens, you want to see another one and find out how they do it here? But as you settle you get lost in the job. I will say this, which i believe is a fact, not about me, about Kenyans let me not talk about other communities, i will talk about Kenyans whom i know, i know we have bad Kenyans but the fact is, honestly when somebody commits himself to doing a job you switch of anything else and you have that ability. You don't remember it's that particular job, what im trying to say is the issue of every minute you fee i want to be near a Kenyan, to me it never occurred, i just lost myself in the job and my mind is just there and i just think about what imp doing. In the process you develop work relationships and as you get the close work relationships these people who are also human and a human being has a natural need to belong, naturally they extend an arm of friendship and it's up to you to go for it depending on your character. Like me i would call myself, reserved, i don't visit people a lot in the their houses but i can tell you like when i came here ,within the second week, the head chef of the hotel, were holding a birthday party for his sister in law, people i don't know and he insisted, E. is invited i have to come and even one thing he kept saying," E. i cannot extend an invitation to you and you refuse" and even sends the assistant manager "can you please confirm that E. is coming". Until the assistant manager comes and asks me "Oh you mean you knew, C. before you came here and even without thinking, i knew this man because somebody else said there, i think E, is respected C. never invites people in his house. So you see they also extend and believe it or not, my second week, i found myself unwillingly (and i don't drink) in somebody's house for somebody's party and what do i leave there with? A Photo of colours (i support Manchester united) but i left there in red orange, Dundee united because he put me his hat, T-shirt...they extend that. The other time, people talk bad because I'm refusing to go for functions, "no E. a fancy dress party, i refused, and told them am not a social but the need to belong and the extension of that friendship by invitation i found myself in somebody's house for a fancy dress party and i didn't know how to fancy dress, so me i travelled to a place near Edinburgh to Hassan took his Maasai uniform i did not even know the poor people put it on Facebook ,it's my sister in Canada who was resending the same photo telling me," wow, you look good in Masa uniform, what I'm trying to say is maybe there are people who fall so homesick and they cannot survive without a Kenyan there but in my opinion is once you get a job provided the job goes right and you have the right working environment, you have very little time to feel that you have no Kenyan near you. However you want to know how your friends are doing and when you are free you will want to visit somebody that one is natural but that. I'm talking of homesickness that you cannot survive because there is no Kenyan around you then, if somebody told me that purposely i would talk to this person telling him" no you have a weakness, you have to think, you have to change you have to stand on your feet and when

you have a {minute} for social life then of course you cannot ignore your colleagues and friends but me it's never bothered me. However being a family man although it doesn't bother me when you free here you can't fail to ...".i wish i have seen my mum, i haven't seen her for long", that's the time you pick a phone and you want to think about your next holiday so that you can go and see your mum, that's natural but what I'm talking about is the issue of being completely even unable to work because you are in a different environment then you are failure in that job, either move to another job or adjust, that's my opinion.

Stayer 1: Please guide me, I may be going off radar here

AN: You are talking about your social experiences, in the UK, please carry on talking about your lived experiences in the UK.

STAYER 1: Oh you should have asked me to talk about why I haven't seen my mum and rest of my family in Kenya for a long time. But let me talk anyway, you know when I start, I don't stop. That work permit department, I don't even know where to start. Those guys I'm not happy with them at all, that one, sometimes, my opinion that is, and i could be wrong: inconsiderate. It's very good to have immigration law so that you can control who comes in because i also want to be safe but honestly this law ,i wish this law also had some human side of it, with for example, because you cannot earn this much you cannot even invite your own biological child yet the evidence is there! You see, in my opinion the immigration law should be biased where your immediate family is concerned, i don't know and i want to say i will not talk too much about that because definitely i will be biased because you know what I'm going through. I have been struggling to bring my son here, definitely that question, whether i like it or not, i will automatically be biased, you hear the way i have started... because I have no complaint with the immigration law because since i came here i came on a 2- year work permit i went on a 5 year work permit i went on an indefinite leave i became naturalised, so in the real sense i should be saying the immigration law works, but you see, for me it worked but it's not working. why should i struggle if for example I'm not even an immigrant by now, I'm an immigrant but I'm a British citizen and i still cannot bring my family because they are Kenyans, they have to apply like Kenyans, there is no consideration absolutely that me I'm here for this long, paying the taxes, there is that { } there, the law is the same. Why can't there be something about the law. I'm biased forgive me. Why can't there be a section that says "if L. has indefinite leave to remain and wants her family to come here, it is not the same as the person who has a 2 year work permit and after 2 years is going back to Kenya, L. has indefinite meaning L. is remaining here for life. Why can't there be a section in the law that can say" even if you are applying for family, this law must be followed, however if you have indefinite then this section of the law favours you because you are more here you are not going away tomorrow. If you are a citizen then this favours you because you are not going anyway. But whether you have a one- day work permit and L. has indefinite leave to remain and you want your baby and the other one wants their baby you will be treated like the one who is going home tomorrow. To me personally i don't want to discuss this a lot. .I will be biased and bitter about it because it means for example, I'm just asking, financial aspect for example they say you must have this much to invite a family of course so that they come and live with us and I'm able to feed them. Suppose...what about if I'm poor and can't feed them and I'm in my own country, Kenya, shall i chase them away? Where should they be taken? To Uganda?!They should have been kicked out of Kenya. It's the same, I'm just considering Kenya or even here. Those who are here and don't work because they are poor, they rely on government handout, why have they not kicked their families out. Kick them out! Tell the family to disappear because the {owner} does not work yet you are working, you are a British citizen but because your family is a foreigner and you don't have money, you are told no, throw your baby out, you can't stay with your baby because you are not rich. And i have never gone to the government, even for one day for all those years i have been here, asking for food. They have never even heard about me because i have never even registered as a job seeker, but when I wanted to have my family join me after the years I worked here, they ask, "do you have this much? "No i earn this much". No, that's not enough, they can't come they can't stay with you. So is that the end of my family? Broken just like that? Do you know at one point, trust me, i just was thinking and it will eventually happen if need be.it is () that next year, i was () with hotel Ritz school in Switzerland. i wanted to go to a country that will give me and my family a visa together cos i can live there if i want, I'm a British citizen but there came one problem,3 contacts in Kenya, I could not speak French. Switzerland! Just the other day and someone will say ohh you are British? Yeah, and you have been teaching in Kenya Utalii college? Yeah and somebody consulted....it's

somebody who went there for a seminar there from Kenya and was hotel consulting those days when i was training and he called me from there. He thought i was near there. He told me call someone and i called and we talked and i said i want a job and { it was the ...} cos I've been trying to bring my family because i don't earn a lot i cannot be allowed to bring my son. So i want to immigrate to any other European country then apply for a visa for my family cos i don't need one, i can live in any. But then she told she can get me a job very easily at the hotel school Ritz, it was very much part of the sponsors of Utalii. Not necessary as a lecturer but a job in the college, she told me it's easy, but then can you speak French? I didn't even know that the Swiss speak French. The point is on the immigration department, considering that i have been struggling to bring my son and it hasn't materialised because i am not earning the much they want me to earn to be able to bring him, i will be biased, let me not talk too much. cos so long as I'm not begging, whatever i eat, my son eats the same thing I'm eating even when i don't have the money they are asking, but he is in school and he dresses and eats the same money and when he comes we will eat the same. These people have never heard about my name cos i have never asked anybody for anything.

But interestingly they are the ones who gave me a work permit in the first place and allowed me to come here to work. Firstly any aspect of social life i have had in the UK or any interactions i have had with anybody who is white has come through the avenue of working in the hotel industry here. My working in the hotel industry we cannot forget that it is the one that has opened all these opportunities including whom i am today and what I'm doing it was out of that. If you are asking however the hotel experiences here related to back home, the only biggest challenge here are the cultural differences and the expectations from the clients. Otherwise when we go to the hotel itself, running the hotel i am proud to say provided you have undergone proper tourism training, the kind we do, honestly we are overcooked. They do it too much. When i came here, the standards ,I'm not criticising in a bad way, I'm just being open, having trained in KUC, having stayed in these 5 star hotels especially when we go to teach refresher courses, having taken the students to see these hotels, having been into Kenyan hotels, definitely i did not know what to expect when i was coming here because i was expecting if ours are 5 star i wondered whether there could be a 15- star or something .However my opinion, i could be wrong, please forgive me, honestly our kind of standards and the kind of expectations of an employee in a Kenyan 5-start hotel as compared to the expectations of an employee of a hotel here, i swear here there is nothing, don't get me wrong, I'm not criticising, what I'm saying is..i don't know whether it is the way we are trained and when we go to a 5 start hotel, talk of Intercontinental, Hilton or any other 5 start hotel, when I'm working there, the kind of service i give these guests is way above the kind of expected service here, i have not seen a 5 star here honestly speaking. A hotel like the one i was working in, Angus, is the prime hotel here but i think it's a 3 star. In Kenya such a hotel would be 5 star and when you hear 5 star hotel, even the service itself even from the staff the way they talk to you, you even feel as a guest you are in a 5 star, but not here, I think we have a higher standard, I'm sorry to say, the expectations as far as standards are concerned from a Kenyan 5 star, i swear if you have worked in a 5 star hotel in Kenya ,the only trouble you will get here ,the problem is just the cultural differences and the behavioural differences but not the job, no way! It will be extremely easy here, my experiences! I don't know about others. If i have run a hotel in Kenya as a head housekeeper and you give me a hotel here as a head housekeeper, honestly that is a downward job to me, my experience, you take Kenyan chef there somebody who has run a Kenyan 5- star kitchen and you bring him and give him a kitchen, honestly that is an easy job. Our job there is harder, i don't know why. I don't know whether it's because of expectations, because we rely so much on tourism and we are treating a foreigner, a tourist, I think we overdo it there, which is the right thing. When we come here, to me it's a little bit watered down. I will give you an example, i came here, turn down service in any hotel in Kenya is standard. Here they never do it, for you to do turn down, it has to be 5 star. I told you i made 300 GBP for three weeks just by going for 2 hours to show people what we do in turn down service. We didn't sit in a class, we didn't even form a conference we just go around the rooms working because i expected to teach the first day i had gone even with a lesson plan, then when i was told that is Kata., that is i don't know who, go to the rooms they will show you the rooms they do....then i knew ahh, you mean I'm just going observing. Then i put my papers in the pocket. I had made a lesson a plan, i had expected, you know in Kenya when you are called to train the hotel staff, they would even ask you whether you need an overhead projector, a video and they would put for you the equipment you need and at least something to write, the marker pens and flipcharts. But here....what i am saying our standards are way ,the demands in a Kenyan hotel is way above the demand here, meaning when you get a job here, provided you are professionally trained and you want to

work there is absolutely no reason for failure. You can't! That's my opinion, i know people fail. And you know why people most people fail? Failure, according to me to appreciate the cultural differences. So you come here with the Kenyan style. Because to give you a very good example, its natural when I'm your supervisor in Kenya, it's natural for me to behave like King even when i shouldn't, i don't even have to make effort, you will also help me behave like a king, but here if its B., General Manager, A. hotel, when i see him in the morning, he is, "ohh hi B.", can you imagine me calling D. (former director of studies, KUC) Thomas! No! I'd lose my job, i don't know whether we are stupid, N. (Recruitment agent based in UK) himself, here you know this is the tourism industry. You know why N. was giving me a job? the first time he told me to take him to Cornwall, I'd never been to Cornwall, we drove for 7 hours from Newcastle and because N. was a controversial boy in Utalii and he went to a hotel in Cornwall and he had a massive problem there, attitude. The hotel was feeling we are definitely going to sack him and they were good customers to N. because they had other hotels and they had many Kenyans there. They told me this boy is so good but he can't cooperate with this people. That time he had not even considered giving jobs he had just insisted i visit him as a friend because he knew me in Kenya. The moment we landed there that's when as we came back, N. made a decision, he is giving me a job and he told J., his Mrs. E. is working for N. we shall start now, looking for work permits for only one reasons. Because as soon as we entered there, and N. saw N., "ohm hi N.", the moment he saw me "ah, Mr K." N. I said, "Wait a minute, i have never been called Mr B. by this people, now a Kenyan, he kept quiet. We went past Barrow-in Furness, a certain Italian restaurant i don't remember the Kenyan who was there we saw, there is no Kenyan who has ever called me E. or just K...Its Mr. It's not me but that's the way they are used to, and that's why N. decided to give me a job because he was saying if these people respect you this much then it means those with an attitude problem will listen to you and true, it happened, it worked. But what I'm trying to say is what we fail to appreciate here are the cultural differences because you cannot imagine calling your manager by the first name or just saying, "hi" you must go for official greetings even if you drink together the official line ,the social distance is always there but here there is no social distance. Here, I'm sorry to say this, the general manager, when B., i came and found Mr P., he worked with me for two years, he left, B. came. The first day on the departmental head meeting, B. was swearing there like nobody's business, we left there saying "we have the manager now cos he is swearing to every small thing". When we come here now and we get those jobs, if we don't appreciate the cultural differences we will not succeed but if we can appreciate there is a cultural difference in my opinion, any trained person will succeed here big time. We have higher St...Let's not talk of higher standards, let's talk of more demands from our hotels out there.

Overall, I think it is still been a good experience, exposed me to a lot of things and I believe that, we should take every opportunity and the opportunities are there, especially education for our children. If we can all manage to take advantage, the opportunities are there cos when you are with your child here you can be sure he will get the best, when you have a medical issue, it goes without saying, this person will get the best because whoever treats this person, will do it out of a clean heart, doing a job, it's not like other places where you are doing because you must, here its either you do the job or you don't do it, but if somebody is serving me, will do the job. The benefits are massive and we can reap them, but the opportunity must be created for us to reap those benefits. But again, maybe I'm ignorant but i have never come across one from my ethnic background running for social housing. Me i don't know, maybe they are there but i don't know. But honestly speaking, i will hear the first one. I know these others the first thing when they are here, you know i have a lots of friends even my customers, discussions every day is how to get a house. But i have never, maybe i don't... You know socialise too much thus i could be wrong. So i won't talk of housing. Because me the benefit i would rush for is education. Although we have limitations. I told you i was struck of by university of E. from my master's class. I saw an advert in the paper, masters, they were charging two thousand something pounds, and my opinion that was affordable but wanting to know having just got the higher dip from the University of Nairobi. Will they accept me for masters, i talked to them, I sent my papers, university of Nairobi, Kenya association of professional counselling, Kenya institute of management, anything, they checked and these guys agreed. I qualified to go straight for masters and we agreed. They asked me what i wanted to do, i didn't want to go for Business management but i wanted something related to that. I went for international public relations and they said they will admit me for that. Once i sent my other papers they told me, because you are a foreigner and you are on a work permit, we need somebody in the UK to commit themselves as your mentors, we need your employer, so without your employer or the owner of the company you work for must sign so that we are guaranteed that you will be here

throughout to finishing. I talked to my directors, we were very close especially with the lady who was in charge of housekeeping talked to her i showed her the papers and i told her where the problem is. She told me, "E. I'm not going to sign because i don't want to give you permission" i said, look at the schedule i will do it online but every 3 months, i will be required to attend college for 2 weeks. She thought about it, she told me "that can be arranged". "You want education E.?" I told her, "Yes, i want my masters". She was very impressed by that. She is very open because these are the young people, who have learnt, the directors not their dad. Their dad and mother are still there but are no longer running the show. She was impressed. I'm working for them, they like the job I'm doing, and i want to continue with education and she said, "My job is just to sign?" Yes. She took the phone. She called university of E., she introduced herself she said she has a form there, gave a reference number and asked what I have to do. She was told you have to sign so that we are sure he will be here to finish and the money will be paid. K. was more than willing. How long will he need to come there? He told us he is working but every three months, he must attend class for at least 10 days. She signed. I was so happy and we sent it back. They received and acknowledged it and told me they will send me the programme plus the next step on when to start and what to do. I waited. I started on the internet wondering when they will tell me so that i start buying books. I was rearing to go. I went and enrolled with university of H. for a small course to do something, European driving licence because i knew I'm doing it online. I have never been trained officially on computer, i will want to be an expert and to have a base. That's where i will be doing my work. I will be going to Blairgowrie learning centre. I will not be reading in the house, i will be going there. After two weeks i got a letter from the University of E., that there is an issue. We have realised you are a foreigner, the 2000GBP is for local students and if you to do your masters for one year, we will want 9000 GBP, and that cut my legs course i couldn't afford 9000 in one year. So what I'm saying, the opportunities are there, but must be presented. So for our children yes, cos nobody will bring restrictions, so we should take advantage. But some of us have tried and it didn't work because if we were really when we came here from day one we wanted education, we would be having PhD's but we had other priorities, you have a family waiting to eat there, so education comes as a by the way but for those who come here wanting education, the opportunity is there and should take advantage.

AN: Right E. Are you still working in the hospitality industry?

STAYER 1: Well, would you help me define the boundaries of the hospitality industry

AN: Yes, the research is mainly looking actually at the hotel sector.

STAYER 1: So hospitality industry in this sense refers to the hotel industry because there are sectors that are still hospitality. Unfortunately no, I'm not working for the hotels.im involved with hotels but I'm not working in the hotel sector. I left the hotel sector in 2011. I know the next question might probably be why? (Laughs) and partially according to me and this is personal, remember circumstances vary, partly because of lack of upward progression. In my experience, once we get a job and you go to a departmental head level, not even departmental head level, upward mobility is extremely difficult because for example once you go up to a restaurant manager here, what else can you become? The general manager? When will that happen? That is what I'm talking about. Again when you get to that top level and you have to wait until the government announces the minimum wage increase then you get something that you don't even notice. So in my opinion, i decided to look for other opportunities .Not that i lost a job i loved, i loved my job but i knew where id reached they were not going to sack the general manager, remove the directors or sack the assistant manager who has been there complaining for 15 years that he never moves and here i am as a housekeeping manager. Where will i go? I have reached the end. And so we want progression and do you know in most cases honestly most people leave a job because they want to progress if you are in the same and the time you start thinking of leaving your director comes and tells you, "we have opened another hotel and we have decided we are going to make you the group restaurant manager, you will manage our restaurants in the two hotels. Do you know you will say, hey hold your horses, we are not going, until you are going, we are not. Wait! let me say this, by the time you do that and you realise no, Linda now, you go and station yourself in that hotel only..... but what do they do here to immigrants, my experience am sorry to say this, this is a research, to the best of my knowledge and experience, the employers do their best to get everything out of you i told you before i left, i was running here like a mad man, running two hotels at no extra pay. I tried to complain i was told "no E., you are our head housekeeper and that is our hotel,

this is our bigger hotel, we will pay you mileage". Use my car, i will be paid mileage? True, they were paying me. But sometimes I'm here am expecting a coach or we are doing spring cleaning, i don't want to leave and a call comes from the Tinto hotel and the director says. "E., there is a problem, yesterday this girl did not come, we are having a problem with these girls, you need to do something with that department and we are having a coach tomorrow, Fishers have brought linen but they are saying some is lost, there is a problem with fishers, there is a problem with fishers the linen is never clean. And i have to move from here, know what to do so that work goes on, drive for one and half hours, and go there. One time i was talking to C. i don't even know her, the marketing manager of Fishers laundry, because of linen, not for Angus hotel which has its own laundry, in-house but a laundry on M74 near Carlisle and that time I'm there, if something goes wrong and a coach was coming here, what the employers do here, they go get the most out of you. One time i jammed, we were talking with the manager here on a friendly term and i asked them "look you people are making me run like a mad man, if you think i can do something, why didn't you bring somebody else there and tell me, E. you have gone there as an assistant manager because we need somebody to run the rooms department?" Because when i go there, even the reception, one time i was booking Americans there like crazy they have taken coaches, the hotel is full, there are no spaces we have to put extra beds up. I don't know and there is no receptionist, i need the booking list from here and because these are students, you put 3 and you are the one to allocate them rooms. I was asking where the receptionist is. I went there, they opened the reception, T. leaves me there, i have never worked in a reception before, i don't know the systems on computer, how to get bookings on the system. I was just fiddling with the papers, i had to do things manually. I had just to use hands and draw columns and i did bookings and accommodate some American kids who were not happy because they are going 3 in a room. What I'm trying to say is, what would make such a director not say, "E. if you can do that job, we are giving you a promotion? Stop being a head housekeeper running after these women, go to T. hotel as an assistant manager, do the job" .But no, it's do it, after one year, the same group is coming again, they are saying, "E. knows how to do it". That's what they go for. I don't know what you other interviewees are saying but my experiences. ..We work so well, we are such professionals and once we commit ourselves we commit. Of course we are bad, because once we don't do it, if you are bad you are bad, but if you commit yourself we put our all but these people take massive advantage. I was running two hotels before i left, the experience, the opportunities are there but the upward growth is not there, that's why we leave, personally if i had the money, that I'm needed to show so that we can bring my son, i would not even have thought of moving, i loved my job. This hotel i came when it was....it is 89 bedrooms. "What is 89 minus 11?" 78, those were the rooms that were in Angus hotel when i came. One conference area, the directors asking what we think, and we decided to do hotels. Believe it or not, they also know it, that construction was done under my guide. At every level, i was being called as the head housekeeper to say. "E., where shall we put the beds? You see those beds in those new rooms? If you ask even the director where they came from, maybe he will go to invoices, i sourced them from the first one, from the mattress to the last one until they were fixed. Am proud of that! What I'm saying, those additional rooms when they were opened, of course there was a different rate for the superior rooms. The cheapest is at least 10 GBP more than any other room in the hotel, and they know it. And the guests come and they are told, "No i don't want that room. I want a double. They are told, we are sorry madam, and all our doubles are full unless you want to take a superior double. And if another double is 79 GBP then a superior double will go at 89gbp and we sell them wand what they say it wow!, It's wonderful. Those rooms were constructed when i was there. We furnished them. Madam told me to source curtains, i told her, madam interior, she said common, source! I looked for a company but i told her because she follows, where they were made because we needed samples, the lady who was making told me E., i have contracted a tailor in Forfar, i have never been in Forfar before, believe it or not, by the end of it, nothing was brought here, i was going there, i brought them in turns. I would go for 4 curtains for one room from the A. hotel. K. would say, E. please do anything, she was extremely happy. I mean these cushions which were not in the plan, we made them out of old bedcovers. The moment they finished, she wanted them made for the other hotel. .T. Because i had known a tailor, i was calling J. from here up to now i have her numbers, i would go right up to Forfar, J. would come here, collect the bedcovers, the ones we have chosen, and she would go and make cushions. That's so much for them! What have i got for it? I did not have enough money for my family that's why i left. I'd have loved to be there. I loved the job here and good things are good things, the directors, M. is the director who sits here, E. sits in the sports company, K. handles both the sports company and the hotel. They respect me, that one i know, they respect what i was doing and they are good. But when it comes to money {laughs}, they don't pay. They are good as i

have told you severally, it reached a point and they instructed everybody, even one time the manager talked sarcastically that “we don’t touch you”. He was angry. He said it and i stopped, looked at him and later he apologised. He realised he did wrong. Because he was not alone, but he was angry and say, do you know we don’t touch E. said not in a good way. I looked at him, i didn’t answer back. That’s why I’m talking of cultural differences, anybody here will answer back, starting with swear, whether manager or not. Our culture has not taught us that way. We sometimes stoop low even when we are being stepped upon. And you see it. Even people ask you “are you stupid”? And you say no, forget about it. I would have loved to go there. Talking of us taking advantage of those opportunities, in my opinion, if an employer gets a proper trained hospitality person they are the ones who should take advantage proper, hold this person proper, my friend you will work, because me i know one thing, it’s either we work..., I’m not praising myself, I’m talking of experiences also, even these eastern European immigrants, its either they work or they don’t, simple! You get a bad one (laughs) that’s a bad one(laughs) but you get an okay one, you give a job, all you need to do is say “this is the job”, because these people want the money and they have no social services back home to take care of. They want to make their money. Anyway, I’m not there but i left personally, i cannot say i was unhappy with my hotel, the directors respected me massively and i appreciate that very much. It was for economic reasons. It is never enough! It looks and sounds from there not from here, no no! From here i have known people get peanuts! I was saying what i expect one day and somebody asked “What? Are you the director? The GM does not (laughs) even get that”! Actually it was the GM, when i told him, i was complaining...you know i thought he was earning over 60k,i told him “look I’m slaving here i should be earning maybe from 35k or something! He said, what are you the director E.?” Then i knew what a minute, how much do you earn B.? {Laughs} He kept quiet. The reward is not enough. Don’t get me wrong, i am not saying the hotels haven’t helped us. They have helped us a lot. We benefitted massively. That’s why we are here otherwise we would be back in Kenya. Let me tell you, personally me i know i have benefitted but it has not benefitted me where it matters! Because although i am able to survive, of course struggling with the little i had, without money i cannot be allowed to bring my son because i don’t have money. For me to be allowed, i have to show them i am rich. You know the Eastern European are different, they can come over with any family member they wish. What about you? You will be lucky because your boys were born here. But ask us. That’s why i left the A. hotel and I’m telling you my job there was easier, than me waking up at 6am and being outside somebody’s house, every 7.15 am, whether there is rain, snow, ice or anything and i have to drive sometimes you find these tractors and you want to tell somebody “move” because you are getting late because by 7.45am i have to be in Morfelly having driven for 20 -25 minutes with one child in the car, collect another two, drive for another 15-20 minutes to Dunkeld and by 8am i have to be there and this boy is late, maybe the machine fell off and I’m wondering please come out because i have to be at the school by 8.45 am. It’s easy at the Angus .i used to wake up, go there, and go to work. My biggest problem was when they started putting me as a duty manager and i started refusing. Because very few hotels, all over the world, the housekeeper and the chef are never given Duty manager’s duties because their areas need, physical presence. We don’t have time for duty management. But these people wanted me to be a duty manager, Brian insisted .it was a big war.

AN: Is there anything you feel we have not talked about that you would like to add.

STAYER 1: Not really. You know i have just been talking. But i have said, you know i have criticised a lot on finances. Do not get me wrong. Still the jobs are beneficial, that’s why we are here. They give as an opportunity. At least there is employment. Because all over the world, employment is in short supply. Plus, something we ignore, it also gives us an opportunity to experience the world. Experience that other culture, see what others do. You see, like those who get back to Kenya, you know I’m thinking of myself when i was teaching at Utalii. I used to talk and i have looked for it “Pulars of Perth”. I have been looking for it because my first lesson in dry cleaning, was history of dry cleaning and i remember it was discovered by Jean Baptist and John by accident in France when the maid dropped a lantern and he observed when he developed it, it was objectionable because this was kerosene stinking, it could clean clothes. He sold the idea to a cleaning company in the UK, the one that was most famous that time, was called, the Pulars of Perth. Up to today i have never found it. If you found me talking about Pulars of Perth in the UK, how they developed the system, how they researched on the kerosene, how they refined it and came up with the first dry-cleaning solvent. That and the smell that was not too objectionable, the Pulars of Perth, you’d think I’d worked there and its books. What i am saying, like now I’m here, I’m still looking for it. F. was featuring somewhere because it is one of the oldest

laundry. I have been to the plant and gone round. I am sure you know they interviewed me for an assistant manager's job. We didn't agree completely, i had a shortcoming somewhere. They said wait a minute, i wanted too much. If i was to go back now to class and stand there and start talking about F., i mean, i even know where the drainage is!(Laughs) so the experience as Kenyan immigrants is doing us, massive good, because anybody who has gone back there because you have come from the UK, instead of me first panicking as a manager and () with a tray or shouting at a waiter because i have panicked, there is somebody from the UK.I will see the UK and say "oh i hope he doesn't swear". So i'm relaxed i know the UK, I have been there. So the experience is of massive benefit in our hotel industry. That one goes without saying. Even when we don't realise it, the experience, Kenyans are getting, is massive, really beneficial to the industry back home. Because even as you talk about that person, i have lived there, i have transported them in my taxi (laughs), i have fed them, you have sat with them in the class, if you are in Kenya serving them, and it's a normal person. Because the problem there even the GM you will find them running almost falling because it is a white man. Common on, experience. It's the experience. It's like these white also. The few people i have told you i had problems with in Dumfries and even here sometimes, () and you know why? Because they are seeing a black man. But if these people live with a black man day in day out, they don't even notice he is black. The one who is married to black, actually does not even notice the colour. Do you know how i came to know that? I almost laughed yesterday when i talked of my driver working, did you notice Ireri asked, you didn't because you are here you have lived here. Ireri asked, honestly, " *ni muthungu*" (a white), because the idea of me employing a white! That you can't escape. They see you and say, oh he is an African. One time i was doing food deliveries. No 2 B. park, i had food to deliver, i did not see the number, so i left the food in the car and decided to go confirm on the door. and i went till the door and i saw this is no 2 but as i wanted to turn back to the food saw the owner opening the curtain at the door slowly so i knew i cannot just run," its rude", so i waited, i pressed the bell, the moment he opened the door, trust me, he opened saying "i have no help to give, go away!". .it was so embarrassing and this is a customer who has ordered food, im the delivery driver. I went straight to the car, sat in the car i could see him looking. I drove outside, round came back again past his house, round there. I knew he couldn't see me, i knew he was not at the window. So i drove slowly and parked next to his house, took the phone. I said "did you order food from A.?" he said "oh yes". I said, "im the delivery driver, i have your food but its dark i cannot see the house numbers. Can you kindly open your door, am already in B. Park and come to the door and receive your food". "Are you in", "yeah I'm in, please open". As soon as i saw the lights for the corridor on, i knew he was coming to the door and i was holding the driver's door and holding his pizza. As he opened his door, i came to the door and said "Good evening sir, I swear he felt like, he was praying the ground could open, he said, "oh I'm sorry". i said," no, its 22.30 GBP sir". Then i said, "thank you sir, have a nice evening". I left him dumb founded because he was not a bad person, he assumed because he has not lived with us. Maybe his experience, every black is a beggar. I felt bad, embarrassed i wanted to come back. I said," I wouldn't do that". I did that to give him a way out because if i didn't want to i would have looked at him without talking so that he can see i'm...What I'm saying, the experience is very good. They have made us appreciate who we are plus the integration of many communities has also helped me know something that to me was an assumption, unknowingly that even when we call them whites there is Poland, Switzerland, UK, US and they are all different in their own right. To me, a white was a white, but are extremely different. Anyway the experience is good.

AN: Thank you for your time E, to avail yourself for the interview and share with me your rich story. Just one thing, in our daily life experiences it's usually not the norm to sit back and talk about your past life experiences for an hour or two, nearly 3 hours! What would you say are you feelings and thoughts about this interview?

STAYER 1: I will be honest, I have talked too much. I never thought about it in any other way. Because the moment you asked that, I started wondering what to say, yet all I see is I came from Kenya, to the UK, been working here for the last 10 years or more, some things went bad, others were really disappointing and frustrating. I talked openly Anyway, should you feel there is something you would like to clarify, you have my contact number? But I'm excited to have reflected on my journey, it feels good and I am glad that I have helped you in achieving your goal. Your success is our success, you know that's our *Embu* spirit.

D: IMMIGRATION & NATIONALITY DEPARTMENT –States of Jersey Home Affairs Committee

Telephone
[REDACTED]
Facsimile
[REDACTED]



[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
PORT ELIZABETH
ST HELIER
JERSEY [REDACTED]

IMMIGRATION & NATIONALITY DEPARTMENT
States of Jersey Home Affairs Committee

WORK PERMIT

Immigration (Work Permits) (Jersey) Rules / Immigration Act 1971

Work Permit No: [REDACTED] **File Reference:** [REDACTED]
Date of Issue: 07/02/2005 **Valid until / for:** 07/11/2005

Surname: [REDACTED] **Address:** [REDACTED] Hotel & Restaurant
Forename: [REDACTED] [REDACTED]
St Martin
Jersey
Date of Birth: [REDACTED] 1968
Sex: M
Nationality: KENYAN **Occupation:** CHIEF DE PARTIE

Signed: [REDACTED] **Date /Stamp:**

SN [REDACTED]

F: ECONOMIC ACTIVITY OF PEOPLE AGED 16–64, BY ETHNIC GROUP, ENGLAND AND WALES, 2011 (PERCENTAGES)

Ethnic group	in employment	Unemployed	Inactive	Total (000s)
All	71	6	23	36,274
White	73	5	22	31,055
E/W/S/NI/Ba	73	5	22	28,732
Irish	73	5	22	338
Gypsy/Irish Traveller	40	10	50	36
Other White	77	5	19	1,949
Mixed/Multiple	60	11	30	638
White/Black Caribbean	56	14	30	225
White/Black African	59	11	29	81
White/Asian	62	8	31	171
Other Mixed	63	9	29	161
Asian/Asian British	60	7	33	2,937
Indian	70	6	24	1,026
Pakistani	49	9	42	705
Bangladeshi	48	10	41	275
Chinese	53	5	43	323
Other Asian	63	6	31	608
Black/African/				
Caribbean/Black British	61	13	26	1,241
African	59	13	28	667
Caribbean	67	12	22	408
Other Black	56	14	29	165
Other ethnic group	53	9	39	403
Arab	42	8	50	157
Any Other ethnic group	59	9	32	246

Source: Office for National Statistics. Ethnicity and the Labour Market, 2011 Census, England and Wales
London: ONS, 2014 (13 November)