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# Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/jhtm





# Tourism students' career strategies in times of disruption

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ARTICLE INFO

Keywords: Covid-19 Tourism careers Tourism education Career strategies Career capital Student support

#### ABSTRACT

This research explores current tertiary tourism students' career strategies as impacted by Covid-19 as a career shock event, utilizing Bourdieuan career theory comprising career field, career capital, and its internal and external recognitions. Based on a phenomenological approach we conducted 24 semi-structured in-depth interviews with under- and postgraduate tourism management students enrolled at two New Zealand universities. Findings show that participants adopt a temporal lens. Short to medium term career strategies are flexible in that a temporary exit from the career field is considered until changes in the external environment occur. In the long-term participants remained committed to their initially chosen career field, hoping for a more progressive, innovative, and sustainable approach to tourism. The still unpredictable future of tourism posed challenges in assessing the future value of especially students' cultural career capital while increasing the need for additional social capital.

# 1. Introduction

Covid-19 has severely impacted employment in the tourism sector with over 100 million potential job losses estimated globally at the beginning of the crisis (World Travel & Tourism, 2020). Within New Zealand, the context of this study, by July 2020 over half of tourism businesses had implemented redundancies and expected to do s Councilo further – essentially halving the usual FTEs within the tourism industry (Tourism Industry Aotearoa, 2020). With global health pandemics forecasted to become more common in the future (Gössling et al., 2020), existing uncertainties surrounding career opportunities within leisure, recreation and tourism are being exacerbated: 'Most of the students do not know what kind of jobs will be available to them upon graduation as the LRT field is vulnerable to economic, political and social changes' (Chen & Gursoy, 2008, p. 22).

Covid-19 can be considered a career shock for those within, and hoping to enter, the tourism industry. Career shock is defined as 'a disruptive and extraordinary event that is, at least to some degree, caused by factors outside the focal individual's control and that triggers a deliberate thought process concerning one's career' (Akkermans et al., 2018, p. 4). Further, it is suggested to have long-term psychological effects especially for younger or early-career adults (Akkermans et al., 2020). With tourism careers already suffering from severe reputational challenges and unattractive working environments (Airey & Frontistis, 1997; Hjalager & Andersen, 2001; Richardson, 2010b), the question

thus arises: how is Covid-19 impacting the career strategies of current tourism management students?

Universities are facing the challenge of how to re-build student confidence in tourism education (Siow et al., 2021) to ensure success in tourism student recruitment and retention (de Gruyter, 2020) to negate global drops in enrolment numbers (Tiwari et al., 2020). There is concern that Covid-19 will not only negatively impact the long-term viability of tertiary tourism education but also the tourism workforce, risking the creation of a 'human capital vacuum' (Goh & Okumus, 2020, p. 5) and an exacerbation of pre-existing challenges to attract skilled and educated employees (Chalkiti & Sigala, 2010; Koyuncu et al., 2008) that are able to adapt to continuous change (Chen & Gursoy, 2008). Only select studies further examine Covid-19's impact on tourism education (Ye & Law, 2021) and, to the best of our knowledge, none have yet explored the student perspective. We thus lack insight into the potential impact of crisis and disruption on the perceptions of tourism education and careers and their subsequent resilience to external change (Siow et al., 2021: Tiwari et al., 2020).

This study aims to contribute to the above gap by exploring potential changes in career strategies amongst current tourism management students at two New Zealand universities, selected based on the comparability of their tourism degrees. It aims to identify what long- and short-term strategies are being applied by current tertiary students to adapt to the impacts of Covid-19 on the tourism industry. We draw upon career fields theory based on Bourdieu's capital (Iellatchitch et al., 2003),

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https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhtm.2021.06.011

Received 8 April 2021; Received in revised form 2 June 2021; Accepted 24 June 2021 Available online 6 July 2021

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examining different types of career capital (social, cultural, economic) and their contextual relevance for career decision-making and development. In doing so, we expand existing research on tourism career development that frequently lacks theoretical grounding and identify potential impacts of external factors on the dynamics of a multi-faceted tourism-related career strategy. Practical contributions extend to both tertiary education and the tourism industry. The education sector will benefit from new knowledge to inform recruitment and retention initiatives, and the identification of opportunities to support students in adapting to external changes. The tourism workforce, often struggling to attract high quality staff, will profit from an exploration of facilitators as well as barriers introduced by Covid-19, subsequently allowing for an assessment of attitudes and expectations of the future tertiary educated workforce. Although this research is situated within the immediate and ongoing impacts of Covid-19, the transferability of resulting knowledge to potential future career shocks caused by further local and global disruptions extends its contribution beyond current circumstances.

The following sections will first present the careers theory-based theoretical framework, followed by the study's methodology, presentation of findings and discussion.

#### 2. Literature review

## 2.1. Tourism career decision making

Careers are commonly regarded as 'the evolving sequence of a person's work experience over time' (Arthur et al., 1989, p. 9) and as such are considered a dynamic process shaped by both internal and external forces (Kuijpers & Scheerens, 2006). Early approaches to career theory assumed linear career developments and were based on the applicability of spatial immobility and hierarchy within intrafirm contexts (Sullivan, 1999). Contemporary career theories acknowledge the increasing dynamics that have shifted our understanding of career progression, including for example globalization, technological advancement, diversity of organisational structures and variety in contractual arrangements (Sullivan & Baruch, 2009). Protean career orientations based upon internal values and self-direction as well as boundaryless careers that integrate the dissolving role of any single employer (Briscoe et al., 2006; Wiernik & Kostal, 2019) have provided new frameworks within which to explore careers. As such, careers can no longer be considered linear and early approaches to identify career stages, most commonly Trial - Stabilization - Maintenance (Super, 1957), no longer apply. Further, it cannot be assumed that students share similar demographic characteristics and life stages, increasing the challenge to identify and generalise their current and anticipated career stages. Nevertheless, it is commonly assumed that tertiary students fall predominantly within the stage of career decision-making (Guan et al., 2016; Ladkin, 2005; Pordelan et al., 2020), where future career development opportunities are considered before entering the industry full-time.

Within tourism, numerous studies have explored the decisionmaking of tourism and hospitality students in light of their career perceptions (e.g. Akış Roney & ; Cantos et al., 2019; Daskin, 2016; Jiang & Tribe, 2009; Richardson, 2010a, 2010b; Tsai et al., 2017). Across decades, research has consistently highlighted the poor image of the tourism industry as an employer including low pay, benefits and social status, vulnerability through seasonality and lack of job security, challenging working hours, poor management, and its reputation for attracting low-skilled workers (Airey & Frontistis, 1997; Daskin, 2016; Edwards, 2018; Hjalager & Andersen, 2001; Jiang & Tribe, 2009; Knutson, 1989; Ladkin, 2011; Richardson, 2010b; Walmsley, 2004). Parental and peer attitudes towards tourism careers and education signify relevant influencers that reflect and reinforce these perceptions (Edwards, 2018; Rahimi et al., 2016; Roberts et al., 2018). Research in Australia, Hong Kong, New Zealand, Cyprus, Turkey and Ireland has found that large proportions of tertiary tourism and hospitality students seek employment outside of the tourism industry (King et al., 2003;

Mooney & Jameson, 2018; O'Leary & Deegan, 2005; Richardson, 2010a). The longer their education as well as industry work experience continues, the lower students' interest in related careers (Daskin, 2016; Koyuncu et al., 2008; Richardson, 2010b). However, results are not always consistent. Airey and Frontistis (1997) discovered predominantly positive perceptions of tourism careers in Greece while others have identified internships as positive influential factors in increasing interest in the tourism industry (Park et al., 2017; Tsai et al., 2017). A further challenge faced by the tourism field is the lack of visible managerial positions (Robinson et al., 2020) and subsequent poor understanding of tourism career opportunities (Ladkin, 2011), all of which may be exacerbated further in a career shock context.

#### 2.2. Career theory – career fields and career capital

To examine career strategies amongst current New Zealand tertiary tourism management students, career theory needs to be drawn upon. As this study explores the potential dynamic shifts and adaptive strategies amongst tertiary students in times of disruption, a comprehensive career theory approach is required. It must acknowledge both the multitude of changing drivers and influential factors as well as the dynamic nature of careers within a career shock context. Further, it must allow for both subjective and objective perspectives that enable the integration of the predominantly negative perception of tourism education and careers while not requiring an already existing career trajectory. Iellatchitch et al. (2003, p. 730) note that 'little theory development has been done that accounts for the changes in the forms, actors and contexts of careers that we can currently see', further highlighting a need for conceptual frameworks 'that allow for multi-level analysis and conceptually go beyond the organization as an explicit or implicit arena for professional careers' (p. 730). Considering careers' inextricable link with societal and social structures (Vondracek et al., 2019), research especially in the context of disruption requires an approach that allows for an examination of this interplay while acknowledging careers as social phenomena (Gunz et al., 2011). Thus, this study draws upon Iellatchitch et al.'s (2003) approach of placing career theory within Bourdieuan social fields and capital.

'Fields are the social contexts within which practice takes place' (Iellatchitch et al., 2003, p. 732). Bourdieu separates the structure of fields from the social interactions taking place within a field (Bottero & Crossley, 2011), noting that a field is dependent upon objective relations, hierarchies and power (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Considering tourism as a career field thus suggests it is structured by roles, rules, and corresponding practices whose realities might be reflected in the above discussed perceptions. Careers thus take place, develop, and unfold within a field subject to its structure and practice (Iellatchitch et al., 2003). Fields, however, are embedded within the wider macrocosm and are thus constrained by the external environment (Lash, 1993), supporting the suitability of a Bordieuan approach for careers research in times of wider economic disruption.

Career fields determine what types, shapes, and forms of career capital are valued and useful. 'Career capital consists of the different modes of support the individual obtains and has at [their] disposal and may invest for [their] further career success' (Iellatchitch et al., 2003, p. 733). Fig. 1 represents Bourdieu's cultural, social, and economic capital within a career fields context.

Cultural capital can be considered 'the accumulated result of educational and cultural effort' (Iellatchitch et al., 2003, p. 734). A distinction is made between institutionalized capital (e.g. education), objectivized capital (e.g. products) and embodied capital (e.g. social skills), either independently acquired or 'inherited' through inhabiting social worlds (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). DeFillippi and Arthur (1994) refer to cultural capital in the career context as *know-how*, comprising the skills, knowledge, and competencies that positively contribute to business success and are either required pre-employment or encouraged to acquire during employment. Cultural capital thus

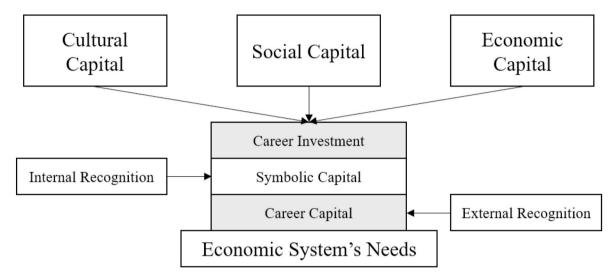


Fig. 1. The making of career capital (adapted from Iellatchitch et al., 2003, p. 735, p. 735).

holds no value of its own, it is value in exchange (Robbins, 2005) with value being determined by what the career field considers relevant. Social capital, 'those features of social organization, such as trust, norms and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions' (Putnam & Leonardi, 1993, p. 167), then acknowledges the importance of relationships as well as social class membership for career development, including personal networks, whose value is again to be legitimized by the field. Social capital is also known as know-whom (DeFillippi & Arthur, 1994), relevant both during employment to advance business communication and advancement and before employment. Cultural capital can be transformed into economic capital, most commonly in the form of money (Al Ariss & Syed, 2011). This frequently occurs through the utilization of social capital where personal connections allow access to identify employment opportunities hidden to the wider public (Flap & Boxman, 2001). The more capital is available to individuals, the more can be invested in careers - yet this remains symbolic unless the career field internally recognizes this capital as valuable and as such transforms it into career capital. However, as fields are subject to external influences, career capital also needs to be recognized externally as being valuable to the economic system's needs to be considered widely acknowledged career capital (Iellatchitch et al.,

To include the role of the individuals themselves, we draw upon Bourdieu's habitus. Habitus 'consists of corporal dispositions and cognitive templates' (King, 2000, p. 417) and has been found relevant for career decision-making (Vilhjálmsdóttir & Arnkelsson, 2013) and development (Joy et al., 2018). Essentially, habitus allows for exhibiting behaviour and practice that is 'correct' and 'appropriate', in line with a field's roles and rules, without requiring conscious adaptation (Harker & May 1993). Habitus is individual as well as collective, referring to personality as well as to the internalisation of social values and expectations (Kelly & Lusis, 2006) – it thus addresses both individual and subjective components of career development as well as the external influencers discussed previously (Kim et al., 2010) and societal as well as cultural contexts. Within a career context, habitus shapes the *know-why*, encompassing 'career motivation, personal meaning and identification' (DeFillippi & Arthur, 1994, p. 308).

This approach to career theory, encompassing field, capital, and habitus, will be applied to study potentially shifting career perceptions of current tertiary tourism management students and their subsequent long- and short-term strategies to adapt within a career shock environment. We will explore students' assessment of what capital is at their disposal as career investment and their perceptions of whether such capital is both internally recognized as well as externally, based on the

extent to which the tourism career field is impacted by the severe shift in economic system needs. Exploring cultural capital will shed further light on the perceived value and quality of tourism education and social capital will examine the role of existing connections within the field. Contextualizing this within the disruption of the wider economic system will allow for identification of factors influencing potential shifts and changes.

Further, exploring how this impacts students' career strategies moving forward will provide valuable insight into how significantly disruptive events and career shock can potentially re-shape career decision-making and subsequent development. Depending on one's assessment of career investment, capital, and recognition, newcomers to a career field can develop their career - or react to its negative characteristics as well as a disruption - in different ways. Here we draw upon Hirschman's (1970) five templates, where loyalty indicates an acceptance of existing rules on the grounds of those working in an individual's favour. Passivity specifies acceptance also, yet due to a lack of capital that holds value in other career fields. Voice remains within the career field, yet with the aim to challenge and change its existing rules and structure, and with recalcitrance, individuals strongly object to the career field's status quo yet remain within to identify alternative ways of succeeding. Finally, exit has the individual leaving the career field for another one as found in prior tourism careers research, and this study will explore students' career strategies considering these five paths.

We now present the study's methodology, followed by a presentation of the findings in the context of career fields and career capital.

# 3. Methodology

# 3.1. Research paradigm, method and sampling

To explore the components discussed above within the career fields and capital context and answer the study's research questions, we utilize a phenomenological approach. Phenomenology, in its most succinct form, 'is the study of human experience and of the way things present themselves to us in and through such experiences' (Sokolowski, 2000, p. 2). Phenomenology does not only require us to understand experience but to do so by extracting current phenomena from our prior understandings (Crotty, 1998). It is, in essence, an 'attempt to recover a fresh perception of existence, one unprejudiced by acculturation' (Sadler, 1969, p. 377) and enables us to explore the world unbiased and removed from our understanding of what things were and should be (Husserl, 2012). More specifically, we draw upon Benner's (1994) interpretive phenomenology with a focus on 'exploring practice, seeking

to observe and articulate the commonalities across participants' practical, everyday understandings and knowledge' (Gill, 2014, p. 125). Applying interpretive phenomenology thus allows us to view tourism career strategies in light of career shock, influenced by, yet if necessary independent of, previously held interpretations to accurately capture Covid-19's impact on the changing tourism industry landscape and subsequently individual understandings, experiences and finally current and anticipated practice.

In line with predominantly qualitative inquiries in phenomenological research, we conducted 24 personal semi-structured in-depth interviews with current tourism management students at two New Zealand universities (Victoria University of Wellington, University of Otago) throughout August and September 2020. Questions were developed in line with the key components of the theoretical framework (see Fig. 1). The interview guidelines then rearranged the order of these questions to allow for a more accessible conversation between researcher and participants. Appendix 1 includes an overview of the questions asked within the different sections and how these correspond to the underlying theory. Overall, the following sections were included: (1) students' individual background and situation, (2) the potential impact of Covid-19 on their perceptions of tourism education and careers, (3) their reactions to and subsequent long- and short-term anticipated strategies for addressing this career shock event, (4) the challenges and opportunities they perceive, and finally (5) sought and desired support. In line with an interpretive phenomenological paradigm, participants were first asked to freely respond to these sections based on their own interpretations of what was important. If necessary, further questions and prompts were added to explore the components of the theoretical framework in more detail. For example, when elaborating on perceived challenges in relation to their own future employment, participants were prompted to consider the relevance of cultural, social, as well as economic capital as well as the wider economic system's role within those challenges.

The population characteristics of this research were all students currently enrolled in a tourism degree at either of the two universities, ranging from a tourism management minor at undergraduate level to a doctorate in tourism management. Both universities offer tourism management specialisations as part of the Bachelor of Commerce, followed by corresponding standalone postgraduate offerings up to and including doctoral level. The first university is the home institution of the authors, and we selected the second university based on the comparability of their degrees and, subsequently, potential career paths available to students. Expanding this research beyond these two institutions in New Zealand would have led to the inclusion of tertiary institutions offering a strong hospitality component; due to the exploratory nature of this research, the decision was made to first focus on similar degrees with similar career paths. Participants were recruited through in-class and online learning platform announcements and were offered a NZ\$10 voucher as an incentive for participation.

# 3.2. Data collection

To address participant confidentiality with the first author's position as a past, current or future course coordinator, lecturer, supervisor and/or programme director, students were asked to complete an expression of interest via an online survey accessible to only the second author – an external co-researcher. The second author conducted all interviews and removed potentially identifying information such as references to names, conversations, or research topics from transcripts before making them accessible to the first author. All but three phone interviews were conducted using Zoom video conferencing. The duration of the interviews varied from 25 to 53 min with most interviews lasting approximately 30 min. Phenomenology does not consider the researcher as external and unbiased to the research process (Neubauer et al., 2019) but acknowledges the researcher's impact and requires reflection (Moran, 2002). The second author and interviewer reflects on her role

within data collection critically. She acknowledges that sharing her own experiences as a New Zealand based tourism business co-founder, utilised to create a trusting and positive interview environment, might have influenced participants' desire to both leave a positive impression and express sensitivity and empathy by elaborating more on Covid-19's impacts on business and employment. However, she was negatively affected by Covid-19 herself and could personally relate to many of the concerns raised by participants. Some commented directly on the positive impact this had on their interview experience: 'It's also nice to have a voice to talk to that gets it and understands. So, thank you for that, thank you for listening'.

While phenomenological research traditionally focuses on smaller yet in-depth sample sizes (Gill, 2014), Benner (1994) suggests saturation as the determinant of adequate sampling. Due to the inclusion of two institutions, the variety of degrees participants were enrolled in (from undergraduate to doctoral level), and the variety in demographic characteristics and background, saturation was not reached until the approximately 20th interview with a further four interviews added to reconfirm.

## 3.3. Data analysis

Transcripts were entered into NVivo 12 and first analysed according to thematic analysis as recommended for interpretive phenomenology (Benner, 1985). Thematic analysis consists of several subsequent yet overlapping steps, and we have first followed the exploratory-inductive 6 stages approach outlined by Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) conducted by the second author. An initial code manual based upon the research questions and interview guidelines was developed in stage 1, resulting in the following broad categories: 'decision to study tourism', 'perceptions of tourism', 'career plans', 'career strategies', and 'impact of Covid-19'. After reading transcripts, the suitability of this framework was tested by coding the transcripts towards this original coding manual (stage 2), which subsequently resulted in the identification of initial themes in stage 3. Those were added to the coding manual in stage 4, resulting in the creation of several sub-codes within the initial broad categories. For example, 'career plans' was divided into 'career goals' and 'career priorities', with 'career goals' referring to 'short-term goals' and 'long-term goals' and 'career priorities' resulting in a variety of further sub-codes such as 'helpful - meaningful', 'connecting with people', or 'career progression'. Stages 5 (connecting codes/identifying themes) and 6 (corroborating and legitimating coded themes) were then conducted by both authors separately to ensure rigour in data analysis and reduce researcher bias. Here, we introduced a deductive element to code existing themes against the representation of career fields theory as depicted in Fig. 1, which provided the foundation and structure for how findings are presented in this paper. Themes will be highlighted in italics throughout for easy identification of how data analysis guided the presentation of findings. For example, the previous sub-code 'influencers', part of the code 'decision to study tourism', was also placed as a sub-code under 'external recognition'. Finally, all codes and data relevant to this paper were brought together to comprise the findings to be presented in the following chapter.

# 4. Findings and discussion

After outlining the sample characteristics of this study, we present and discuss findings in relation to Fig. 1. Iellatchitch et al.'s (2003) representation of the theoretical framework depicts a linear process with career capital and its recognitions built upon the economic system's needs. As this study is situated within a career shock event induced by a severe shift in the economic system's needs from the bottom up, we begin by illustrating participants' perceptions of how the tourism career field's place within and value to the overall economy has changed due to Covid-19. This then has an upwards flow-on effect and directly influences both external as well as internal recognition of career capital.

Finally, current interpretations and assessment of cultural, social, and economic capital will be explored, followed by an examination of the long- and short-term anticipated reactions towards the career field in line with Hirschman's (1970) five templates.

# 4.1. Sample characteristics

The characteristics of the 24 participants are presented in Table 1. Most participants were female students (20), most were from University 1 (17) and studying towards a tourism management undergraduate degree (16). The high representation of female students corresponds to the overall demographic distribution at both universities. Similarly, the inclusion of New Zealand indigenous Māori students (3) and Pasifika students (3) is in line with the overall representation of these ethnicities at both universities. Interestingly, participants came from a wide age distribution ranging from 18 to 47 years.

Further, all participants had prior work experience within either tourism, hospitality or both, ranging from low skilled summer jobs (e.g. housekeeping, waitressing) to extensive experience of up to 20 years including sales, marketing, management and accounting.

# 4.2. Economic System's needs and tourism career field's external recognition

Throughout data collection New Zealand faced a second community outbreak of Covid-19 and the subsequent short-term reintroduction of containing measures throughout the country. The tourism industry's vulnerability to the pandemic was thus re-emphasized, and the unpredictability of its future viability and implications on available career opportunities emerged as a strong factor throughout this research. Several participants observed extensive job losses within their networks and community or were made redundant from their part-time roles within tourism, while media publications continued to document ongoing risks and challenges. In line with tourism educators (Tiwari et al., 2020), all participants thus assessed the future development of tourism in relation to the wider economy through a temporal lens, differentiating between short-term perspectives that relate to current situations and the period of recovery, and long-term perspectives for a post-Covid-19 landscape. Themes that emerged in relation to tourism's place within the wider economic system were thus differing based on the temporal outlook and coded as 'employment impacts' and 'reimagination opportunities'.

Short-term perspectives displayed an acute awareness of *employment impacts* due to reduction in international tourism expenditure, its impact on tourism businesses and organisations and the wider importance of

**Table 1**Sample characteristics.

1	
Gender	
Female	20
Male	4
Age Group	
18–20 years	9
21–25 years	4
26–30 years	1
31–35 years	6
36 years and older	4
Institution	
Victoria University of Wellington	17
University of Otago	7
Degree Level	
Undergraduate	16
Postgraduate	8
Ethnicity	
New Zealand European	12
Māori	3
Pasifika	3
Other international ethnicity	6

tourism for New Zealand. While an increase in domestic tourism added a cautiously optimistic outlook, most expected that far fewer employment and career opportunities would be available over the next several years, combined with concerns about higher competition for positions and continuing lack of job security through short-term and seasonal contracts.

I would perceive a lot of competition, and the wages or the salary might decrease, because there's demand for job, and secondly, the company might not have that much resources to pay you. (Male, 31–35 years, International, postgraduate)

Participants often went through a period where they themselves experienced a shift of their personal recognition of tourism education and careers. Several participants reported to initially experience stress and anxiety and re-considered their chosen career field in the early stages of Covid-19. Yet this appeared to be a temporal adjustment process only, eventually resulting in confidence in the future and the reestablishment of a positive personal recognition. Many identified not only the challenges but also the reimagination opportunities that came from extensive public discussions in relation to New Zealand's aim to move its tourism industry towards a reduction of previously negative impacts (Ministry of Business Innovation and Employment, 2020). They anticipated that the tourism career field would shift towards a more progressive, innovative, and sustainable approach to tourism that would increase its positive contribution not only to the economic system but to communities and the environment, thus occupying a more holistically positive role within the system (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020).

I think it sort of allows us to have kind of a clean slate sort of thing; we can start doing something cool, like we can start growing tourism in a different way – like virtual tourism or different ways to sustainable tourism. We had real bad overtourism issues with not only the environment, but socially as well, so I feel like although this is a real unfortunate thing to happen to us, especially when we were so reliant on tourism and dairy and all that export stuff – it's quite a good opportunity for us to sort of try again and start something awesome that could actually be, in the longrun, better than what we had. (Female, 18–20 years, Pasifika, undergraduate)

Several participants thus referred positively to the opportunity as well as the need to contribute to the tourism sector in meaningful and impactful ways to improve its planning, development, and operation, as such assuming its continuing relevance for the economic system.

The external recognition of tourism as a career field, however, confirmed a reinforcement of wider pre-existing negative perceptions of tourism careers (Jiang & Tribe, 2009; Richardson, 2010a). The findings relate to 'key influencers', whose perspectives then determined the themes of 'career misperceptions' as well as 'future outlook'. Participants' family and peers as relevant key influencers (Rahimi et al., 2016; Roberts et al., 2018) often questioned tourism's future outlook and noted their concern about the current and future viability of tertiary tourism education and the negative impact of Covid-19 on the establishment of viable long-term careers in the field, questioning the career path's alignment with future economic system requirements. Participants, on the other hand, often attributed these concerns to career misperceptions and a lack of awareness of the complexity of tourism careers.

I think that a lot of people see the front side of tourism (...). Whereas, I kind of think it goes a lot deeper and there's a lot more kind of to it than what everyone sees and experiences. So, the perceptions which kind of everyone had was just that it was that kind of first initial experience which they had, and there wasn't much that went into the organisation and development behind each enterprise. (Female, 18–20 years, NZ European, postgraduate)

Here we confirm prior research on the misconception as to what tourism careers entail, evidenced by a lack of awareness of the wide array of opportunities the career field provides due to the lack of visibility of behind-the-scenes managerial and strategic roles (Robinson et al., 2020). Students' personal knowledge of the career field and its opportunities, however, led to an overall positive long-term assessment of the external recognition of the tourism career field.

# 4.3. Internal recognition

The ongoing and still unpredictable changes induced by Covid-19 then impacted internal recognition in relation to career investment, with the most dominant emerging themes labelled 'lack of transparency', 'career capital shifts', and a direct link to the previous theme of 'reimagination opportunities'. Participants noted a lack of transparency in several areas. Many expressed concern that they lacked knowledge of how current and future tourism career pathways would be impacted both at present and in the future. The reimagination of New Zealand tourism was combined with a yet unknown timeframe for recovery, ongoing and thus inaccessible governmental efforts to develop suitable strategies and policies moving forward, and unawareness of the actual impact of Covid-19 on current employment situations.

I guess it would be helpful to just know how the jobs have been affected within the tourism industry. So, at the moment, I could only assume what's happened. Obviously, I assume that most office jobs are probably still working, but I think it would be probably helpful to know how many jobs were actually lost because there's no work, in terms of especially international tourism; has that affected people's jobs or have they just been moved into domestic roles? At the current – I have no idea the logistics of who's lost a job, and what pathways aren't there anymore. (Female, 21–25 years, NZ European, undergraduate)

Previous interpretations of what *career capital* is internally recognized were expected to *shift*, yet participants were unclear about how to identify these shifts and how to develop their future career capital. However, there was consensus amongst participants that internal recognition would align with the previously presented *reimagination opportunities*, an optimistic outlook for a more innovative and sustainable tourism industry, thus anticipating a higher recognition of innovative and progressive ideas. In line with this, nearly all participants regarded their currently ongoing tertiary tourism education as highly valuable cultural career capital that would retain its internal recognition.

#### 4.4. Cultural career capital

Cultural capital data, referring mostly to education, resulted in numerous themes: 'career advancement', 'internal recognition', 'external recognition', and 'capital enhancement' based on degree completion stages. Cultural capital was viewed by many participants as a tool for career advancement to overcome common negative tourism career perceptions such as low pay, low-skilled jobs, and a lack of employment security (Airey & Frontistis, 1997). Participants referred predominantly to institutionalized cultural capital in the form of education (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). As such, their tertiary tourism management degree emerged as an important form of cultural capital participants acquired in preparation for entry into the career field. It was expected to lead to more varied, more advanced, and more strategic-managerial focused career development opportunities in the long term through holding value both domestically and internationally.

Climbing up the ladder, there are a couple of barriers that we have in — like, if we don't have a good qualification, although we have experience, but back for past generations, their experience mattered a lot, but now, going forward with the future generation, the qualification goes hand in hand with the experience. So, that's why I thought of getting another qualification. This would be an easy way for me to move forward in my career. (Male, 31–35 years, NZ European, postgraduate)

Most expected the career field to show high *internal recognition* for their cultural capital-based degree. First, participants emphasized the overall value of a university degree and its related learning outcomes. Critical and analytical thinking as well as problem-solving skills, together with industry-specific knowledge of tourism's complexities and challenges, were expected to allow access to a greater variety of career opportunities, which was expected to induce a shift from the industry previously valuing predominantly interpersonal over subject-specific skills (Wang et al., 2009; Zehrer & Mössenlechner, 2009). Second, select participants expected a tertiary degree to be in higher demand in the future due to the challenges imposed by Covid-19 and the industry's anticipated shift towards greater sustainability and innovation (Ministry of Business Innovation and Employment, 2020).

I think it would be a lot more interesting, because it will be more challenging for us as people working in that field, because we've had – we've studied about it now and we've learned about it, and it would kind of be exciting as well, to go out there and fix the problems from Covid. So, we might be in higher demand, maybe – hopefully. (Female, 31–35 years, Pasifika, undergraduate)

I've known quite a few people working in the tourism industry with either just a commerce degree or no degree at all, and they certainly have told me that if you get a degree in tourism management then you're a step ahead of everyone else. If this is the industry you want to go to, then get a degree in it. (Female, 18–20 years, NZ European, undergraduate)

Some participants compared their university degree favourably to more vocationally oriented qualifications offered by polytechnic institutions, based on observing redundancies in especially customer facing roles and a perceived higher external recognition. The inclusion of tourism management into the wider Bachelor of Commerce allows the acquisition of transferable skills that would create cultural capital that was not only internally recognized by the tourism industry but also by other career fields and externally the wider economic system. This was especially important to participants whose degree completion would take place before a Covid-19 recovery was anticipated and who were concerned about not being able to enter the tourism career field immediately post-graduation. Those in earlier degree stages were at times considering career capital enhancement strategies to identify what other skills to develop throughout their degree to ensure their cultural career capital would align well with what would be both internally and externally recognized at the time to acquire the necessary know-how which was hoped to subsequently contribute to business success (DeFillippi & Arthur, 1994).

I'm going to pick up entrepreneur papers — an interest paper, next year, and different — even though I don't have to do that many marketing papers next year, I'm going to do more marketing papers and more different papers that will help benefit me in knowledge and getting a job maybe elsewhere, but I've also been looking into potentially post-grad. (Female, 18–20 years, Pasifika, undergraduate)

Practical work experience as cultural capital was mentioned less frequently, yet select participants placed strong emphasis on the career field's internal recognition also including the demonstration of applied skills. This links directly to the acquisition of social capital.

# 4.5. Social career capital

Social career capital data resulted in the following interlinked themes: 'work experience', 'networks', 'career opportunities', and a link to the 'lack of transparency' identified as part of the internal recognition of career capital. Several participants regarded work experience such as internships as crucial to enhance their cultural capital. However, they were not confident in their ability to gain access to such internships in times of comprehensive redundancies caused by a current loss of career field value within the economic system. Additional social capital in the

form of professional *networks* and connections was considered necessary to acquire further cultural capital in the form of work experience, yet this was the type of capital participants most frequently reported to lack and struggle to acquire. There was a strong perceived lack of *know-whom*, known to be beneficial especially pre-employment (DeFillippi & Arthur, 1994).

Further, participants identified social capital as a tool to better assess shifts in internal recognition. We previously identified *lack of transparency* contributing to uncertainty of what skills would continue to hold or even increase in value moving forward. This in turn makes it challenging to identify what types of capital will be internally recognized and provide an advantage when seeking future employment within the still unpredictable career field. Gaining additional social capital in form of connections with the tourism industry was thus expected to provide access to information that would further inform the ongoing acquisition of recognized cultural capital based on the economic system's needs (Seibert et al., 2001).

I feel like just having those network things happen more, being like, so this is what we actually look for now in you guys, for the future – this is what we're hoping for and these are the opportunities that we have for you, or we don't have any opportunities for you right now, but if you try and get more experience in this area over this time, then in a year's time we'll try and have these opportunities for you. That kind of – a bit of reassurance that they are still looking for graduates from tourism management, I suppose and what they're hoping we should try and develop – what skills they would want us to develop in the meantime when they can't give us any jobs, or anything like that. That would probably be quite helpful. (Female, 21–25 years, NZ European, undergraduate)

In line with current career field challenges within the wider economic system and the subsequent lack of employment opportunities, the establishment of professional networks was considered to be a significant advantage in accessing future *career opportunities* that might not be advertised to the wider public, instead recruiting from a pool of those already established within the industry (Elsayed & Daif, 2019). While it was noted that this is not unusual practice within the career field, several participants expected this to become even more relevant in the immediate to short-term future.

There is a huge problem with nepotism and it's quite difficult for someone like me to just go into the sector, in the workforce and to gain that experience. You really have to find your way around, and it takes time and commitment and also patience. (Female, 26–30 years, Pasifika, postgraduate)

Here, participants frequently named universities as the stakeholder they expected to enable the creation of additional social capital, for example through providing networking opportunities with tourism industry members, alumni, or individual businesses and organisations.

# 4.6. Economic career capital

The acquisition of cultural capital is thus suggested to be enabled through social capital that would allow alignment with internal recognition based on the economic system's needs, and its overall aim is the transformation of cultural and social capital into economic capital. Data related to economic career capital was assigned to two themes – 'resource challenges' and 'remuneration'. Tourism is frequently regarded a less economically viable career field (Hjalager & Andersen, 2001), and some participants noted concern that this would be an increasingly relevant resource challenge in the immediate to short-term future due to a higher competition for jobs and a lack of resources within tourism businesses (Fana et al., 2020). Here, habitus – in form of the know-why – emerged as highly relevant. Participants expressed a deeply ingrained passion for the industry (Mooney & Jameson, 2018) and valued impactful and meaningful work, emphasized by anticipated economic system's needs

for a reimaging of New Zealand tourism towards innovation and sustainability (Ministry of Business Innovation and Employment, 2020). Although some participants considered this more relevant than the economic capital to be acquired, others specifically referred to reasonable *remuneration* as an expectation towards their future careers that is to be balanced both with fulfilling work and job security.

Yeah, obviously to a degree salary will have quite a large impact, just because you need to be able to earn enough to live, but probably apart from that I'd say job security is a big one, especially at the moment obviously with jobs not being very secure. I'd want to make sure that it was a proper solid or stable job. (Male, 21–25 years, NZ European, undergraduate)

I mean, obviously look at how much money they offer, because with a degree, you would want to look at something that would be offering you more money than just someone coming out of high school. Yeah, I mean, definitely do something fulfilling – something that I would enjoy. I don't really want to go to your day-to-day job and not enjoy it. (Female, 21–25 years, NZ European, undergraduate)

In summary, participants clearly distinguished between short- and long-term outlooks when assessing the tourism career field's place within the economic system, expressing optimism for a recovery of the industry accompanied by a new way of doing tourism. Extensive public discussions of how New Zealand tourism is to be reimagined, however, posed challenges in the unpredictability of the career field's future place in the economic system as well as the identification of potential shifts in the internal recognition of career capital. While participants were confident in the continuing internal as well as external recognition of a tertiary tourism management degree, they were uncertain what skills and competencies specifically should be acquired as part of cultural capital to ensure their competitive advantage when entering the career field. Social capital was suggested as a tool to access that knowledge, yet an anticipated reduced access to work experience through part-time employment and internships was found to negatively impact the ability to acquire both cultural capital as well as social capital in the form of professional networks and connections. Here, universities were identified as the stakeholder to bridge that gap and provide opportunities for the acquisition of both. Regarding economic capital, once the industry is entered, participants overall drew attention to the need to balance three requirements: a rewarding and enjoyable career, salary, and job security that is considered especially important now that the industry's vulnerability has been highlighted - all strengthened by habitus in the form of passion for and commitment to the chosen career field.

# 4.7. Career strategies towards the career field

Although nearly all participants expressed their ongoing commitment towards both their degree as cultural capital and the tourism industry as their chosen career field, its current role within the economic system's needs created various concerns. Participants considered a variety of short- and long-term strategies in response to Covid-19 as a career shock event that we now present based on the five templates that signify possible reactions to disruption (Hirschman, 1970).

Most participants reinforced their continuing desire to remain within their initially chosen career field and did not wish to move into a different sector after graduation. However, their responses did frequently not align with the strategy of *loyalty*, which indicates an acceptance of the career field's current status quo due to it working in one's favour. While the nature of tourism careers was still considered as such, the realities of tourism careers within a disrupted context were generally regarded more critically and often to participants' disadvantage.

It's not that the work has disappeared; it's just that there are so many highly qualified, highly skilled, highly experienced people who are all fighting for a tiny number of jobs. So, this will sound a bit pessimistic, but if I was hiring people to do the kind of work I've done, I probably wouldn't hire me. Sorry, that probably sounds a bit weird, but I'm being realistic; there are people out there that have more skill, more experience, and will probably work for less money. (Female, 36 years and older, NZ European, undergraduate)

Instead, *voice* as a continuing commitment to the career field, yet with the purpose to challenge it and induce change, emerged as the most frequently anticipated long-term strategy. Covid-19 provides opportunities for significant change in how the tourism industry operates and many participants, driven by habitus, viewed the possibility to play a positive role within upcoming change as an exciting opportunity that would allow them to embark on a career with meaning and impact. Yet tourism's current place within the economic system, at the time of data collection characterized by redundancies, also led to concern as to how realistic those desires were, and alternative options were considered.

I'd just probably recommend [to someone considering starting a tourism degree] to keep their options open, but still definitely do the degree, because you do learn so much from it, and now that it's a Bachelor of Commerce, you can kind of go down that commerce way, kind of thing. Yeah, so I know I'd definitely recommend it, but just for them to keep their options open, just in case, because I do feel like in our day and age, this thing [pandemic] could happen again, even if we do find a cure. (Female, 21–25 years, NZ European, undergraduate)

While no participant had yet decided to permanently *exit* the career field, especially those nearing degree completion were realistic about reduced employment opportunities. They, instead, expressed a long-term loyalty towards tourism, yet willing to exit in the short-term with the intention to return at a later stage when opportunities might have increased.

It's [Covid-19] probably, maybe change my career (...) When I graduate, probably straight into the Navy, and then I'm also hoping to – I know they fund studies there, so I'd probably look at studying maybe something else in tourism, and also pick up German or something. So, then maybe I reckon with money I saved from the Navy, start up with my own hotel or something. That's the dream. (Female, 18–20 years, Māori, undergraduate)

Most participants' considerations were predominantly dependent upon the future availability of previously desired careers and their ability to acquire both the cultural and social capital required to increase internal recognition that would subsequently allow access to career opportunities whose future is still unpredictable. In summary, participants' personal wishes for their future careers were resilient to Covid-19's disruption of the tourism industry – yet a realistic and future-oriented approach that provided sufficient flexibility to avoid disruption along the career development process based on external circumstances was adopted by many.

#### 5. Conclusion

# 5.1. Summary

This research set out to identify the short- and long-term career strategies applied by current tertiary tourism management students in New Zealand in light of Covid-19's disruption. By drawing upon Bourdieuan career field and career capital theory, it aimed to examine different types of career capital, how their internal and external recognition is currently perceived, and their contextual relevance for career decision-making and development. Findings show that participants adopt a temporal lens when evaluating their current and future career strategies based on dynamic economic system's needs. New Zealand's tourism industry was (and at the time of writing still is) facing severe challenges due to closed borders, thus reducing the external recognition

of tourism-related careers and career capital. As a result, short to medium term career strategies are flexible in that a temporary exit from the career field is considered until changes in the external environment occur. This was expected to take place throughout a recovery period, with an overall optimistic outlook for a post-Covid-19 tourism land-scape. As such, participants remained committed to their initially chosen career field in the long term based on habitus, in fact increasingly so due to hopes that Covid-19 would lead to a more progressive, innovative, and sustainable approach to tourism which was hoped to create opportunities for meaningful and impactful work and eventually leading to higher external recognition of the field.

However, the ongoing and still unpredictable future of New Zealand tourism posed challenges for participants in evaluating the value of especially their education-related cultural career capital. While most expected their tertiary degree to hold or even increase in value, they also anticipated that changes in the economic system would lead to a reevaluation of what career capital, especially regarding skills and knowledge, will be internally recognized and required in the future. The external recognition of the wider Bachelor of Commerce degree was considered an advantage, yet a perceived lack of social capital through networks and connections with the tourism industry was considered problematic. Many participants expressed a desire for universities to support them in creating additional social capital in preparation for entering the career field. This was for two reasons: First, to gain insight into the future internal recognition of cultural capital to better prepare for future careers; second, to increase employment opportunities within a job market that is anticipated to be highly competitive as well as network based. Concerns were also raised about the development of economic capital within the tourism career field, noting that both salaries as well as job security are highly relevant factors for future career decision making that are to be balanced with a fulfilling and meaningful career.

We predominantly confirmed existing research on tourism career development and decision-making in this study by demonstrating that a lack of visible managerial positions within the tourism industry (Robinson et al., 2020) led to a poor understanding of what tourism careers comprise (Ladkin, 2011). This, in turn, exacerbated negative perceptions of tourism education and careers by key influencers (Rahimi et al., 2016; Roberts et al., 2018). However, participants in this research did not appear to take these external concerns into account for their own career decision making, instead remaining committed to the tourism career field in the long term. Nevertheless, it was also stated that job security and adequate payment were expected from future careers, despite global perceptions of tourism as a vulnerable, low-skilled, and low-paying industry (Airey & Frontistis, 1997; Daskin, 2016; Richardson, 2010a). This questions the longevity of students' current ambitions to return to the tourism industry after a short-term exit period, especially considering the high number of tourism graduates who do not remain within the industry post-graduation (Mooney & Jameson, 2018; O'Leary & Deegan, 2005). Although participants in this research were optimistic about the future and hoped to remain within, or return to, an industry that is hoped to increasingly enable meaningful and impactful work, existing research indicates that such returns would be unlikely (Mooney & Jameson, 2018) and students' externally recognized career capital may not, after all, benefit the tourism career field.

# 5.2. Theoretical and practical implications

Practical contributions of this research are twofold. Education providers, already struggling with a loss of international student revenue while providing increasing support to the existing student body, can draw upon these findings in different ways. First, ongoing communication with the tourism industry is required to ensure the curriculum remains relevant considering current and anticipated changes to ensure that dynamic internally recognized career capital is provided to students. Opportunities lie especially in the areas of sustainable

development, innovation, leadership, and entrepreneurship. Integrating industry voices into the curriculum will positively contribute to this, while also providing existing students with the ability to gain insight into current tourism career related developments while further enhancing their social capital. Social capital especially requires support from education providers, for example through networking events, internships, webinars, and more in-depth information about the dynamic nature of tourism career paths. Not only does this provide additional support for students who are entering a disrupted career field, it will also aid the retention of existing students by increasing confidence in the future internal recognition of their skills and creating greater transparency in regard to industry developments. For recruitment purposes, we recommend to clearly demonstrate the opportunities of tourism education to lead to meaningful, impactful, and varied careers as well as the transferability of skills and its wider external recognition, for example through the promotion of conjoint degrees and the ability to develop wider skill sets. The tourism industry, in turn, is able to benefit from further engagement with tourism education providers. We recommend the promotion of internships to students who can add new perspectives and ideas during a challenging time, and ensure that recent graduates, once employed, are able to contribute to the organisation in meaningful ways to ensure their continuous commitment to the industry. It has become clear that students expect their future positions to be appropriately paid and secure while operating in innovative and sustainable ways, in turn allowing their work to have impact. Should these expectations not be met, it will exacerbate the risk of tourism graduates leaving the tourism career field and, as a result, reduce the industry's ability to recruit qualified and dedicated staff.

Academic contributions of this research lie predominantly in the study's theoretical underpinning. Most existing research on tourism careers and education is practical in nature and lacks grounding in theoretical approaches that allow for the transferability and further development of research. By placing our research within a Bourdieuan framework, building upon the concept of career capital frequently utilised especially in human resources and management fields, we provide a solid foundation upon which further changes in the continuously dynamic tourism landscape can be explored and compared. While participants adopted a long-term positive outlook and remained committed to both their degree and their chosen career field, ongoing challenges within the global tourism industry and potential delays in recovery might mitigate those attitudes and further examination of how career strategies develop over time is required for both industry and education providers. Nevertheless, the anticipated move towards a more sustainable and holistically beneficial tourism industry corresponds well to students' habitus and career know-why, opening possibilities for ongoing efforts in tertiary tourism education and recruitment.

# 5.3. Limitations and future research

Limitations of this research relate predominantly to the selection of education institutions. Both universities represented in this study offer tourism management as a major within a wider commerce degree, thus increasing the transferability of skills and providing greater external recognition of cultural capital than solely tourism-focused degrees - in turn perhaps leading to more optimistic perceptions. Expanding similar research to degrees within the wider tourism, hospitality, and events (THE) field is suggested to lead to more diverse insight into tourism's different sub-sectors, each facing unique challenges. Further, data was collected in a time where many students faced increasing workloads and pressure, as well as the mental health related challenges that come with adaptation to dual course delivery, distance learning, and a reintroduction of nationwide restrictions to contain a second Covid-19 community outbreak. This would have likely discouraged students with perhaps more critical attitudes and a lesser commitment to the career field from participating, and further research across the diverse student body at different points in time is recommended to gain insight into the relevance of students' personal backgrounds and assess the impact of how the pandemic progresses, including the re-opening of borders and the progress of vaccinations, on tourism-related career development and decision-making.

#### Contributions of each author

The first author was lead researcher throughout the project and funded it through an internal learning and teaching award, the second author held a research assistant contract. The research design was developed collaboratively by both authors. Data collection was conducted by the second author, data analysis by both authors. The manuscript was primarily written by the first author, with the second author providing numerous recommendations for improvement.

## Declaration of competing interest

The authors declare no competing financial interest

## Acknowledgments

We would like to thank the University of Otago's tourism department, especially Dr Craig Lee and AProf Susan Houge Mackenzie, for their support. Thank you to the anonymous reviewers for their contribution. Finally, thank you to all students who participated in the project during a very stressful time of the year!

# Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhtm.2021.06.011.

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